

# **Politeness and Cross-linguistic Influence**

The Speech Act of Request

by Greek speakers of English

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March 2019

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## **Abstract**

The present research project examines whether Greek speakers of English (GRL1) as an L2 transfer their L1 Greek requestive pragmatic patterns in the target language. The underpinning notion of the study is politeness, with regard to (in)directness. The focal objective of the project is to determine if pragmatic competence in L2 is achieved, and if not, why. Length of residence in the target country is accounted for as an affecting factor of pragmatic competence. The informants of the study were 150, divided equally in three groups; the native English speakers (ENL1), the Greek speakers of English (GRL1-GR), who have never visited or lived in England, and the Greek speakers of English (GRL1-EN), who resided in England. The data collection process involved a Discourse Completion Test (DCT) and two judgements tests in the format of Likert scales. The DCT aimed to extract the requestive patterns of ENL1 and GRL1, in order to compare them. The Likert scale tests were designed to extract results on how ENL1 and GRL1 perceive politeness in requestive scenarios. The elicitation of the data was conducted with Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realisation Patterns project for the DCT and with statistical analysis for the Likert scale tests. The overall results demonstrate a preference of GRL1 for conventionally indirect request patterns in L2 English, a finding that can either be interpreted as positive transfer or adjustability. GRL1-GR favour directness in scenarios with high power of the speaker over the hearer. GRL1-EN mirror ENL1's politeness considerations more than GRL1-GR, who seem to perceive politeness differently.

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## Abbreviations

ANOVA	Analysis of variance
App.	Appealers
Caj.	Cajolers
CCSARP	Cross-cultural speech act realisation project
CEFR	Common European framework of Reference for languages
CHSN	Conventionally structured hints
CIR	Conventionally indirect requests
CLI	Cross-linguistic influence
Comb.	Combination
CP	Cooperative principle
D	Distance
DCT	Discourse completion test
Dis.	Disarmer
Down.	Downtoners
DPT	Dialogue Production Task
DR	Direct requests
EAP	English for academic purposes
EFL / ESL	English as a foreign / second language
ENL1	Native English speakers
Ex.	Example
<i>F</i>	Variation between sample means / variation within the samples
FDCT	Free Discourse Completion Task (FDCT)
FTA	Face threatening act
Gr.	Grounder
GRL1	Greek speakers of English
GRL1-EN	Greek speakers of English in England

GRL1-GR	Greek speaker of English in Greece
H	Hearer
Hed.	Hedges
HLD	High level of directness
HN	Hints
I	Items
i.e.	In example
ILP	Interlanguage pragmatics
L1	First language
L2	Second language
LLD	Low level of directness
LR	Likelihood-Ratio
MLD	Moderate level of directness
<i>N</i>	Total number of informants
NCIR	Non-conventionally indirect requests
P	Power
<i>P</i> or sig.	Significance
Pol. M.	Politeness markers
Precom.	Precommitment
Prep.	Preparator
R	Imposition
<i>r</i>	Correlation
R min.	Imposition minimizer
Rew.	Promise of reward
RQ	Research questions
S	Speaker
<i>s.e.</i>	Standard error

Subj.	Subjectivizer
<i>t</i> -test	Test for equality of means
TEFL	Teaching English as a foreign language
Und.	Understaters
V	Variable
vs.	Versus
$\mu$	Mean

## Abbreviations of Glosses

ACC	Accusative
F	Feminine
FM	Familiarity Particle
GEN	Genitive
IMP	Imperative
IPRF	Imperfect
M	Masculine
N	Neuter
NEG	Negation, negative
NSG	Non-singular
PL	Plural
PRF	Perfect
PRS	Present
SG	Singular

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## Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Dr. Carlos de Pablos-Ortega and Dr. Alberto Hijazo-Gascon, my original supervisory team. I am supremely grateful to Dr. Kim Ridealgh for taking over when most needed and for offering her invaluable support until the end. I am also thankful to UEA and PPL-LCS for awarding me a full fee waiver to acknowledge my academic performance.

I would like to thank in particular Dr. Antonios Karatzas (NBS), Dr. Georgios Papadopoulos (ECO), and Dr. Paul Engelhardt (PSY) for offering their expertise (and time) to independently review, validate and provide valuable feedback on my original statistical analysis.

Sofia Lazaridou (Degenerate), for the 26 years of teaching experience you shared with me, but most importantly for the 26 years of friendship we still share, I will always be thankful. Dr. Aml Yusuf Mohammed (Woman), Dr. Laila Al-Qahtani (Geisha), and Sara Vilar Lluch (Catalan), for the trustworthy friend you turned out to be, thank you. Dr. Evangelos Pournaras, for your support that came at crucial times, thank you. Maria Savvidou (Maria the little), Martha Moissidou (Moses), Linda Pieper, thank you for all the trips, the long-lasting phone calls, the patience; everything each one of you offered mattered. Dr. Chi-He Elder, for the helpful comments on the material, thank you. Frikso, Mpora, and Spike, thank you for the relaxing video material when in crisis. Nikos (Gampre), thank you for the picture of Mitsos on the kitchen table. Gramma, thank you for all the cooking to ease the pain. Prof. Eliza Koutoupi-Kitis, thank you for being the first scholar to believe in me! Mom, dad, Martha (sestra), Yianni (brother sestra), nothing I put into words here will ever cover even remotely how thankful I am to be part of this family. Dr. Dimitrios Dousios (Agglos), you have been and done all the above... THANK YOU.

# 1. INTRODUCTION

Language learning arguably constitutes the optimal medium of intercultural communication, especially in the age of extensive global mobility. The language learning process itself becomes successful when one achieves high levels of competence in all aspects of language acquisition, for instance the lexical (i.e. pronunciation), the grammatical (i.e. sentence structure), but also the pragmatic aspect (i.e. social context around language production) (Thomas, 1983; Spencer-Oatey, 1993; Ellis, 1994; Bardovi-Harlig, 2013). Traditional second language (L2) learning and teaching approaches focus on the aspects of grammatical competence, yet research highlights the benefits from a shift towards pragmatic competence as well, hence including all parameters of language communication (Canale & Swain, 1980; Purpura, 2008; Kasper & Ross, 2013).

The principle aim of the present study is to argue in favour of such an approach by looking into how the first language (L1) context can affect the L2 context, and in particular how politeness as a communicative process is achieved in the L2 setting through the speech act of request. In other words, the focal point of the research is transfer (Ellis, 1994) or cross-linguistic influence (CLI) (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008) on a pragmatic level.

This approach constitutes a token of the significance of the socio-pragmatic value of politeness, where socio-pragmatic stands for the effects that culture, social circumstances, hierarchical variation, and so on, may have upon communication. Socio-pragmatics is introduced by Leech (1983), who distinguishes it from pragma-linguistics, that is, the specific use of language that speakers make in order to communicate a message, and general pragmatics, which incorporates both. The theoretical framework, within which these approaches are analysed, is the conceptual categorisation of speech acts introduced by Searle (1976). Speech acts are considered to be linguistically expressed actions. Politeness, as an act of social significance, is marked in them. The majority of the relevant research consists

of comparative and contrastive projects, including English as the target language due to its internationalisation. The up-to-date research on L2 pragmatic awareness and excellence, specifically on politeness as a linguistic communication dynamic (Blum-Kulka, 1992; Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Ellis, 1994; Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; Lee, 2011; González-Cruz, 2014; Khalib & Tayeh, 2014, among others), suggests that the field requires further investigation in various languages.

Given that English is the international language of communication, cross-cultural interaction, education, financial traffic, and so on, the objective is to compare it with an understudied language-pair, namely Greek, and determine whether Greek L1 speakers of English L2 (GRL1) are pragmatically competent in the target language when they perform requests. In particular, the purpose is to explore whether GRL1 tend to transfer their native pragmatic patterns to the target language or rather if they possess the necessary linguistic skills, in order to successfully communicate in the L2 setting, when performing the speech act of request. The underlying element, which determines whether this communication is effective, is politeness. Sifianou (1992), who has examined how politeness is materialised in Greek and in English and discussed requests in depth, offers a comprehensive basis for a comparison between the two languages.

The theoretical framework, which underpins Sifianou's (1992) approach, is Brown & Levinson's (1987) model of positive and negative politeness, with regard to directness and indirectness of speech acts. Their suggestion is that the more indirect a speech act is, the lower the level of imposition of a potential face threatening act (FTA) becomes, and consequently more politeness is at play<sup>1</sup>. Sifianou (1992) maintains that L1 British English and L1 Greek speakers show some significant differences in the realisation of this particular speech act. For instance, contrary to English speakers, Greeks tend to use imperatives to

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<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that Brown & Levinson's politeness framework mainly concerns Western languages and cultures. For a critique of their approach, see Section 2.1.3.2.

make a request, i.e. *Δώσε μου τα κλειδιά του αυτοκινήτου σου λίγο που θέλω να πάω κέντρο*, literally translating to ‘Give me your car keys a bit that I want to go to the [city] centre’. The aforementioned level of directness and indirectness in the performance of L2 requests has been analytically presented by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989). They compare the requestive patterns of eight different languages and introduce their categorisation of the speech act of request (and apology), based on the relevant level of (in)directness. Their categorisation of requests in the L2 setting is considered as the appropriate analysis toolkit for the current research, given that their framework has been widely used, and therefore provides comparable data for the present study. Moreover, Blum-Kulka et al. (1989, p. 278) claim that (in)directness “is related to, but by no means coextensive, with politeness”, allowing space to negate the long-lasting prejudice that Greek people are impolite, in particular in the L2 setting.

The exploratory nature of the present study is demonstrated in its objectives, namely to a) examine pragmatic transfer in requests from GRL1 speakers of English in the target language, b) weigh if GRL1’s judgements of politeness are affected by their L1 setting, c) investigate whether the length of residence, that is, the amount of time L2 speakers “reside” in the target country (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 200), has an impact on the production of requests by GRL1 speakers of English, and d) measure how length of residence in the target country affects GRL1’s perception of politeness. The study comprises the following research questions (RQ).

1. Do GRL1 transfer their L1 Greek pragmatic patterns to L2 English when performing requests?
2. Does L1 Greek affect GRL1’s evaluations of politeness in L2 English requests?
3. Is GRL1’s length of residence in the target country a determinant variable in the performance of requests in L2 English?

4. Are GRL1's judgements of politeness in L2 English requests affected by their length of residence in the target country?

In an attempt to answer these questions, the present research project aspires to contribute to current research on three levels; a) L2 pragmatics, with the investigation of the realisation of the speech act of request and the evaluations of politeness considerations, b) CLI, with the detection of transfer from L1 Greek to L2 English in the context of length of residence in the target country, and c) teaching English as foreign/second language (TEFL/TESL), with the review of pragmatic competence in the L2 setting. Foreign language learning and cultural familiarisation are important assets in interlanguage communication. Sifianou (1992, p. 204) makes the valuable point that “research into such [sociolinguistic] areas will enable foreign language teachers to predict whether learners’ errors are the result of their transfer of native strategies or of inadequate learning of the strategies of the target language”.

The speech act of request has been examined as a fruitful component of L2 pragmatic acquisition in a variety of languages (Pinto, 2005; Halenko & Jones, 2011; Khalib & Tayeh, 2014, among others). Regarding the Greek language, the differences in performing this particular speech act in English and Greek (Sifianou, 1992), as well as the speakers’ disagreement on the definition of the notion of politeness within their cultural backgrounds, become the major incentives to conduct this research within the field of L2 pragmatics. The aim is to examine how GRL1 speakers of English perceive and adjust to the socially accepted formulae of requesting in the target language, since pragmatic competence and awareness of the social norms of the respective cultures is pivotal, in order to achieve successful communication in L2. Nonetheless, native Greek speakers as a case study is not a random choice for L2 pragmatics, nor is for CLI, for other reasons, too.

Two major migration waves of Greek people to English speaking countries, one in the decade 1950-1960 (Glytsos & Katseli, 2005) and one during 2010-present (Labrianidis,



2014), emphasise the value of such an investigation. Moreover, the interaction between Greeks and English is extensive due to touristic exchange and educational purposes. Given that there are not many studies focusing on CLI with regard to politeness elements (Marti, 2006; Taguchi, 2006; Tabatabaei & Samiee, 2013), L2 research could significantly benefit from more studies in this particular direction, weighing in more language pairs.

The importance of the present project for TEFL/TESL is equally influential. Language learning is probably the ultimate component of multiculturalism and English is the binding net that brings together representatives from all over the world. The objective, on the one hand, is for English teachers to be aware of this diversity when they teach non-native English learners, and in this case native Greek speakers. On the other hand, the aim is not to unify different linguistic, hence cultural, norms, but to adequately familiarise L2 learners of English with the target language and culture. In Sifianou's words (1992, p. 208),

The aspiration is not for the students to abandon their cultural identity and conform to other cultural norms. Foreign language educators should aim only at assisting students in becoming aware of the different ways of behaving both verbally and non-verbally.

In order to answer the research questions, a twofold methodological approach is applied. On the one hand, a Discourse Completion Test (DCT) (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989) is used to extract the data to answer RQ1 and RQ3. The objective is to replicate real-life social situations, by creating scenarios of small dialogues with missing parts, which the participants of the study are invited to complete. The GRL1's responses are compared to the native English' (ENL1), so as to determine whether CLI from L1 Greek to L2 English occurs. The analysis of the collected data is conducted quantitatively. On the other hand, a judgement test in the form of a Likert scale is designed to collect the data for RQ2 and RQ4. The informants are asked to evaluate the politeness level of 24 different versions of two requests

in English on a scale from one to five, where one is highly impolite and five highly polite. The evaluative scale is determined with regards to the appropriateness or the inappropriateness of the request versions in the specific social situations. The responses are analysed and discussed according to their statistical significance. The analysis of the data is quantitative.

In order to avoid loose ends in the results, the educational and demographic background of the participants is accordingly processed. They are undergraduate and postgraduate university students of all levels in Greece and England, a choice based on the necessity of presenting a homogeneous sample. This homogeneity is also considered in terms of the informants' personal characteristics (age, gender, origin). Their number is 150 in total and they are divided in three groups. Group A, the control group, consists of 50 ENL1 speakers, born in England. Groups B and C, the target groups, overall consist of 100 informants; group B includes 50 GRL1 participants, who have never lived or visited England (GRL1-GR), whereas group C includes also 50 GRL1 participants, who reside in the target country (GRL1-EN). This division of the participants is essential to cover all the dimensions of the research questions.

The thesis is structured as follows. Chapter one (Introduction) introduces the research elements of the study, the significance of the research and outlines the structure of the thesis. Chapter two (Literature Review) covers the theoretical background of the research, including pragmatics, speech acts, approaches to politeness, the L2 setting, CLI or transfer, as well as relevant research towards all these directions. It is also argued why this research endeavour is significant for L2 pragmatics and TESL/TEFL and how the preferred framework of analysis meets the objectives of the study. In Chapter three (Methodology), the methodological rationale is presented, namely the instruments that were used for the data collection, as well as their construction method, the participants' details, the pilot study and the analysis processes. Chapter four (Results Part I: The realisation of request) includes the

presentation of the results for the DCT collected data and their categorisation according to Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989) framework of analysis. In Chapter five (Results Part II: Judgements of politeness), the results for the collected data from the Likert scale tests are presented, diving the analysis process in terms of descriptive statistical processes and inferential statistical processes. In Chapter six (Discussion), the results presented in Chapters four and five are discussed with reference to past and recent relevant research. The last chapter of the thesis, Chapter seven (Conclusion, limitations, future recommendations), provides an overview of the concluding remarks of the analysis, alongside with recommendations for future research. The limitations of the research are also discussed.

## **2. LITERATURE REVIEW**

The present chapter of the current study covers the theoretical framework that has been followed to account for second language socio-pragmatic competence of Greek speakers of English (GRL1) in the performance of the speech act of request. The underpinning notions, which justify the reasons behind the research motivation, are politeness and cross-linguistic influence. The former notion is part of the wider field of pragmatics, in particular socio-pragmatics. An overview of past and current theories on the subject is provided, with stress on the ones that are influential for the present project. The background of achieving second language (L2) pragmatic competence from a theoretical viewpoint is presented and cross-linguistic influence (CLI) (or transfer) from first language (L1) to L2 on a pragmatic level is outlined as the core aspect of approaching this project. The chapter concludes with a presentation of the research elements that have highlighted the theoretical parts of the thesis, alongside with a dedicated subsection to the realisation of requests in L1 English and Greek. It is also argued why Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989) framework of analysis is the most suitable theoretical framework for this study.

### **2.1 Theoretical Background**

This section of the chapter presents the theoretical elements, which sketch the rationale behind the conceptualisation of the research project. The linguistic area of pragmatics is defined, and speech act theory is presented, with particular focus on requests. Moreover, an overview of politeness approaches is provided, as well as the setting of L2 pragmatic competence and CLI from L1 to L2.

### 2.1.1 Pragmatics

Pragmatics is the branch of linguistics, which focalises on how language and context are inter-related. It was first introduced in the late sixties and early seventies (Austin, 1962; Grice, 1975; Searle, 1976) as an alternative approach towards earlier theories of linguistic analysis, such as syntax or semantics. It particularly challenged the Chomskyan syntax-only oriented approach and his Generative Grammar. Chomsky (1965) and his followers argued in favour of the structural dynamics of language in the strict sense of rules to be applied and followed in the conceptualisation, acquisition, and production of language. Pragmatics, on the other hand, identifies the complex relationship between language as a system of communication and language users of this system, and focuses on what Chomsky (1965) has referred to as performance; that is, the way the individual deals and blends with language. In that sense, the 'user's point of view' holds central position in pragmatic research.

The aforementioned notion of context in pragmatics refers to the situational sphere in which linguistic production takes place, or simpler to the circumstances under which language is used and interpreted. Lakoff (1977, p. 80), from her point of view, explains:

If two sentences are apparently synonymous, and if an addressee reacts one way to one and another way to the other, he is discriminating between them on linguistic grounds. If, conversely, I find that I may utter a particular sentence in one sort of social environment, but cannot appropriately utter the same words in another, although I have the same message to convey, I must suspect that this is part of my cultural heritage, or whatever I bring to my interpretation of the sentence from my real-world experience.

In that sense, pragmatics accounts for extra-linguistic factors, which may advance or inhibit human communication and are not self-explanatory within the delimited structural syntactic or semantic system. In the same line, Leech (1983) specifies context as the background knowledge, which helps a speaker (S) and a hearer (H) to clearly understand each other and

avoid any misinterpretations. The schema below in Figure 1.1 encompasses Lakoff's point quite relevantly (Leech, 1983, p. 12).

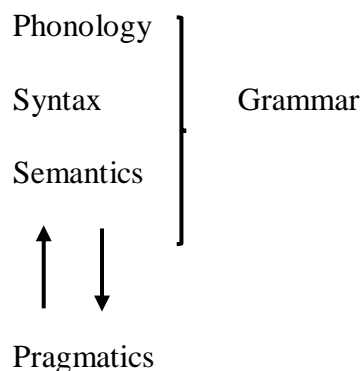


Figure 2.1 Interaction of Grammar with Pragmatics via Semantics

Leech (1983, p. 6) provides a definition of pragmatics “as the study of meaning in relation to speech situations”. However, according to Levinson (1983), even though pragmatics indeed encompasses both language and context, it examines only their grammaticalised relations, or those that are directly related to the structure of a language.

In more recent literature, Mey (2001, p. 6) suggests that “pragmatics studies the use of language in human communication as determined by the conditions of society”. Grundy (2008) defines context as the parameter that clarifies the vagueness of an utterance, without which it may be completely misleading or misinterpreted. Bardovi-Harlig (2013, p. 68) maintains that “pragmatics is the study of how-to-say-what-to-whom-when”. All these definitions, no matter the differences they may have, bear common ground on how important the language user and the social setting are in the communication process. Based on this condition, some of the most influential topics of study in pragmatics are implicature (the communication of hidden meaning (Grice, 1975)), presupposition (the common background knowledge of the interlocutors (Levinson, 1983)), speech acts (actions performed with utterances (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1976)), and politeness (the consideration for the interlocutors' feelings in a discussion (Lakoff, 1973; Leech, 1983; Brown & Levinson, 1987;

Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Janney & Arndt, 1992; Mey, 2001; Spencer-Oatey, 2002; Watts, 2003; Grundy, 2008; Kadar & Haugh, 2015, among others)). This research project focuses on politeness and speech acts, and in particular the speech act of request. In both areas, the interlocutors and the social components are of paramount importance.

### 2.1.2 Speech Acts

The notion of speech acts was first synthesised by Austin (1962). In his seminal work *How to do things with words*, Austin (1962, p. 94) maintains that “to say something *is* to do something, or *in* saying something we do something, and even *by* saying something we do something” (italics in the original). He describes language use as performative acts, because they effectively cause action on behalf of the S and/or the H. The first level of their tripartite categorisation includes the so-called ‘locutionary’ acts, which stand for the actual utterance of a sentence or a proposition. The second level comprises of the ‘illocutionary’ acts, which correspond for the actual meaning of the utterance. In the third and last level, the ‘perlocutionary’ acts describe the results of uttering the sentence or proposition on the interlocutors. An example of all three levels of a speech act is provided below in Figure 2.2, adapted from Austin (1962, p. 102).

(E. 2)

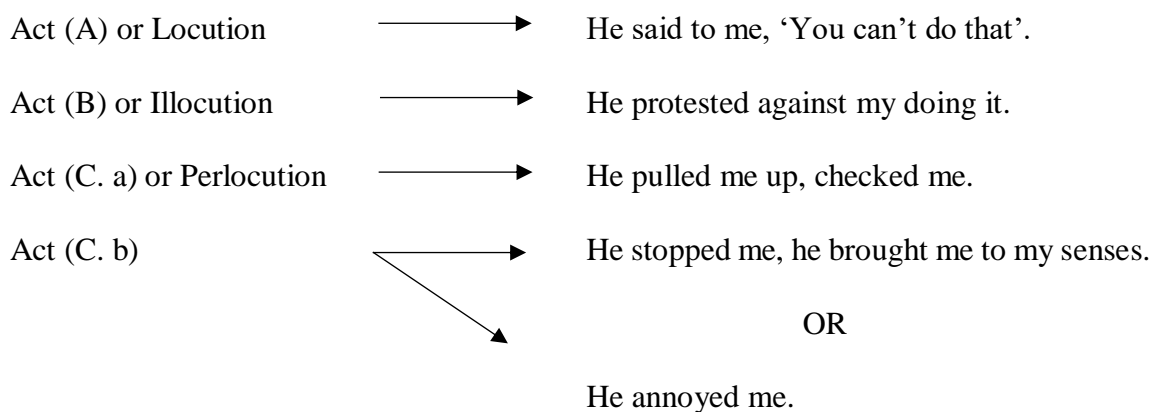


Figure 2.2 Austin’s (1962) Example of the Categorisation of Speech Acts

In addition to the above categorisation, Austin (1962) accounts for a complementary categorisation of the illocutionary acts in particular, what Leech (1983, p. 176) later calls Illocutionary-Verb Fallacy:

[Austin's] classification (into 'Verdictives' [,] 'Exercitives', 'Commissives', 'Behabitives', and 'Expositives') is a prime example of what I have ... called the 'Illocutionary-Verb Fallacy': Austin appeared to assume throughout that verbs in the English language correspond one-to-one with categories of speech act.

Arguing against Austin's categorisation, Searle (1976, pp. 10-13) classifies illocutionary acts as follows: a) Representatives (e.g. *Mary will marry John*), b) Directives (e.g. *I request that you pay your rent*), c) Commissives (e.g. *I promise I will take you to the zoo*), d) Expressives (e.g. *I thank you for covering me at work*), e) Declarations (e.g. *I now pronounce you husband and wife*). In the first class, representatives, the purpose is to commit the interlocutors to the truth conditions of an utterance; that is, to say whether the utterance is true or false in terms of the reality the interlocutors share. In the second class, directives, the speaker attempts to engage the hearer to do something, as in the example above, pay the rent.

Commissives, on the other hand, are illocutionary acts that engage the speaker in action somewhere in the future. Expressives, the fourth class, refer to the illocutionary acts that describe the psychological condition of the speaker in relation to the uttered sentence or proposition. Lastly, declarations are those illocutionary acts that actually bring together real-world truth conditions and language; in simpler words, if the speaker of the example above succeeds in pronouncing the two attendants of the ceremony husband and wife, then they truly are; and by successfully, it is meant within the conditions that this person has the authority or meets the prerequisites to do so.



Under the category of directives falls the core of the present research project, that is, the speech act of request. When requesting, one normally inquires or asks for something, which is either material or non-material. The process typically requires for the interaction of at least two parties, namely the S, who makes the request, and the H, who is the receiver of the request. The social proximity of the interlocutors, the relevant power of the one over the other, the level of imposition of the request (i.e. Brown & Levinson, 1987; Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008), as well as other factors, such as age, gender, or even customary repetition (i.e. Terkourafi, 2005), may affect its realisation.

Structurally, requests consist of the Head Act, namely the core of the speech act, and the Supportive Moves, which are external to the actual request and their presence may have an impact on its force, such as explanations (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989). Alerters can also be part of a request and operate as openers, for instance titles, nicknames, or pronouns. In terms of how one performs a request — or any speech act — with considerations of politeness<sup>2</sup> in mind, Brown & Levinson (1987) maintain that they can be realised both on record and off record<sup>3</sup>; that is, without vagueness on the one hand, and with (degrees of) vagueness on the other. To clarify this, consider the following examples.

(1) *Catch me if I fall, John!!*

(2) *Can you catch me if I fall, John?*

(3) *Be a friend and catch me if I fall, John!*

(4) *You wouldn't like me to get injured, would you, John?*

(5) *John, do you see how high I am? It's terrifying!*

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<sup>2</sup> The notion of politeness and its significance for the present project is presented in Section 2.2.3.

<sup>3</sup> For a detailed presentation of Brown & Levinson's (1987) framework of politeness, see Section 2.2.3.

Examples (1)–(3) are on record requests, whereas (4)–(5) are off record. Brown & Levinson (1987) maintain that a speaker can even request for something without uttering any words, simply by using their body language, or by resorting to some kind of action. In this case, the speech act is not performed at all, nonetheless the intention of the S is apparent from his/her use of extra-linguistic means of communication.

The above categorisation of Brown & Levinson (1987) in on record and off record requests — and speech acts in general — also contemplates the idea of directness and indirectness, but not in an analogous way; that is, on record is not by definition correlated to directness and off record to indirectness. In fact, indirectness is attributed to on record strategies as well, as in Examples (2) and (3) above. For a fuller understanding of how this binary polarity works, Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) further categorise the level of directness of a request<sup>4</sup> as follows: direct, conventionally indirect, and non-conventionally indirect. Direct requests are normally those realised with performative verbs or the mood of imperative, as in *Catch me if I fall, John!*, where the act of requesting is clearly stated. Conventionally indirect requests are performed with the help of contextual information, such as the ability or the willingness on part of the hearer to cooperate with the speaker. These linguistic procedures are typically conventionalised in languages, such as *Can you catch me if I fall, John?*. Non-conventionally indirect requests are the hints, with which the S makes an opaque reference to the relevant object or element of the conversation, inviting the H to infer more, but by being given less. For example, even though *John, do you see how high I am? It's terrifying!* is not a clear request, the utterance alarms the H to be prepared in case something goes wrong with his friend's choice to climb so high and, therefore, take action if needed; action that was not requested, but is expected.

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<sup>4</sup> Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) also explored the speech act of apology, which, however, is not relevant to the present study.

Asides the three aforementioned super-categories, Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) add up to the notion of (in)directness by sub-categorising other elements that can affect how one performs a request. For instance, mitigating devices, such as a promise of reward, a politeness marker like *please*, a hedge like *kind of*, a downtoner like *possibly*, or even a threat<sup>5</sup>. Examples (6)–(10) below reflect this.

- |   |                     |
|---|---------------------|
| (6) <i>Catch me if I fall, John, and I'll give you a big hug!</i> | (promise of reward) |
| (7) <i>Please, John, catch me if I fall!</i>                      | (politeness marker) |
| (8) <i>I'd kind of like you to catch me if I fall, John.</i>      | (hedge)             |
| (9) <i>Could you possibly catch me if I fall, John?</i>           | (downtoner)         |
| (10) <i>Catch me if I fall, John, or I'll kill you!</i>           | (threat)            |

Both Brown & Levinson's (1987) and Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989) categorisation of the speech act of request seek to determine the pragmatic phenomenon of politeness through linguistic use within specific context.

### 2.1.3 Politeness: An Overview of Approaches

Before dwelling on the prevailing topic of politeness in this section, an important issue to raise is its placement within the field of pragmatics. Leech (1983) clarifies that pragmatics, which he names general pragmatics, is a distinct field of study from those of socio-pragmatics and pragma-linguistics. In particular, he maintains that (general) pragmatics analyses the “general conditions of the communicative use of language”, socio-pragmatics the ‘local conditions’, and pragma-linguistics the ‘particular resources’ via which each language conveys illocutions (Leech, 1983, pp. 10-11). By ‘local conditions’, Leech

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<sup>5</sup> For the complete list of Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989) request categories and sub-categories, see Section 3.7.1.

indicates the variety of cultures and language communities, the variability of social circumstances, the hierarchy of social classes, and so on; all are factors that affect how the communication process is performed. By ‘particular resources’ he means specific linguistic elements, to which speakers of a certain language resort when they want to pass on a message. Drawn from this distinction, he acknowledges the close relationship of socio-pragmatics with sociology, as well as of pragma-linguistics with grammar. Politeness, then, as a linguistic form of expression and communicative feature, lies within the research field of both socio-pragmatics and pragma-linguistics. The current project, which investigates factors that may affect transferability from a given first/native language (L1) to a second/target language (L2), aligns with the former. However, since the investigation of grammatical structures is considered co-occurrent with context and, therefore, influential for the study, it also draws from pragma-linguistics.

Having introduced politeness and its role in linguistics research and in particular in the current study, the remaining part of the section will provide information about former and up-to-date approaches to politeness. This overview will account for the underlying elements of each approach, starting with those directly influenced by the Goffmanian notion of face (1967) and Grice’s (1975) Cooperative Principle (CP) and moving towards the more discursive-oriented ones. The aim is to make an elaborative approach to politeness and, therefore, provide solid argumentation about the approach preferred as most appropriate for the current study.

#### 2.1.3.1 From Goffman’s ‘Face’ to Brown & Levinson’s Politeness Framework

Politeness Research in its early stages was significantly influenced by E. Goffman, a sociologist, who discussed the notion of ‘face’, that is, the perception of oneself towards society, or in his own words “the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact” (Goffman, 1976, p. 5).

Face can be either lost or saved in an interaction, namely cost the S his/her dignity, pride or honour, all valuable elements to preserve one's image within their community, or meet his/her community members' communicative expectations in that same interaction (Goffman, 1976). The aim, though, is to not cause face loss nor face threat, a process that requires both the S and H's involvement.

Grice (1975) identifies the complex relationship between saying and meaning, inasmuch as interlocutors do not always say what they mean. He initially synthesises his CP consisting of four Maxims, as presented in Figure 2.3 below.

Quantity	a) Make your contribution as informative as is required b) Do not make your contribution more informative than is required
Quality	a) Do not say what you believe to be false b) Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence
Relation	Be relevant
Manner	a) Avoid obscurity of expression b) Avoid ambiguity c) Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity) d) Be orderly

Figure 2.3 Grice's (1975) Cooperative Principle Maxims

In his words (Grice, 1975, p. 45), the suggestion is to “make your contribution [in discourse] such as required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged”. The aim is that the S successfully delivers, and the H successfully receives the communicated message. However, interlocutors more often than not show a tendency to either violate, opt out, clash, or flout the Maxims, as shown in the indicative examples in Table 2.1 below.

Examples of Grice's CP Violations	
Example of violation (Maxim of Relation)	Speaker A: Are you ready? Speaker B: I am making my hair
Example of opting out (Maxim of Manner)	Speaker A: How is life after the divorce? Speaker B: It's been only 2 months you know...
Example of clash (Maxim of Quantity)	Speaker A: Where were the Beatles formed as a band? Speaker B: Somewhere in England.
Example of flouting (Maxim of Quality)	Speaker A: Did Jack call Carol in the end? Speaker B: Yeah right, just as much as I called Brad Pitt!

Table 2.1 Examples of Grice's (1975) CP Violations

In the example of violation, speaker B avoids giving a Yes/No answer to speaker A, which would have been the most relevant answer to the question of whether s/he is ready. Instead, the response describes the situation in which speaker B is, allowing speaker A to deduct the relevant answer, that is, *No, I am not ready*. In the example of opting out, speaker B does not share his/her view about his/her life after a divorcee, providing the short period of two months as an excuse, allowing speaker A to deduct that discussing about the matter could have led to a heated discussion. In the example of clash, speaker B, who does not know where exactly the Beatles were formed as a band and is on the verge of violating the Maxim of Quality by sharing false information, opts to violate the Maxim of Quantity and gives less information than asked by speaker A. In the example of flouting, speaker B deliberately flouts the Maxim of Quality and expects speaker A to sense the sarcasm and deduct the answer *No, he did not*.

All the above deviations from the originally defined Maxims of Grice's (1975) CP lead to the development of implied meanings, that is, meanings that are not clearly, directly or relevantly stated, but are deductible from the context anyway. In pragmatics, this

exchange of unrelated, yet perceivable sequences of speech create the so-called implicatures. Politeness theorists, then, build their arguments by first stepping upon the realisation that politeness is a form of such a deviation. For instance, in the example of opting out, one might conclude that speaker B is being polite by refusing to discuss the situation of his/her divorce; or that even s/he is implying that speaker A is being impolite by asking the very question in the first place.

Lakoff (1973) is one of the first scholars, who realises that the speakers' tendency towards obscurity suggests that they might want to avoid 'giving offence'. She introduces the Maxim of Being Polite, which is subdivided into three rules, namely do not impose (rule 1), give options (rule 2), and make A [=Alter] feel good, be friendly (rule 3). She acknowledges that politeness is defined culturally and, therefore, the definition of it varies from society to society. In that respect, some cultures favour rule 1, others rule 2, and others rule 3. As a result of such a preference, different strategies are followed by the speakers of each culture; so, speakers in favour of rule 1 adhere to the strategy of Distance, those in favour of rule 2 follow the strategy of Deference, and the strategy of Camaraderie is adopted by those in favour of rule 3 (Lakoff, 1990). Lakoff's (1990) Distance, Deference, and Camaraderie are defined as the strategies of impersonality (preferred by European cultures), hesitancy (preferred by Asian cultures), and informality (preferred by modern American culture), respectively.

In the same line, Leech (1983) tries to re-evaluate and amend Grice's (1975) CP by proposing an additional model. He claims that the CP does not sufficiently cover all aspects of communication and he makes an explicit reference to the notion of Tact, which he denotes as a form of politeness. He, subsequently, introduces his Politeness Principle (PP), which comprises of six Maxims, as presented in Figure 2.4 below.

Tact Maxim (in impossitives and commissives)	a) Minimize cost to <i>other</i> b) Maximize benefit to <i>other</i>
Generosity Maxim (in impossitives and commissives)	a) Minimize benefit to <i>self</i> b) Maximize cost to <i>self</i>
Approbation Maxim (in epxressives and assertives)	a) Minimize dispraise of <i>other</i> b) Maximize praise of <i>other</i>
Modesty Maxim (in epxressives and assertives)	a) Minimize praise of <i>self</i> b) Maximize dispraise of <i>self</i>
Agreement Maxim (in assertives)	a) Minimize disagreement between <i>self</i> and <i>other</i> b) Maximize agreement between <i>self</i> and <i>other</i>
Sympathy maxim (in assertives)	a) Minimize antipathy between <i>self</i> and <i>other</i> b) Maximize sympathy between <i>self</i> and <i>other</i>

Figure 2.4 Leech's (1983) Politeness Principle Maxims

Both Lakoff (1973) and Leech (1983) suggest with their models that Grice's (1975) CP needs amendment and further expansion. They also indicate politeness as a reparative element of CP, proposing with their Maxims of 'Being polite' (Lakoff) and 'Tact' (Leech) that it needs to be addressed. It is Brown & Levinson (1987) who finally provide a complete approach to the notion of politeness. Their framework, ever since its earlier version (1978), has been vastly followed by scholars and applied in a wide range of research endeavours (Al-Marrani & Sazalie, 2010; Halenko & Jones, 2011; González-Cruz, 2014; Khalib & Tayeh, 2014; Schneider et al., 2015, just to mention a few of the most recent). Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1997) acknowledges it would even be 'impossible' to discuss politeness without reference to Brown & Levinson's (1987) seminal work.



Brown & Levinson's so called 'politeness theory' is only partly based on the Gricean framework, according to which speakers show a frequent tendency towards implicit meaning in their speech. They directly correlate this choice of linguistic use to politeness, which they define as a strategy to avoid conflict. However, their explanation of the phenomenon builds on two entirely different notions, namely that of 'rationality' and that of 'face'. Rationality stands for logic or reasoning in the Aristotelian sense (Paley, 1872), whereas face is described as an emotional human attribute, which can be affected in positive or negative ways within interaction (Brown & Levinson, 1987). They base their definition of the latter on Goffman (1967) who maintains that face is the image of oneself based on others' evaluation of their contact. With face being an unstable and interchangeable parameter, it is variably materialised within the communication process in every different society. But even though Brown & Levinson (1987) rely on Goffman's (1967) definition, they seem to differentiate their approach by ignoring its inherent value and attributing to it a less flexible nature, which varies according to speakers and hearers' stance towards the discourse elements. In that line, face is divided in two extremes, the so called 'face wants': the negative face, that is "the want of every 'competent adult member' that his actions be unimpeded by others", versus the positive face, which is "the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others" (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 62). These 'wants' are related and affected to a certain extent by ones' own interlocutors and the cultural setting of the discourse.

In an attempt to outline the aforementioned cultural setting, Brown & Levinson (1987) discuss three sociological variables, namely power (P), distance (D), and level of imposition (R) of a speech act. Power correlates to the different levels of stratification in all social settings (i.e. in society, at work place, at home), distance to the level of social proximity between S and H, and level of imposition of a speech act to the degree of unwanted burden shifted on the H by the S in a conversation.

Drawing from the aforementioned face wants in mind, Brown & Levinson (1987) maintain that speech acts can become threatening to the H's positive or negative face on the one hand, or the S's positive or negative face on the other. They also argue that there are speech acts, for instance requests, which are by definition face threatening, because the imposing nature of a request may vary from very low to very high. In order to explain what communicative choices speakers make when they find themselves in a relevant situation, they assemble a list of five possible strategies for doing a face threatening act (FTA); a) do the FTA on record and baldly, b) do the FTA on record and with positive politeness features, c) do the FTA on record and with negative politeness features, d) do the FTA off record, e) do not do the FTA at all. In Table 2.2 below, examples for each strategy are provided, respectively, so as to clarify this distinction.

Examples of FTAs Strategies	
FTA strategies	Examples
On record – baldly	<i>Give me your pen.</i>
On record – positive politeness	<i>Your pen is so much better than mine!</i>
On record – negative politeness	<i>Could I borrow your pen?</i>
Off record	<i>My pen is out of ink...</i>
No FTA	Non-verbal action, like playing with your pen nervously

Table 2.2 Examples of FTAs Strategies

The notion of face wants — and the control over a potential FTA — is Brown & Levinson's (1987) lead argument towards the universal character of their politeness framework. They synthesize their approach accounting for the level of directness or indirectness of the speech act that is performed; the higher the level of indirectness of a

speech act, the lower the possibility that it will lead to an FTA. The distinction between the two extremes is revealed through the extensive sub-categorisation of their politeness strategies (for a detailed presentation with indicative examples, see Appendix I).

#### 2.1.3.2 Criticism of Brown & Levinson's Politeness Framework

Brown & Levinson's (1987) politeness framework has gained wide acceptance and recognition in a number of research fields, as it has proved effective in various cultural settings, although not in all cultural settings, undermining its universal claim. Tracey (1990, p. 213) offers a list of categories, which map the different areas of criticism of their framework, presented below.

1. The conception of politeness at the root of the theory may be culturally biased.
2. Brown and Levinson rank the politeness value of the various strategies, so some question if such a ranking can be universally valid.
3. Basing their theory on speech acts, as Brown and Levinson do, is problematic.
4. There are almost certainly more factors that may affect the perceived face-threat of an act other than power, distance, and rank.
5. Positive and negative politeness may be different in kind, rather than higher and lower amounts of global politeness.

Elaborating on these five categories, Brown & Levinson's framework is mainly criticised with regard to the concept of 'face' and its universality. According to Brown & Levinson (1987, p. 62), "the mutual knowledge of members' public self-image or face, and the social necessity to orient oneself to it in interaction, are universal". Even though most, if not all, cultures put forward face considerations while interacting, their approach may differ fundamentally. For instance, Hofstede & Hofstede (2005), who divide cultures in individualistic and collectivistic, maintain that the former focalises on the individual, whereas the latter builds its strength upon a more important element, namely the group.

Following this line of thinking, a variety of Asian cultures favour 'group face' rather than 'individual face'.

Gu (1990) is one of the first scholars investigating Asian languages that directly challenges the universal character of Brown & Levinson's politeness framework and the notion of face. He maintains that this particular aspect of their approach mainly applies to Western cultures and not Eastern. His own approach of politeness, based on the Chinese paradigm, relates politeness with the moral norms of a society. FTAs are not associated with interlocutors' wants, but with society's wants. This means that a speaker fails to be polite when s/he fails to please society's expectations of him/her. Moreover, there are speech acts in the Chinese cultural setting (invitations, offerings, promises), which are not justified as FTAs, yet Brown & Levinson (1987) mark them as such. The Chinese paradigm is also supported by research in Japanese politeness, where face is not an individual attribute, but a societal one (Matsumoto, 1988; Wierzbicka, 1990, 1991). One is considered to lose face when other members of the group, in which s/he belongs, notice that the individual fails to apprehend, acknowledge, and abide with the composition and hierarchy of the group. Mao (1994), who examines politeness in both the Chinese and Japanese cultural settings, explains that face is linked with the community's wants and not with the individual's wants. Likewise, even though Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) acknowledge the existence of face wants, they refute their universal nature and highlight the pivotal role culture and appropriate social behaviour play in their formulation. Blum-Kulka (1992, p. 270) explains that:

[...] systems of politeness manifest a culturally filtered interpretation of the interaction between four essential parameters: social motivations, expressive models, social differentials and social meanings. Cultural notions interfere in determining the distinctive features of each of the four parameters and as a result, significantly affect the social understanding of 'politeness' across societies in the world.

Brown & Levinson's (1987) politeness framework has also been challenged on account of the ranking of their politeness strategies and its universal character. Coupland et al. (1988) argue that the proposed ranking is relative, allowing for different interpretations in different social and cultural contexts. Even though there is no clear and definite solution offered as a counterargument to this particular ranking, its use is still problematic unless one takes into consideration that politeness is culture specific.

The level of analysis of Brown & Levinson's (1987) politeness framework, namely the speech act level, is also considered problematic. In response to that, Ide et al. (1992) suggest a more communicative approach to politeness. They stress the importance of 'volition', that is, the speakers' free choice, in contrast to 'discernment' — *wakimae* in Japanese — the second most important feature of polite behaviour in Japanese language community. They worry less than Brown & Levinson (1987) about the structural elements of polite linguistic performance and show that the underlying notion of politeness is, in fact, smooth communication. Held (1992, p. 145) claims that politeness is all about avoiding the fear of 'being bitten' during discourse, following Zimmermann's (1985, p. 145) linkage of the notion with a psychological model that relates politeness to real 'fear of disharmony in relationships'. O'Driscoll (2007) maintains that Brown & Levinson's (1987) politeness framework, to which he refers as facework, has value only on the individual level, that is, from the Speaker's perspective. Utterances and sentences are acclaimed as confined speech elements to identify whether politeness considerations are at play and a more elaborate approach is suggested, even by Brown & Levinson (1987, p. 235) themselves; "FTAs ... can generate well-structured sequences of turns", allowing us to assume that an analysis on the discourse or conversational level is plausible. In that line and more radically, Haugh (2013) and Tracy (2017) suggest that face and politeness should be untied from each other and be studied separately, as two meaningful research areas in their own right.

The three sociological variables of P, D and R have also invited criticism, as research shows that a larger number of factors affect interactions and the performance of FTAs, particularly considering that there is an interplay between linguistics and social psychology (Kasper, 1990; Spencer-Oatey, 1996). On the one hand, Holtgraves (1986), for instance, divides D in closeness and attraction, where the latter refers to the condition of liking or disliking one another. Similarly, Slugoski & Turnbull (1988) and Brown & Gilman (1989) argue that D should be weighed separately from affect, their term to differentiate between liking and disliking someone. On the other hand, P may be less controversial due to its one-dimensional nature, yet its variable interpretation in different cultural settings allows for various aspects of power relations to be aired in interactions. For Brown & Levinson (1987), for example, P describes the degree to which the H can impose his/her plans on the S, but for Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) P translates to social dominance in a given role relationship. Alternatively, a number of scholars (i.e. Holtgraves, 1986; Wood & Kroger, 1991) correlate P with social status, hence one can be superordinate, subordinate or equal with another in any social setting.

The distinction of politeness in positive and negative has also been criticised with regard to its scalar evaluation from low to high universally. According to Scollon & Scollon (1981, cited in Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 18), “positive politeness is naturally escalated in interaction... and hence unstable, [whereas] negative politeness, lacking the escalating feedback loop, tends to be stable”. Ultimately, there is no comparison between the two types of politeness expression with one being more polite than the other, rather every culture resort to the strategies, which either address the positive face or avoid the threat of the negative face in an interaction (Watts, 2003); what happens in between is open to investigation, with the potentiality of exploring a wide range of politeness types globally, ranging from the one end of the spectrum to the other.

Positive and negative politeness, as an approach to analysing speech acts, has gained popularity after Brown & Levinson's (1987) politeness framework was introduced, in particular with regard to the level of (in)directness of the speech act. The next subsection presents the key research towards this direction.

### 2.1.3.3 Politeness and (In)directness

On discussing politeness as a cardinal element of pragmatics, Leech (1983) agrees with Brown & Levinson's (1978) challenge of Grice's (1975) CP. He maintains that the "CP does not sufficiently explain the relation between sense and force, nor does it explain why people are so indirect in conveying what they mean" (ibid. 80). Leech (1983) attributes the importance of politeness to this gap and maintains that the PP is a necessary counterbalance to achieve successful communication. He argues that indirectness, which is negatively associated with relevance, comes with a preparatory and an ulterior illocutionary aim (ibid. 99); first, to test the H's readiness to a proposition, and then, to extract his/her actual reaction to the proposition. For example, when asking *Can you give me your pen?*, the preparatory goal is to check the H's ability to pass on their pen, whereas the ulterior goal is to make the H pass their pen on to the S. The actual request is not semantically transparent, for the H could respond by only confirming his/her ability to pass their pen on to the S and not by ultimately doing so. With regard to speech acts and impositives in particular, Leech (1983) emphasises the value of Tact, which he discusses as one kind of politeness in the English-speaking society. He stresses that there is a scale of Tact in impositives, namely the cost-benefit scale, the optionality scale, and the indirectness scale. The first scale refers to the interlocutors' positive and negative output of an imposing speech act, the second to the interlocutors' choice to either make or react to an imposing speech act, and the third to the degree of obliquity in performing or interpreting an imposing speech act. Ultimately, for Leech (1983) the H's freedom to refuse an imposition by the S makes an impositive polite.

Taking the discussion of (in)directness further, Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) are opposed to Brown & Levinson's (1987) claim that increasing indirectness generates more polite requests. They reconsider this approach and propose a distinction between conventional and non-conventional indirectness. In her definition of conventional and non-conventional indirect requests, Blum-Kulka (1987, p. 141) explains that the former presuppose a "systematic reference to some precondition needed for [their] realisation [and understanding]", whereas the latter are open-ended and flexible with regard to their formulation and reception. To make this clear, a conventionally indirect request would be, for example, *Would you please turn the radio off?*, whereas a non-conventionally indirect request would be *We don't want the neighbours to complain, do we?*. In the first example, contextual preconditions help the hearer to understand the utterance, while in the second example, the hearer's understanding depends mostly on his/her interpretation of the request. For Blum-Kulka et al. (1989, p. 132) politeness is "associated" with conventional indirectness.

Aligning with Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989) cross-cultural examination of (in)directness, a number of scholars discuss politeness within this frame. Sifianou (1992) and Ogiermann (2009a), for example, compare requestive patterns in English and Greek, and English and German, Polish, Russian, respectively. In their case, directness is not disassociated from politeness, rather it is perceived as the conventional way of requesting in these particular language and cultural settings. Likewise, Kasanga (2006) argues that speakers of Sepedi consider directness more polite than conventional indirectness. Hamza (cited in Mills & Grainger, 2016) argues that Arabs favour directness even when they speak in English, and in particular in situations that the native English speakers would resort to indirectness. Therefore, one can assume that (in)directness, irrespective of whether it is evaluated positively or negatively, is conventionalised in one form or the other in cultures around the world.



Terkourafi (2002, 2003, 2015a, 2015b), aiming to lay the ground for a truly universal approach to politeness research, reframes (in)directness by redefining conventionality — conventionalisation in her words. Terkourafi's (2015a, p. 15) definition of the term is as follows:

I consider an expression to be conventionalized for some use relative to a context for a speaker if it is used frequently enough in that context to achieve a particular illocutionary goal to that speaker's experience. This makes conventionalization a three-way relationship between an expression, a context, and a speaker.

For Terkourafi (2002, 2015a), the frequency of use of particular linguistic structures in familiar contexts by speakers regularly exposed to these contexts allows for proper readings of the situations, irrespective of their positive or negative pragmatic considerations. For instance, imperatives as requests, which are considered imposing and less polite in a number of Western languages and cultures, are the expected way of requesting in Cypriot Greek, to the point that not only they are interpreted as such, but they also cause no discomfort to the hearer. Terkourafi's (2002, 2015a, 2015b) approach to politeness depends on a habitual use of the language, contrary to traditional approaches relying on rationality. The meta-knowledge of not *what* is meant by an utterance but *how often* it is meant in a given context (Terkourafi, 2015a, original emphasis) is the kernel of conventionalisation; a suggestion towards politeness research with focus on politeness 2 (for politeness 1 and politeness 2, see 2.1.3.4 below).

Politeness research was repositioned from structure-oriented to discourse-oriented since the early nineties. The next subsection of this chapter reviews the discursive approaches to politeness research, leading to the most current discussions of a potential in-depth re-evaluation of politeness research.

#### 2.1.3.4 Towards Discourse-oriented Politeness Theories

Moving away from the structure-based approaches, research in politeness since the early 1990s took a discourse-oriented turn. What is meant by discourse-oriented is that conversational elements are considered to be of greater importance than grammatical ones. Fraser's (1990) approach, for example, synthesises the essence of politeness in rules about turn-taking, intonation, and the like. Janney & Arndt (1992) suggest a more 'emotive communication' approach, with considerations about attitudes, feelings and other states that affect the interlocutors' behaviour. They account for para- and non-linguistic elements, such as tone of voice, facial expressions, other vocal and kinesic characteristics. Eelen (2001), who scrutinises some of the most influential politeness models thereto, maintains that politeness should be divided in politeness 1 and politeness 2, where politeness 1 refers to ordinary speakers and politeness 2 to researchers. He argues that "politeness research should focus on the processes of constructing social reality and evaluations of politeness as particular representations of reality" (Eelen, 2001, pp. 247-248).

Spencer-Oatey (2002) suggests politeness should be examined within the sociological and psychological context that surrounds it, alongside with all the elements of discourse that reveal the interlocutors' efforts to manage rapport, that is, harmony, in communication. She re-opens the discussion of face and add on what they call sociality rights. The former refers to one's personal value, their own "sense of worth, credibility, dignity, honour, reputation, competence and so on" (Spencer-Oatey, 2002, p. 540), whereas the latter to one's "concerns over fairness, consideration, social inclusion/exclusion and so on" (Spencer-Oatey, 2002, p. 540). She furthermore divides face in quality face (one's personal self-esteem) and social identity face (one's sense of public worth), as well as sociality rights to equity rights (cost-benefit and autonomy-imposition relations) and association rights (interactional association/dissociation and affective

association/dissociation relations). She maintains that all the above play pivotal role in rapport management, ergo politeness, within the interaction.

Watts (2003) endeavours a redefinition of politeness in culture-specific and discourse-oriented terms. He argues in favour of a model, which does not define politeness within the boundaries of specific linguistic use; instead, it allows lay people to evaluate verbal interaction as polite or impolite. Watts specifically makes a distinction between politeness<sub>1</sub> and politeness<sub>2</sub>, mirroring Eelen's (2001) approach; the former refers to the perception of politeness by lay people, those who are asked to evaluate politeness in his model, and the latter to the perception and analysis of politeness by scholars. He associates politeness with politic behaviour, which he defines as the appropriate language use within specific social constraints. He, then, uses his definition to support his claims that the underpinning notion of being polite lies in this very behaviour. In other words, he suggests that politeness is a 'relational work', on which individuals invest in an ongoing negotiation with others.

Following Watts' (2003) paradigm, Mills (2003) explores the complex relationship between politeness and gender. Her work on behavioural stereotypes provides evidence, which reveals, contrary to what is widely believed, that women are not necessarily more polite than men, but can be just as impolite in certain circumstances. Redefining impoliteness, Culpeper (2011, 2012), who initially discusses impoliteness drawing from politeness theories with regard to face considerations, reinforces the argument that specific social constraints play a pivotal role in (im)polite behaviour. In his words (Culpeper, 2011, p. 23), "Impoliteness is a negative attitude towards specific behaviours occurring in specific contexts".

Terkourafi (2002, 2005a, 2005b, 2011, 2012, 2015b) claims that politeness can be analysed and discussed with regard to frames — a term borrowed from artificial intelligence, which refers to stereotyped situations — and formulaicity. She argues that frequency of use

of specific linguistic structures, such as requests with modal verbs (*Can I borrow your pen?*), in certain social contexts overrides any in situ evaluations by the interlocutors. Speakers become accustomed to using conventionalised structures and, therefore, exhibit identifiable politeness by both parties while interacting. In the same line, Kádár & Haugh (2013) argue in favour of politeness as a social practice, which requires the evaluations of everyone participating in the process, even of those who practically do not participate in real time, that is, there and then. To make this clearer, their definition of politeness is an amalgam of how participants, meta-participants<sup>6</sup>, observers, bystanders, and literally everyone directly or indirectly involved in the process, actually perceive the process itself. The notions of space and time, then, are arguably influential, allowing for evaluations of politeness not only synchronically, but also diachronically. It is within these parameters that they frame their perception of how conventional linguistic use may be part of a wider scheme of approaching politeness the same way Terkourafi (2015) proclaims.

Terkourafi (2008, pp. 64-65) also maintains that politeness is divided in ‘marked’ and ‘unmarked’, with the former referring to the S’s doubts about the perlocutionary effect of the interaction on the H’s reaction. The latter, instead, allows speakers to detect in advance the perlocutionary effect of an utterance and predict hearers’ reactions. In other words, non-conventionalised instances of communication bear the risk of making an FTA. It is within unmarked situations that interlocutors worry less about politeness considerations. In marked social interactions, the question asked is whether there are any means whatsoever that the S can utilise to avoid threatening the H’s face.

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<sup>6</sup> Metaparticipants are considered those, who participate and evaluate the politeness level of an interaction at a later stage than the one of the actual interaction.

#### 2.1.4 Pragmatic Competence in L2

Learning a second language is a process, which requires attention not only to linguistic elements of that language, but to extra-linguistic as well. Excellence is achieved when one uses an L2 successfully at all occasions, that is, in different communication contexts. Schmidt (1995) argues in favour of both *noticing* and *understanding* (emphasis added), where the first is typically related to grammar excellence and the second to context awareness. In that line, the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment (CEFR)* requires much more than grammatical proficiency to evaluate L2 learning of a European language as adequate and complete. Learners should be also equipped with general and communicative language competences<sup>7</sup>. General competences, on the one hand, consist of knowledge, skills, the know-how, existential competence and the ability of the individual to learn. Communicative language competences, on the other hand, consist of linguistic, sociolinguistic and pragmatic competence. The interest of the present study focuses on the latter.

Introducing the notion of competence, Hymes (1972) identifies that communicative competence depends on (tacit) knowledge and the ability to use this knowledge. One of the core elements that define this concept is what he names ‘appropriateness’ related to context, a dimension of communication mostly related to pragmatics. Scholars, such as Savignon (1991), further support this observation by maintaining that communicative competence consists of grammatical and pragmatic competence. Ellis (1994) argues that the latter refers to the successful interaction with one’s interlocutors, including the effective use of speech acts, such as the speech act of request, which the current project investigates. Relevantly, Schmidt (1995, p. 30), while discussing L2 learning, argues that:

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<sup>7</sup> The full text of CEFR is available online at <https://www.coe.int/en/web/common-european-framework-reference-languages>. For details on general and communicative language competences, see pp. 101-130 (<https://rm.coe.int/1680459f97>).

In pragmatics, awareness that on a particular occasion someone says to their interlocutor something like, “I’m terribly sorry to bother you, but if you have time could you look at this problem?” is a matter of noticing. Relating the various forms used to their strategic deployment in the service of politeness and recognizing their co-occurrence with elements of context such as social distance, power, level of imposition and so on, are all matters of understanding.

Following Hyme’s (1972) theory of communicative competence, three proposals illustrate and embody pragmatic elements in language learning (Kasper & Ross, 2013): Canale & Swain’s (1980) framework of communicative competence for L2 teaching and testing, Bachman & Palmer’s (1996) model of communicative language ability, and Purpura’s (2008) theoretical model of language ability. Canale & Swain (1980), whose framework revolutionised L2 learning, challenge the Chomskyan (1965) notion of competence for lacking reference to the appropriateness of utterances in the sociolinguistic context. Instead, they propose a broader approach of learning by highlighting not only the significance of grammar, but also of social context and discourse. Their framework segregates competence in grammatical competence, sociolinguistic competence, and strategic competence. First, grammatical competence refers to the “knowledge of lexical items and of rules of morphology, syntax, sentence-grammar semantics, and phonology” (Canale & Swain, 1980, p. 29). Then, sociolinguistic competence accounts for the learner’s knowledge of specific “sociocultural rules of use and rules of discourse” (Canale & Swain, 1980, p. 30), in order to manage communication successfully even in oblique interactions. Lastly, strategic competence refers to “verbal and non-verbal strategies”, which can be employed to counterbalance any potential communication breakdown (Canale & Swain, 1980, p. 30).

Bachman & Palmer (1996) build their own model of communicative language ability on Canale & Swain’s (1980) theoretical approach. Its principle contribution is identified in the assessment of both linguistic and non-linguistic elements of communication in L2

learning, namely the learner's language knowledge in collaboration with the context of use of this knowledge. They divide language knowledge to organisational and pragmatic. Organisational knowledge refers to L2 speakers' ability to successfully and correctly use grammar while producing spoken or written language. Pragmatic knowledge accounts for learners' competence to convey meaningful and contextually appropriate sentences, utterances, propositions and texts. They further divide organisational knowledge to grammatical and textual, therein vocabulary and syntax vis a vis cohesion in discourse, and pragmatic knowledge to functional and sociolinguistic, namely the know-how of conveying language functions vis a vis relating language to context. Even though Purpura (2008) acknowledges Bachman & Palmer's (1996) model as highly influential in L2 teaching and learning, he suggests a more refined theoretical version, which clarifies 'meaning' and explains how grammar armours speakers with the means to communicate both literal and pragmatic (i.e. sociocultural) meanings to their interlocutors.

All three aforementioned models highlight the significance of the two components, which comprise language proficiency, namely 'pragmatic knowledge' and 'processing' (Bialystok, 1993) this knowledge. They refer to the learner's ability to recognise and produce propositional intentions and, at the same time, use them successfully in discourse. In other words, pragmatic competence, as part of the broader communicative competence, plays a pivotal role in the L2 setting, as an integral element of successful language learning.

The *CEFR*, as aforementioned, aims to equip learners with the ability to communicate successfully on all levels of proficiency. The different levels of L2 learners' proficiency are determined with regard to their competences (general and communicative). Pragmatic competence, which is part of communicative competence and the core element of the present study, consists of discourse and functional competence. Discourse competence consists of flexibility to circumstances, such as the social setting or the interlocutors, appropriate turn taking in interaction, thematic development upon discussion, and coherence and cohesion in

speech. Functional competence relates with spoken fluency, that is, the ability to effortlessly hold a conversation about any topic, and with propositional precision, which refers to the clarity of one's thoughts and transmitted meanings. It is worth mentioning that communicative competence also incorporates linguistic and sociolinguistic competence. Linguistic competence refers to grammar, phonology, morphology, and orthography, whereas sociolinguistic competence refers to linguistic markers and social relations, politeness conventions, expressions of folk wisdom, register, and dialects and accents.

#### 2.1.5 Cross-linguistic Influence in L2

Cross-linguistic influence, or transfer, typically refers to the study of bidirectional influence of two or more languages. The term originates in the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century and early 20<sup>th</sup> Century in German philological texts as *hinübertragen* and *übertragen*, which translates to 'carry on', and is then borrowed by behavioural psychologists as *transfer* (Odlin, 2016). Transfer is introduced in L2 research in the 1950's by scholars such as Weinreich (1953) and Lado (1957) and expands widely in the 1980's (Yu & Odlin, 2015). Since Odlin's (1989) work on transfer, which he maintains is a factor of high importance in second language acquisition, research has made pivotal steps towards this direction of analysing the problematic nature of L2 acquisition (Takahashi, 1996; Triantafillidou & Hedgcock, 2007; Schwieter, 2011; Bou-Franch, 2012; Young-Scholten, 2013; Bella, 2014, just to mention a few). According to his definition of the term, "transfer is the influence resulting from the similarities and differences between the target language and any other language that has been previously (and perhaps imperfectly) acquired" (Odlin, 1989, p. 27). The present study focalises on the influence that L1 may have on the acquisition and production of L2, with regard to the speech act of request and politeness.



Odlin (1989) discusses transfer in four areas of linguistic performance, one of which is discourse<sup>8</sup> and incorporates, among other areas, politeness and requests. He distinguishes between positive transfer, namely the productive combination of similarities of the L1 and L2, and negative transfer, which justifies how errors in L2 are related to L1. He also lists a number of extra-linguistic factors, which affect transfer, such as personality of the speaker, aptitude for phonetic mimicry, proficiency in L2, literacy, age, foreign accents, multilingualism on behalf of the speaker, learners' perception of the target L2, social context, and even demographic influence. He highlights the necessity for intensive research on this area of linguistic performance, stressing that transfer affects the communicative nature of language use. His concern stems from observable misunderstandings related to politeness, which he characterises as 'dangerous' (Odlin, 1989, p. 69).

Kellerman (1995), in his work on transfer, also discusses the interrelation of L1 and L2. He maintains that differences between L1 and L2 may enhance transfer more than similarities, accepting Andersen's (1983) hypothesis about *transfer to somewhere*. However, he suggests that transfer may occur at a more abstract level, that is, where language and cognition meet. He names his hypothesis *transfer to nowhere*, complementing Andersen (1983), and highlights that it refers more to differences "in the way languages predispose their speakers to conceptualise experience" (Kellerman, 1995, p. 137) and less to grammatical elements.

Recently, Jarvis & Pavlenko (2008) have referred to transfer with the term cross-linguistic influence (CLI), which is used interchangeably with transfer throughout the analysis of the current research. Contrary to Odlin (1989), they distinguish discursive from pragmatic transfer. The former refers to the organisation and production of spoken and written conversation, whereas the latter, which applies to the present study, investigates

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<sup>8</sup> Odlin (1989) does not distinguish between pragmatics and discourse, so he uses the second to describe both.

illocutions and speech acts cross-linguistically. In alignment with Odlin’s (1989) suggestion of the factors that affect transferability, they have proposed a more analytical distinction. Their fivefold categorisation consists of a) linguistic and psycholinguistic factors, b) cognitive, attentional, and developmental factors, c) language experience and knowledge factors, d) learning environment factors, and e) factors related to language use, as presented in Table 2.3 below, alongside with the distinct micro-levelled features of each category.

Jarvis & Pavlenko’s (2008) Factors that Affect Transferability					
Factors	Features of each category				
<b>Linguistic and psycholinguistic factors</b>	Cross-linguistic similarity	Area of language use	Frequency, recency, and salience	Markedness and prototypicality	Linguistic context
<b>Cognitive, attentional, and developmental factors</b>	Level of cognitive maturity	Developmental and universal acquisition processes	Cognitive language learning abilities	Attention to and awareness of language	
<b>Language experience and knowledge factors</b>	Age	Length, frequency, and intensity of language exposure	Length of residence in a particular linguistic environment	General level of proficiency	Number and order of acquired languages
<b>Learning environment factors</b>	Type of language exposure	Degree of attention to formal language properties			
<b>Factors related to language use</b>	Idiolect	Level of formality	Interlocutor	Task type	

Table 2.3 Jarvis & Pavlenko's (2008) Factors that Affect Transferability

The research questions detailed in this study meet the criteria of three categories, namely those of linguistic and psycholinguistic, language experience and knowledge, and factors related to language use. In particular, the first category includes factors such as cross-linguistic similarity and linguistic context, the second includes details such as length of residence<sup>9</sup> in the target country, whereas the third category highlights levels of correlation with formality of the discourse or the interlocutors.

As research moves forward and CLI gains popularity in the multi-linguistic setting, Jarvis & Pavlenko (2008) summarise the key points of the subject in the existing literature. They categorise the relevant research areas and analyse their main parts. The identified dimensions, which reveal the typology of CLI, are ten: 1) area of language knowledge/use, which is subdivided in nine categories, namely phonological, orthographic, lexical, semantic, morphological, syntactic, discursive, pragmatic, and sociolinguistic; 2) directionality, which consists of four directions: forward, reverse, lateral, and bi- or multi-directional; 3) cognitive level, at which CLI is linguistic or conceptual; 4) type of knowledge, which describes CLI that occurs implicitly or explicitly; 5) intentionality, under which two types of CLI are listed, that is, intentional and unintentional; 6) mode, which refers to productive or receptive CLI; 7) channel, which encompasses aural and visual CLI; 8) form, which describes CLI as either verbal or nonverbal ; 9) manifestation, which detects over or covert CLI; and 10) outcome, which accounts for the outcome of the process that can result in positive or negative CLI (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, pp. 20-26).

In order to make clear how the aforementioned framework underpins linguistic research, an example is provided below, which applies to all ten dimensions of CLI.

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<sup>9</sup> For the purpose of the present study, length of residence in the target country is used interchangeably with the term length of stay or contact. It is, also, measurable with regard to the total stay of the participants in England in months and years. For details, see Section 3.6.

(11) *Give me your pen.*

The area of language use is within pragmatics (dimension 1), since the interest relies on the speech act of request. The directionality of CLI is forward (dimension 2), that is, from L1 Greek to L2 English. Cognitively, CLI is linguistic (dimension 3) and the type of knowledge suggested is explicit (dimension 4). There is no intentionality for CLI (dimension 5), mode-related is productive (dimension 6) and the channel is aural (dimension 7). Its form is verbal (dimension 8), manifested overtly (dimension 9) and its outcome is negative (dimension 10), because such an utterance strikes as too direct and impolite to a native speaker of English (ENL1); nonetheless, it would not necessarily strike as such to a GRL1. Sifianou (1992), as has already been noted, provides evidence on that preference of GRL1 towards directness<sup>10</sup> and of ENL1 towards indirectness. So, even though GRL1 of English are taught how to perform a proper request in the target language from their very early stages of L2 acquisition, it is likely that they transfer their own linguistic patterns, when they feel at ease and in their comfort zone. The current study draws from ‘pragmatic errors’ as the above and examines to what extent it is possible that such a practice is preferred by GRL1 speakers of English as an L2. The rationale is to determine if this practice serves as CLI between GRL1 native language and English and if so, whether CLI is affected by contextual learning factors.

Research on transfer has traditionally focused on speakers’ ‘errors’ while performing in the target language. Such errors comprise what is considered as negative transfer. However, it is possible to attest other manifestations of CLI as well. Ellis (1994, pp. 302-306) summarises the common areas of linguistic use, during which speakers of an L2 are

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<sup>10</sup> Both Greek and English context may favour directness under certain circumstances, i.e. a cry for help, though the Greek language setting allows for a more instantiated preference.

communicatively ineffective, as follows: a) errors (negative transfer), b) facilitation (positive transfer), c) avoidance, and d) over-use. Errors refer to mistakes that speakers do when they try to combine details of their native language with details of the target language. Facilitation is the successful combination of linguistic elements of the two languages, native and non-native. Avoidance represents the choices that L2 speakers do in order to save themselves from unfortunate mistakes and over-use relies in the repetition of certain linguistic patterns, so as to exhibit familiarity with L2 or accomplish communicative competence in L2.

Considering Example (11), *Give me your pen*, it is clear that this utterance falls in the category of errors and negative transfer. Imperatives in English are mainly used for commands and instructions (Sifianou, 1992). ENL1 speakers would most likely perform the speech act of request as *Can you give me your pen please?*, or *Can I borrow your pen please?*, or even *Do you mind if I borrow your pen?*. The indirectness element, the addition of the politeness marker *please*, and even the vastly preferred first person as subjectivizer and mitigating device (*Can I...*, *Do you mind if I...*), indicate a more polite way of requesting. However, the direct, clear-cut *Give me your pen* suggests impoliteness on behalf of the speaker, unless there is high proximity between the speakers. And even though for a GRL1 speaker of English the result of each separate way of requesting would be the same, that is, obtain the pen, for an ENL1 a direct request like the one in Example (11) could result in discomfort, unease, and potentially refusal to give their pen. In such a case, the discussion would be surrounding communication break-down, which is one of the reasons the project investigates these areas of linguistic communication; that is, to identify communication fouts, what causes them, and provide L2 learners the means to successfully communicate in the L2 setting.

Nonetheless, native Greek and English speakers share common requestive patterns that can resort to positive transfer as well. For example, *Can you give me your pen?* translates to ‘Μπορείς να μου δώσεις το στυλό σου;’ /boris na mu dosis to stilo sou;/ (singular) or

‘Μπορείτε να μου δώσετε το στυλό σας;’ /borite na mu dosete to stilo sas;/ (plural). Although *can* is conventionalised in English and considered as an informal way of requesting in a setting of familiarity between interlocutors, ‘μπορώ’ /boro/ denotes formality in Greek (Sifianou, 1992). Notwithstanding the difference in use, the structure exists in both languages and exemplifies what can potentially signify positive transfer with facilitation or over-use. The aim of the current study is to explore all possible transfer manifestations and not focus only on negative transfer.

## 2.2 Research Background

The following section of the chapter provides a presentation of the research elements that highlight the theoretical parts of the thesis, namely the speech act of request in L2 on the one hand, CLI from L1 to L2 on the other hand, and the notion of politeness with regard to both.

### 2.2.1 Acquiring Pragmatic Competence in L2

It has been formerly highlighted that learning an L2 is not only a matter of acquiring the grammatical system of the target language or enriching the vocabulary lexicon. Reading situations and knowing how to properly give an apology or make a statement or a request will secure successful communication with members of the target society. Linguistic appropriateness and politeness, for instance, add to pragmatic competence in L2 and the interplay with L1 proves valuable for research, in particular the current one.

Adopting the pragmatic, socio-pragmatic and pragma-linguistic norms of a society provides non-native speakers with the pledge to successfully interact with native speakers. Nonetheless, teaching a language as an L2 is a complex procedure from a pragmatic perspective. Thomas (1983) discusses pragmatic failure both on a socio-pragmatic and a pragma-linguistic level and maintains that, even though the latter is easily amendable, the former is not. She insists that L2 pragmatic competence is learnable and invites scholars to

focus more on “what is meant” and less on “what is said” (Thomas, 1983, p. 109). Kasper (1997), however, disputes whether pragmatic competence is actually teachable, whereas Bardovi-Harlig & Dornyei (1998) and Bella (2012b), who detect insufficient pragmatic awareness by L2 learners, highlight the significance of balancing teaching between grammar and pragmatics, so as to achieve competence in both. Kasper & Rose (2002a) intensively emphasize the role of instruction in acquiring L2 pragmatics and, in the same line, Bardovi-Harlig (2009) identifies conventional expressions as a successful point of departure towards L2 pragmatic competence. Ifantidou (2013), who maintains that L2 pragmatic competence can actually be taught, supports her argument by presenting the results of a longitudinal study on explicit instruction, according to which her informants showed a ‘marked improvement’ in the specific pragmatic task of inference.

While shifting the focus to politeness as proof of pragmatic competence, in particular to techniques of requesting in L2, a number of factors arise, which may either impede the natural process of learning, or enhance it. The role of L1 is one of these factors, verifying how difficult it can be to comply with or diverge from the differences, and even the similarities of the target language. Contrary to Blum-Kulka et al.’s (1989) approach of (in)directness in requests, Lee (2011) favours an approach to politeness cognitively, that is outside the spectrum of theories which limit its kernel to socio-cultural and/or grammatical appropriateness only. He compares how Chinese L2 learners of English (intermediate and high intermediate) and native English speakers perceive the notion of politeness; and even though his focus remains on politeness as a concept, he differentiates it from appropriateness. On that basis, he attempts to explain why Chinese L2 speakers of English are considered as ‘impolite’ by native English speakers. The results assert that, although the two cultures share common mechanisms of identifying social status and hierarchy, native English speakers tend to evaluate Chinese L2 learners’ request patterns as impolite, or at least less polite than their own. In other words, Chinese L2 learners’ pragmatic competence is insufficient to the extent

that communication with native English speakers becomes problematic. The author maintains that such a turnout of his research bears important information about how different societies, and even each member of these societies, conceptualizes and produces successful requests in terms of politeness.

In the same line, Halenko & Jones (2011) account for the significance of teaching in competently acquiring English for Academic Purposes (EAP) by Chinese students. The study lies in the field of interlanguage pragmatics (ILP), investigating how effectively students identify and produce the speech act of request in the academic setting. Comparison of the results attests that, even though the learners have benefited from the process of additional teaching, they show incapacity to retain those benefits. Likewise, Kuhl & Jadidi (2012) maintain that the knowledge of politeness strategies by Iranian L2 learners when requesting in English, places them at an advance level and provides them with a significant repository of appropriate usages of the English language. They use indirect politeness strategies more frequently, with a slight variation in terms of gender specification; male participants exhibit higher rates of understanding politeness. However, when participants are asked to evaluate the levels of politeness of requests, they manifest a significant lack of communicative and pragmatic competence and, consequently, fail to rate them appropriately. And even though for Allami & Boustani (2017) Iranian EFL learners underperform when producing requests, apologies, and refusals, it is the evaluation of polite speech act strategies that becomes problematic for Kuhl & Jadidi (2012).

Pragmatic competence in the target language, as presented in Chapter One, is the one element of discussion in this project, whereas length of stay in the target country is the other. The aim is to investigate how the latter affects the former with regard to not only language production, but also comprehension. The importance of contact with the L2 language community is highlighted by Bella (2011), who focuses on invitation refusals by L2 learners of Greek. Her findings indicate that length of residence does not suffice to achieve pragmatic



competence, but intensity of contact with the target community does. Relevantly, Bardovi-Harlig & Bastos (2011) investigate the influence of length of stay in the production of English conventional expressions by L2 learners. Both Bella (2011) and Bardovi-Harlig & Bastos (2011) agree that length of residence is not a standalone factor regarding pragmatic competence in the L2 setting. However, Lundell & Erman (2012) confirm that length of residence in the target language community – English and French in that case – affects socio-pragmatic awareness of the speakers when making requests, but not pragma-linguistic awareness (for the difference between socio-pragmatics and pragma-linguistics, see 2.1.3). Li (2014) explains that two different levels of proficiency, for instance intermediate and advanced, are not directly related with the development of pragmatic awareness while studying abroad.

Bardovi-Harlig (2013) maintains that there is still a substantial number of issues, which have not sufficiently been addressed in L2 pragmatics research. She emphasises the pivotal interrelation between teaching an L2 and pragmatic competence and highlights the areas which she considers influential for research. The effect of environment is one of them and the present study falls under this category, aiming to reinforce the field of pragmatics.

### 2.2.2 The Speech Act of Request in L2

The notion of politeness has been extensively examined in the L2 learning setting in a variety of language combinations. Speech acts have provided suitable ground for investigation, which covers a wide range of interpretations and adds important value to research. Blum-Kulka & Olshtain's (1984, p. 197) suggestion that speech acts are diversely realised in context, according to "(a) intracultural, situational variability; (b) cross-cultural variability; (c) individual variability", proves to be valid, considering the results of the CCSARP (1989) coding scheme and its extensive use in interlanguage and cross-cultural pragmatics. They armoured L2 research of requests with a valuable tool, namely the categorisation of request

types according to the level of directness/indirectness involved in the communicative act. Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989) framework has received large acceptance by scholars, who investigate politeness in requests (Van Mulken, 1996; Suh, 1999; Pinto, 2005; Pinto & Raschio, 2007; Lin, 2009; Al-Marrani & Sazalie, 2010; Halenko & Jones, 2011; Lundell & Erman, 2012; Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2013; Syahri, 2013; Khalib & Tayeh, 2014; Shareef, Qyrrio, & Ali, 2018, among many others) — or apologies, although not examined in the current project.

Drawing on (in)directness, Pinto & Raschio (2007) explore the requestive patterns of Spanish heritage speakers, native Mexican Spanish speakers, and native English speakers in both Spanish and English. The results of their study confirm that heritage speakers' requestive competence bears noteworthy similarities with L2 English learners' requestive patterns. They share similar levels of indirectness when performing requests, contrary to Mexican Spanish native speakers, who favour directness. Al-Marrani & Sazalie (2010) suggest that Yemeni EFL (English as a Foreign Language) learners produce more polite, that is, indirect, requests in the target language when they have less P or D from the hearer. Their research also confirms that conventionality in the requesters' linguistic patterns is directly related to higher P and D from the requestee. Indirectness and conventionality are not primarily materialised in their native language. However, Economidou-Kogetsidis (2011) analyses the email trails of Greek Cypriot non-native speakers of English to the British members of their faculty. She confirms that the students manifest highly direct strategies of requesting, with a significantly low use of downgraders, greetings, and appropriate to the British context closings, all properties of language use that can potentially lead to communication breakdowns with British native speakers. Nonetheless, Khalib & Tayeh's (2014) investigation of the strategies that Malay university students employ when performing requests in English within the academic environment reveals different results. The degree of directness or indirectness the informants employ in situations marked with P

and D is determined through social conduct and positive transfer from L1 to L2. Therefore, conventionally indirect requests are the most favoured in both Malay and English.

González-Cruz (2014) is one of the scholars that adopts an analysis following CCSARP framework, in combination with Brown & Levinson's (1987) politeness framework. Her aim is to examine what strategies Canarian Spanish students prefer when they make requests in their native language on the one hand, and in a non-native language (English) on the other. The results reveal that directness in the target language appears in situations with high level of familiarity or social power from the speaker's end, whereas conventionally hearer-oriented indirectness is related to social distance.

The academic setting seems to provide solid grounds to examine requests, directness/indirectness, politeness, and pragmatic competence in L2 performance. After all, internationalisation in education is a noticeable tendency in present times. Tabatabaei & Samiee (2013) investigate the relationship between Iranian EFL (English as a Foreign Language) learners and native English speakers. Their target is to identify whether the former transfer their pragmatic patterns, when they make requests in L2 (English), and if there is any correlation between these patterns and those of the native speakers. Their results invalidate their hypothesis that pragmatic transfer from Iranian L1 in English L2 occurs and confirm that request patterns of Iranian EFL learners and native English do not correlate. Drawing on this paradigm, it is interesting to evaluate the possible CLI from L1 to L2 in other language pairs as well, which might produce different results.

The speech act of request in the L2 setting is also examined with the assistance of other research tools, such as role plays (i.e. Taguchi, 2006; Lundell & Erman, 2012) and corpora analysis (i.e. Lin, 2009; Terkourafi, 2011). The results of those studies are interpreted variously, but most of them, which focus on politeness, make reference to Brown & Levinson's politeness framework (1987), or Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989) directness/indirectness categorisation of requests (i.e. Le Pair, 1996; Schlund, 2014).

Although Brown & Levinson (1987) have received severe criticism for their suggestion that face wants are universal — from Blum-Kulka (1987) as well — there are still numerous studies, which find their categorisation of negative and positive politeness valuable. And even if most of the studies focusing on Chinese or Japanese cultures discard their theory, there are others, which prove its value even in an Eastern culture setting (i.e. Chen, He, & Hu, 2013).

### 2.2.3 Why Requests?

Sifianou's (1992) work on how politeness is attested in England and Greece facilitates the endeavour of the present study with its outcomes. There are structural and cultural similarities and differences between the two languages and cultures, yet the differences are most notably referred to with regard to the different levels of (in)directness of the speakers, when performing the speech act of request; English native speakers prefer indirectness, whereas Greek native speakers prefer directness. Sifianou (1992) relies on her findings to highlight the cultural filters of Greek and English requestive patterns, maintaining that the Greeks bear in-group-oriented cultural characteristics and, therefore, prefer positive politeness, whereas the English show an out-group-oriented stance in interactions and resort to negative politeness strategies of requesting. To supplement Sifianou's (1992) original findings, a corpus-based<sup>11</sup> presentation of cases is deemed as appropriate to enhance the examples presented below (Figures 2.5–2.26).

The most significant difference demonstrated by the two languages is the use of imperatives. In English, imperatives are predominantly used to express command or instruction, whereas in Greek, the mode is preferred widely in request interactions with family, friends, or colleagues. Examples (12)–(14) show these interactions.

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<sup>11</sup> The corpus tool used to extract instances of L1 Greek requests is Sketch Engine (personal paid subscription). The text corpus is OPUS2 and the subcorpus is OpenSubtitles2011 (transcripts of spoken language).

(12) Μαμά, φέρε μου ένα μολύβι.  
 Mom.SG.VOC fetch.2SG.IMP I.GEN a.SG.ACC.N pencil.SG.ACC.N

‘Mom, fetch me a pencil.’

(13) Ξένια, βάλε το μπουφάν σου.  
 Xenia.SG.VOC wear.2SG.IMP the.SG.ACC.N jacket.SG.ACC.N your.SG.F

‘Xenia, wear your jacket.’

(14) Στείλε τις αναφορές στο  
 Send.2SG.IMP the.PL.ACC.F reports.PL.ACC.F to.the.SG.ACC.M

Γιάννη.

John.SG.ACC

‘Send the reports to John.’

The screenshot shows the SKETCH ENGINE interface. At the top, there is a search bar with the query 'Βάλε το μπουφάν σου' and a search icon. Below the search bar, the results are displayed in a list format. Each result includes a snippet of text from a corpus, the frequency of the query (15 occurrences, 0.05 per million), and a list of related terms or phrases. The results are filtered by the search engine, showing various contexts where the imperative form is used.

Figure 2.5. Examples of Imperative as a Request in Greek

There are cases, where the action that needs to be taken is obvious, therefore there is no need for any structure whatsoever, as in Example (15), when a customer requests for a packet of cigarettes.

- (15) Ένα πακέτο Κάμελ. (ellipsis)  
 a.SG.ACC.N packet.SG.ACC.N Camel  
 ‘A packet of Camel.’

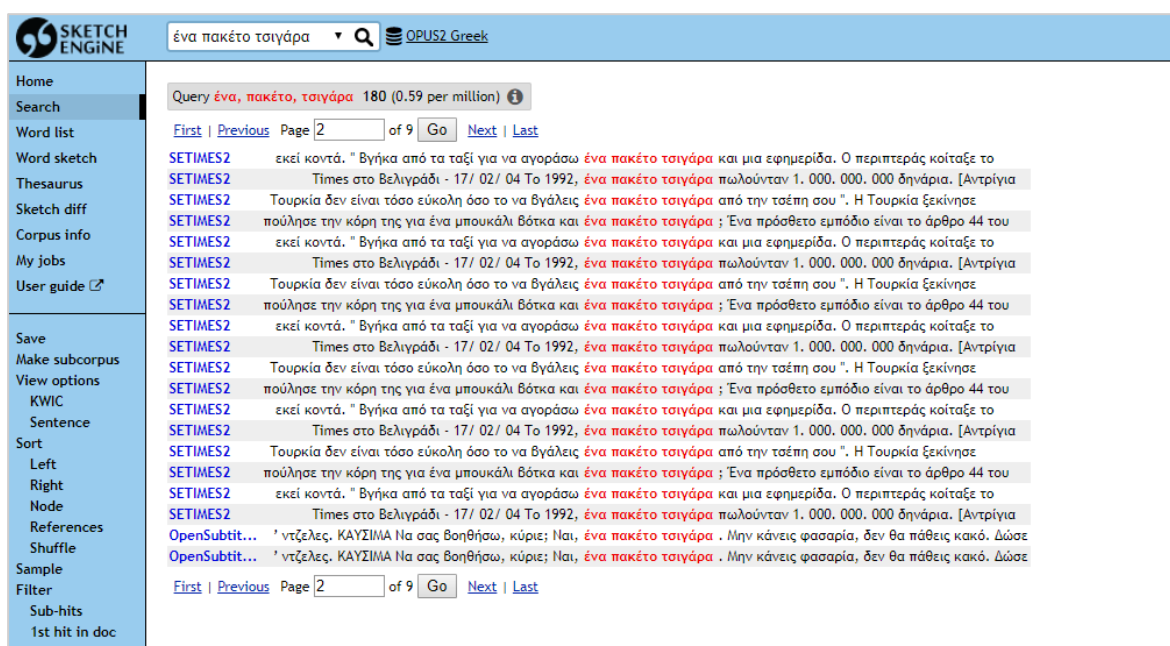


Figure 2.6. Examples of Ellipsis as a Request in Greek

Considering that in Example (15) the speakers are potentially strangers; the structure would have potentially been considered impolite in English. Nonetheless, it would have been acceptable in an emergency situation, for instance calling for an ambulance.

Declaratives, although used in both languages, also bear differences in their usage. For instance, *I'd (would) like* is a conventionalised way of requesting in English, expressing will or desire (Sifianou, 1992). However, the equivalent requestive pattern in Greek is

structured with the verb *θέλω*, which translates to ‘want’, and the future particle *θα*, as in Example (16).

- (16) *Θα ήθελα ένα εισιτήριο.*  
 FUT want.1SG.IPRF a.SG.ACC.N ticket.SG.ACC.N  
 ‘I’d like a ticket.’

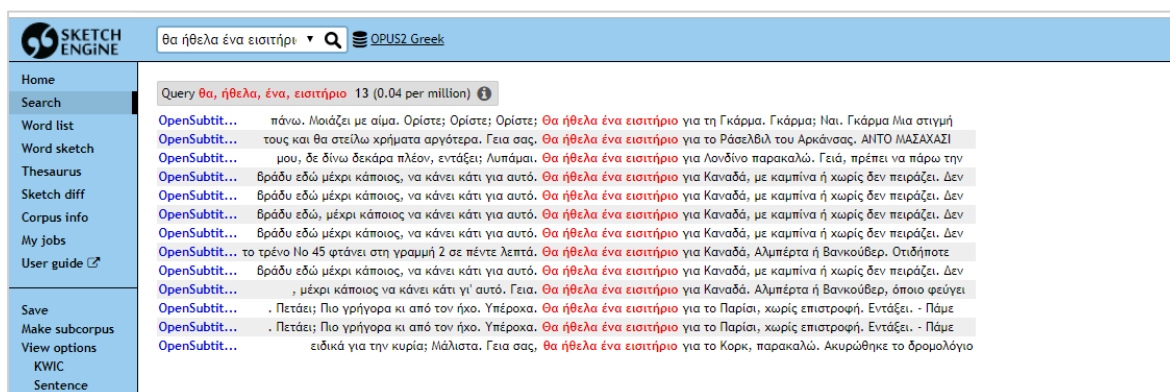


Figure 2.7. Examples of Declarative *θα ήθελα* as a Request in Greek

Even though *I’d like* is considered direct in both English and Greek, it is perceived as more formal in Greek than in English. The equivalent, less formal, format of the verb *θέλω* ‘want’ in Greek is presented in Example (17).

- (17) *Θέλω να φάω ρε Μαρία!*  
 want.1SG.PRS to eat.1SG.PRF FM Maria.VOC  
 ‘I want to eat, [re: familiarity particle] Maria!’

Figure 2.8. Examples of Declarative *θέλω να* as a Request in Greek

A structure like the one in Example (17) is acceptable in Greek, but it is avoided in English for being less polite (Sifianou, 1992).

Interrogatives, which are incorporated in both languages, also show qualitative differences in usage. For instance, subjunctive in interrogative mode, which is the most prominent difference between the two languages, is largely preferred in the Greek language, as indicated in Example (18), but is non-functional in the English.

(18) *Να πάρω το φόρεμά σου;* (subjunctive-request)

to take.1SG.PRF the.SG.ACC.N dress.SG.ACC.N your.SG.F?

‘Can I take [borrow] your dress?’ (modality-request)



SKETCH ENGINE | να πάρω | OPUS2 Greek

Home | Search | Word list | Word sketch | Thesaurus | Sketch diff | Corpus info | My jobs | User guide

Save | Make subcorpus | View options | KWIC | Sentence | Sort | Left | Right | Node | References | Shuffle | Sample | Filter | Sub-hits | 1st hit in doc

Query να, πάρω 21,193 (69.39 per million)

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OpenSubtit... - Αν δεν είμαι πολύ ανάξιος ... .. ελπίζω να πάρω πτυχίο στην γεωπονία. Πτυχία; Γεωπονία; Είναι  
 OpenSubtit... τρομερά. Πού είναι το πιο κοντινό τηλέφωνο; Να πάρω τον πατέρα. Το δικό μου είναι. Δεν υπάρχει ζώνη.  
 OpenSubtit... ή Κινεζικό; Τσάι είπαμε! Προσέκετέ την. Πάω να πάρω τον πατέρα της. - Δεν είδες κανέναν με τικ; -  
 OpenSubtit... Jacques. Θα ήθελα να σε παντρευτώ. Είμαι έτοιμη να πάρω το ρίσκο. Είσαι τρελή! Μην μιλάς γι αυτό. Μη  
 OpenSubtit... . Πίτερ - Ναι μητέρα; - Πήγαινε στον φούρναρη. - Να πάρω την χίνα; - Ναι. Την χίνα! Ποτέ δεν υπήρξε τέτοια  
 OpenSubtit... βλάκας. Ξέρεις, θα μπορούσα να απαντήσω χωρίς να πάρω τα χέρια μου απ' τα δικά σου. Έχω δει να το κάνουν  
 OpenSubtit... και μια σαλάτα. Εντάξει, ευχαριστώ. Ξέχασα να πάρω μoustάρδα. Αυτό ήταν το τέλος. Ωραία εντύπωση  
 OpenSubtit... Μπράουν. Απο δω παρακαλώ. - Σ' ευχαριστώ. Μπορώ να πάρω το καπέλο σας κύριε; - Με συγχωρείτε; - Να πάρω το  
 OpenSubtit... να πάρω το καπέλο σας κύριε; - Με συγχωρείτε; - Να πάρω το καπέλο σας; Όχι, καλύτερα ... Ίσως θα ... Με  
 OpenSubtit... , Ντέιβιντ. Θέλω να παραδώσω την λεοπάρδαλη και να πάρω το πρώτο τρένο πίσω για την πόλη ... και να ξεκάσω  
 OpenSubtit... . Το μαύρο με τους λευκούς τροχούς. - Πάω να πάρω την τσάντα μου. - Πολύ καλά, δεσποινίς. Κόφι.  
 OpenSubtit... . Όταν αυτή ... Πες το στον δικαστή, μητέρα. - Να πάρω την εσάρπα σας; - Ναι, παρακαλώ. - Η απόδειξη. -  
 OpenSubtit... . Στην φυλακή; Τι έγινε; - Δεν ξέρω. Μου είπαν να πάρω τον δικηγόρο. Δεν τον εύρισκα. Δεν θυμόμουν το  
 OpenSubtit... να ασκηθώ περισσότερο. - Το ελπίζω. Θα ήθελα να πάρω υποτροφία για το ωδείο των καθηγητών. Πιστεύω  
 OpenSubtit... . Ευχαριστώ αγαπητή μου. Δρ. Γουάτσον, μπορώ να πάρω εσάς και τον κο Χένρι μαζί; Όχι, ευχαριστώ πολύ,  
 OpenSubtit... ώρα κάποιος τραγωδίας. Ναι, και δεν πρόκειται να πάρω καμία καλή ανάμνηση μαζί μου στο Λονδίνο, αύριο  
 OpenSubtit... για άλλον ένα; - Βέβαια, κ. Γκέιτγουντ. Έπρεπε να πάρω μια τσάντα ... Αν υπάρχει κάτι που δεν μ' αρέσει  
 OpenSubtit... Καληνύχτα, κ. Μπάρτλετ. Μάστερς, θα έρθω αύριο να πάρω την επιταγή. Είμαι σίγουρος πως δεν περιμένεις  
 OpenSubtit... , βλάκα. Είμαι μαζί του. Έλα, Εντι. Πάω να πάρω το παλτό μου. Έχεις δίκιο, Πάναμα. Δε θα  
 OpenSubtit... τύψεις εξαιτίας της τραγωδίας σας. Δεν μπορώ να πάρω πίσω όσα υποφέρατε ... αλλά σας εκλιπαρώ, ας

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Figure 9. Examples of Requestive Subjunctive as a Request in Greek

Present indicative in interrogative mode is closely related with the former structure, in the sense that Greek speakers resort to it more often than any other structure in order to make a request (Sifianou, 1992), as shown in Examples (19) and (20), whereas English speakers do not at all, as the structure does not constitute a request in English.

(19) Μου πιάνεις την εφημερίδα; (interrogative-request)

I.GEN catch.2SG.PRS the.SG.ACC.F newspaper.SG.ACC.F?

‘Do you catch [give] me the newspaper?’ (interrogative-not a request)

(20) Μου δίνεις λίγη σοκολάτα; (interrogative-request)

I.GEN give.2SG.PRS a.little.SG.ACC.F chocolate.SG.ACC.F?

‘Do you give me a little chocolate?’ (interrogative-not a request)

The screenshot shows the SKETCH ENGINE search interface. The search bar contains the query 'μου δίνεις την εφημερίδα' with a search icon and 'OPUS2 Greek' text. Below the search bar, there is a navigation menu with options: Home, Search, Word list, Word sketch, Thesaurus, Sketch diff, and Corpus info. The search results section shows a query frequency of 2 (0.01 per million) and two search results, both starting with 'OpenSubtit...' and containing the text 'μου δίνεις την εφημερίδα'.

Figure 2.10. Examples of Present Indicative in Interrogative as a Request in Greek

Modal verbs are preferred by both English and Greek speakers in interrogative. The two languages share the modal verb *can* ‘μπορώ’, but modal verb *may* is not developed in Greek; instead, *μπορώ* ‘can’ covers the meaning of *may*. Examples (21) and (22) show the similarity and the difference in the two languages.

(21) *Μπορώ να δανειστώ το βιβλίο;* (formal)  
 can.1SG.PRS to borrow.1SG.PRF the.SG.ACC.N book.SG.ACC.N?  
 ‘Can I borrow the book?’ (informal)

(22) *Μπορώ να ζητήσω ένα δάνειο;* (formal)  
 can.1SG.PRS to ask.1SG.PRF a.SG.ACC.N loan.SG.ACC.N?  
 ‘May I ask for a loan?’ (formal)

SKETCH ENGINE | μπορώ να | OPUS2 Greek

Query **μπορώ να** 201,120 (658.54 per million) ⓘ

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OpenSubtit... κουραγιο εδω μέσα. Αλλά υπάρχουν πολλά, που δεν **μπορώ να** πιστεψω ή να καταλάβω. Ο Χριστός είναι μέσα σου,  
 OpenSubtit... ζωές παιδιών. Αν είστε αποφασισμένη, δεν **μπορώ να** σας σταματήσω ... αλλά θα πρέπει να αφήσετε πίσω  
 OpenSubtit... αυτό; Δεν θα το έλεγα. Είναι τα δείγματα μου. **Μπορώ να** το δω αυτό, σερίφη; Εξαιρετικά λείο. - Ήταν οι  
 OpenSubtit... . - Ναι, Ζιμ. Ο Τέβις θα σε απαλλάξει στις 4: 00. **Μπορώ να** το γεμίσω αυτό; Ναι. Προχώρα. Πάρε το νερό σου  
 OpenSubtit... ότι θα συμβεί αυτό ... αργά ή γρήγορα. Δεν **μπορώ να** το κινήσω. Έλα, βίνι. Δες αν μπορείς να  
 OpenSubtit... . Μπορούμε να ξαναρχίσουμε; - Πώς δηλαδή; - **Μπορώ να** σκεφτώ αρκετούς .. - ' σε να λείπει ... Ετσι κι  
 OpenSubtit... μπορεί να στείλει σχετικό άρθρο. - Μόνο αυτό **μπορώ να** κάνω. - Μεγαλώνεις για να γίνεις κι εσύ σαν τον  
 OpenSubtit... . - Από ' δώ. Σπρώχτε! Ώπα .. Εδώ είμαστε. Δεν **μπορώ να** δω καθαρά στον πάγο. Είναι αρκετό για να να  
 OpenSubtit... - Μικρόβια ανίκητα ιατρικώς. - Ευχαριστώ. - Δεν **μπορώ να** συμφωνήσω, Δρ. Τσάμπαν. - Ούτε κι εγώ. Και κάτι  
 OpenSubtit... Όχι ούτε γι' αστέιο ... - Κάπταιν .. - Ναι λοκία; - **Μπορώ να** σας 'δω μιά στιγμή κύριε; - Φυσικά. Τι συμβαίνει  
 OpenSubtit... . Τό άγκος φταίει. - Κοίταξε εκεί πέρα κάπταιν! **Μπορώ να** 'κω ένα ζευγάρι; Καλύτερα να πάμε εμείς δόκτωρ.  
 OpenSubtit... . - Ποιός είναι ο ηλεκτρολόγος σας; - Εγώ, **μπορώ να** βοηθήσω. - Μπορείς να επέμβεις στήν  
 OpenSubtit... ; - Νά πάρουμε μία συσκευή από κάθε δωμάτιο. - **Μπορώ να** βοηθήσω. - Μάκ θά είμαστε στον ασύρματο. - Όταν  
 OpenSubtit... ! - Φέρε τίς φόρμες πτήσης. - Κάηκαν. Θα δώ τί **μπορώ να** σώσω. - Κρέμασε εδών τόν μετασχηματιστή. - Ψόφο  
 OpenSubtit... ο ασύρματος. - Οκ. Υπάρχει λόγος τώρα πού δεν **μπορώ να** στείλω τό άρθρο μου; - Θα πάρει κάνα πεντάλεπτο.  
 OpenSubtit... . - Γεια χαρά! - Γεια. Έχεις που να μείνεις; **Μπορώ να** σου προτείνω κάτι ήσυχο. - Η γραμματέας μου  
 OpenSubtit... να τους πεις ότι είχες ραντεβού; Ξέρεις ότι δεν **μπορώ να** τους πω για σένα. Είμαστε σε δύσκολη θέση. Ναι,  
 OpenSubtit... κλαις σε παρακαλώ. George, είναι απαίσιο. Δεν **μπορώ να** στο πω. - Τι συμβαίνει; - Φοβάμαι τόσο πολύ.  
 OpenSubtit... πολλά πάρτυ και χοροί και όλα αυτά τα ωραία. **Μπορώ να** ρωτήσω ποιος είναι αυτός; Αν δεν ήταν κόρη μου,  
 OpenSubtit... είναι υπέροχο. - Είναι υπέροχο όταν είσαι εδών. **Μπορώ να** σε δω, να σ' αγγίξω. Να σε κρατήσω πλάι μου. Τι

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Figure 2.11. Examples of the Modal verb *μπορώ* in Greek Requests

Example (21) indicates a conventional way of requesting in English in an informal setting, however the equivalent structure in Greek is used in more formal situations, like in Example (22) with *may*. In Examples (23a) and (23b) below, formality in English is also achieved with the past-tense modal *could*, though the equivalent structure in Greek is non-functional in interrogative, but only in declarative.

(23a) \*Μπορούσες ν'ανοίξεις το παράθυρο; (interrogative)

\*can.2SG.IPRF to open.2SG.PRF the.SG.ACC.N window.SG.ACC.N?

'Could you open the window?' (interrogative)

(23b) Θα μπορούσες ν' ανοίξεις το παράθυρο; (declarative)

FUT can.2SG.IPRF to open.2SG.PRF the.SG.ACC.N window.SG.ACC.N?

\*'You could open the window?' (declarative)

Figure 2.12. Examples of Declarative *θα μπορούσα* as a Request in Greek

*Will*, which manifests informality in English, and *would*, which manifests formality, translate to the future particle ‘θα’ in Greek (Sifianou, 1992), which is restricted only with future tense in its use and indicates an informal way of requesting. Examples (24) and (25) capture the differences.

(24) Θ’ ανοίξεις το παράθυρο για μένα; (informal)

FUT open.2SG.PRF the.SG.ACC.N window.SG.ACC.N for I.SG.ACC?

‘Will you open the window for me?’ (informal)

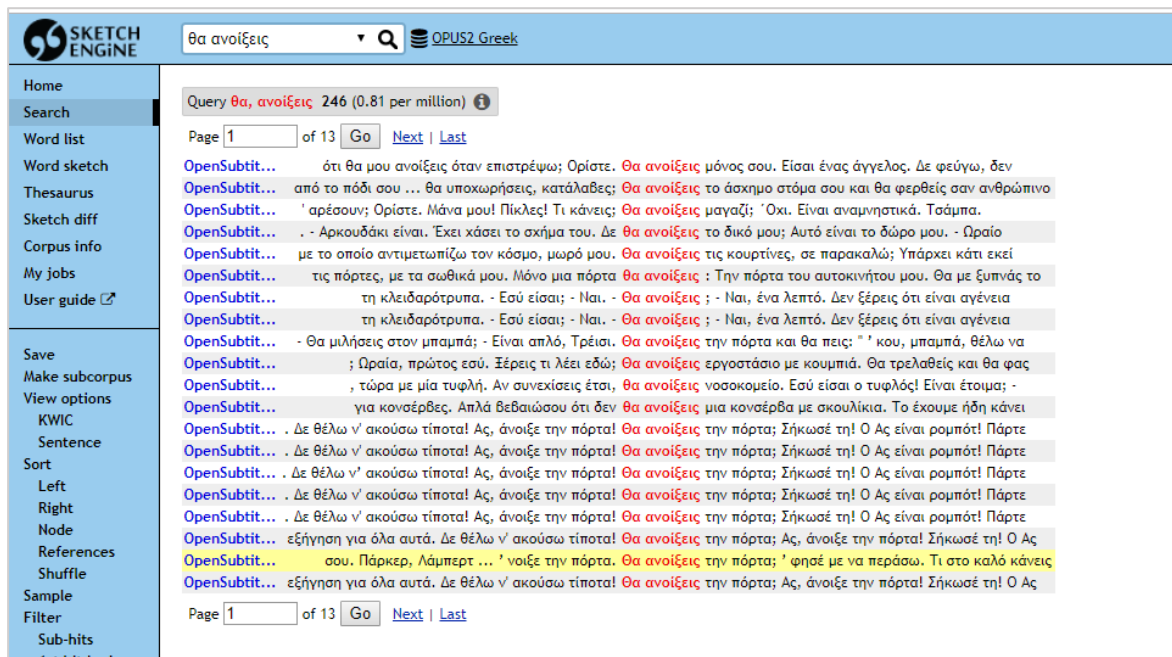


Figure 2.13. Examples of particle *θα+future(will)* as a Request in Greek

(25) *Θα μου δάνειζες μερικά λεφτά;* (informal)

FUT I.GEN lend.2SG.IPRF some.PL.ACC.N money.NSG.ACC.N

‘Would you lend me some money?’ (formal)

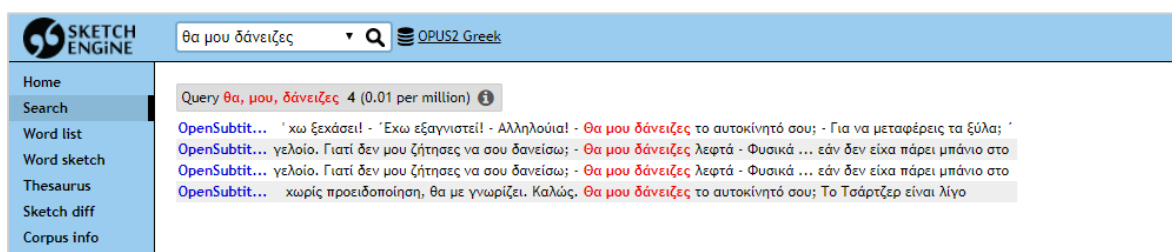


Figure 2.14. Examples of particle *θα+future(would)* as a Request in Greek

Negation, which is a highly indirect way of requesting in English, usually followed by question tags, is barely attested in Greek request patterns (Sifianou, 1992). Greek speakers use negatives to express “corrective intention”, “stop the performance of an action”, or show sympathy (Sifianou, 1992, p. 146), whereas English speakers resort to negation to exhibit high levels of politeness and redress. Examples (26)–(29) show the differences.

- (26) *Μην παίζεις με τα σπύρτα!*  
 NEG play.2SG.PRS with the.PL.ACC.N matches.PL.ACC.N  
 ‘Don’t play with the matches!’
- (27) *Μην ανοίξεις τα δώρα.*  
 NEG open.2SG.PRF the.SG.ACC.N presents.PL.ACC.N  
 ‘Don’t open the presents.’
- (28) *Μην κλαις ρε κορίτσι μου...*  
 NEG cry.2SG.PRS FM girl.SG.VOC mine.SG  
 ‘Don’t cry [re: familiarity particle] my girl...’
- (29) *Δε θα μου δάνειζες λεφτά ε; (not a request)*  
 NEG FUT I.GEN lend.2SG.IPRF money.NSG.ACC.N eh?  
 You wouldn’t lend me money, would you? (request)

The screenshot shows the SKETCH ENGINE search interface. The search bar contains the query 'μην κλαις'. The results page shows 1,218 results (4 per million). The interface includes a navigation menu on the left with options like Home, Search, Word list, Word sketch, Thesaurus, Sketch diff, Corpus info, My jobs, User guide, Save, Make subcorpus, View options, KWIC, Sentence, Sort, Left, Right, Node, References, Shuffle, Sample, Filter, Sub-hits, and 1st hit in doc. The main content area displays a list of search results, each starting with 'OpenSubtit...' and followed by a snippet of text containing the query 'μην κλαις' in red. The results are paginated, showing page 1 of 61.

Figure 2.15. Examples of Negation in Greek (Not as a Request)

With regard to request modification, both Greek and English speakers resort to techniques in order to mitigate or enhance their requests. Openers, which modify a request internally, are much more conventionalised in requests in English than in Greek (Sifianou, 1992), so a request materialised as in Example (30) would be frequently used in English, but not in Greek.

- (30) *Υπάρχει περίπτωση να μου κάνεις*  
 exist.3SG.PRS chance.SG.NOM.F to I.GEN make.2SG.PRF  
*ένα σάντουιτς;*  
 a.SG.ACC.N sandwich.SG.ACC.N?  
 ‘Is there any chance you could make me a sandwich?’

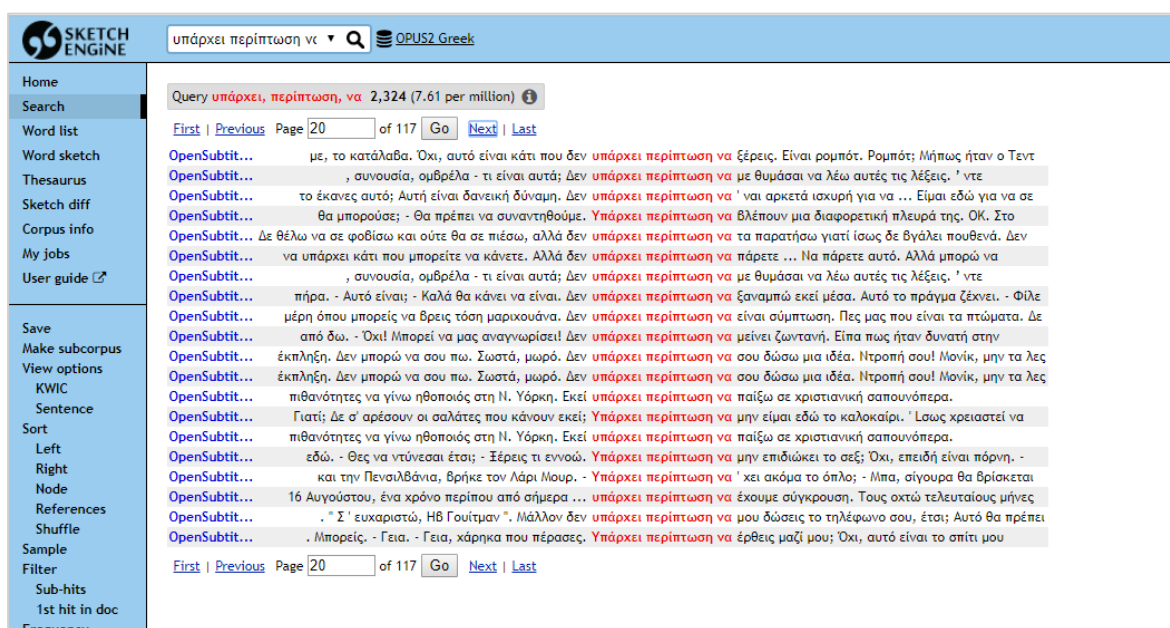


Figure 2.16. Examples of *Υπάρχει περίπτωση να* as an Opener in Greek Requests

*Is there any chance*, which is literally translated in Greek to ‘*υπάρχει περίπτωση*’, is not conventionalised and is preferred only in high imposing situations in Greek. Preparing a sandwich for a family member or a friend is a minimal task in the Greek culture, which does



not require such an elaborate and indirect way of requesting; it is almost rude to assume that one is not happy to prepare any meal for their peers (Sifianou, 1992). However, if the imposition of the request is high, as in Example (29), then *υπάρχει περίπτωση* ‘is there any chance?’ can be used as an opener.

Hedging is also employed in both languages, but in different frequency and format. “Greek is morphologically a very rich language, both inflectionally and derivationally” (Sifianou, 1992, p. 165), allowing for highly creative ways to modify a request. Diminutives constitute the most frequent request-softening device for the Greek speakers, whereas English speakers rarely resort to this technique. Instead, they prefer tag questions, which Greek speakers do not favour in their L1. Examples (31) and (32) describe these tendencies.

- (31) *Θα βάλεις ντοματούλα στο σάντουιτς;* (diminutive)  
 FUT put.2SG.PRF tomato.DIM in.the.SG.ACC.N sandwich  
 ‘Will you put [a] small tomato in the sandwich?’

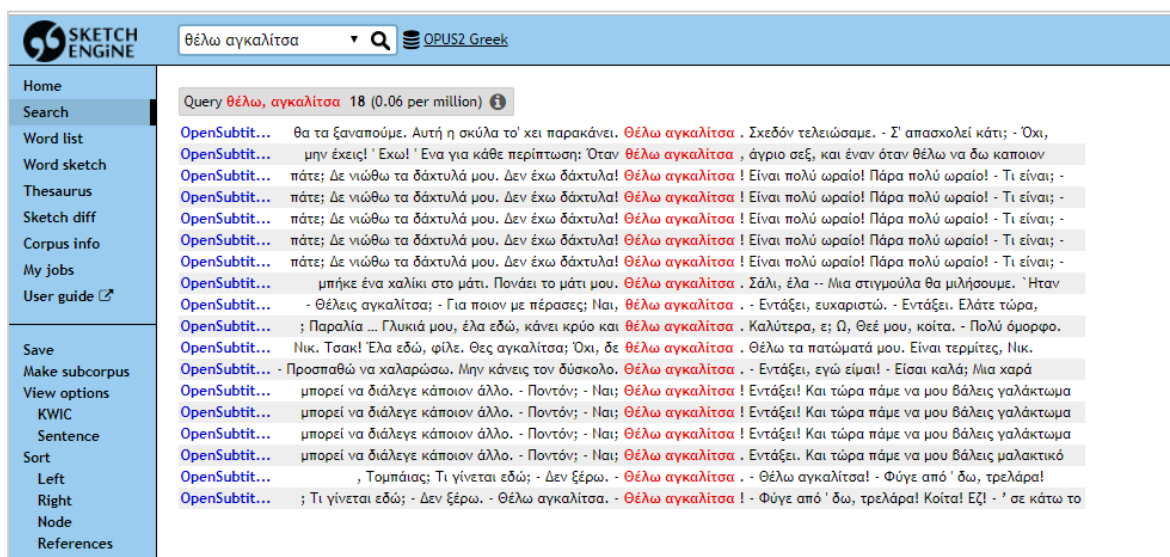


Figure 2.17. Examples of Diminutives as Hedges in Greek Requests

- (32) *Άσε την πόρτα ανοιχτή για μένα, εντάξει;*



leave.2SG.IMP the.SG.ACC.F door open.SG.F for me ok?

(εντάξει: ‘OK’, token tag of agreement)

‘Leave the door open for me, will you?’ (question tag)

Figure 2.18. Examples of Tag Question *εντάξει* as Hedges in Greek Requests

Intensifiers, which also hedge the request, are not common in English, but they are quite common in Greek. Sifianou (1992) maintains that showing emotion is culturally acceptable in Greek, whereas it is avoided in English. For instance, *επιτέλους* ‘finally’ or *και* ‘and’ intensify the request in Examples (33) and (34) below.

(33) *Κάνε τις ασκήσεις σου επιτέλους!*

make.2SG.IMP the.PL.ACC.F homework.PL.ACC.F your.SG finally

‘Do your homework finally!’

Figure 2.19. Examples of Intensifier *επιτέλους* in Greek Requests

- (34) *Και να πας στο γραφείο μετά.*  
 and to go.2SG.PRF to.the.SG.ACC.N office.SG.ACC.N after  
 ‘And go to the office later.’

Figure 2.20. Examples of Intensifier *και va* in Greek Requests

Fillers, which is the last category of internal modification of requests, are attested in both languages, yet in variable usage. For instance, hesitators (i.e. *perhaps*) and cajolers (i.e. *you know*) are more frequently used in English, but appealers (i.e. *right?*) and attention getters (i.e. *excuse me*) in Greek. Generally, Greek speakers appear to be more eloquent than English speakers (Sifianou, 1992).

With regard to external modification, precommitment (i.e. *can I ask you something?*) is preferred by both Greek and English speakers, albeit the latter favour it regardless of the level of R of the request contrary to the former, whose preference is affected by D and R; the higher D and R are, the more likely Greek speakers appear to resort to commitment-seeking devices. Here are two examples.

- (35) *Θα μου κάνεις μία χάρη; Μπορείς*  
 FUT I.GEN make.2SG.PRF a.SG.ACC.F favour.SG.ACC.F? can.2SG.PRS  
*να μου δανείσεις £2; (pleading)*

to I.GEN lend.2SG.PRF £2?

‘Will you do me a favour? Can you lend me £2?’

The screenshot shows the SKETCH ENGINE interface. The search bar contains the query 'θα μου κάνεις μια χάρη'. The results page shows 366 hits (1.20 per million). The first page displays 19 results. The examples listed are:

- ... Λόρενς, το σήμερα μας ανήκει! Χοντρούλη, **θα μου κάνεις μια χάρη**; Ενημέρωσε τον Πέρα ότι τον περιμένο απόψε. Αν **OpenSubtit...** υπόδειξη. Ίσως γίνουν κάποια μέρα τραγούδι. - **θα μου κάνεις μια χάρη**; - Βεβαίως. Πρέπει να φύγω, αλλά θα γυρίσω. Θα **OpenSubtit...** ευχαριστώ για τα χρήματα. - Δεν είναι τίποτα. - **θα μου κάνεις μια χάρη** ακόμα; - Φυσικά. Στείλε να φωνάξουν τον Ιερέα.
- ... ΚΛΑΜΠ ΧΕΝΤΕΡΣΟΝ Είναι εξήγτα σεντς. **θα μου κάνεις μια χάρη**; Πήγαινε αυτά στο κλαμπ και πάρε 12 δολάρια.
- ... κύριε Ντέηβις. Έκανες ό, τι μπορούσες. - **θα μου κάνεις μια χάρη**, Κάρτερ; - Εξαρτάται. Θα στείλω τη Τζόους στον **OpenSubtit...**, κύριε Ντέηβις. Έκανες ό, τι μπορούσες. - **θα μου κάνεις μια χάρη**, Κάρτερ; - Εξαρτάται. Θα στείλω τη Τζόους στον **OpenSubtit...** είναι δικό σου το λάθος; - Ναι, υποθέτω πως ναι. - **θα μου κάνεις μια χάρη**, Homer; - Ναι, Fred. Τι θες; Δεν είμαι ο **OpenSubtit...**, Μάρτι. Το ξέρω ότι δε χρειάζεσαι τα λεφτά. Αλλά **θα μου κάνεις μια χάρη**. Ο Γκρέντι είναι παλιός μου φίλος. Είμαι **OpenSubtit...** αν είναι η παροιμιώδης καρδιά από χρυσό. - Πεε, **θα μου κάνεις μια χάρη**, έτσι δεν είναι; - Ναι κύριε; Θέλω να στείλω 2 **OpenSubtit...**. " Ο Τζωρτζ Ουάσιγκτον ΚΟΙΜΗΘΗΚΕ ΕΔΩ " Τζο, **θα μου κάνεις μια χάρη**; Όταν γυρίσεις στο Περλ, πήγαινε στο δωμάτιο **OpenSubtit...** Μακλόνουντ και ζω δυτικά, στην 85η οδό. Φιλ, **θα μου κάνεις μια χάρη**; Πάρε τη γυναίκα μου και πες της ότι θ' αργήσω **OpenSubtit...**! Είσαι θεότρελος! Αυτό λένε, πάντως, Φιλ, **θα μου κάνεις μια χάρη**; Έλεγξε να δεις αν υπάρχουν ... .. αναφορές **OpenSubtit...** θράσος να έχει αδελφές; Πολύ θαρραλέοι γονείς! **θα μου κάνεις μια χάρη**; Εξήγησέ μου ένα καλό λόγο γιατί θα πρέπει να **OpenSubtit...** θράσος να έχει αδελφές; Πολύ θαρραλέοι γονείς! **θα μου κάνεις μια χάρη**; Εξήγησέ μου ένα καλό λόγο γιατί θα πρέπει να **OpenSubtit...** επίσης, κάνε μου τη χάρη να μην ανακατεύεσαι. - **θα μου κάνεις μια χάρη**; - Σαν τι; - Θυμάσαι το όνομά μου; - Πιτ Σέπαρντ. Κ **OpenSubtit...** για όλα ... Αν ένιωθα ότι ανήκω κάπου ... Τζιμ, **θα μου κάνεις μια χάρη**; Αν αρχίζεις πάλι να βράζεις, θα έρθεις να με **OpenSubtit...** Αν ένιωθα ότι ανήκω κάπου ... Τότε θα ... Τζιμ, **θα μου κάνεις μια χάρη**; Αν αρχίζεις πάλι να βράζεις, θα έρθεις να με **OpenSubtit...** με ... έχει κολλήσει εδώ. Ευχαριστώ. Τσίντσια, **θα μου κάνεις μια χάρη**; Θα μου κάνεις την τιμή να με συνοδεύσεις απόψε **OpenSubtit...**, νεαρέ, σε παρακαλώ. Ορίστε, μικρή μου κυρία. **θα μου κάνεις μια χάρη**; Πρέπει να μάθεις να μην διακόπεις κάποιον ο **OpenSubtit...** να το φέρω. - Ρόμπερτ. Όταν φτάσεις στη Βεράντα, **θα μου κάνεις μια χάρη**; - Φυσικά. - Πήδα. - Μα τι κάνεις; - Ακολουθώ τις

Figure 2.21. Examples of Precommitment (*θα μου κάνεις μία χάρη*) in Greek Requests

(36) Μπορώ να σε ρωτήσω; Είναι εύκολο  
 can.1SG.PRS to you.ACC ask.1SG.PRF? be.3SG.PRS easy.SG.NOM.N  
 να μου δανείσεις £2,000; (very pleading)  
 to I.GEN lend.2SG.PRF £2,000?  
 ‘Can I ask you something? Is it easy to lend me £2,000?’

Figure 2.22. Examples of Precommitment (*μπορώ να σε ρωτήσω*) in Greek Requests

Grounders (i.e. *Can I... because I'm in trouble?*), which are considered reinforcing devices by Sifianou (1992), are common in both languages, however Greek speakers show a tendency to justify their requests more often than English speakers (Sifianou, 1992). Disarmers (i.e. *I know you're busy but could you...*) seem to be favoured equally in the two languages, same as expanders. Examples (37)–(39) illustrate these tendencies.

- (37) *Μπορείς να προσέξεις τον Μπεν για μένα; Πρέπει να πάω στο γραφείο.*  
 can.2SG.PRS to watch.2SG.PRF the.SG.ACC.M Ben for I.ACC must to go.2SG.PRF to.the.SG.ACC.N office. SG.ACC.N  
 ‘Can you watch Ben for me? I need/must to go to the office.’ (grunder)

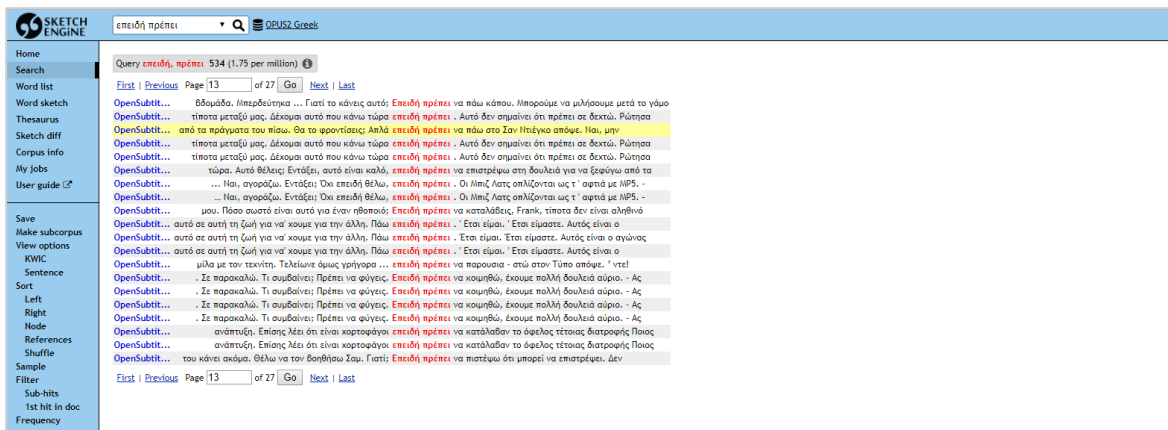


Figure 2.23. Examples of Grounders in Greek Requests

(38) *Ξέρω πως το λατρεύεις αυτό*  
 know.1SG.PRS that the.SG.ACC.N adore.2SG.PRS this.SG.ACC.N  
*το φόρεμα, αλλά μπορώ να το*  
 the.SG.ACC.N dress but can.1SG.PRS to the.SG.ACC.N  
*δανειστώ;*  
 borrow.1SG.PRF?  
 ‘I know you adore this dress, but can I borrow it?’ (disarmer)

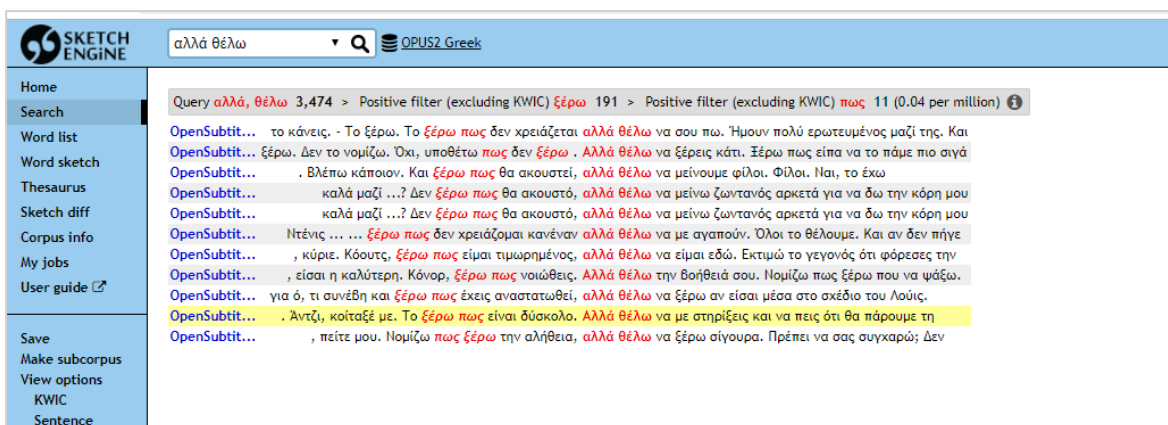


Figure 2.24. Examples of Disarmers in Greek Requests

(39) *Μπορώ να δανειστώ τ' αμάξι σου?*  
 can.1SG.PRS to borrow.1SG.PRF the.SG.ACC.N car.SG.ACC.N your.SG?  
 Page | 66

Μπορώ;;;

can.1SG.PRS

‘Can I borrow your car? Can I???’ (repetition)

Figure 2.25. Examples of Repetition in Greek Requests

Potentially the most significant politeness marker in English, *please*, which translates to ‘*παρακαλώ*’ in Greek, modifies requests even outside the structural sphere, on a pragmatic level. For instance, *please* in Example (40) indicates whether the utterance is a request or a question about the hearer’s ability.

(40) *Μπορείς να μου δώσεις ένα στυλό,*  
can.2SG.PRS to I.GEN give.2SG.PRF a.SG.ACC.N pen. SG.ACC.N  
*σε παρακαλώ;* (non-conventionalised, very formal)  
you.ACC plead.1SG.PRS?

‘Can you give me a pen, please?’ (conventionalised, informal)



Figure 2.26. Examples of Politeness Marker *παρακαλώ* in Greek Requests

The Greek version of the utterance in Example (40) strikes as unnecessarily formal within an in-group interaction, though it is acceptable when the scenario of interaction is marked with social distance between the interlocutors. *Παρακαλώ* ‘please’ is a verb with various meanings in Greek (i.e. plead, request, supplicate, entreat implore, insist, allow), therefore it displays flexibility in its usage (Sifianou, 1992; Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2005), as in Examples (41)–(42).

- (41) *Παρακαλούμε μην καπνίζετε.*  
 plead.1PL.PRS                      NEG      smoke.2PL.PRS

‘Please do not smoke.’

- (42) *[Λέγετε] παρακαλώ;* (when answering the phone)  
 say.2PL.IMP      plead.1SG.PRS

‘[Speak] please?’



Social distance in Greece is less marked in interactions than in England, as Greek culture is defined by closeness, openness and familiarity, which is why *παρακαλώ* ‘please’ is rarely used as a politeness marker, albeit familiarity in English culture still allows space for the use of the marker, as shown in Example (40).

Greek and English indeed share similarities in their L1 requestive patterns. Sifianou (1997) herself acknowledges that indirectness, and in particular hints, can be interpreted as polite in both languages. She does not fail to mention, though, that in specific situational and sociocultural contexts, hints can also be considered as impolite. Terkourafi (2002), as mentioned earlier, suggests that (in)directness in requests in Cypriot Greek is intertwined with conventionalisation and the formulaic use of language. It is, then, interpreted as either polite or impolite according to the context, in which it is traditionally and consistently used. Stressing the significance of context even more, Sifianou (2005, 2013) maintains that politeness interpretation and face threat, as carried in specific speech acts, are repositioned in interaction due to global influence and local adjustment. Her explanation, at least for Greek, lies on the phenomenon of diglossia<sup>12</sup>, dividing Greeks between more polite and less polite structures that are enhanced by globalisation.

Irrespective of the similarities between L1 English and Greek, it is the differences of their requestive patterns that reveal the intercultural significance and variation in the L2 setting. Adding to the latter, Bella (2012a) investigates L2 Greek requests as produced by L1 foreign speakers. She compares language production in various levels of proficiency and identifies differences in the performance of the speech act between native and non-native speakers; the former generally favour indirectness in specific scenarios, whereas the latter indicate an increasing preference for indirectness on parallel with their increasing level of

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<sup>12</sup> Diglossia in Greek refers to the phenomenon of the perseverance of certain linguistic elements of the *Καθαρεύουσα* ‘Katharevousa’ (the purified version of the language) within *Δημοτική* ‘Demotic’ (the people’s version of the language). Diglossia was officially ended in 1976, with Demotic prevailing as the official Greek language, namely the current Modern Greek.

proficiency. In other words, L2 Greek speakers with low level of proficiency favour directness contrary to their counterparts with high level of proficiency, who favour indirectness, mapping the native speakers' performance. Regarding pragmatic awareness in the L2 setting, in particular, Bella (2012b) maintains that L2 Greek speakers resort to external modification when performing requests, such as asking for a favour prior to the actual request, even when this strategy is considered as inappropriate, i.e. in a formal setting. Woodfield & Economidou-Kogetsidis (2010) discuss the internal modification of requests by Greek speakers of English as an L2 and highlight the lack of the politeness marker 'please' in their speech act production compared to the native speakers. Economidou-Kogetsidis (2010) also investigates how (in)directness is materialised by Greek speakers of English as an L2 with regard to specific social contexts and the sociological variables of P, D and R. She contradicts former research with her finding of Greeks being highly indirect in particular scenarios, even more indirect than the native speakers. Contrary to her latter finding, though, Economidou-Kogetsidis (2011) detects high levels of directness in email exchange between university students and faculty members of staff in Cyprus. The non-native ESL students exhibit high directness while requesting in L2 English.

#### 2.2.4 Why Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realisation Project?

The present study, in terms of researching politeness, draws from Brown & Levinson's (1987) politeness framework, as well as from Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989) CCSARP coding scheme of requests. The first framework offers an approach to the three sociological variables of P, D and R, which play an important role in the research design of the study. Even though these variables — in particular P and D — have received criticism for their ambiguity and multi-interpretation (see 2.1.3.2 above), their approach through Brown & Levinson's (1987) framework remains strongly relevant with politeness considerations in Greece. Sifianou's (1992) findings, which compare the English and the Greek patterns of

making a request, with particular stress on positive and negative politeness strategies, strengthens this premise. Her research supports evidence that, as far as structural indirectness (cf. Sifianou, 1992, p. 116) is concerned, Greeks feel comfortable with more direct ways of requesting, whilst English show the exact opposite tendency, all the while P, D and R at play. The current research project has been motivated by this general difference, by the still-remaining social prejudice that Greeks are less polite than English, and by the understudied requestive patterns of GRL1 in L2 English.

The choice of Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989) CCSARP coding scheme is based on its elaborative nature of (in)direct requestive patterns, which comply with Sifianou's (1992) suggestion that indirectness is a noteworthy element in approaching linguistic politeness in Greek and English. The framework has been mainly criticised for the newly introduced data collection tool of the Discourse Completion Test (see 3.2.1 below), as well as for addressing politeness issues only structurally (Kasper & Dahl, 1991; Yuan 2001). Nonetheless, as the CCSARP coding scheme gathers data from eight different languages, it succeeds in giving a comprehensive cross-cultural dimension to the analysis of politeness. There is, however, a subtle difference between CLI in L2 and cross-cultural aspects of L2 learning, which can be — and are — correlated. On the one hand, CLI is set to attest any relationship between an L1 and an L2 with regard to how the one language affects the other in terms of structure (i.e. grammar, syntax, semantics). On the other hand, the cross-cultural aspects of L2 learning map any divergence or convergence in cultural practices that derive and are transmitted from the one culture or the other. The present project aspires to investigate how GRL1 perform the speech act of request in an L2 (here, English) setting, so, subsequently, CCSARP theoretical framework fulfils that purpose, combining both cross-cultural and structural elements of L2 learning.

## 2.4 Chapter Summary

The chapter covered the nature of pragmatics, the presentation of speech acts as part of it, and politeness as a crucial element of research in the field of socio-pragmatics. An overview of politeness theories up to date was presented, with stress on the criticism of Brown & Levinson's (1987) politeness framework, while the notion of politeness was considered in relation to L2 pragmatic competence in the L2 setting. Transfer — or CLI — in L2 was identified and explained as the key aspect addressed by the project's research questions. Previous research in the field of CLI, pragmatics, politeness, and speech acts —specifically requests — was also presented. The chapter concluded with the presentation of L1 English and Greek requests, as well as with the justification of Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989) framework as appropriate for the present study, alongside with the use of Brown & Levinson's sociological variables of P, D and R. The following chapter presents the methodological rationale of the study.

### 3. METHODOLOGY

This chapter of the thesis provides a descriptive analysis of the methodological framework that was applied to this research project. The research questions (RQs) are reminded, and it is argued why the Discourse Completion Test (DCT) and Likert scale evaluation tests constitute the appropriate data collection tools for the study. Acknowledgement of both their benefits and limitations is highlighted. An explanation is provided on how the data collection instruments were designed and what procedures were followed to gather the data. A thorough description of the informants' characteristics is also presented, to support their suitability to participate in the project. The chapter concludes with the data analyses processes, their elements of importance and their value for the study.

#### 3.1 Research Questions

The purpose of this project is to explore whether and to what extent Greek speakers of English (GRL1) adopt the necessary linguistic skills in order to be adequately competent from a pragmatic perspective when performing the speech act of request in the target language. The underlying element, which signifies this communication as effective, is politeness. The study aspires to answer the following questions (where L1 and L2, equals first language and second language, respectively).

1. Do GRL1 transfer their L1 Greek pragmatic patterns to L2 English when performing requests?
2. Does L1 Greek affect GRL1's evaluations of politeness in L2 English requests?
3. Is GRL1's length of residence in the target country a determinant variable in the performance of requests in L2 English?
4. Are GRL1's judgements of politeness in L2 English requests affected by their length of residence in the target country?

### 3.2 Methodological Rationale

The data collection process, as well as the methodological elements used to answer the research questions of the project, were carefully considered and designed. The decision was made upon the consideration that multiple data collection tools would help to answer the research questions rigorously and promote a well-rounded research approach. Considering the nature of the research project and its four questions, the combination of two methods was reasoned to be the most appropriate approach to the data collection process: a Discourse Completion Test (DCT) and two evaluative judgement tests (Likert scale). The joint combination aims to demonstrate intellectual rigour, for the purpose is to maximise regularity in the analysis, meet the objectives and answer the research questions thoroughly. The DCT extracts results suitable for RQ1 and RQ3, while the evaluative judgement tests are employed to answer RQ2 and RQ4. The analysis is conducted quantitatively, though the study shows qualitative value as well upon discussion.

#### 3.2.1 Discourse Completion Test (DCT)

The DCT was first introduced by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) and has contributed significantly to the investigation of speech acts ever since. In fact, it is the only tool to have been used so consistently by several linguists (Rose, 1992; Sifianou, 1992; Yuan, 2001; Pinto, 2005; Lin, 2009; Yu, 2011; Shahrokhi, 2012; Khalib & Tayeh, 2014, Daskalovska et al., 2016; Sell et al., 2019; Ogiermann & Bella, 2020, Takimoto, 2020, among many others), who specialise in pragmatics, interlanguage pragmatics (the study of pragmatics in L2), and second language acquisition, in particular. It enables researchers to collect a large amount of data in a relatively short time and elicit results from participants of various cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

A DCT consists of short unfinished dialogues, which informants are asked to complete. The dialogues are contextualised into prefabricated real-life situations, aiming to invite the participants to visualise the scenarios and, ergo, produce naturalistic responses. Here is an example, taken from the questionnaire developed for the present study (for a full presentation of the DCT, see Appendix IV, part I).

### Scenario 3: Train station

You're at the train station and you've just missed your train. You don't have the money for another ticket. You go to the counter and ask the male assistant if it's possible to have one for free.

*Male assistant: Can I help you?*

*You: .....*

DCTs can be designed using different patterns. One way of formatting the questionnaire is to provide only the description of the scenarios without the dialogues. These are the open-ended DCTs (Yuan, 2001; Bardovi-Harlig, 2013). The description of the scenario can either be vague, short and general or specific, long and detailed. Longer descriptions of the scenarios may invoke longer answers by the participants, but the speech act in examination is produced intact (Billmyer and Varghese 2000). The original CCSARP DCT is close-ended (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989), that is, it provides both the description of the scenario and a dialogue, in which the participants are asked to incorporate their response. This dialogue can include either an opening or a closing line by the hypothetical hearer, or both (Yuan, 2001; Bardovi-Harlig, 2013). In researching particular speech acts, the turn taking length can be even longer, in an effort to capture the cultural perspective of the language in investigation. Beebe et al. (1990), for instance, investigate offer refusals and

create a DCT with a four turn-taking dialogue. However, Barron (2003) moves away from this constrained format of the DCT and offers an alternative approach, the Free Discourse Completion Task (FDCT); that is, a DCT with no dialogue whatsoever, which the participants are asked to create from both the S and the H's perspective. Close to this format, Schneider (2008, 2011) introduces the Dialogue Production Task (DPT), which invites the informants to act both as the S and the H in a role play. DCTs also have oral or written variations (Yuan, 2001; Bardovi-Harlig, 2013). The supporters of the former aim at eliciting more naturalistic data (Yuan, 2001), whereas researchers, who use the latter, insist that there are not significant differences in extracting data either way (Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2013). In all cases, the purpose remains to help the informants hypothesise what their linguistic choice would be, given the situations.

To promote a more conclusive character of the DCT, a number of scholars combine the test with other methodological approaches. The combination of DCTs with multiple choice questionnaires (Rose, 1994) is one direction. Oral role plays and DCTs (Rintell & Mitchell, 1989; Sasaki, 1998, Yuan 2001) is another direction. Combining a DCT with the analysis of the dialogues of theatrical plays and of interviews (Sifianou, 1992) is an effort to triangulate the results. However, comparing DCTs with conversation analysis of naturally occurring data (i.e. recordings, observation), predominantly collected for different disciplines, reveals that they lack the dynamics to address areas such as prosody or kinesics (Ogiermann, 2018).

Unavoidably, a number of issues related with the validity and applicability of the DCT have been detected and highlighted by several scholars. Billmyer & Varghese (2000), Woodfield (2008), and Nurani (2009) criticise the authenticity of the responses on a communicative level, as well as disputing the hypothetical nature of the scenarios. From a theoretical point of view, Golato (2003) claims that DCTs hold metapragmatic values, because the participants produce situational linguistic material. He also highlights that "...



it has been pointed out in the literature that data collected via this method [DCT] do not always correspond to natural data...” (Golato, 2003, p. 92). However, Economidou-Kogetsidis (2013), advocating the validity of written DCTs compared to natural occurring requests via telephone conversations, suggests that the results of both data sets resemble. In the same line, González-Cruz (2014) opts for written DCTs, aiming to obtain prototypical data, that is, responses that the informants have in mind and would use in actual conversation. Hill et al. (1986, p. 353) maintain quite convincingly that “using self-reported data enables us to obtain more stereotypic responses: that is, for each category, the prototype of the variants occurring in the individual’s actual speech”. Although Yuan (2001) reveals that oral DCTs generate more naturalistic data than written ones, he maintains that field notes and natural conversations lack accuracy and consistency. Pinto & Raschio (2007) discuss further the interplay between oral and written data collection processes, promoting DCTs as similar to oral role-plays; both tools invite the speakers to perform a speech act in a specific situation.

Even though controversy over the issue of ‘absoluteness’ of proper data collection raises noteworthy doubts, the DCT still remains probably the most reliable methodological instrument in interlanguage pragmatics. As a data collection and analysis tool, it facilitates the process by “generating sufficiently large corpora of comparable, systematically varied speech act data” (Ogiermann, 2018, p. 239). DCTs may have been widely used to compare the speech act of request and apology, but they have also proved to be valuable in analysing other speech acts, such as refusals (Kwon, 2004) or compliments (Mulo Farenkia, 2012). Moreover, there are a number of under-studied languages that make their contribution into the field of pragmatics owed to this particular framework of analysis, like Hungarian (Suszczyńska 1994, 1999), Korean (Byon 2006), Sudanese (Nureddeen 2008), or Russian (Ogiermann 2008, 2009a). This diversity in language comparisons strengthens the argument that pragmatic universality is observable just as much as culture specificity. With regard to

the debate on whether DCTs elicit data close to natural speech, the responses' value lies in the fact that the speakers produce language they regard as appropriate in specific social and cultural settings, irrespective of whether they would produce the exact same words when in the real-life situation.

Since oral DCTs are not sufficiently accurate and consistent (Yuan, 2001), the present study adopts the written, close-ended variation, which excludes<sup>13</sup> the hearer's response variation. The reasoning behind this choice is based on theoretical and practical issues. From a theoretical point of view, written DCTs give participants the chance to generate introspective responses, echoing their original speech in the actual real-life situation. The risk of feeling uncomfortable with the researcher or their co-participants is absent. Moreover, excluding the hearer's response allows the informants to answer more flexibly, without feeling constrained by the limits of specific conversational boundaries, leading to "maximally authentic responses" (Ogiermann, 2009a, p. 240). From the practical perspective, data analysis does not require transcription, nor do the informants need to be physically present in the study, if there is an online version of the questionnaire available. The present study required field work in both Greece and England, a fact that also favoured the online approach, since in many cases the data were not feasible to collect otherwise. Finally, the close-ended version of the DCT, which includes a dialogical opening inviting the informants to take turn in the sequence, is preferred against the open-ended version, which comes with no opening. More targeted responses are extracted, that is, the actual requests. The risk of gathering results with over-descriptive answers is delimited and, therefore, the data analysis becomes less fragmented.

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<sup>13</sup> An exception of two scenarios (situations 2 and 9) is made, where the hearer's response is included in the situation only to follow the original source of the dialogues and avoid misunderstandings of the context by the participants.

### 3.2.2 Likert Scale Tests

The Likert scale, first introduced by psychologist R. Likert in 1932 (Frey et al., 2000), is a widely used survey tool, which allows researchers to measure their informants' responses to opinion-targeted questions. It gives a solid, quantitative dimension to research, which seeks results based on judgement criteria. Typically, informants are asked to rate on a specific scale the subject in question, or agree or disagree with certain dimensions of it. In that sense, politeness, as much as other notions with controversial and socially, culturally, historically, ethnographically, or even individually, defined nature, allows for such an approach. If not, then all responses would have to undergo purifications or restrictions and would therefore lead to ambivalent results. Here is an example of how a Likert scale evaluation test looks like, taken from the questionnaire that was designed for the present study (for a full presentation of the Likert scale tests, see Appendix IV, part II).

<b>Asking your new neighbour to turn the music down</b>	<b>Impolite</b>					<b>Polite</b>
<b>A. Could you turn the music down?</b>	1	2	3	4	5	

Related to its range, Shiffer (1993: 735) supports McKelvie (1978) “that scales with fewer than five categories tend to have decreased reliability, and scales with more than eleven categories show no improvement in reliability”. A scale with the minimum of five categories was preferred for the present study to allow for the informants' unrestricted responses, but to also bear reliability in the data.

A long-lasting debate about the content and construction validity of the Likert scale (Cohen, 1968; Knapp, 1990; Vickers, 1999; Carifio & Perla, 2007 & 2008; Norman, 2010, among others) has created a dichotomous research community; scholars who perceive the data as ordinal, that is, in a linear structure such as 1, 2, 3, and scholars who perceive them

as interval, that is, in groups such as male/female, age specific, ethnically different, and so on. The actual issue arises with the analysis of the data, namely whether parametric or non-parametric statistics is appropriate<sup>14</sup>. The ordinalists favour non-parametric statistics, whereas the intervalists favour parametric statistics, which are considered to be more powerful (Bishop & Herron, 2015). However, Norman (2010) counterargues this division and discusses statistical robustness regardless of the data set — ordinal or interval. He clarifies that misconceptions such as problematic sample size — too small or too big — or issues with data distribution — normally distributed or not — should not inhibit researchers from analysing their data optimally, that is, using invariably parametric and non-parametric tests with ordinal or interval data.

The current project aims to answer four research questions. For that purpose, Likert scale rating tests were combined with a DCT, as presented in the previous subsection. The same rationale is adopted by a number of scholars. Economidou-Kogetsidis (2010), for example, combines a DCT with a 3-point Likert scale test to investigate the requesting behaviour of English native and non-native speakers in certain social situations. Halenko & Jones (2011) favour the 5-point Likert scale test to evaluate the responses of non-native speakers of English in terms of their pragmatic awareness when performing a request in the target language. Tan & Farashaiyan (2012) opt for a six-point Likert scale test to discuss whether politeness in requests is teachable to non-native speakers of English through formulaic language and practice. There are also scholars who combine Likert scale judgement tests with other data collection tools, such as interviews, or resort to their use alone. Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis (2007), for example, discuss bilingualism and language attitudes having collected their data via interviews and Likert scale judgement tests. Koike (1996) aims to evaluate the pragmatic development of second language learners of

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<sup>14</sup> For a discussion of parametric and non-parametric statistics, see 3.6.2.

Spanish and gathers the data by using a Likert scale test alone. Likewise, Economidou-Kogetsidis (2011) designs a judgement Likert scale test to collect responses of native English speakers on the requesting performance of non-native speakers of English via email.

### 3.3 The Construction of Data Collection Instruments

This section provides a detailed presentation of how the data collection tools were designed. The aforementioned methodologies of DCTs and Likert scale judgement tests are justified as the suitable instruments for the present study and their adaptation to the aims of the present project is described thoroughly. The rationale behind the construction mechanisms is also explained, in order to adequately clarify the foundations of the data collection instruments design.

#### 3.3.1 Discourse Completion Test Design

The preparation of the DCT depended on diverse material. The aim was to collect as naturally occurring speaking data as possible, so as to simulate the actual scenarios with the hypothetical ones. It is highly important, though, to be reminded that there is an ongoing debate over what constitutes natural occurring language (Stubbs, 1983; Golato, 2003; Fairclough, 2013), leading to contradictory theses and leaving little space for secure arguments in favour or against. Therefore, the process of designing the questionnaire is scrutinised under these parameters.

Primarily, the structural elements of the DCT were based on dialogues, taken from the listening comprehension tasks of textbooks for teaching English as a foreign language (TEFL)<sup>15</sup>. The selection from the plethora of the available course books followed a temporal

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<sup>15</sup> The textbooks were collected from the library of NILE (Norwich Institute for Learning English). The researcher is much thankful and grateful to the team of NILE and especially Alan Pulverness, member of the Senior Teaching Team, for having been granted access to the Library of the Institute, unconditionally and in the most cooperative spirit.

line, with focus on published material within the decade of 2005–2015. Twenty-one textbooks came with appropriate dialogical examples, however only five<sup>16</sup> were finally used as a basis for the creation of the questionnaire. The reasoning behind this decision conforms with the focus on the factors that affect the performance of requests with regard to politeness. According to Brown & Levinson's (1987, p. 15) politeness framework, there are three sociological factors that determine the level of politeness of a Face Threatening Act (FTA), like the speech act of request: Power (P), the relative power of the Hearer to the Speaker, Distance (D), the social distance between them, and Imposition (R), the level of imposition involved when making the FTA. These five textbooks, covering all levels of proficiency in English (elementary, intermediate, and advanced) present the most suitable real-life situations of making a request for the variables of Distance (D), Power (P), and Imposition (R). They also reflect Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989) Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realisation Project (CCSARP) request code<sup>17</sup>, according to which speakers make requests using specific linguistic means, for instance hedged performative mood (*I must ask you to turn the music down*), want statements (*I'd like you to turn the music down*), or suggestory formulae (*How about turning the music down?*)<sup>18</sup>.

The choice of TEFL material is justifiable, yet for some debatable. Wallace (1992, 1999), for example, who disputes the authenticity of texts in L2 teaching, maintains that authentic texts are intertwined with real-life situations and are not purposed for pedagogic use and causes. In the same line, Richards (2001) and Tamo (2009) argue that authenticity in teaching materials is granted when these materials are not prepared for pedagogical purposes per se. Clavel-Arroitia & Fuster-Márquez (2014) evaluate the authenticity of real texts in ESL teaching and detect a number of issues, such as refinement of the texts,

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<sup>16</sup> For a detailed presentation of the course books, see Appendix II of the chapter.

<sup>17</sup> For an analytical presentation of CCSARP request categorisation with examples, see Appendix III. For the complete list of Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989) request categories and sub-categories, see Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), pp. 133 and 278–289, respectively.

<sup>18</sup> All examples onwards are extracted from the data of the present study.

adherence to one variety (British English), or even linguistic substitution of the original wording. The present study, however, selects the listening comprehension tasks of TEFL textbooks as the reference material for the DCT design. Listening comprehension tasks aim to depict as successfully as possible what typically constitutes naturally occurring language, i.e. conversations, discussions, arguments, and so forth. Since research on speech acts is in principle interested in such linguistic production, it is preferable that the collected data present naturalistic characteristics. One might argue that the spontaneity of the speech production is being compromised and the authenticity of the dialogues is questionable because the material consists of prefabricated situations, ergo hypothetical scenarios. These scenarios are, nonetheless, preferably taken from everyday life interaction, as it potentially occurs among interlocutors. The reasoning is to help second language learners adopt the linguistic patterns of the target language on all levels; from phonetic level to pragmatic level. On these grounds, the dialogical nature of the listening tasks appeared to constitute the ideal basis to build the DCT and, therefore, produce results close to real life language use.

The chosen scenarios for the DCT needed adjustment to account for Brown & Levinson's (1987) sociological variables as successfully as possible, because the R variable was not consistently present in its two extremes. Despite controversy, D and P are definable within the bounds of social realm, but R is much more complicated to identify as high or low (Shahrokhi, 2012). In that case, the formulation of the scenarios required adjustments, so as to include all possible variations of the variables and, thus, cover request scenarios in their entirety. Even though "... what the degree of imposition is for any act is culturally determined" (Sifianou, 1992, p. 312), there are far too many other factors that may affect its definition as high or low; that is, educational factors, demographical, gender oriented, and so forth. Subsequently, given these restrictions, the level of imposition in the scenarios needed to be defined in the scenarios, in order to be comparable with D and P, within their combinations. Considering that the latter two sociological variables are measured as either

high or low — or also equal for P — the measurement of R follows the same pattern. Even though the level of imposition can potentially be measured on a scale, there still exist two extremes on that scale, namely a positive and a negative, or a high and a low. Imposition can differ in type while present in a requestive scenario, that is, being high or low, in the sense of causing a potential FTA or not. In order to try and define a requestive scenario as face threatening, then, the 12 DCT scenarios are adjusted to Coulmas' (1981) dual dimension of the speech act of thanking for material and immaterial goods. While Coulmas (1981, p. 75) maintains that this taxonomy is not definite, he still manages to distinguish this criterion of material vs. immaterial as particularly important in verbalising one's gratitude towards another. Drawing on the duality of the taxonomy, material counted for low imposing requests and immaterial for high imposing ones, as this was the general line the reviewed TEFL textbooks followed. Nonetheless, it should be noted that exceptions apply to the assignment of high or low R to the scenarios. To clarify the above categorisation and explain how these exceptions apply, four examples are presented below; a low imposing material request, a high imposing material request, a low imposing immaterial request, and a high imposing immaterial request, respectively. All examples are taken from the final version<sup>19</sup> of the questionnaire designed for the current project (see Appendix IV, part I).

(43) [Scenario 7] *You can't find your stapler and there's no one at the office except your boss, Peter Brown. You knock on his door and ask for his.*

(44) [Scenario 6] *You're in a very difficult financial situation and you need to borrow some money urgently. You ask one of your best friends, Mary, for £2,000. (violation)*

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<sup>19</sup> For further information on the different questionnaire versions, see Section 3.5.



(45) [Scenario 4] *You're the owner of a coffee shop and you want to talk to Mark, one of your employees. He walks into your office and you ask him to close the door, so you can have some privacy. (violation)*

(46) [Scenario 12] *You're a manager in a company and you need Helen's help, who is your employee, during the weeks she is due to be on holiday. You ask her to rearrange her plans.*

Examples (44) and (45) appear to violate the categorisation followed by the project; in Example (44), the level of R is expected to be low, as requests for material are weighed as low imposing, yet asking for £2,000 is not. In the same note, Example (45) describes an immaterial request scenario and, therefore, is expected to be marked with high R, yet asking someone to close the door behind them is far from imposing. Even though a definite distinction in low-imposing material scenarios and high-imposing immaterial scenarios is difficult to achieve, this dichotomy still stands for the vast majority of the DCT scenarios.

Combining all three variables, D, P, and R, the number of situations turned to twelve. However, two distractors<sup>20</sup> were added (Scenarios 5 and 10), in order to avoid potential repetitive answering patterns from the informants, making the situations 14 in total. Regarding the distribution of the variables in particular, D and R divide in  $-D / +D$  and  $-R / +R$ , where minus stands for no social distance (for instance, asking your friend for £2) and low imposition (for instance, asking your boss for their stapler), and plus for social distance (for instance, asking a new neighbour to take care of your dog) and high imposition (for instance, asking your employee to rearrange their holiday plans). P variable consists of  $-P$ ,  $+P$ , and  $=P$ , where the first stands for no power over the hearer (as in the situation of asking your boss their stapler), the second for existent power over the hearer (as in the situation of

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<sup>20</sup> For a detailed explanation of adding the distractors, see Section 3.5.

asking your employee to close the door of your office), and the third for equal power with the hearer (as in the situation of asking your best friend for money). The aim was to encompass all possible dimensions of Brown & Levinson's (1987) sociological factors that may affect the realisation of a request ( $\pm D$ ,  $\pm =P$ ,  $\pm R$ ). For a better understanding, the distribution of all three variables across all scenarios is presented in Table 3.1 below.

D, P and R's Distribution in the Questionnaire's Scenarios				
	<b>+D +R</b>	<b>-D +R</b>	<b>+D -R</b>	<b>-D -R</b>
<b>+P</b>	Scenario 3	Scenario 12	Scenario 8	Scenario 4
<b>-P</b>	Scenario 9	Scenario 14	Scenario 2	Scenario 7
<b>=P</b>	Scenario 11	Scenario 6	Scenario 1	Scenario 13

Table 3.1 D, P and R's Distribution in the Questionnaire's Scenarios

At this point, it should be noted that this study does not intend to weigh the sociological factors of P, D, and R, as this would be outside the scope of the project. However, the data analyses indicated that in some scenarios the level of R had a significant effect on the performance of the informants (see Chapter four and five).

### 3.3.2 Likert Scale Tests Design

The Likert scale judgement tests, which were designed to capture both high and low level of imposition ( $\pm R$ ) of the request, aimed to compare native English (ENL1) and GRL1 speakers of English as an L2 (ESL) perception of politeness range. Specifically, it was sought under which circumstances both group of informants are polite, when making a request; how they identify the situational appropriateness and express themselves accordingly. In other words, the purpose was to qualify how pragmatically aware ENL1 and GRL1 are, when dealing with a variety of linguistic choices. Scenarios 1 and 11 (see Appendix IV, part I) of the DCT

(asking your neighbour to turn the music down at 1.00a.m. and asking your neighbour to look after your dog for the weekend, respectively), which were chosen to build upon the two evaluation tests, are marked with high social distance (+D) between the speaker and the hearer, equal power (=P), and low level of imposition of the request (-R) in scenario 1 versus high level of imposition (+R) in scenario 11. Twelve different requests variations were introduced for each scenario, according to Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989) Cross Cultural Speech Act Realisation Project (CCSARP) coding scheme for request strategies.

The rationale behind this choice of theoretical framework was twofold. First, CCSARP is a solid, widely adopted methodological approach towards the analysis of the speech act of request. It presents the results of an extensive comparative work that Blum-Kulka et al. conducted in eight different languages. It, therefore, allows researchers in interlanguage pragmatics to utilise its outcomes and adjust their studies accordingly. Second, the CCSARP coding manual provides a categorisation of the request strategies according to the level of directness or indirectness. The notion of indirectness was first highlighted by Brown & Levinson ([1978], 1987) in relation to politeness and their own framework<sup>21</sup>. Sifianou (1987, 1992, [1999, 2002]), then, identified in her work about politeness in both English and Greek culture that “The English appear to prefer indirect constructions — for most of them indirectness equals politeness — whereas the Greeks tend to prefer more direct constructions” (Sifianou, 1987, p. 200). For example, the typical way of requesting someone to turn down the music in English is *Could you please turn down the music?*, whereas the typical equivalent in Greek is *Χαμηλώνεις τη μουσική;*, which literally translates to ‘Are you turning down the music?’; the politeness marker is redundant in this situation. Indisputably, there are contextual variations, which could contradict the proposition that English people favour indirectness when making a request. For instance, when giving driving lessons, the

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<sup>21</sup> For a detailed representation of Brown & Levinson's (1987) politeness framework, see Chapter two.

driving teacher could be expected to use a more direct language to ask for some action from the learner. However, this project does not consider such variations, only focuses on examples of everyday interaction as presented in TESL textbooks. Accounting for Sifianou's (1987, 1992, [1999, 2002]) findings, the CCSARP paradigm was identified as a well-rounded approach to synthesising the structure of Likert scale test.

Following the aforementioned reasoning behind the choice of the CCSARP coding scheme, the 12 request variations for each scenario of the two tests were designed reflecting different levels of (in)directness. Four request variations bear more or less a low level of directness (LLD) (for instance, *Our apartments share some pretty thin walls, don't they?*), four show more or less a high level of directness (HLD) (for instance, *Turn the music down or I'll call the police*), and four appear with more or less a moderate level of directness (MLD) (for instance, *Might be better if you turned the music down*)<sup>22</sup>. The purpose was to measure how GRL1 informants evaluate direct or indirect requests in English, in comparison to the ENL1 speakers' tendency, but to also examine whether the length of residence in the target country affects L2 speakers towards favouring indirectness in their judgements. Analysing their preference, not only can it highlight their tendency towards indirectness, but it can also suggest whether they actually transfer their patterns of directness in the target language or not. The importance of this examination is supported by Sifianou's (1987, 1992, [1999, 2002]) observations that ENL1 predominantly use negative politeness strategies, whereas native GRL1 prefer positive politeness strategies.

### 3.4 Participants

The task of selecting the appropriate informants for the present research project had to meet a number of requirements; common cultural background of the participants of each group,

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<sup>22</sup> For a full presentation of the twelve versions of the requests of each test, see Appendix IV, Part II.

homogeneity in terms of gender, age, demographic details, education, proven track of their competence in English (for Greek informants). In that line, the informants were specifically asked to state their age, gender, place of birth, nationality, education background, and their first language. They were also asked to provide information about other languages they speak, namely their level of proficiency<sup>23</sup> in that other or those other languages. The meaningfulness of collecting the above information lies in the dynamics of providing the researcher with controllable features of the participants. The total number of informants is a 150, as shown in Table 3.2 (ENL1 equals for native English speakers, GRL1-GR equals for Greek speakers of English in Greece, and GRL1-EN represents Greek speakers of English in England).

Informants' Details		
Participants	Number	Length of residence in England
ENL1	50	Native
GRL1-GR	50	Null
GRL1-EN	50	Total (Months / Years)
Total	150	

Table 3.2 Informants' Details

### 3.4.1 Greek Informants

For the purpose of gathering data from Greek participants, who speak English as an L2, the researcher contacted university students. The age of admission in higher education in Greece

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<sup>23</sup> The level of proficiency was determined according to the *Common European Framework of References for Languages (CEFR)*, in particular language assessments from Cambridge and Oxford universities. This choice was based on the heavy tendency in Greece that learners of English sit the aforementioned examinations. The levels extend from A1-A2, which equals elementary knowledge of English, B1-B2, which equals intermediate knowledge, and C1-C2, which is equal to advanced knowledge and proficient competence.

is 18, however it is not unusual to encounter students of any age at postgraduate and postgraduate research level; hence, the participants' age varied between eighteen and fifty-four. The institutions were based both in Greece and England. With this choice, the sample satisfied the aim of RQ3 and RQ4, which is set to examine if length of stay in the target country affects GRL1 speakers' performance in English. It should be noted that the informants were students at schools of Science, namely Business Schools, Social Sciences, Medicine, and so forth. Humanities, and specifically Philology and Linguistics, were carefully avoided, as the interrelation between disciplines could be a possible intervening factor, bearing the latent risk of generating biased responses by the informants. This risk sufficed to not employ such an approach towards the examining sample.

The total number of Greek informants was 100. They were divided into groups (GRL1-GR and GRL1-EN) according to their contact with the target culture, that is, the native English. The research focused on either null length of residence in England, or total residence, measurable in months or years.

The first group, GRL1-GR, consists of 50 informants, whose level of proficiency in English is B2. They ranged from the age group of 18–24 (64%) to the age group of 45–54 (4%). Twenty-eight percent fell under the age group of 25–34 and only 4% of them was between 35–44 years of age. The majority were undergraduate students (64%), 34% of the them were postgraduates and only 2% were at postgraduate research level. All of them were born in Greece, hold Greek nationality, and their mother tongue is Greek. None of the GRL1-GR group informants lived in England for any period of time. Gender wise, 68% was female.

The second group of informants', GRL1-EN, equally consists of 50 informants. Their level of proficiency in English is C2<sup>24</sup>. In terms of their age, the majority (44%) fell under the age group of 25–34, 40% was between 18–24, 14% of them belonged to the age group

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<sup>24</sup> The different level of proficiency of the two groups of Greek participants is discussed in Chapter 7.2.

of 35–44, and only 2% ticked the box of 45–54. Education wise, 42% of the informants were postgraduate students, 34% were undergraduates, and 24% were at postgraduate research level. Ninety percent of them were born in Greece, 4% in Georgia, and 2% in the UK, Germany and Romania<sup>25</sup>, respectively. They all have Greek nationality and their mother tongue is Greek. Twenty percent of the informants lived in the UK for a period of one to six months and 18% for seven to twelve months. In terms of years, 16% lived for one to two years, 12% for two to three years, 8% for three to four years, 6% for four to five years, and 20% for more than five years. It is worth mentioning that all the informants were amidst their stay in England when the research took place. Gender wise, 74% was female.

The data from the Greek informants were gathered both in Greece and England. As aforementioned, the preferred data collection instruments, namely the DCT and the two Likert scale tests, were in a written form. Paper copies were distributed to 50 students in class in Greece, with the permission of Professor Alexandrakis<sup>26</sup> at the Technological Educational Institute of Central Macedonia in Serres. However, the Greek students in England were scattered in different institutes throughout the country, making the distribution of the questionnaire challenging. The resolution of the issue was accomplished by distributing the questionnaires in an Office Word file via email or Skype, and then by sharing screens with the informant, monitoring and recording the Skype session. These one-to-one sessions proved valuable, as the participants were interested in a discussion after the completion of the questionnaire, which generated interesting comments.

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<sup>25</sup> All bilingual participants (from all groups) were removed from the final analysis sample, as such a variable could potentially intervene in the results and affect the outcome of the study. Regardless, bilingualism is outside the scope of this research endeavour.

<sup>26</sup> The researcher owes the outmost gratitude to Professor Alexandros Alexandrakis (Department of Accounting and Finance) for offering twenty minutes of his teaching time for the purpose of collecting their data.

### 3.4.2 English Informants

The total number of ENL1 speakers participating in the research is 50. The aim was that this group of participants served as the control group within the project that is, the prototype with which the responses of the rest of the groups are compared. For that reason, their demographical details were carefully considered to ensure their background homogeneity with their Greek counterparts. As the Greek informants, they were also asked to provide details regarding their age, gender, place of birth, nationality, education background, and language competence in other languages than their first language. They were born in England. They all have British nationality and their mother tongue is English. Their age ranged from 18–24 (76%) to 35–44 (4%), with no student older than this. Twenty percent was between 25–34 years of age. They were undergraduate and postgraduate students at Science Schools at University of East Anglia in Norwich, so their areas of expertise were the same as their Greek counterparts. Most of them were undergraduate students (64%), 26% were postgraduates and 10% were postgraduate researchers. In terms of gender, they were almost equally divided; 54% were female and 46% were male.

The data collection process involved the distribution of paper copies of the questionnaire on campus in a designated area offered by the Unio staff, so as to accommodate for an appropriate environment without distractions.

### 3.4.3 General Research Ethics Committee Approval

For the purpose of the study, the 150 participants provided their personal details (i.e. age, gender, nationality, residency) as part of their demographic background, in order to ensure the homogeneity of the data as much as possible. Considering that the Data Protection Act 1998 protects individuals' anonymity on all accounts, an application for ethical approval<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> For a template of the ethics form and the approval by the General Research Ethics Committee, see Appendix V.



by the General Research Ethics Committee was made on 22 June 2015. The application was approved on 17 July 2015. The data was stored in a Microsoft Excel file on the University of East Anglia computing storage system, as well as online on OneDrive, courtesy of University of East Anglia. The Data was kept securely with a password and participants were informed that they could leave the project at any time and that their data would be removed from the study.

### 3.5 Pilot Study

A pilot study was conducted to identify areas that could be improved before the data collection process, with regard to the design of the questionnaire. For the purpose of checking the questionnaire's efficiency before the piloting, two teachers of English and one teacher of Greek were involved in the procedure as consultants. The one teacher of English was a native speaker of the language, whereas the other two teachers (of English and Greek, respectively) were both Greek. Their insightful comments on the language, the contextualisation of the scenarios, as well as the adaption of the real-life situations in written form, resulted in some changes. The suggestion was to simplify the explanatory notes of both the DCT and the Likert scale tests, alter two farfetched situations into more realistic ones, and add or remove the hearer's response in three scenarios. The total time needed to complete the questionnaire, including the demographics, was fifteen minutes.

For the actual piloting of the questionnaire<sup>28</sup>, eight Greek students (five female and three male), of whom seven live in Greece and one lives in England, were asked to participate. They all attend courses in Science Schools (Mathematics, Molecular Biology, Computing). They completed the test in a written form and the total time needed was fifteen

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<sup>28</sup> It should be noted that a former version of the questionnaire was used for the pilot study. It has been altered to its final form after the completion of the process.

to twenty minutes. During their participation, they asked no questions, nor did they suggest any alternations at the end of the procedure.

The results and a post-questionnaire mini discussion with the participants revealed that additions could be made to the questionnaire's context. Scenarios 1 and 11, which include verbal interaction with a neighbour, troubled them, with regard to the sociological factor distance (D). All of the participants asked for the level of familiarity and the age of their potential interlocutor to be specified. They justified their request by pointing out that they were unable to identify whether they should be using plural or singular number when addressing to their co-speaker. The differentiation between singular and plural is directly related to the T/V pronominal system (*εσύ* 'you' (informal) vs. *εσείς* 'you' (formal)), on which Greek language and its speakers usually depend to express politeness (Sifianou, 1992). Such a distinction does not exist in the English grammatical system, however it is possible to indicate one's distance with their elder or less familiar by using alternative address forms, like Sir / Mr or Madam / Mrs.

Close to the informants' aforementioned concern regarding their proximity with their neighbours, the gender of their interlocutor seemed to play a major role. All of the informants revealed that they would use different language to perform their request towards a male versus a female interlocutor, irrespective of their own gender. More specifically, they claimed that female addressees would invite more polite requests than male. Such a remark could not be ignored, so the final version of the questionnaire consisted of 14 scenarios, in which male and female gender was equally allocated. It is a variable, whose control was beyond the scope of this study, yet the results may lead to hypotheses for future research.

What was also noticed during the pilot study is that the vast majority of the informants repeatedly used two request patterns in English throughout Part I, which are listed as syntactic downgraders by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), namely the interrogatives *Can I...* and *Could I...*. These syntactic downgraders are considered a subcategory of (Query)

Preparatory and fall under the category of conventionally indirect requests, which is the typical way of requesting in English (Sifianou, 1992). In order to avoid any intentional repetition of certain structures by the informants, such as the above, two distractors were added in the questionnaire's final version, adapted from Sasaki (1998). The speech act they represented was refusal. The rationale behind embodying distractors in the DCT was to ensure that the informants would not complete the questionnaire automatically and without thinking. If so, then the responses in the refusal scenarios would have been requests instead.

Another technique to avoid undesirably repetitive answers was to distribute the questionnaire in various versions. What is virtually meant by 'versions' is that the actual content does not change in principle, but only in order. All versions consist of the same scenarios, but in a different order of appearance. The pilot test confirmed this technique would make the questionnaire more robust by avoiding task saturation effect on the same items for the participants – it is reminded that the target groups are L2 speakers of English. Therefore, the scenarios in Part I of the questionnaire appeared in three different orders, so that the results of all the participants show diversity. The aim was to collect representative data for all twelve scenarios of Part I.

The task of clarifying the variables of D, P, and especially R, within the frame of the scenarios, was an intricate process. The completion of the pilot study also raised concerns with regard to time constrains and the potential repetitive nature of the participants' responses. Therefore, piloting the questionnaire was a valuable addition to the process.

### 3.6 Data Analysis Processes

The following section provides a thorough description of the data analysis processes that were followed in order to extract and interpret the results from both the DCT and the Likert scale tests. It is explained why those processes are relevant to the study and how they provide

the means to answer the research questions and meet the objectives of the project. The nature of the analyses is quantitative for all the data, with qualitative value in the discussion.

It should be noted at this point that the length of residence factor, which is employed to compare the two groups of Greek informants, is defined only with regard to the residence of the students in the target culture and not their purpose of residence. It is determined as null for GRL1-GR and total for GRL1-EN; and by total is meant that the length of residence in England is accounted for as accumulated and not dispersed in months or years. The reason behind this decision lies on the nature of the informants' data; since GRL1-GR exhibit null contact with the target culture, GRL1-EN's length of stay is already comparable with GRL1-GR's in its own right, considering that RQ3 and RQ4 explore its impact on L2 speakers.

### 3.6.1 Discourse Completion Test Analysis Process

The collected data of the DCT, both the paper copies and the Microsoft Word files, were copied by hand and stored in a Microsoft Excel file on the University of East Anglia computing storage system, as well as online (on cloud). The analysis of the data relied on Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989) Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realisation Project (CCSARP). The aim of the DCT analysis was to generate enough information to answer RQ1 and RQ3. The informants' responses, on the one hand, highlighted whether they transfer their pragmatic patterns from L1 to L2 when they make a request, aiming to answer RQ1. The controlled demographics of the participants and their categorisation in groups, on the other hand, measured if contact with the target culture has an effect on the production of requests by L2 speakers, aiming to answer RQ3. The process is presented below separately for each element of the analysis, namely request categories, request strategies, internal modification of the request, external modification of the request, alerters, and request perspective.

### 3.6.1.1 Request Categories

Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) categorise their data in direct requests (DR), conventionally indirect requests (CIR), and non-conventionally indirect requests (NCIR)<sup>29</sup>, in a decreasing order of directness; that is, DRs are marked with the highest level of directness and NCIRs with the lowest. For the purpose of the present study, the latter category is referred to as hints (HN) (see 3.6.1.2). Their framework weighs the level of (in)directness of a request in relation to the illocutionary intent of the speaker (S); the more apparent his/her intent is from the locution, the more direct the request is considered. In that sense, the locution of the speech act presupposes the illocutionary intent of the speaker. Here are some examples from the data of the present study.

[Scenario 7] *You can't find your stapler and there's no one at the office except your boss, Peter Brown. You knock on his door and ask for his.*

(47) *I want your stapler because I lost mine.* (DR)

(48) *Peter, do you mind if I borrow the stapler?* (CIR)

(49) *Sorry to bother you but where are all the staplers in the office?* (HN)

This part of the analysis showed the extent to which GRL1-GR and GRL1-EN perform requests in English adequately from a pragmatic perspective. Their responses were compared with the responses of ENL1.

In order to showcase the dynamic of the results and strengthen the argument in favour or against the use of (in)directness of GRL1 in L2, hence the realisation of transfer or not, some relevant statistical analyses were deemed appropriate for this particular part of the data. By assigning the values 1 – 3, where 1 stands for highly direct requests, 2 for less direct, and

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<sup>29</sup> All three categories incorporate request strategies, which are presented in Section 3.6.1.2.

3 for the least direct<sup>30</sup>, to DR, CIR and HN, respectively, a scale was created. This scale allowed for the comparison of the means of the informants' responses on IBM SPSS Statistics 23 (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) software package, courtesy of University of East Anglia. The data was also statistically evaluated by running an ordered probit regression (oprobit) test on Stata/MP 16.0 software, courtesy of University of East Anglia. The choice of this latter test allowed for the detection of the statistical significance of the results in terms of the likelihood with which the groups lean towards directness or indirectness (Long & Freese, 2006). For the interpretation of the results, the focus lies on the Likelihood-Ratio (LR) statistic, which denotes the overall significance of the three groups towards directness or indirectness. *P* (or else *sig.* for significance) and *z* statistic are also taken into account for the interpretation of the results and the comparison between groups. The (\*) symbol denotes the degrees of significance. According to theory, if  $p < 0.01$ , then the significance is \*\*\*; if  $0.01 < p < 0.05$ , then the significance is \*\*; and if  $0.05 < p < 0.10$ , then the significance is \* (Long & Freese, 2006). Also, if *z* statistics is  $< 1.645$ , there is no significance, if it is  $> 1.645$ , then \*, if it is  $> 1.96$ , then \*\*, and if it is  $> 2.578$ , the \*\*\* (Long & Freese, 2006).

### 3.6.1.2 Request Strategies

According to Blum-Kulka et al. (1989: 278), a request strategy is “the obligatory choice of the level of directness by which a request is realized”. Directness, as aforementioned, affiliates with the degree to which the H is able to understand the illocutionary intent of the S only by the locution. This means that the S communicates successfully their request only when the H manages to perceive their intentions solely via the wording of the speech act. Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989) request strategies are categorized in a decreasing order of

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<sup>30</sup> The assignment of the values to the request categories follows Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989) (in)directness scale.

directness to mood derivable, explicit performative, hedged performative, locution derivable, want statement, suggestory formula, preparatory (query preparatory), strong hints, and mild hints. However, the data of the study revealed two new categories of strategies, namely other DR structures and conventionally structured HN, which are presented at the end of this subsection. Table 3.3 below presents all the strategies revealed from the data.

Request Strategies	Examples
Directness (DR)	
Mood Derivable	<i>Yes, close the door.</i>
Explicit Performative (explicit requests)	<i>So, I am here to ask for a pay rise.</i>
Hedged Performative	<i>Saying that, I would like to take the opportunity and request a pay rise.</i>
Locution Derivable (obligation, order, necessity)	<i>I need your help, you must rearrange your plans.</i>
Want Statement (will, desire)	<i>Yes, I would like you to turn the music down.</i>
Other Direct Structures	<i>By turning down the music.</i>
Conventional Indirectness (CIR)	
Suggestory Formula (suggestion)	<i>How about a discount?</i>
Preparatory (Query Preparatory)	<i>May I ask if you can look after my dog for the weekend?</i>
Hints (HN)	
Strong Hints	<i>I'll offer you headphones to peacefully resolve this.</i>
Mild Hints	<i>Carol, you know how long I have been working with you and this company and how much I enjoy working with everyone. With the trainings and the knowledge I have gained the past year, I believe I can handle more responsibilities in my department.</i>

Conventionally Structured Hints (CSHN)	<i>Hi I have just missed my train home, I don't have any money, would it be possible to get on the next train?</i>
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Table 3.3 Request Strategies in the Data

The mood derivable request strategy allows the S to make their intention clear only by using the appropriate grammatical mood in their locution, that is, imperatives or other functional equivalents. An example from the DCT scenarios is *Turn the music down*. The mood “conventionally determines [the] illocutionary force as a Request” (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989: 278). In explicit performative requests, the speaker’s illocutionary intent is apparent from the illocutionary verb they use, i.e. *I am asking you to turn the music down*. In hedged performative, however, this illocutionary verb is preceded by modal verbs or other verbs of intention, i.e. *I have to ask you to change your holidays*. The locution derivable allows the H to identify the illocutionary force of the locution as a request directly from its semantics, i.e. *Sorry Helen, but you must change your holidays*. The want statement is the request strategy, which allows the S to express their will that the event described in the locution will be realized, i.e. *I would like you to look after my dog*.

The five aforementioned request strategies fall under the DR request category, considering that the H needs not to put effort to understand the speaker’s intentions by their propositions. The following two strategies, the suggestory formula and the preparatory, form the CIR category subcategorization. In this case, the speaker’s intention is not directly derivable from their utterance, but the phrasing of the speech act follows a conventional pattern mutually recognisable by both interlocutors. For suggestory formula, the illocutionary intent of the S is conveyed to the H as a conventionally formulated suggestion, i.e. *Maybe my dog can stay with you?* For preparatory, however, the conventionalized linguistic choices of the S check whether the H is able, willing, or there is the possibility to act on the request, i.e. *Could you turn the music down?*



The last two request strategies of Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989) framework are strong and mild hints, which are categorised as NCIRs, or HNs for the current study. Neither bears any direct relation between locution and illocution, nor is either conventionalised. In that sense, the task of successfully communicating falls upon the H, who is required to activate additional contextual understanding of the proposition to be able to read the illocutionary force of the request. Strong hints, however, contain relevant linguistic elements, which refer to the request itself, contrary to mild hints, which contain no relevant elements whatsoever. An example of a strong hint is *I understand that, however I feel the value of the table is not high enough to spend that much when I could get a cheaper one*, whereas an example of a mild hint would be *Don't give me that shit John. If it's one of a kind, why where there two in the store?* In both examples, the speaker asks for a discount on a kitchen table.

The data revealed two additional categories of request strategies, namely other direct structures, i.e. *By turning the music down* (by+gerund), and what is named conventionally structured hints (CSHN). Even though HNs, both mild and strong, are presented by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) as non-conventionalised request strategies, the data introduced a high number of responses which can neither be categorised as NCIRs nor as CIRs. The illocutionary intent of a CSHN is apparent from the locution as a CIR, but this intent is merely related to the request scenario of the DCT. In essence, there is a mismatch and a conflict of grammar with semantics and pragmatics; the grammatical structure of CSHNs is identical to the grammatical structure of CIRs, but their meaning is open to interpretation with regard to the request scenario. This means that the illocutionary force of a CSHN could be interpreted by the H otherwise than the original force, bringing the request closer to the opaque NCIR category than the CIR and, thus, demanding more effort from the H to understand the actual intent of the S. Even though CSHNs are still hints and, evidently, open to interpretation, their conventionalised structure reduces the uncertainty of what their illocutionary force is; yet this seemingly clear illocutionary force does not necessarily mirror

the S's actual intent in relation to the relevant request scenarios of the DCT. In other words, the participants (English and Greek) wanted to make *a request* to pass on their intent to the H, hence the conventionalised structure, but without making *the request* that was indicated in the description of the scenarios, hence the hinting of the illocutionary force (italics for emphasis)

To explain the above with an example, in scenario 3, where the informants are asked to request a free ticket at the train station counter, one of the responses was *I had previously bought a valid ticket, however I missed it due to (give reasons) and now I cannot afford another ticket. Please may I go on this train instead of the one I missed?* In a scenario like this, a CIR could be *May I have a free ticket please?*, clearly asking for a free ticket in a conventionalised manner that the H would be able to identify as a request. A NCIR (HN) could be *I'm broke and I need to travel*, a statement that only implies that a free ticket would be a solution to the problem of the S. The H may as well not recognise the HN as a request at all due to its obscurity. However, the example above does not fit in either category. The speaker resorted to the conventionally indirect structure of a request (*Please may I go on this train instead?*), meaning his/her intention was to ask for something, but the content of the request did not relate with asking for a free ticket as indicated in the description of the scenario. This does not mean, though, that the actual intent of the S was not to request a free ticket.

With regard to directness, three new request strategies were employed by the participants of the study: by+gerund, future affirmative, and present affirmative. The propositional utterance (*by turning down the music*) comes as a direct response to the H's introductory line *Yes? How can I help you?* in the DCT. It is a highly direct way of requesting that is not justified either as an ellipsis or as any of the other direct request strategies of Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989) framework. Likewise, affirmative grammatical structures, present and future, are direct in conveying the illocutionary force of the locution, that is,

getting a pay raise for example, but they do not align with any of the proposed request strategies of the framework.

Table 3.4 below presents all other request strategies with an example.

Other Request Strategies	Examples
Other Direct Request Strategies	
By+gerund	<i>By turning down the music.</i>
Future Affirmative	<i>I will take your stapler.</i>
Present Affirmative	<i>I deserve a pay raise.</i>
Other Hints	
Conventionally Structured Hints	<i>Oh... sorry to disturb, I can come later, I was just wondering where I can find a stapler.</i>

Table 3.4 Other Request Strategies in the Data

The findings of this part of the analysis allowed for an interpretation of the level of (in)directness in more detail, highlighting the significance of conventionality in L2. It was shown whether GRL1 speakers transfer their pragmatic patterns in English when they perform the speech act of request, that is, how direct or indirect they are, and whether contact with the target culture affects the L2 production.

### 3.6.1.3 Internal Modification of the Request

Modification, as presented in CCSARP, equips the S with a variety of linguistic choices or techniques, which alleviate the imposition of a request towards the H. Those linguistic choices are called internal mitigators when they modify the head act internally. They are divided in syntactic downgraders, lexical and phrasal downgraders, and upgraders (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989).

Syntactic downgraders, which are language specific, that is, they differ from language to language, are linguistic devices with an optional function in an utterance. This means that a request can be successfully realised without the use of them and still convey its illocutionary force. The syntactic downgraders that appeared in the data are conditional clause and negation of preparatory conditions, whereas the rest are interrogative, subjunctive, conditional, aspect, tense, combination of the above (c.f. Blum-Kulka et al. 1989: 281-283). A conditional clause illustrates the request as a hypothetical situation, i.e. *I want to ask you if I can have a ticket for free*, whereas negation of preparatory conditions negates the two given conditions of the H being able and willing to take the request forward, i.e. *I don't suppose it's possible to replace my ticket for free?*

Lexical and phrasal downgraders are specific words or phrases, which aim to minimize the imposing nature of a request by internally modifying the head act. Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989) CCSARP identifies those as politeness markers, understaters, hedges, subjectivizers, downtoners, cajolers, appealers, and combination of the above. Politeness markers operate as “bid(s) for cooperative behaviour” (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989: 283), i.e. *Please turn the music down*. Understaters are adverbs, aimed to lighten the gravitas of the event described by the request, i.e. *I just wanted to check it would be alright to use the same ticket for the next bus*. Hedges are also adverbs, which are used by the S in order to produce a vaguer version of their request, i.e. *Hey, uhm look so I have...but I kind of need your help...* Subjectivizers are linguistic choices of the S, with which s/he adds her/his personal opinion upon the requestive force of the proposition, i.e. *I believe I deserve a pay rise*. Downtoners are “sentential or propositional modifiers” (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989: 284), whose purpose is to soften the minimizing nature of the request, i.e. *Could you be an absolute hero and possibly give me one ticket for free?* Cajolers, although not in a strict syntactic order and with loose semantic coordination with the request, are aimed at preserving the communicative balance between the S and the H, i.e. *Boss you know, I work for you many*

*years and I believe it's time to raise my salary.* Appealers, however, have a strict syntactic final position and are employed by the S when s/he seeks for agreement with the S, i.e. *Well, I can always find the table online at a lower price, right?* All the above downgraders can also be used in combinations, i.e. *Hey Tom, sorry to be a pain, but it is quite late and I have work in the morning. Do you think (politeness marker) you could turn the music down a little (understater) please (politeness marker)?* Lexical and phrasal downgraders are summarised in Table 3.5 below.

Lexical and Phrasal Downgraders	Examples
Politeness marker	<i>Can I borrow your stapler please?</i>
Understater	<i>I was just wondering if I could use your stapler?</i>
Hedge	<i>Hey, uhm look so I have...but I kind of need your help...</i>
Subjectiviser	<i>I believe I deserve a pay raise</i>
Downtoner	<i>Could you be an absolute hero and possibly give me one ticket for free?</i>
Cajoler	<i>Boss you know, I work for you many years and I believe it's time to raise my salary</i>
Appealer	<i>Well, I can always find the table online at a lower price, right?</i>
Combination of the above	<i>Hey Tom, sorry to be a pain, but it is quite late and I have work in the morning. Do you think you could turn the music down a little please?</i>

Table 3.5 Lexical and Phrasal Downgraders in the Data

Upgraders is the last category of internal mitigators. Intensifiers, time intensifiers, orthographic/suprasegmental emphasis, and repetition of request appeared in the DCT data. Commitment indicator, expletive, lexical uptoner, determination marker, emphatic addition,

pejorative determiner, and combination of the above are the rest of the upgraders (c.f. Blum-Kulka et al. 1989: 285-286). Their function is to enhance the request, leaving no room for the H to misinterpret its illocutionary force. Intensifiers, on the one hand, are adverbs, which are used to stress specific parts of the request, i.e. *I really need your help financially...* Time intensifiers, on the other hand, specifically stress the temporal necessity of the request come about, i.e. *Is there any discount you could offer me to buy that table right now?* Orthographic or suprasegmental emphasis are techniques such as underlining, exclamation marks, bold font, high-pitched tone in spoken language, and the like, with which the S seeks to get her/his message through emphatically, i.e. *I need to borrow £2,000 otherwise I'm gonna be SHATTERING MY STUMPS IN A CARD BURN BOX.* Repetition of request, whether literal or paraphrased, is the addresser's effort to increase the impact of the request upon the H, i.e. *Sorry Thomas but it's one o'clock in the morning and you are playing the music too loud. Could you please turn it down? Or maybe keep it low?* Table 3.6 summarises the upgraders in the data of the DCT.

Upgraders	Examples
Repetition of request	<i>Sorry Thomas but it's one o'clock in the morning and you are playing the music too loud. Could you please turn it down? Or maybe keep it low?</i>
Orthographic emphasis	<i>I need to borrow £2,000 otherwise I'm gonna be SHATTERING MY STUMPS IN A CARD BURN BOX</i>
Intensifier	<i>I really need your help financially...</i>
Time intensifier	<i>Is there any discount you could offer me to buy that table right now?</i>

Table 3.6 Upgraders in the Data

### 3.6.1.4 External Modification of the Request

External modification of the request, in line with internal modification, aims to support the speaker's request by illuminating the illocutionary force of the speech act towards the H. By definition, external modification occurs outside the head act either preceding or following it. It is divided in mitigating supportive moves, whose purpose is to soften the R of the request, and aggravating supportive moves, with which the S expresses his/her irritation while performing the request.

The first category of external modification, that is, mitigating supportive moves, is categorised in seven subcategories; preparator, getting a precommitment, grounder, disarmer, promise of reward, imposition minimizer, and combination of the above. Preparator is an introductory request, with which the S informs the H that s/he is about to perform an actual request, without revealing the context. S/he is also able to explore the hearer's willingness to act upon the request. An example arising from the DCT data is *Hi Carol, thanks for seeing me. I'd like to discuss my position and the extra responsibilities I've been taking on. Could we discuss the possibility of a rise?* Getting a precommitment is a technique, with which the S attempts to secure the hearer's involvement in the request, in the sense that s/he will act upon it. At a large extent, precommitment relies on the hearer's intentions of actually responding. An example from the data is *Hey Kate, if you can do me a solid? Could you look after my dog?* Grounders are explanations, reasons, or justifications given by the H in an attempt to soften his/her request, i.e. *Hey Kate. I'm going away this weekend. Do you mind looking after my dog, Pauline?* Disarmers are linguistic choices the S makes in order to keep the H from rejecting the requestive force of his/her utterance, i.e. *I know you have time off coming up soon, but this is going to be a really busy time. Would it be possible for you to move the time you're taking off?* A promise of reward is targeted to ensure the hearer's agreement to act upon the speaker's request, i.e. *Do you have the cash? I will buy the coffee to pay you back.* An imposition minimizer aims to soften the discomfort

that the request may cause to the H, i.e. *Sorry to disturb but can I borrow your stapler please?* A combination of the above modification linguistic devices is also possible, i.e. *Hi, I'm sorry to bother you* (imposition minimizer). *I'm devastated – I just missed my train and I can't afford another ticket* (grounder). *Could I possibly use the ticket I've got now on the next service or have another ticket for free? I'm sorry to ask* (imposition minimizer), *I have no other options* (grounder).

A number of participants in all groups decide to minimise the imposing nature of their requestive force to their interlocutor by using humour. Although Bluk-Kulka et al.'s (1989) CCSARP does not account for humour as a request, Brown & Levinson's (1987) framework does. It is considered as a positive politeness strategy of performing a face threatening act, one that a request can be. An example from the data is *Mr Brown, Good morning, how are you? Sorry for interrupting you, but it seems that my stapler has been hiding somewhere and no one is in the office. May I use yours?* Table 3.7 below summarises the mitigating supportive moves in the data of the DCT.

Mitigating Supportive Moves	Examples
Preparator	<i>Hi! How are you? Can I ask for a favour? I'm going away for a bit and I was wondering if you could look after my dog?</i>
Getting a precommitment	<i>Hey Kate, if you can do me a solid? Could you look after my dog?</i>
Grounder	<i>Can you keep my pet for this weekend, because I will have a very important job</i>
Disarmer	<i>I know it's too much to ask but would you be able to give me some money? Around 2,000?</i>



Promise of reward	<i>Can you please take care of him for this weekend and I will bring you the best gift from my trip!</i>
Imposition minimizer	<i>Sorry to disturb but can I borrow your stapler please?</i>
Combination of the above	<i>Mrs Kate I would like to ask a favour from you, I am about to travel for the weekend and I don't want to leave my dog with anyone I don't trust. Can you please take care of him for this weekend and I will bring you the best gift from my trip</i>
Humour	<i>Mr Brown, apologies for interrupting but it seems that my stapler abandoned me! May I use yours?</i>

Table 3.7 Mitigating Supportive Moves in the Data

The second category of external modification is aggravating supportive moves, namely threat and insult, as arising from the data analysis. Moralizing and combination of the above are the other two aggravating supportive moves (c.f. Blum-Kulka et al. 1989: 288-289). An example of threat from the DCT data is *Please, turn down the music or I will call the police*. An example of insult is *Your music is too loud, please can you turn it down, it's quite inconsiderate*.

### 3.6.1.5 Alerters

Alerters (c.f. Blum-Kulka et al. 1989, pp. 275-277), which appear before the request, are elements with the purpose to get the hearer's attention before the actual request is realized. They are categorised in title/role, surname, first name, nickname, endearment term, offensive term, pronoun, attention getter, and combination of the above. Offensive terms and pronouns did not appear in the data, whereas nickname and endearment term appeared only in combination with attention getter. In examples from the DCT, *Boss, can you give me the stapler?* is title/role, *Mr Brown, I can't find my stapler* is surname, *Peter, do you mind if I*

*borrow your stapler?* is first name, *(Hey) Pete! Can I borrow your stapler please?* is nickname, *(Hey) love. Sorry to...turn the music down* is endearment term, *Hey, would you please direct me to Ann Frank's house?* is attention getter, and *Hello Mark, could you please close the door behind you?* is a combination of attention getter and first name, for instance.

Table 3.8 below summarises the categories and examples.

Alerters	Examples
Title/Role	<i>Boss, can you give me your stapler?</i>
Surname	<i>Mr Brown, I can't find my stapler</i>
First name	<i>Peter, do you mind if I borrow your stapler?</i>
Attention getter	<i>Hey, would you please direct me to Ann Frank's house?</i>
Combination (including nickname)	<i>(Hey) Pete! Can I borrow your stapler please?</i>
Combination (including endearment term)	<i>(Hey) love. Sorry to be a pain but could you turn the music down?</i>

Table 3.8 Alerters in the Data

Having presented the internal and external modification of the request according to Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) in 3.6.1.3 and 3.6.1.4., it should be noted that there are a number of informants, who performed their request without the use of any modification tool whatsoever (see Chapter four below).

#### 3.6.1.6 Request Perspective

According to Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), requests are performed by speakers towards hearers with the aim of making their illocutionary intent apparent from their locution, and possibly invoke a perlocutionary act on behalf of the hearers. The linguistic exchange demands from

both interlocutors to be involved in the communication process in order to be successful. In that line, requests are focused on either the S or the H, both, or none. Speaker-oriented requests reveal a responsibility upon the illocutionary force on behalf of the S, i.e. *Can I borrow your stapler?* Hearer-oriented requests are manipulated in ways of laying responsibility of action upon the H, i.e. *Can you lend me your stapler?* Speaker and hearer-oriented requests invite both speakers' viewpoint on the request, i.e. *Can we change your holiday plans?* There are cases where the agent is impersonal or not apparent from the context, i.e. *How can you get to Ann Frank's house?* (you, referring to people in general). Looking into the request perspective added value to answering, again, all three RQs of the current study.

The next subsection of this chapter presents the analysis technique that was employed to analyse the second part of the questionnaire, which measured the level of politeness of (in)direct requests in two of the scenarios of the DCT. The judgements of GRL1, that is, the target group of informants, were compared to the judgements of ENL1, that is, the control group. The aim was to identify whether (in)directness is a determinant factor in the evaluation of a request as polite or impolite by GRL1. The division of GRL1 in GRL1-GR and GRL1-EN according to their length of stay in the target culture, aims to answer RQ2 and RQ4.

### 3.6.2 Likert Scale Tests Analysis Process

The data collected from the questionnaire's two Likert scale tests were stored in a Microsoft Excel file, both on University of East Anglia's computing storage system, as well as online. IBM SPSS Statistics 23 (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) software package, courtesy of University of East Anglia, was used for the quantitative analysis of the data. The techniques used to analyse the data were divided in descriptive statistics and inferential statistics (see 3.6.2.1 and 3.6.2.2 below); the former refer to the informants' demographics

ratio, the mean ( $\mu$ ) with standard error (*s.e.*), and cross-tabulation, whereas the latter to correlation ( $r$ ), the analysis of variance (ANOVA), and one-sample and independent  $t$ -test<sup>31</sup>. The aim of the tests was to ascertain whether the length of residence in the target culture affects the performance of requests by GRL1 speakers of English with regard to politeness.

### 3.6.2.1 Descriptive Statistics

This subsection of the chapter presents the statistical analyses, whose purpose is to describe variables in numbers. By variable (V) is meant any item — number, quality, quantity — that can be attributed values, that is, be measured (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2016). In terms of the relationship between them, variables are divided in dependent and independent; the latter “causes changes” (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2016, p. 367) to the former. In the Likert scale tests of the current research project, the length of residence in England is an independent variable, for any response in the questionnaire by the GRL1-GR and GRL1-EN is affected by it. The evaluations themselves are the dependent variables, or else numerical variables (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2016), for they can be attributed values, namely 1.00, 2.00, 3.00, 4.00, and 5.00, where 1.00 is impolite and 5.00 polite. For the presentation of the data in this study, the dependent variables are labelled Items (I).

Regarding the informants’ characteristics, the analysis focused on frequencies, that is, percentages, in order to provide the sample’s composition. The  $\mu$  measured the central tendency of the evaluations of the 24 requests of each Likert scale test, as well as their results when grouped in HLD, MLD, and LLD requests. Standard error indicated how different these central tendencies were with regard to the larger population either towards 1.00 or 5.00. Cross-tabulation examined the potential interdependence of individual items’ values, that is, the evaluations of the twelve requests of the one Likert scale test, individually, in comparison

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<sup>31</sup> The numerical presentation of the results will be presented in Chapter five.

to the evaluations of the corresponding requests of the other. The purpose was to ensure that there are not bimodal distributions in the responses. If half of participants select 1 and half select 5, then the result mean is 3 and that does not quite capture the participants' true ratings. By presenting the descriptive statistics, the relationship between the participants and the items is emphasised, for instance whether GRL1-GR, GRL1-EN, and ENL1 provide similar or different judgements of the twenty-four request patterns of the two Likert scale tests.

At this point, it should be noted that the trichotomy of the 12 requests of each Likert scale test in HLD, MLD and LLD in the second part of the analysis (see Section 3.3.2) maps, more or less, their categorisation in DR, CIR and NCIR according to Blum-Kulka et al.'s (198). There are a few differences, though, into which request strategies are included in which request categories in Part II of the analysis. In more detail, DR (or HLD) in the Likert scale tests include the strategies of mood derivable (with modification) and locution derivable. CIR (or MLD) include the strategies of suggestory formula (with and without modification), preparatory, and want statement. NCIR (or LLD) include the strategies of hint (with and without modification) and preparatory (with modification). The labelling of the categories is used interchangeably for presentational purposes.

### 3.6.2.2 Inferential Statistics

Inferential statistics is the second of the two pillars of a controlled statistical process, next to descriptive statistics. They allow findings to be generalised at a wider level, that of the whole population, but without the impossible task of inviting judgements from all; which is why sampling is a major component of the procedure. For example, 150 students' evaluations lead to results, which can be representative of all Greek speakers of English or native speakers of English. Assumptions about the whole population are allowed by the so-called parametric statistical tests, which are tests designed for measurable data. They are opposed

to non-parametric tests, whose results cannot be used to assume probabilities of the same results with different samples of population.

Correlation analysis focuses on the relationship of the items in pairs, namely the twenty-four requests of the Likert scale tests. The aim is to assess the strength of this relationship in terms of their linear nature, that is, their numerical representation in the 5-point ranking scale. The core of the analysis is the correlation coefficient ( $r$ ), which can receive any value from  $-1.00$  to  $+1.00$  and quantify any change that occurs in one item and co-occurs in another, without though clarifying which item is affected (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2016). Positive  $r$  ( $+1.00$ ) emerges when the values of one item increase and so do the values of the other. Negative  $r$  ( $-1.00$ ) highlights the increasing values of an item in relation to the decreasing values of another. In both cases, items are “precisely related”<sup>32</sup> (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2016, pp. 459). In an example from the 5-point scale of this analysis, if I1 (*Could you turn the music down?*) presents a value of 3.00 and I13 (*Could you look after my dog during the weekend?*) a value of 2.00 in one group, then the two items will be positively correlated if I1 presents the increased value of 4.00 and I13 the also increased value of 3.00 in another group.

The strength of the relationship between items is furthermore assessed by calculating if  $r$  occurs by chance alone. The probability of this random occurrence justifies whether the same survey will produce the same results with different samples of population.  $P$ -value, or else  $sig.$  for significance, reveals if that probability is high or low. The values extend between 0.01 and 0.05. If  $p$  is lower than 0.05 ( $p < 0.05$ ), then  $r$  is considered statistically significant and not random; if it is greater than 0.05 ( $p > 0.05$ ), then  $r$  is not statistically significant and occurs by chance. In the same example as above, if the pair of I1 and I13 present a  $r = .369$  and  $p < .01$ , then there is a statistically significant positive correlation between the two items.

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<sup>32</sup> The  $r$  of 0 leads to the conclusion that two items are not correlated at all and, ergo, independent, that is, they do not take on any change nor does the one affects the other in any way.

But if they present a  $r = .100$  and  $p > .05$ , then there is no statistically significant relationship between them.

The two Likert scale tests of the analysis, as already mentioned, consist of twelve requests each. Those requests come in pairs — request A from Likert scale test I pairs with request A from Likert scale test II. They are created according to their level of directness and this is the element that dictates the format of the pairing of the items when grouped to HLD, MLD, and LLD request pairs. The scenarios, within which the requests are materialised, are marked with +D and =P, but with different R (-R versus +R). This difference suggests that any statistical significance between the pairing items, which are otherwise identical, is meaningful at the level of R only.

Analysis of variance (ANOVA) is a statistical process, which allows for assumptions for three or more groups to be different by chance alone in terms of numerical variables. Variance is defined as the “spread of data values, within and between groups of data by comparing means” (Saunders, M., Lewis, P., & Thornhill, A., 2016: 458). To give an example, the three groups of the present research project evaluate numerical variables — the twenty-four requests — on a 5-point scale. If the three groups differ in their evaluations of each item, ANOVA determines whether those differences occur by chance alone or not. A large  $F$  ratio — the representation of any difference — with a  $p$ -value less than 0.05 suggests a low probability of the differences being random, ergo is statistically significant. In the study, two statistical models of ANOVA were employed; three-way mixed ANOVA and one-way ANOVA. The former captured all aspects of the research design, that is, the grouping variable (between-subject variable), the different levels of imposition in the two scenarios (within-subject variable), and the different levels of directness of the 24 requests, grouped in the three categories of HLD, MLD, and LLD (within subject variable). The results of this test allowed for a broader reading and interpretation of the data. The latter statistical model assessed the elements of the research design that specifically correspond to

the grouping and politeness variables solely, where the latter accounts for the 24 Likert-type requests as separate items.

The last two parts of the inferential statistics analyses present the *t*-test, which supplements ANOVA. On the one hand, the one-sample *t*-test followed the three-way mixed ANOVA into determining if the sample mean is different to the larger population mean. On the other hand, the independent *t*-test, which refers to groups that perform under the same conditions, followed the one-way ANOVA into specifying which pairs of groups differ in their evaluations of the same variables (Saunders, M., Lewis, P., & Thornhill, A., 2016). A large *t* with a *sig.* less than 0.05 signifies a low probability that any difference between the two of the three groups occurs randomly. Hence, a *t*-test not only allows to detect if differences exist in the evaluations of the three groups, but it also specifies which groups are the ones that differ.

### 3.7 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, a description of the methodological approach towards the present study was provided. The research questions were introduced and the rationale behind the research approach was analysed from a theoretical viewpoint. The design of the two methodological instruments, namely the DCT and the Likert scale judgment test, was analytically described. The criteria on which the participants were chosen, sampling limitations, the process of creating the questionnaire and piloting before the actual research, and the data analysis processes of both parts of the questionnaire. The next chapter presents the results of the first part of the questionnaire, the DCT.



## **4. RESULTS PART I: THE REALISATION OF REQUEST**

The next two chapters present the results of the study; Chapter four covers Part I of the data analysis and Chapter five Part II, that is, the Discourse Completion Test (DCT) and the Likert scale tests, respectively. The scenarios of the DCT presented in this chapter are 12 instead of the total 14, which included the two distractors addressing the speech act of refusal — Scenario 5 and Scenario 10. The 12 scenarios consider all three sociological variables, which affect politeness realisations according to Brown & Levinson (1987); Distance (D), Power (P), and Imposition (R). Politeness as a notion, on the one hand, is introduced in the study, following Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989) suggestion that directness and politeness are related, but not consequential. Directness, on the other hand, is presented by Sifianou (1992) as one of the differences between Greeks and English when requesting. Both parts of this research project, however, provide evidence that indirectness is considered as part of the polite way of requesting, at least in the English language setting, by native and second language speakers of English (ESL).

The data is analysed following Blum-Kulka et al.'s Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realisation Project (CCSARP) (1989), adjusting the framework where required. The results are presented separately for each category and per group, except for subsection 4.6 below, where a cross-presentation of all groups has been done.

### **4.1 Request Categories**

This section presents the numerical result of the request categories, which all the participants (150 in number) of the study used in the DCT. Introducing the results of the preference for request categories by the informants, a reminder of the scenarios and the sociological variables that mark them is presented in Table 4.1 below.

Variables		Scenarios
+D-R=P	1. Neighbour's house-music	It is one o'clock in the morning and you're trying to sleep, but Thomas, your 18-year-old neighbour, whom you don't know very well, is playing music too loud. You knock on his door and ask him to turn it down.
+D-R=P	2. On the street	You are lost in Amsterdam, trying to find Anne Frank's house. You see a policewoman and ask her for directions.
+D+R+P	3. Train station-free ticket	You're at the train station and you've just missed your train. You don't have the money for another ticket. You go to the counter and ask the male assistant if it's possible to have one for free.
-D-R+P	4. Coffee shop-door	You're the owner of a coffee shop and you want to talk to Mark, one of your employees. He walks into your office and you ask him to close the door, so you can have some privacy.
-D+R=P	6. At home	You're in a very difficult financial situation and you need to borrow some money urgently. You ask one of your best friends, Mary, for £2,000.
-D-R-P	7. At work-stapler	You can't find your stapler and there's no one at the office except your boss, Peter Brown. You knock on his door and ask for his.
+D-R+P	8. Bus station-same ticket	You're at the bus station and you arrive too late to catch the bus. You go to the counter and ask the female assistant if you are allowed to use the same ticket for the next service.
+D+R-P	9. On the phone-discount	You want to buy a kitchen table from a very expensive store. You call John Woods, the manager of the store, and ask him for a discount.
+D+R=P	11. Neighbour's house-dog	You're planning on going away for the weekend, but you can't take your dog with you. You knock on your neighbour's door, Kate White, who is new at the building and in her middle 60's, to ask her to look after it.
-D+R+P	12. Office-holidays	You're a manager in a company and you need Helen's help, who is your employee, during the weeks she is due to be on holiday. You ask her to rearrange her plans.
-D-R=P	13. Car park machine	You're at the car park machine with your friend Jack and you realise you don't have the coins for the car park fee. You ask him for £2.
-D+R-P	14. At work-pay rise	You've worked for 2 years in the same company and you think it's time you deserve a pay rise. You have a meeting with your boss, Carol Smith, and ask her for it.

Table 4.1 The DCT Scenarios - Brown & Levinson's (1987) Sociological Variables

### 4.1.1 Native English Speakers (ENL1)

Chart 4.1 below presents the responses of the control group, the native English speakers (ENL1), to the 12 request scenarios of the DCT, which fall under all three request categories. The scenarios, in which three informants opted to not make a request at all, are also included. The division does not follow the ordinal format of the DCT, rather than accounts first for scenarios with +P, then with -P, and last with =P.

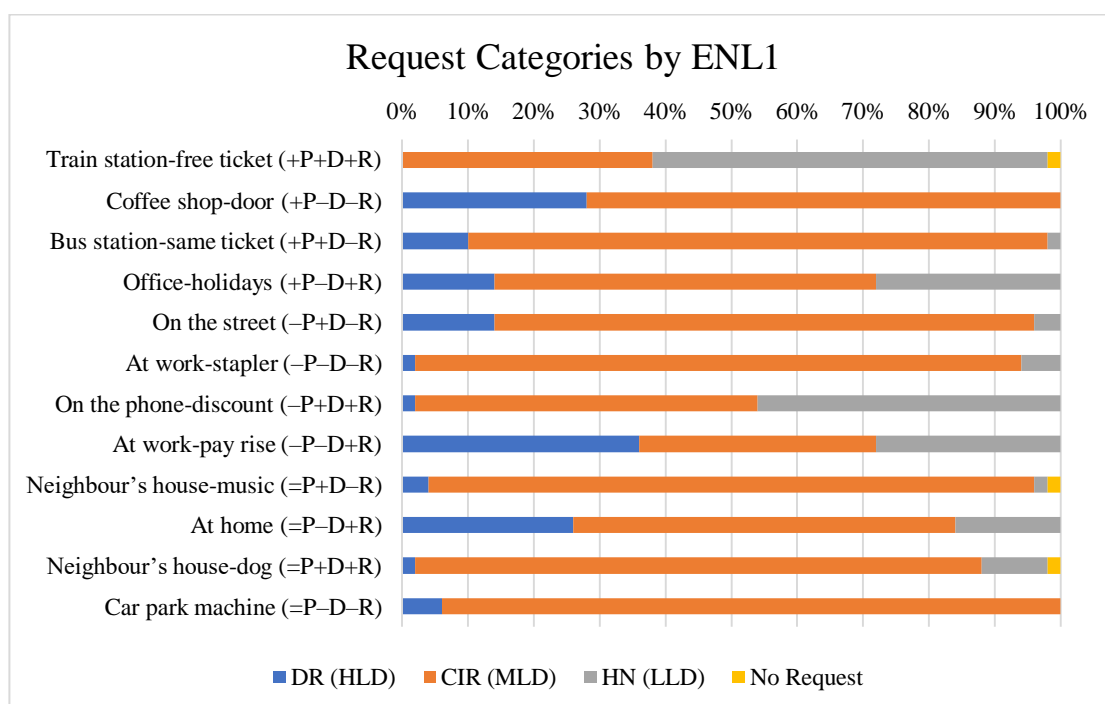


Chart 4.1 Request Categories by ENL1

The first four scenarios are all marked with high power of the S over the H. Regarding Scenario 3, 'train station-free ticket', where the interlocutors are strangers and the imposition of the request is high, ENL1 favoured HNs the most with 60% and DRs the least, with none of the informants preferring directness. Two percent of the informants did not perform the request at all, instead they wrote on the DCT "I wouldn't ask for a free ticket, I'd rather not reach my destination". The second most preferred strategy was CIR with 38%. In Scenario

4, 'coffee shop-door', where the social distance between S and H and the level of imposition of the request are low, 28% of the informants favoured directness and 72% CIRs. The same request strategy outnumbered in preferences all four scenarios in Scenario 8, 'bus station-same ticket', with 88%, whereas 2% of the informants preferred HNs. The second most favoured strategy was DR with 10%. The level of D in this scenario is high, but the level of R is low. Contrarily, the last scenario with +P, Scenario 12, 'office-holidays', is marked with -D and +R, yet still invited the preference for CIRs by 58% of the informants and DRs by 20%. The rest of the informants, 28%, chose HNs.

The second group of scenarios marked with no power of the S over the H showed an overall preference for CIR as the most appropriate request category. In Scenario 2, 'on the street', where the social distance of the interlocutors is high, but the level of imposition is low, 82% of the informants chose CIRs and two HNs, leaving a percentage of 14% on DR preference. The scenario marked with -D and -R, Scenario 7, 'at work-stapler', showed the highest number of informants in CIR, that is, 92%. Two percent of the informant resorted to DRs and 6% to HNs. The next two scenarios marked with -P are also marked with +R, but different D; Scenario 9, 'on the phone-discount', comes with +D, whereas Scenario 14, 'at work-pay rise', comes with -D. In the former, 52% of the informants resorted to CIRs, whereas in the latter, the informants were split between CIRs and DRs with 36% in each category. In Scenario 9, the second most preferred strategy was HN with 46%, but in Scenario 14, HN was chosen by 28% of the informants.

In the last group of scenarios, the power between the S and the H is equal. The majority of the informants opted in favour of CIRs in all four scenarios; 92% in Scenario 1, 'neighbour's house-music', 58% in 'at home', 86% in Scenario 11, 'neighbour's house-dog', and 94% in Scenario 13, 'car park machine. In terms of D and R, the first scenario displays +D and -R, the second -D and +R, the third +D and +R, and the last -D and -R, respectively. Regarding directness, Scenario 6, 'at home', outnumbered the other three scenarios by 26%

versus 4%, 2%, and 6% for Scenario 1, ‘neighbour’s house-music’, Scenario 11, ‘neighbour’s house-dog, and Scenario 13, ‘car park machine’, respectively. HNs were not used at all in Scenario 13, ‘car park machine’, but they were chosen by 16% of the informants in Scenario 6, ‘at home’ scenario. The same category came with 2% of preference for Scenario 1, ‘neighbour’s house-music’, and 10% in Scenario 11, ‘neighbour’s house-dog’. The last two scenarios were also a platform for 4% of the informants to resort to action or not perform the request at all. In the first one, the participant wrote in the DCT “I would resolve this with action like posting it on social media”. In the second, the participant wrote “I wouldn’t ask her to watch my dog, it’s not polite to ask elderly something like that”.

#### 4.1.2 Greek Speakers of English in England (GRL1-EN)

Chart 4.2 below presents the preferences for request categories of the first of the two target groups, Greek speakers of English in England (GRL1-EN). The division of the scenarios of the DCT also accounts first for scenarios with +P, then with –P, and last with =P.

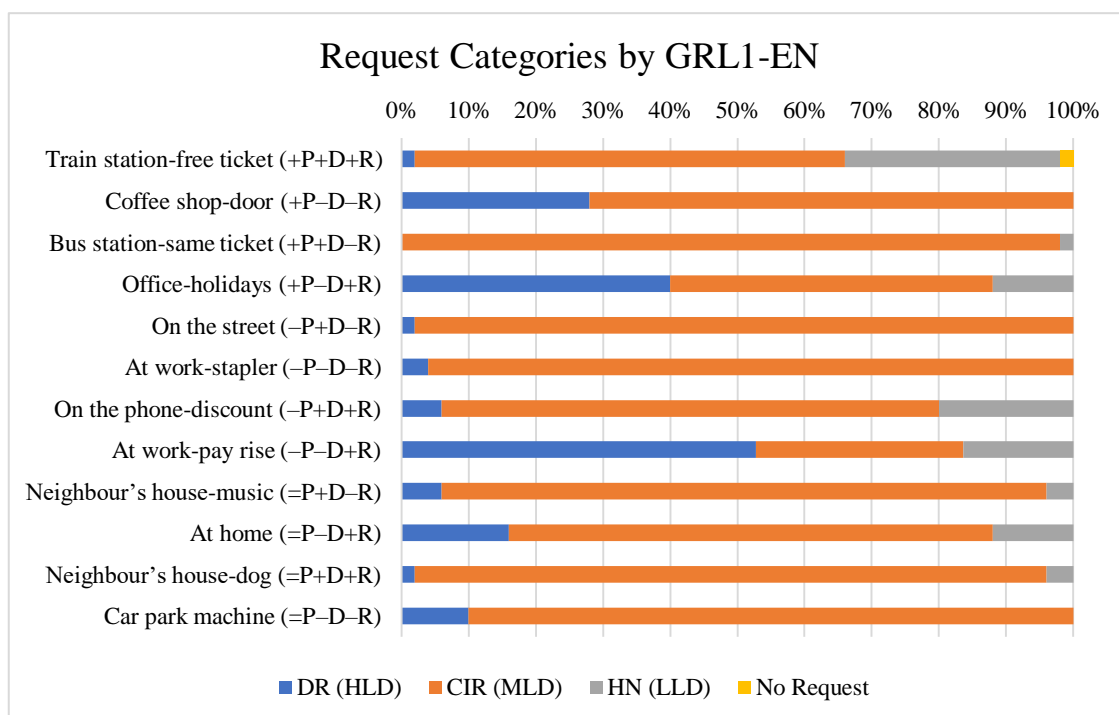


Chart 4.2 Request Categories by GRL1-EN

The power relation of the S and the H in the first four scenarios weighs in favour of the former against the latter. The request category, which showed the highest rate of preference, is CIR. Scenario 3, 'train station-free ticket' and Scenario 4, 'coffee shop-door', marked with +D and +R versus -D and -R, produced a marginally different result of 64% and 72% of preference by the informants, respectively. However, in terms of directness, the former scenario was preferred by only 2% of the participants, whereas the latter by 28%. Reversely, the latter scenario showed null HNs, whereas the former 32%. Adding up to the total 100% of the informants, Scenario 3, 'train station-free ticket' was the only one, where 2% of the informants decided not to perform the request, but rather wrote on the DCT "In this case, I would prefer to call a good friend of mine to come and help". Scenario 8, 'bus station-same ticket', marked with +D and -R, invited 98% of the informants to favour CIRs and 2% HNs. Scenario 12, 'office-holidays', which shows no social distance between the interlocutors, but exhibits highly imposing nature, invited 12% of preference for HNs. It is also the only scenario, which came with a high number of informants (40%) opting for directness in their responses.

The second group of scenarios is marked with -P, that is, the H is the one that has power over the S. The first two scenarios, Scenario 2, 'on the street', and Scenario 7, 'at work-stapler', show high D and low R and low D and high R, respectively. They produced almost identical results; in the former scenario, 98% of the informants preferred the CIR category and 2% the DR category, and in the latter 96% opted for the CIR category and 4% for the DR category. The next two scenarios of the grouping had more diverse data. In Scenario 9, 'on the phone-discount', where both D and R are high, CIR was also the most preferred request category by 74% of the informants, though in Scenario 14, 'at work-pay rise', 34% opted for it. However, directness was preferred more in the latter scenario than in

the former, namely 58% versus 6%. In the same line, hints were used by 20% of the informants in the first scenario and by 18% in the second.

The last grouping of four scenarios is labelled with equal power between the H and the S. The most preferred request category was CIR. In three scenarios, the results were either identical or showed marginal difference; Scenario 1, 'neighbour's house-music', came with 90% of CIRs, same did Scenario 13, 'car park machine', and Scenario 11, 'neighbour's house-dog', was designated with 94% of CIRs. Adding up to the total of 100% of the informants, DR category was favoured by 6% in the first scenario, 10% in the second, and 2% in the third. Likewise, HN category was preferred by 4% in the first and the last scenario, but no informant chose it in the second. In the last scenario of the four in the grouping, Scenario 6, 'at home', the highest number of informants (72%) chose CIR category, the second highest (16%) preferred DR category, and the lowest number (12%) opted for HN category.

#### 4.1.3 Greek Speakers of English in Greece (GRL1-GR)

Chart 4.3 presents the results for the second target group and the last of the three groups of informants, Greek speakers of English in Greece (GRL1-GR), on their preference for request categories. As a reminder, the informants' length or residence in England is null. The division of the scenarios of the DCT accounts first for scenarios with +P, then with -P, and last with =P.

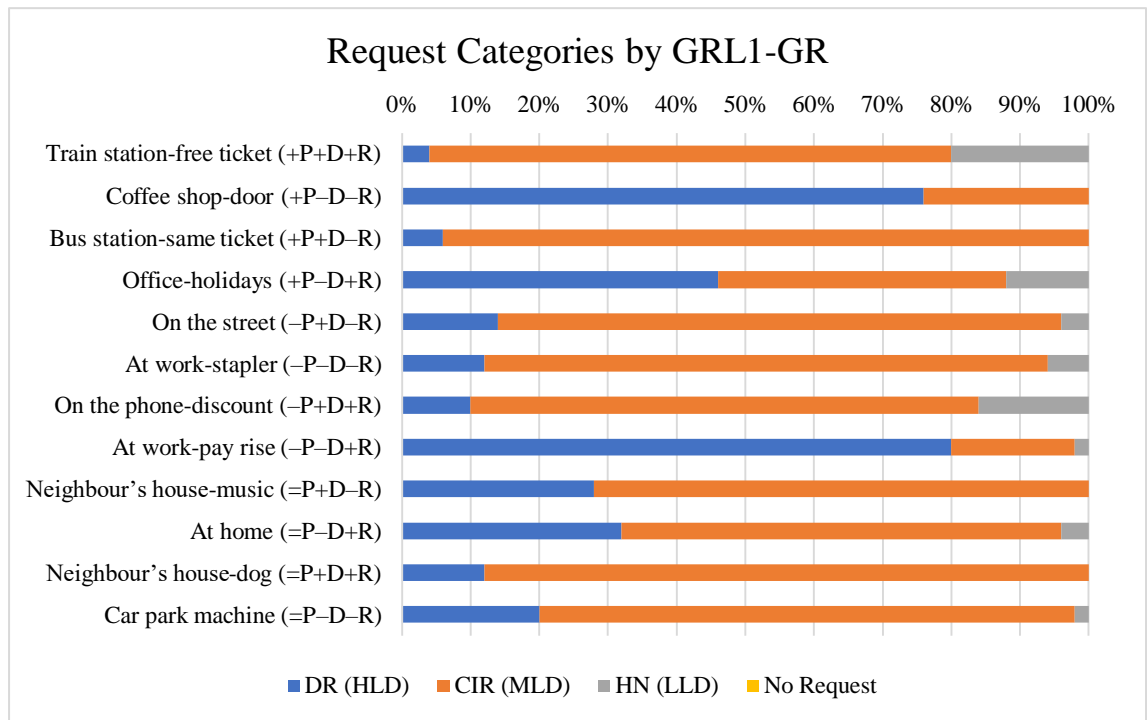


Chart 4.3 Request Categories by GRL1-GR

The first grouping of scenarios consists of situations, in which the S has high P over the H. Conventional indirectness was favoured in Scenario 3, ‘train station-free ticket’, and Scenario 8, ‘bus station-same ticket’, by 76% and 94% of the informants, respectively. The D between H and S in both scenarios is high, albeit R is high in the former and low in the latter. Directness was preferred only by 4% and 6%, respectively, yet in the former scenario, 20% of the participants resorted to HN category to request for a free ticket. Contrarily, in Scenario 4, ‘coffee shop-door’, and Scenario 12, ‘office-holidays’, directness was the option for the majority of the participants, namely for 76% and 46% of the informants, respectively. In this case, D between H and S in both scenarios is low and R is also low for the former and high for the latter. Conventional indirectness was opted for by a marginal lower number of participants than directness in Scenario 12, ‘office-holidays’, namely by 42%. The gap between DRs and CIRs preferences in Scenario 4, ‘coffee shop-door’, was smaller, as 24%



of the informants opted for conventional indirectness. Hints were preferred by 12% in Scenario 4, 'office-holidays'.

For the grouping of the four scenarios marked with -P, that is, with high power of the H over the S, CIR category was preferred by most of the informants in all situations. In Scenario 2, 'on the street', and Scenario 7, 'at work-stapler', the number of preferences was the same — 82% of the participants — with similar results of DR and HN categories; 14% vis a vis 12% for the former scenario and category and 4% vis a vis 6% for the latter. The level of R is low in both situations, but the level of D between H and S is high for the former scenario and low for the latter. In Scenario 9, 'on the phone-discount', the results were also similar for CIRs, namely 74% of the participants opted for it. However, in Scenario 14, 'at work-pay rise', only 18% of the informants preferred CIRs. The choice of directness differed between the two situations; 10% opted for DRs in the former scenario and 80% in the latter. Likewise, 16% opted for HN category in the first scenario, but only 2% in the second. The level of R is high in both scenarios, though the D between H and S is high in Scenario 9, 'on the phone-discount', and low in Scenario 14, 'at work-pay rise'.

The last grouping of the situations, in which the S and the H have equal P, conventional indirectness was also the most preferred way of requesting. CIRs were used most frequently, that is, by 88% of the informants, for Scenario 11, 'neighbour's house-dog', where R and D are both high. The second highest percentage of informants, who opted for CIRs, is 78% for Scenario 13, 'car park machine', but in this situation R and D are instead low. Directness was favoured by 20% and HNs by 2% for this latter situation, whereas 12% opted for DRs and no informant opted for HNs for Scenario 11, 'neighbour's house-dog'. The last two situations, Scenario 1, 'neighbour's house-music', and Scenario 6, 'at home', are marked with equal P, low D between the S and the H, and low R for the former and high for the latter. The results they produced are similar, as 72% of the speakers opted for CIRs

and 28% for DRs in the first scenario, and 64% and 32%, respectively, in the second. In Scenario 6, ‘at home’, 4% of the speakers also chose HN.

#### 4.1.4 Statistical Evaluation of Request Categories

This subsection of the thesis presents the complementary statistical evaluation of the informants’ responses for the request categories of the data. Chart 4.4 below presents the mean and the standard error of the responses of all three groups.

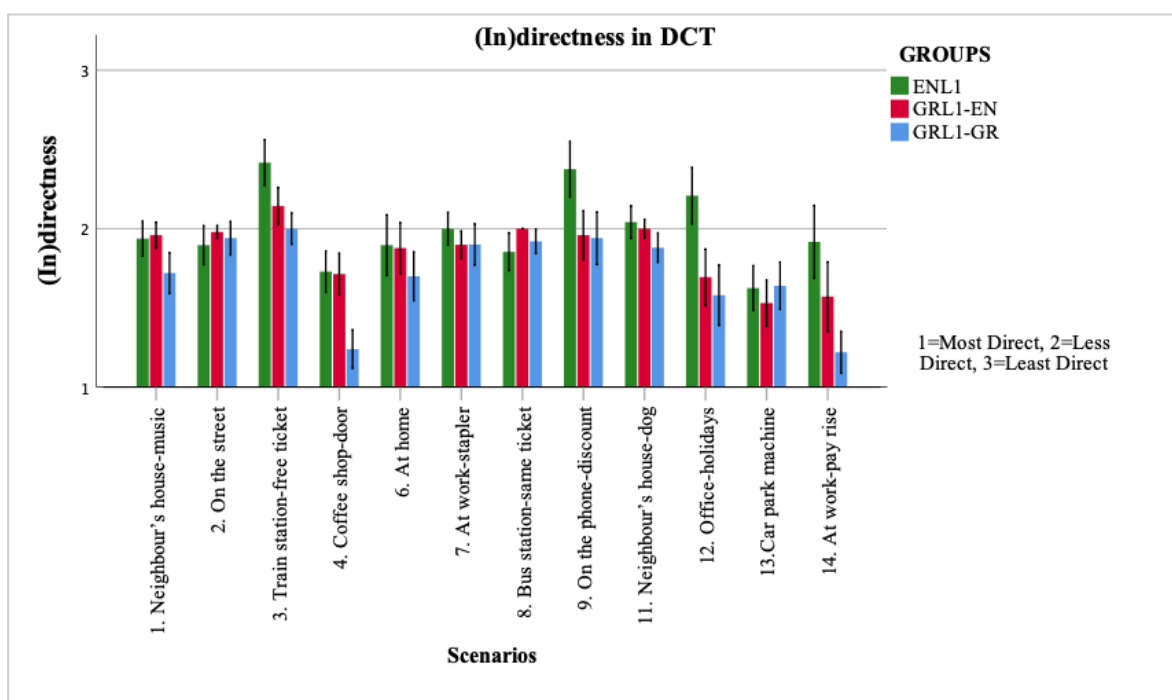


Chart 4.4  $\mu$  and *s.e.* of HLD, MLD and LLD for all Groups of Informants

In the first grouping of the scenarios (Scenario 3, Scenario 4, Scenario 8, Scenario 12), where the S has high power over the H, the results showed that the informants resorted to different levels of directness to perform the relevant request. Scenario 8, ‘bus station-same ticket’, was the exception of this grouping, as the  $\mu$  of all groups of informants was very similar; 1.86 for ENL1, 1.92 for GRL1-GR, and 2.02 for GRL1-EN. The *s.e.* was 0.039 for GRL1-GR, 0.020 for GRL1-EN, and 0.057 for ENL1, showing a relevantly similar deviation

of the sample population  $\mu$  from the general population  $\mu$ . In Scenario 12, 'at work-pay rise', the  $\mu$  of ENL1 differed significantly from the  $\mu$  of GRL1; 2.18 versus 1.70 (GRL1-EN) and 1.58 (GRL1-GR). The *s.e.* for all groups was similar though; 0.087 for GRL1-EN, 0.089 for ENL1, and 0.095 for GRL1-GR. For Scenario 3, 'train station-free ticket', the  $\mu$  for the two groups of GRL1 was very similar: 2.00 for GRL1-GR and 2.14 for GRL1-EN. Likewise, their *s.e.* was also alike: 0.049 for GRL1-GR and 0.058 for GRL1-EN. ENL1, though, presented higher  $\mu$  than GRL1 at 2.41 with *s.e.* of 0.071. Contrarily, in Scenario 4, 'coffee shop-door', it was GRL1-EN and ENL1 that presented not only similar, but identical results; their  $\mu$  was 1.72 and their *s.e.* was 0.064. GRL1-GR showed a clearer preference for directness with a  $\mu$  of 1.24 and *s.e.* at 0.061.

In the second grouping of the DCT scenarios (Scenario 2, Scenario 7, Scenario 9, Scenario 14), the S's power is low compared to the H's. Scenarios 2 and 7 presented very similar results. In Scenario 2, 'on the street', the  $\mu$  for ENL1 was 1.90, that is, closer to CIR (or MLD-marked requests) than DR (or HLD-marked requests), and the *s.e.* was 0.059. GRL1-GR were even closer to CIR (or MLD-marked requests) with a  $\mu$  of 1.94 and *s.e.* at 0.053. GRL1-EN, though, was the group of informants that favoured requests close to conventional indirectness (or MLD-marked requests) more than the other two groups with a  $\mu$  of 1.98 and *s.e.* at 0.020, very slightly deviating from the general population  $\mu$ . In Scenario 7, 'at work-stapler', ENL1 was the group of informants that was closer to CIR (or MLD-marked requests) with a  $\mu$  of 2.00 and *s.e.* at 0.049. Both GRL1-EN and GRL1-GR presented the same  $\mu$  of 1.90, closer to CIR (or MLD-marked requests) than HN (or LLD-marked requests), but their *s.e.* was 0.43 and 0.65, respectively. This means that the deviation of the sample population  $\mu$  from the general population  $\mu$  for GRL1-GR was higher than the deviation for GRL1-EN. For Scenario 9, 'on the phone-discount', ENL1 was the group that showed a preference towards HN (or LLD-marked requests) with a  $\mu$  of 2.38 and *s.e.* at 0.085. GRL1-EN and GRL1-GR, however, showed a preference closer to CIR (or MLD-

marked requests). Both groups showed a  $\mu$  of 1.94 with *s.e.* at 0.078 (GRL1-EN) and 0.083 (GRL1-GR). In Scenario 14, 'at work-pay rise', ENL1 resorted to CIR (or MLD-marked requests) with a  $\mu$  of 1.92, but with *s.e.* at 0.114, indicating a high deviation of the sample population  $\mu$  from the general population  $\mu$ . GRL1-EN were in between DR (or HLD-marked requests) and CIR (or MLD-marked requests) with a  $\mu$  of 1.60 and *s.e.* at 0.111, also showing a high deviation of the sample population  $\mu$  from the general population  $\mu$ . For GRL1-GR, this scenario allowed for DR (or HLD-marked requestive patterns) with a  $\mu$  of 1.22 and *s.e.* at 0.066, indicating a low deviation of the sample population  $\mu$  from the general population  $\mu$ .

The last grouping of the scenarios (Scenario 1, Scenario 6, Scenario 11, Scenario 13), in which the P between the S and the H is equal, the informants' preferences for requestive patterns were not very different. There was a general preference towards DR (or HLD-marked requests) by GRL-GR and towards CIR (or MLD-marked requests) by GRL1-EN and ENL1. In Scenario 1, 'neighbour's house-music', GRL1-GR showed a  $\mu$  of 1.72 with *s.e.* at 0.064, whereas GRL1-EN and ENL1 presented a  $\mu$  of 1.98 and 1.94, with *s.e.* at 0.045 and 0.053, respectively. Similarly, in Scenario 6, 'at home', both GRL1-EN and ENL1 showed a  $\mu$  of 1.90 with *s.e.* at 0.082 and 0.091, respectively, while GRL1-GR presented a  $\mu$  of 1.70 with *s.e.* at 0.077. In Scenario 11, 'neighbour's house-dog', GRL1-EN and ENL1 favoured requests towards moderate directness with a  $\mu$  of 2.02 and 2.04, respectively, and *s.e.* at 0.035 for the former group and 0.050 for the latter. GRL1-GR, however, showed a preference for moderate directness, but with direction to low directness with a  $\mu$  of 1.88 and *s.e.* at 0.046. In Scenario 13, 'car park machine', all three groups were divided between CIR (or MLD-marked requests) and HN (or LLD-marked requests), with GRL1-EN being closer to the latter than the rest. Their  $\mu$  was 1.52 with *s.e.* at 0.071, whereas GRL1-GR and ENL1 had the same  $\mu$  of 1.64 with marginally different *s.e.* at 0.074 and 0.069, respectively.

Table 4.2 below presents the statistically significant differences of each group towards directness or indirectness in each variable, as well as the overall significance of the three groups.

DCT Ordered Probit Regression				
<i>Variable name</i>	<i>LR</i>	<i>ENL1 vs. GRL1-EN</i>	<i>ENL1 vs. GRL1-GR</i>	<i>GRL1-EN vs. GRL1-GR</i>
1. Neighbour's house-music	13.17***	-0.56	2.72***	3.19***
2. On the street	1.20	-1.09	-0.56	0.55
3. Train station-free ticket	22.27***	2.86***	4.35***	1.86*
4. Coffee shop-door	32.08***	-0.00	4.76***	4.76***
6. At home	3.87	0.00	1.71*	1.70*
7. At work-stapler	2.43	1.39	1.30	-0.13
8. Bus station-same ticket	7.92**	-2.48**	-0.77	1.85*
9. On the phone-discount	18.31***	3.68***	3.68***	-0.00
11. Neighbour's house-dog	8.16**	0.32	2.50**	2.20**
12. Office-holidays	22.58***	3.55***	4.44***	0.98
13. Car park machine	1.96	1.17	-0.07	-1.25
14. At work-pay rise	23.67***	2.07**	4.73***	2.84***

Table 4.2 DCT Ordered Probit Regression

Focusing on the Likelihood-Ratio (LR) statistic for the overall significance of the three groups, Scenario 4, 'coffee shop-door, which is marked with +P of the S over the H, exhibited the highest difference in (in)directness preferences among the three groups with a LR of 32.08\*\*\*. In particular, GRL1-GR, who favoured high directness, were in contrast with GRL1-EN and ENL1, who presented the exact same results in opting for moderate directness. The  $z$  statistic was 4.76\*\*\* when comparing GRL1-GR with GRL1-EN and ENL1, but -0.00 when comparing the latter two groups together. The rest of the scenarios (Scenario 3, Scenario 8, Scenario 12), in which the S has high P over the H, the results were also statistically significant. In Scenario 3, 'train station-free ticket', the LR was 22.27\*\*\*.

When comparing ENL1 with GRL1-GR, the  $z$  statistic was 4.35\*\*\*, and when comparing them with GRL1-EN, the  $z$  statistic was 2.86\*\*\*. This means that ENL1 were more likely to be highly indirect compared to GRL1-GR, but less likely compared to GRL1-EN. In the same token, GRL1-EN were more likely to be highly indirect when compared to GRL1-GR, who were more likely to be moderately direct ( $z$  statistic 1.86\*). For Scenario 12, 'office-holidays', high directness was more likely to be preferred by GRL1-GR when compared with ENL1 ( $z$  statistic 4.44\*\*\*), but there was no statistical significance when compared to GRL1-EN ( $z$  statistic 0.98). The latter group, though, was also more likely to favour directness when compared to ENL1 ( $z$  statistic 3.55\*\*\*). The LR for this scenario was 22.58\*\*\*. In Scenario 8, 'bus station-same ticket', the LR dropped at 7.92\*\*. Any divergence in the likelihood of (in)directness preferences between ENL1 and GRL1-GR was not significant ( $z$  statistic -0.77), the likelihood became more significant between ENL1 and GRL1-EN ( $z$  statistic -2.48\*\*), and then dropped again to low significance between GRL1-EN and GRL1-GR ( $z$  statistic 1.85\*).

In the grouping of the scenarios marked with -P of the S over the H (Scenario 2, Scenario 7, Scenario 9, Scenario 14), the results presented statistically significant likelihood in differences of (in)directness preferences only for scenarios 9 and 14. In Scenario 14, 'at work-pay rise', the results differentiated the likelihood of (in)directness preferences of the three groups of the informants at a LR of 23.67\*\*\*. GRL1-GR, who were likely to favour high directness, presented a  $z$  statistic of 4.73\*\*\* when compared with ENL1 and 2.84\*\*\* when compared with GRL1-EN. The latter two groups also showed differences in this scenario with a  $z$  statistic of 2.07\*\*; ENL1 were likely to prefer moderate directness, while GRL1-EN were divided between moderate and high directness. In Scenario 9, 'on the phone-discount', the LR was 18.31\*\*\*. ENL1 presented the exact same likelihood ratio to prefer high indirectness when compared with GRL1-EN and GRL1-GR ( $z$  statistic 3.68\*\*\* for

both), whereas the latter two groups showed no statistically significant differences in their likelihood to prefer moderate directness ( $z$  statistic -0.00).

In the last grouping of scenarios (Scenario 1, Scenario 6, Scenario 11, Scenario 13), which are marked with =P of the S and the H, only scenarios 1 and 11 presented statistically significant likelihood in differentiating (in)directness preferences among the three groups of informants. In Scenario 1, 'neighbour's house-music', the LR was 13.17\*\*\*. GRL1-GR's likelihood to resort to high directness when performing a request was statistically significant when compared with GRL1-EN ( $z$  statistic 3.19\*\*\*) and ENL1 ( $z$  statistic 2.72\*\*\*). The latter two groups of informants presented no differences in the likelihood to resort to moderate directness when performing a request ( $z$  statistic -0.56). Scenario 11, 'neighbour's house-dog', presented a LR of 8.16\*\*. GRL1-GR were again more likely to prefer requestive patterns closer to DR (or HLD-marked requests) when compared with GRL1-EN ( $z$  statistic 2.20\*\*) and ENL1 ( $z$  statistic 2.50\*\*). The latter two groups showed, again, no differences in how likely the informants are to prefer moderate directness ( $z$  statistic 0.32).

## 4.2 Request Strategies

The following subsection presents the participants' preference for request strategies in numbers. The results are presented by groups.

### 4.2.1 Native English Speakers (ENL1)

The presentation of the results begins with the numerical data of the responses of the control group, ENL1. The data from the participants, who opted not to perform the request, are not included, ergo the total number of responses differs according to request strategy and group. The 12 scenarios are divided and commented in groups marked with +P, -P, and =P. Chart 4.4 below presents the first grouping, scenarios with +P.

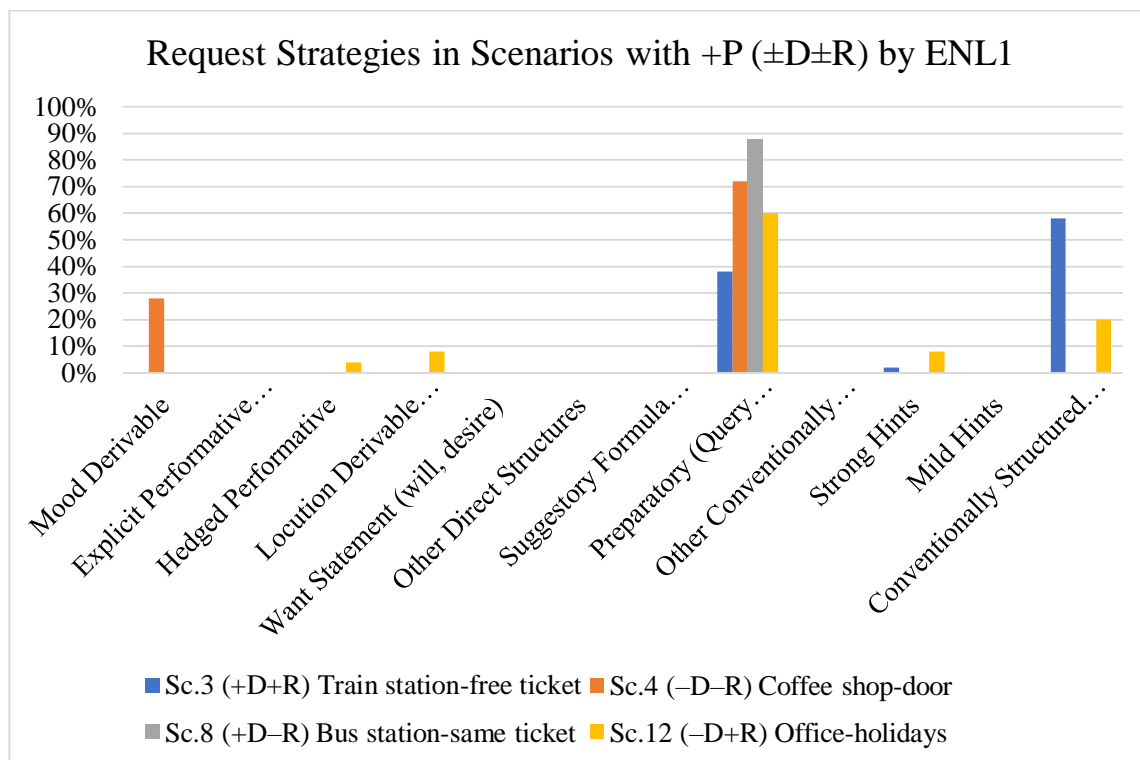


Chart 4.5 Request Strategies in Scenarios with +P (±D±R) by ENL1

Scenario 3, ‘train station-free ticket’, was the only one of this grouping, in which the participants favoured CSHNs, with preparatory as the second most favoured strategy. The distance between the interlocutors, as well as the level of R of the request, are high. Additionally, one of the informants did not perform the request at all. In Scenario 12, ‘office-holidays’, where R is also high, but D is low, 60% of the native speakers preferred preparatory, whereas 20% of them resorted to CSHNs to perform the request. Directness was also favoured by a number of speakers — 4% with hedged performative and 7% with locution derivable. Other direct structures were opted for by 10% of the participants in Scenario 8, ‘bus station-same ticket’, where D is high and R low. The strategy with the highest number of speakers (88%) was preparatory. Likewise, Scenario 4, ‘coffee shop-door’, where D and R come in high levels, reveals that 72% participants preferred preparatory to perform the request.

Chart 4.5 below presents the scenarios, which are marked with -P.



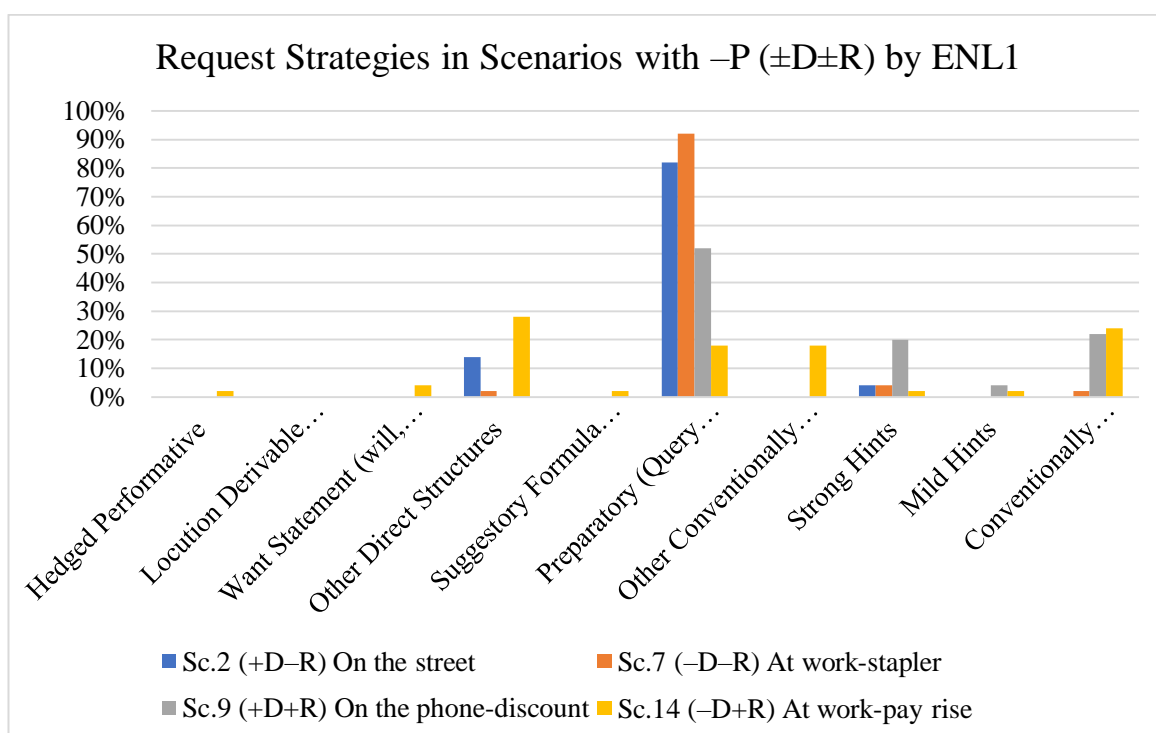


Chart 4.6 Request Strategies in Scenarios with -P (±D±R) by ENL1

In all four situations, preparatory request strategy was the most preferred one. Scenario 2, ‘on the street’, and Scenario 7, ‘at work-stapler’, produced a result of 84% and 92% of the participants, respectively. Both scenarios are marked with low R, whereas D is high in the former and low in the latter. Directness was favoured by 14% in ‘on the street’ situation and only by 2% in ‘at work-stapler’. Strong hints were preferred by 4% speakers in both scenarios, whereas only 2% resorted in CSHNs in Scenario 7. For Scenario 9, ‘on the phone-discount’, and Scenario 14, ‘at work-pay rise’, numbers were lower — 52% and 18% of the participants, respectively. Imposition is high in both situations, albeit D is high in the former and low in the latter. The second highest ratio was attributed to hinting, with 22% and 24% of the speakers resorting to CSHNs in Scenario 9 and Scenario 14, respectively. Strong hints were also preferred by 20%, contrary to 2% in the same scenarios.

Mild hints were less, 4% and 2%, respectively. However, 28% of ENL1 favoured other direct strategies, 18% other conventionally indirect strategies, and only 2% suggestory formula. In the same scenario, participants also favoured directness with 2% of preference for hedged performative, 4% of want statements, and 4% of other direct structures.

In Chart 4.6, scenarios with =P and ±D and ±R are presented.

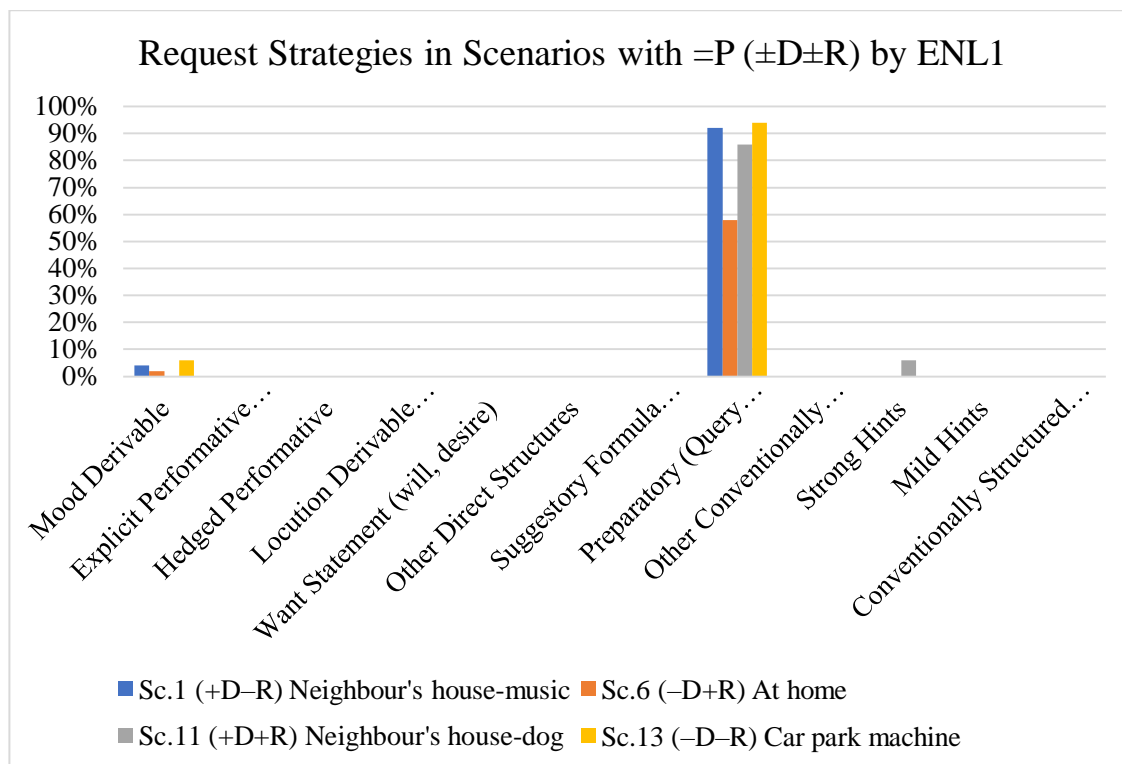


Chart 4.7 Request Strategies in Scenarios with =P (±D±R) by ENL1

For the grouping of scenarios with =P, the results weighed in favour of preparatory in all four situations, yet Scenario 6, 'at home', produced the lowest ratio compared to the other three situations; 58% of the informants. Directness was also considered as an appropriate form of requesting, with 20% of the participants favouring locution derivable, 4% hedged performative, and 2% mood derivable. Moreover, 14% of the speakers preferred CSHNs and 2% strong hint. The sociological variables of D and R are low and high, respectively. The three remaining scenarios showed marginally different results regarding

preparatory. In Scenario 1, ‘neighbour’s house-music’, and in Scenario 13, ‘car park machine’, the strategy was preferred by 92% and 94% of the informants, respectively, whereas in Scenario 11, ‘neighbour’s house-dog’, by 86%. Scenario 11, ‘neighbour’s house-dog’, which is marked with +D and +R, contrasted Scenario 13, ‘car park machine’, which is marked with –D and –R; and Scenario 1, ‘neighbour’s house-music’, is marked with –R, but +D. Regarding directness, 6% of the informants favoured mood derivable in Scenario 11, ‘neighbour’s house-dog’, and 4% in Scenario 1, ‘neighbour’s house-music’, and 2% preferred explicit performative in Scenario 11. Hinting was also opted by the informants; strong hints by 2% in Scenario 1 and 6% in Scenario 11, and CSHNs by 4% in the same scenario.

#### 4.2.2 Greek Speakers of English in England (GRL1-EN)

The section below presents the responses of the first target group, Greek speakers of English in England (GRL1-EN), to the scenarios of the DCT. The total number of informants differs in Scenario 3, ‘train station-free ticket’, as one of the participants opted to not respond with a request. Their length of residence in England ranges from 1–6 months to 5+ years, as aforementioned. The presentation of the 12 scenarios follows a division according to +P, –P, and =P. The first grouping of the scenarios, which are marked with +P, ±D, and ±R, is presented in Chart 4.7 below.

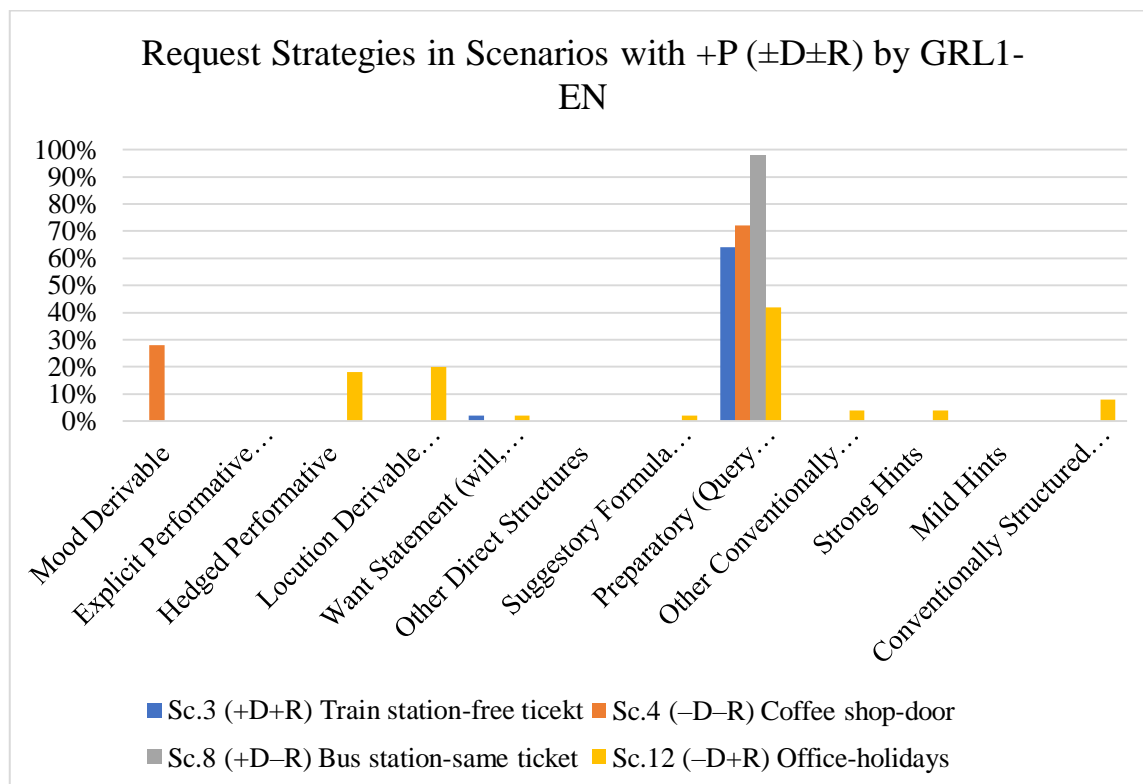


Chart 4.8 Request Strategies in Scenarios with +P (±D±R) by GRL1-EN

Scenario 12, ‘office-holidays’, showed the most dispersed results within the different request strategies. The most favoured strategy was preparatory — as was for the rest of the scenarios — with 42% of the informants, yet directness also attracted a significant number of preferences; 20% opted for locution derivable, 18% for hedged performative, and 2% for want statement. Indirectness was also preferred as strong hints (4%), suggestory formula (2%), other structures (4%), and CSHNs (8%). D is low and R high for this situation. Contrary to the disperse results of the latter scenario, Scenario 8, ‘bus station-same ticket’, which is marked with the opposite sociological variables of +D and -R, showed a 98% unanimous preference for preparatory. Only 2% opted for CSHNs. In the same line of little dispersion, in Scenario 4, ‘coffee shop-door’, preparatory was favoured by 72% of the informants and mood derivable by 28%. The level of D and R is low. In Scenario 3, ‘train station-free ticket’, D and R are both high.

The results of the last two scenarios were similar, only towards different directions; the former towards directness and the latter towards indirectness, that is, CSHNs with 32% of the informants. Their ratio of preference for preparatory, however, was similar — 64% for Scenario 3.

The following grouping of scenarios, presented in Chart 4.8, is marked with –P.

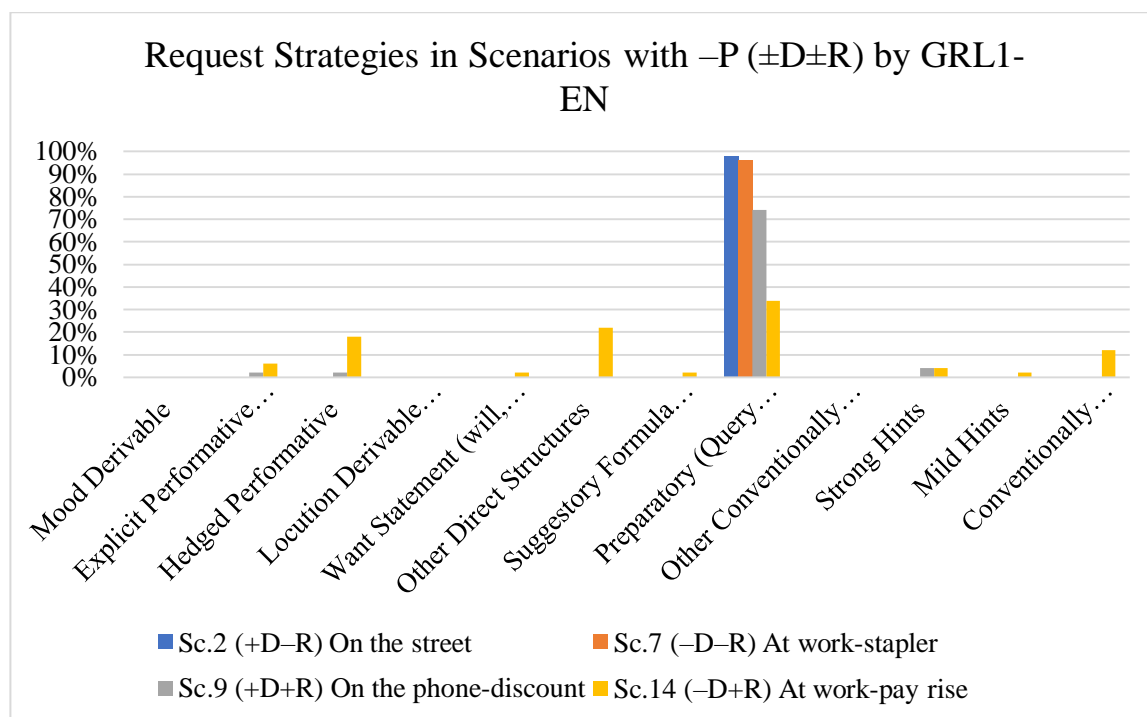


Chart 4.9 Request Strategies in Scenarios with -P (±D±R) by GRL1-EN

Preparatory was the dominant way of requesting in these scenarios for GRL1-EN, yet in Scenario 14, ‘at work-pay rise’, the results reflected at least a trichotomy of preference; 34% of the informants opted for preparatory, 22% for other direct structures, and 18% for hedged performative. There was also diversity in preferences between directness and indirectness with other strategies as well, like explicit performative and want statement vis a vis hinting strategies. The level of D is low in the scenario and the level of R is high. Scenario 9, ‘on the phone-discount’, which has both +D and +R, showed a more unified tendency towards preparatory with 74% of the participants, whereas strong hints and CSHNs

— 4% and 16%, respectively — were more preferred than direct strategies. In Scenario 7, ‘at work-stapler’, where social distance and imposition of the request are low, the participants resorted to indirectness and preparatory with 96%, whereas only 4% opted for the direct request strategy of locution derivable. In Scenario 2, ‘on the street’, the ratio of participants opting for preparatory was even higher, 98%, with only 2% using directness to perform the request. The level of R of the request is low, but the level of D is high.

The last grouping of scenarios is marked with =P and is presented in Chart 4.9 below.

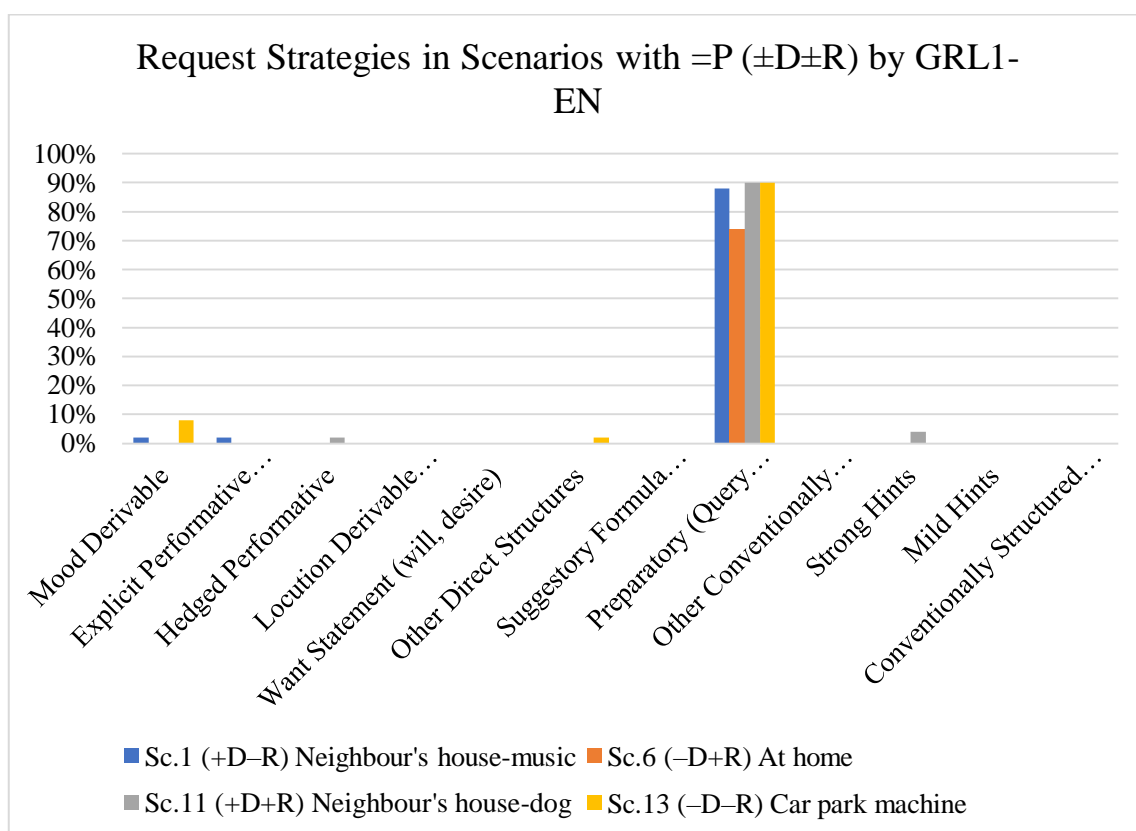


Chart 4.10 Request Strategies in Scenarios with =P (±D±R) by GRL1-EN

Preparatory was the dominant strategy in this grouping, too, with over 88%, except for Scenario 6, ‘at home’, where the ratio was 74%. The level of D is low in the scenario and the level of R is high, inviting eight informants to opt for locution derivable. In Scenario 1, ‘neighbour’s house-music’, the sociological variables of D and R are reverse, that is, D is high and R low, leading 88% of the informants to opt for preparatory. Scenarios 11 and 13,

‘neighbour’s house-dog’ and ‘car park machine’, marked with directly opposite D and R, namely +D and +R versus –D and –R, respectively, preparatory was preferred by 90% of the informants in both scenarios. The latter also produced four results in mood derivable.

#### 4.2.3 Greek Speakers of English in Greece (GRL1-GR)

The request strategies preferred by Greek speakers of English in Greece (GRL1-GR) are presented in the following section. As a reminder, the participants have never lived in England. The scenarios are presented in groupings according to the level of P, namely +P, –P, and =P. Chart 4.10 below presents the grouping with +P.

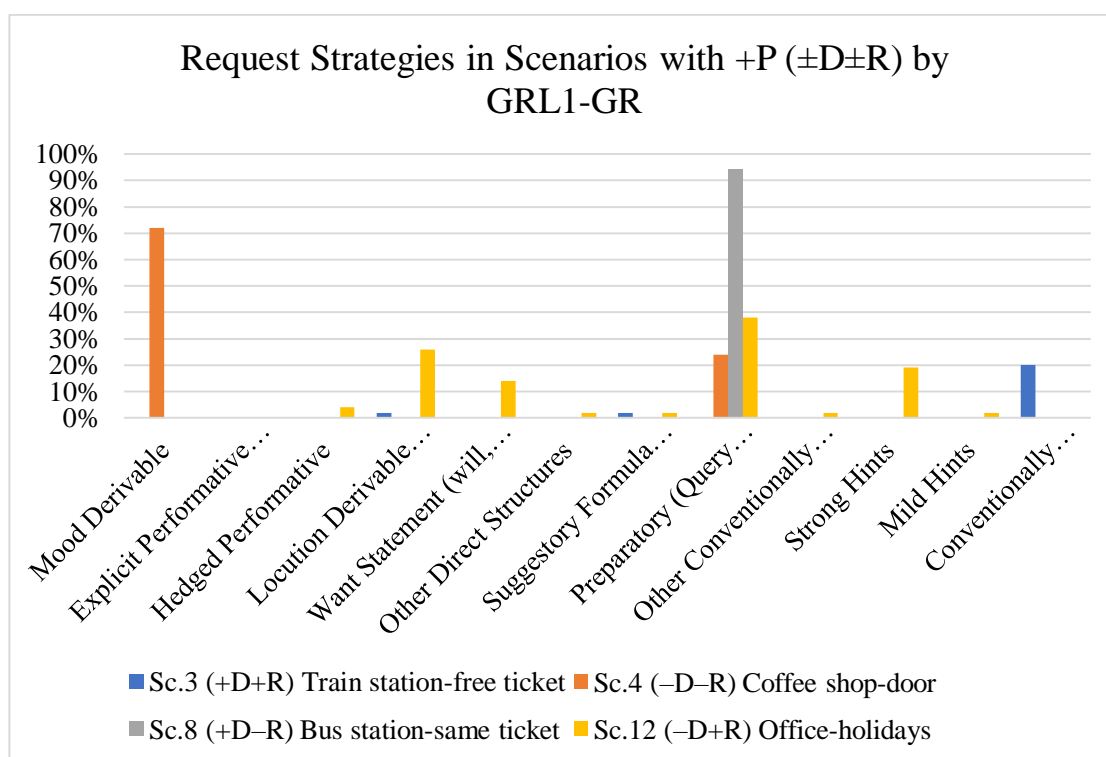


Chart 4.11 Request Strategies in Scenarios with +P (±D±R) by GRL1-GR

Scenario 4, ‘coffee shop-door’, was the only one throughout the analysis that presented the highest number of informants in favour of the most direct request strategy, mood derivable. For GRL1-GR in particular, that percentage of informants reached 72%, the highest of all groups of participants. Four percent of the informants opted for want statement,

also a direct strategy. The remaining 24% of the informants preferred preparatory as the appropriate strategy to perform the DCT request. Whereas Scenario 4 is marked with –D and –R and participants resorted to directness, in Scenario 3, ‘train station-free ticket’, which is marked with +D and +R, the informants favoured indirectness, namely preparatory with 74%, CSHNs with 20%, and suggestory formula with 2%. They opted for directness at a total of 4%, that is, 2% for mood derivable and 2% for locution derivable, one informant per category. The results of Scenario 8, ‘bus station-same ticket’, which is marked with +D and –R, also favoured indirectness, as 94% opted for preparatory. In the last scenario of the grouping with +P, Scenario 12 or ‘office-holidays’, which has –D and +R, the results showed diversity in strategies, with preparatory showing the highest ratio of 38% and locution derivable the second highest with 26%. The rest of the informants were divided between direct and indirect strategies.

In Chart 4.11 below, the results for the scenarios marked with –P are presented.

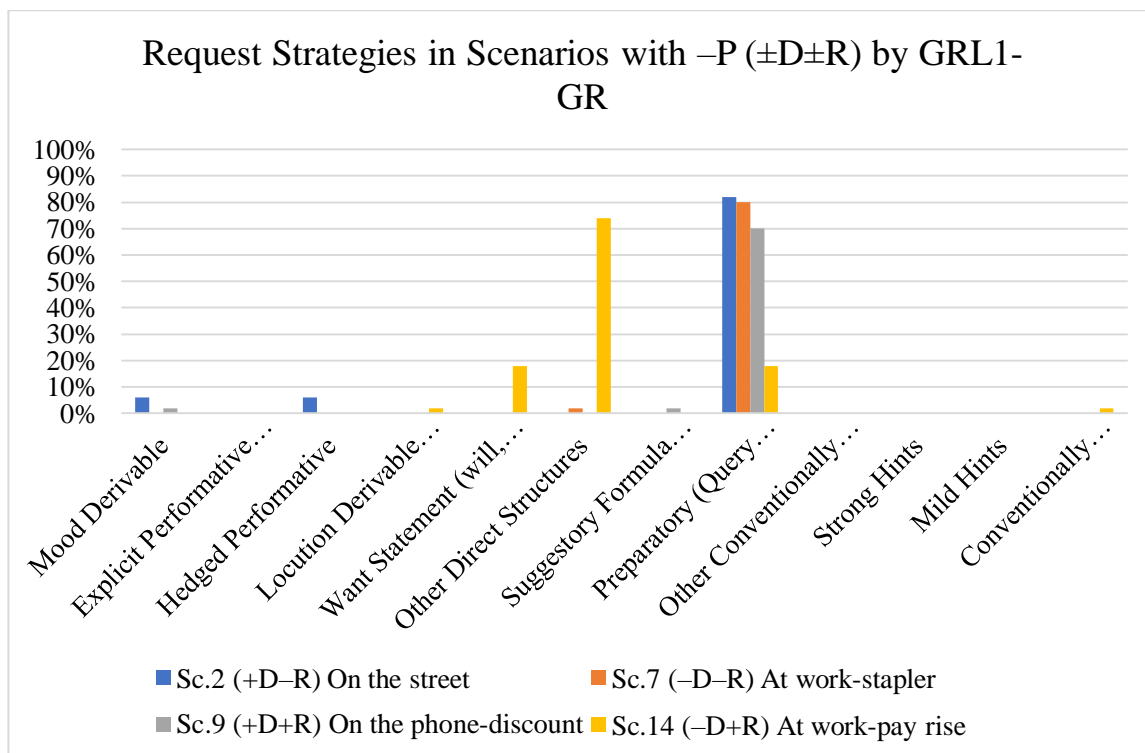


Chart 4.12 Request Strategies in Scenarios with –P (±D±R) by GRL1-GR



In the three of the four situations, the predominant request strategy was preparatory; 82% of the informants preferred it in Scenario 2, ‘on the street’ (+D and –R), 80% in Scenario 7, ‘at work-stapler’ (–D and –R), and 70% in Scenario 9, ‘on the phone-discount’ (+D and +R). The rest of the informants were divided between DR strategies and hinting. A total of 10% preferred directness for Scenario 2 and Scenario 9, and a total of 12% for Scenario 7. Directness was particularly favoured in Scenario 14, ‘at work-pay rise’ (–D and +R), with a 74% of other direct strategies, 4% want statement, and 2% locution derivable. Hints were also favoured, in particular in Scenario 9, with a total of 16%.

The last grouping of scenarios, those marked with =P, are presented in Chart 4.12 below.

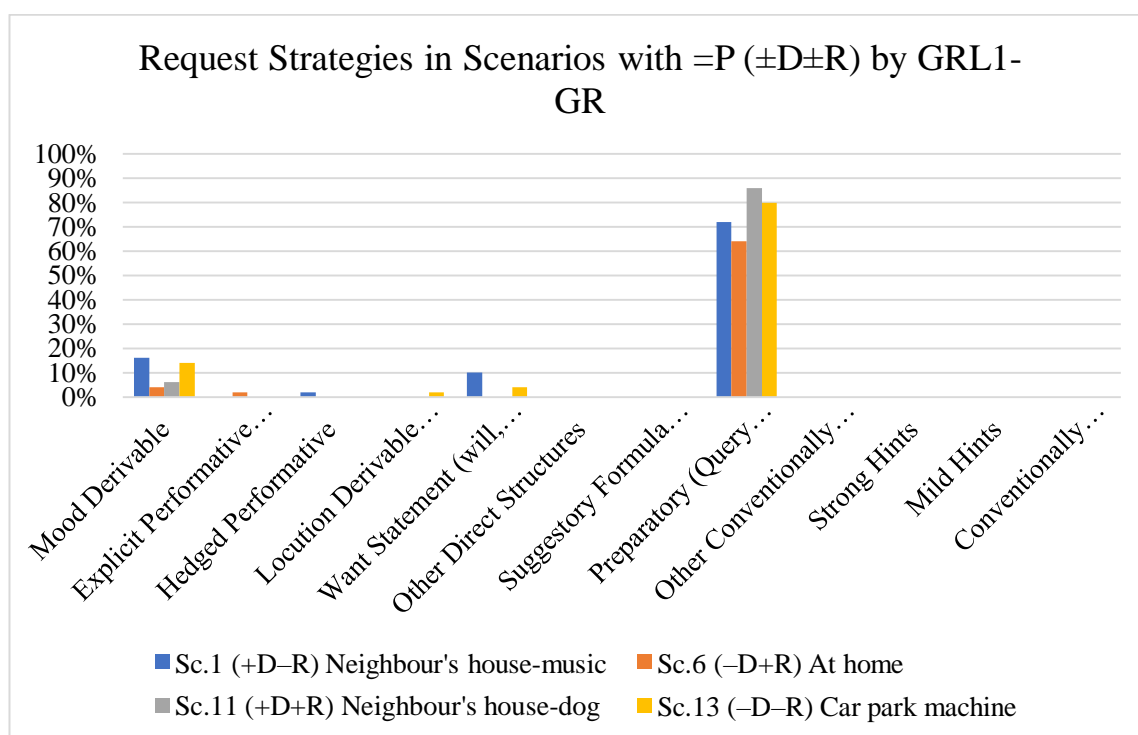


Chart 4.13 Request Strategies in Scenarios with =P (±D±R) by GRL1-GR

In Scenario 11, ‘neighbour’s house-dog’, which is marked with high levels of D and R, 86% of the informants favoured preparatory strategy. The same strategy was preferred by the majority of the informants in the rest of the scenarios, in a decreasing order; 80% of the informants in Scenario 13, ‘car park machine’ (–D and –R), 72% in Scenario 1, ‘neighbour’s

house-music' (+D and -R), and 64% in Scenario 6, 'at home' (-D and +R). The latter scenario revealed dispersed data within the DR strategies at a total of 32%, with the highest being 10% on hedged performative. Scenario 1 also presented a significant number of informants favouring directness, with 16% on mood derivable, 2% on hedged performative, and 10% on want statement. Likewise, mood derivable was preferred by 14% of the speakers in Scenario 13, whereas locution derivable and want statement were preferred by 2% and 4% of the informants, respectively. Hinting was favoured by only 4% in Scenario 6, 'at home'.

### 4.3 Internal Modification of the Request

This subsection of the chapter focuses on the results of modification of the request, that is, the process of using specific linguistic devices or techniques, aiming to affect the imposing nature of a request. Modification can either be external or internal to the head act of the request. The three following subsections present the results of the DCT analysis of internal mitigation by group, starting with the control group of ENL1.

#### 4.3.1 Native English Speakers (ENL1)

The internal modification employed by the native English speakers is presented in Charts 4.13, 4.14, and 4.15. Chart 4.14 below shows the preference for syntactic downgraders.

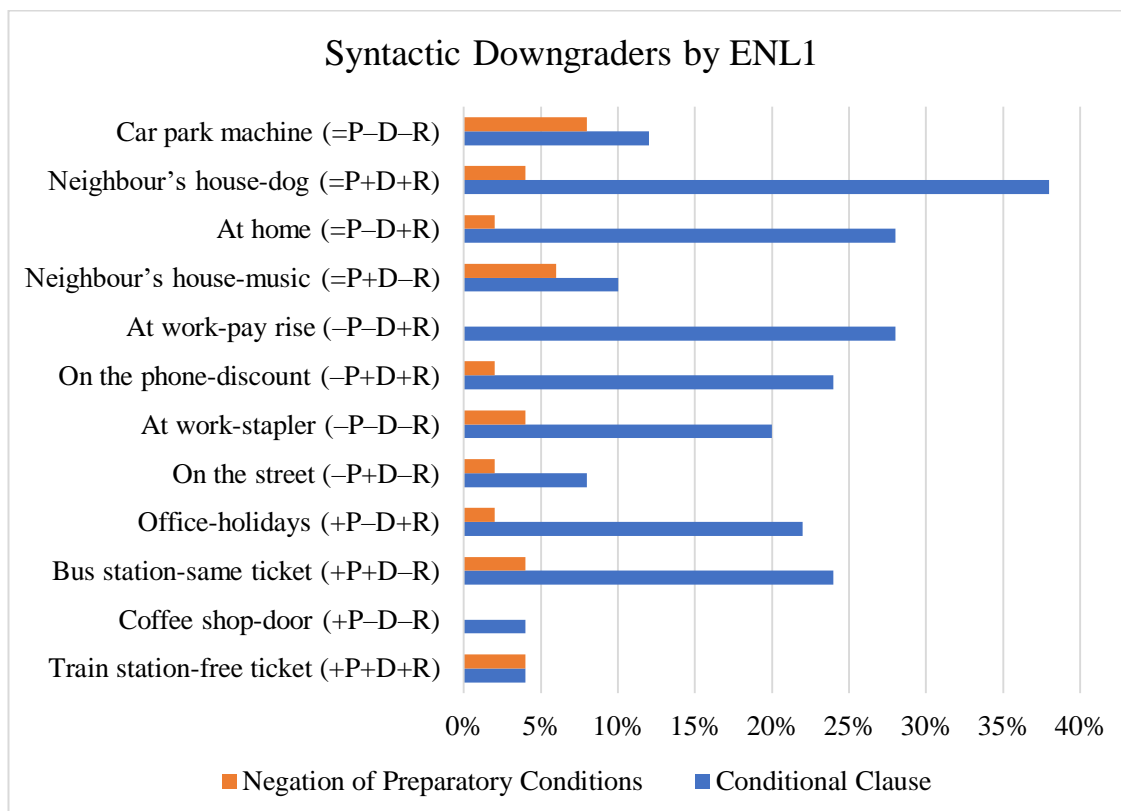


Chart 4.14 Syntactic Downgraders by ENL1

Scenario 11, ‘neighbour’s house-dog’, which is marked with =P and +D between the H and the S, as well as with high level of R of the request, gathered the highest number of conditional clauses, namely 38% of preference. Twenty-eight percent was the second highest percentage of conditional clauses, appearing in Scenario 14, ‘at work-pay rise’ and Scenario 6, ‘at home’. They shared a low level of D between H and S and a high level of R of the request, yet the P of the H was higher in the former and equal between H and S in the latter. Scenario 8, ‘bus station-same ticket’, and Scenario 9, ‘On the phone-discount’, which are marked with the sociological variables of +P, +D, and -R versus -P, -D, and +R, respectively, showed 24% of preference for conditional clauses. 22% and 20% appeared in Scenario 14, ‘office-holidays’, and Scenario 7, ‘at work-stapler’, respectively, in which -D is common, whereas P and R differ; +P and +R for the former and -P and -R for the latter. All the above scenarios, in which conditional clauses were preferred by a significant number of informants, presented marginally different results.

Negation of preparatory conditions appeared in all the scenarios, except for Scenario 4, ‘coffee shop-door’, and Scenario 14, ‘at work-pay rise’. The results were similar, yet Scenario 13, ‘car park machine’, accumulated the highest percentage of preferences – 8%.

Chart 4.14 below presents the data for lexical and phrasal downgraders.

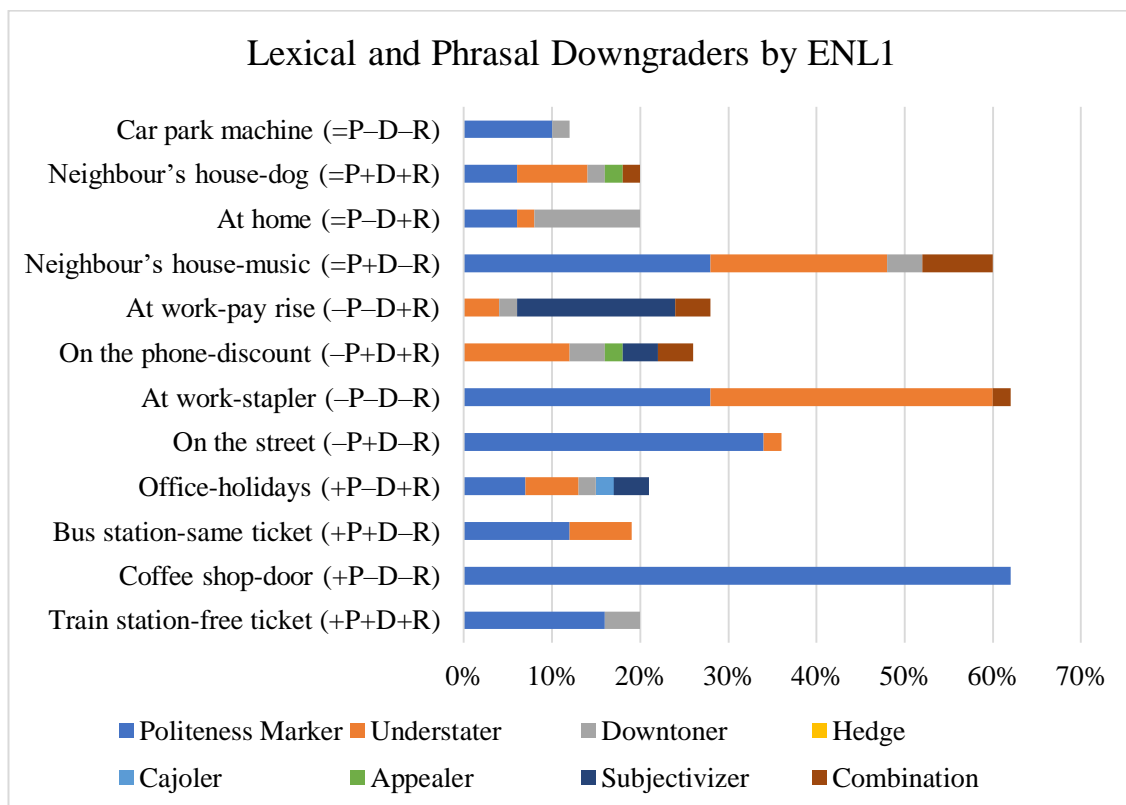


Chart 4.15 Lexical and Phrasal Downgraders by ENL1

The lexical downgrader with the highest number of preferences was the politeness marker, namely 62% of the participants in Scenario 4, ‘coffee shop-door’ (+P-D-R). Thirty-four percent of the informants resorted to politeness markers in Scenario 2, ‘on the street’(-P+D-R), whereas 28% preferred them in Scenario 7, ‘at work-stapler’ (-P-D-R) and Scenario 1, ‘neighbour’s house-music’ (=P+D-R). All four scenarios shared a low level of R of the request. The last two situations, however, were also the ones that gather the highest number of preferences for understaters; 32% for the former and 20% for the latter. Subjectivizer was another downgrader that attracted significant preference by the

informants, namely 18% in Scenario 14, ‘at work-pay rise’ ( $-P-D+R$ ), whereas downtoners were favoured by 12% of the participants in Scenario 6, ‘at home’ ( $=P-D+R$ ). Power is the variable that differs in the two scenarios — lower of the H in the former and equal of the H and the S in the latter. The highest preferred combination was politeness marker and downtoner in Scenario 1, ‘neighbour’s house-music’ — 8% of the participants.

Chart 4.15 below presents the results for upgraders in the scenarios that appear.

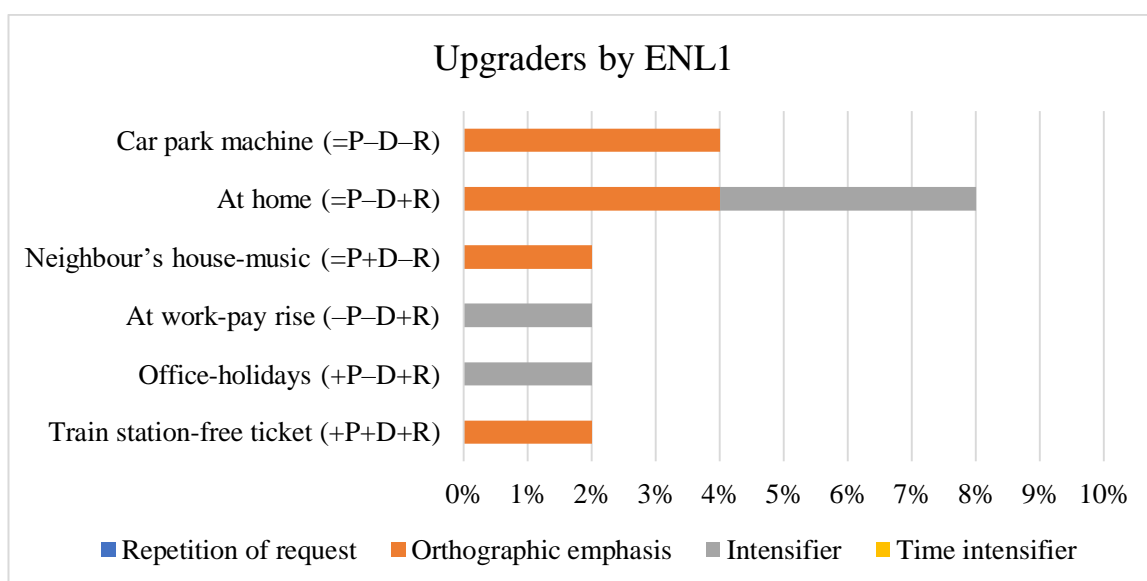


Chart 4.16 Upgraders by ENL1

Upgraders, in particular orthographic emphasis and intensifiers, were preferred by a total percentage of 16% of the informants in all scenarios. Emphasis appears in Scenario 3, ‘train station-free ticket’ ( $+P+D+R$ ), Scenario 1, ‘neighbour’s house-music’ ( $=P+D-R$ ), Scenario 6, ‘at home’ ( $=P-D+R$ ), and Scenario 13, ‘car park machine’ ( $=P-D-R$ ), with 2% for the first two situations and 4% for the last two situations. Intensifiers arose in Scenario 12, ‘office-holidays’ ( $+P-D+R$ ), Scenario 14, ‘at work-pay rise’, and Scenario 6, ‘at home’, with 2% in the first two situations and 4% in the last situation.

### 4.3.2 Greek Speakers of English in England (GRL1-EN)

This subsection presents the data for the internal modification as used by GRL1-EN. Chart 4.16 below presents the syntactic downgraders in the scenarios that appeared in the data.

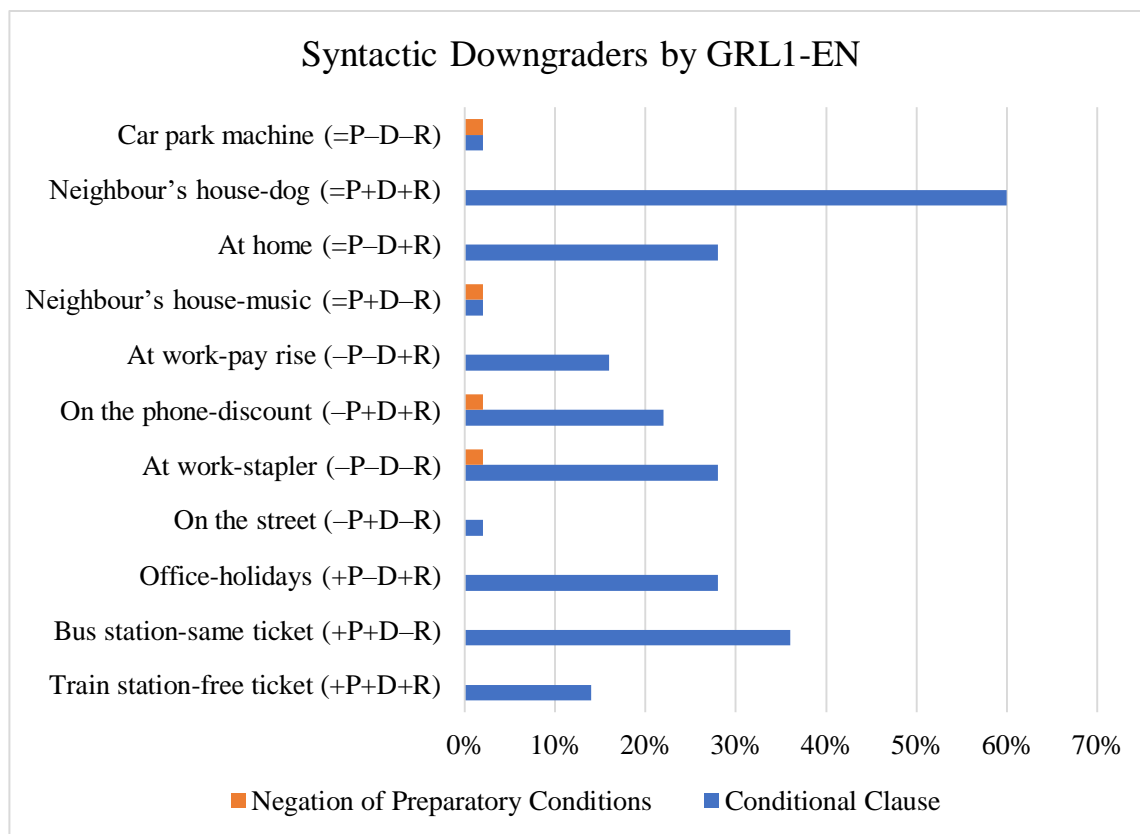


Chart 4.17 Syntactic Downgraders by GRL1-EN

Negation of preparatory conditions was the downgrader that received the lowest preference in both informants and scenarios; 2% of the informants and four scenarios. The data also showed that it is the same informant in all four scenarios. However, conditional clauses were preferred by significant numbers of informants and in all scenarios. Sixty percent of the participants favoured downgraders in Scenario 11, 'neighbour's house-dog' (=P+D+R), 36% in Scenario 8, 'bus station-same ticket' (+P+D-R), whereas 28% in Scenario 12, 'office-holidays' (+P-D+R), Scenario 7, 'at work-stapler; (-P-D-R), and Scenario 6, 'at home' (=P-D+R). Scenario 9, 'on the phone-discount' (-P+D+R) also

gathered 22% of preference, while Scenario 14, ‘at work-pay rise’ (-P-D+R) and Scenario 3, ‘train station-free ticket’ (+P+D+R) followed with 16% and 14%, respectively.

In Chart 4.17 below, lexical and phrasal downgraders for GRL1-EN are presented.

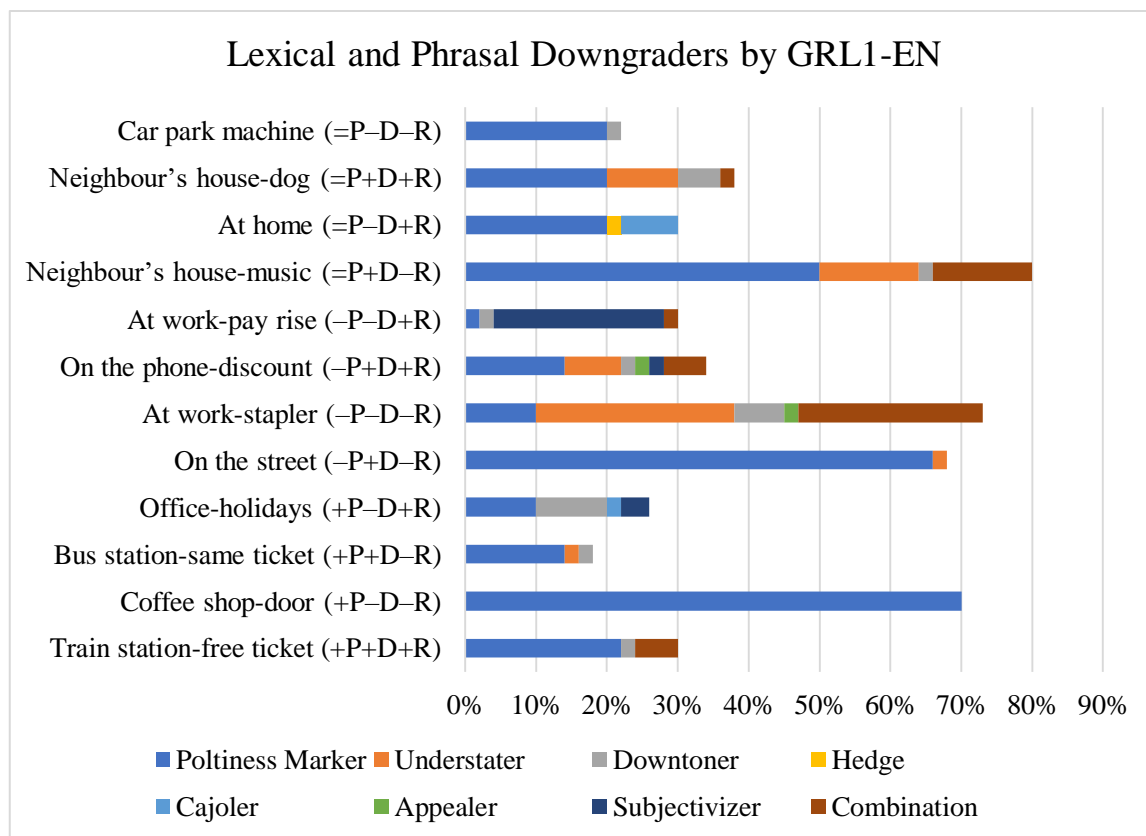


Chart 4.18 Lexical and Phrasal Downgraders by GRL1-EN

The politeness marker was the downgrader with the highest number of preferences both within scenarios and among them. Seventy percent of the informants resorted to linguistic elements that denote politeness in Scenario 4, ‘coffee shop-door’ (+P-D-R), 66% in Scenario 2, ‘on the street’ (-P+D-R), 50% in Scenario 1, ‘neighbour’s house-music’ (=P+D-R), 22% in Scenario 3, ‘train station-free ticket’ (+P+D+R), and 20% in Scenario 6, ‘at home’ (=P-D+R) and Scenario 11, ‘neighbour’s house-dog’ (=P+D+R). Understater was also highly preferred in Scenario 7, ‘at work-stapler’ (-P-D-R) by 28% of the addressers, whereas the same scenario invited for a combined use of understaters and politeness markers

by 26% of the speakers. Fourteen percent of the informants opted for the same combination in Scenario 1, ‘neighbour’s house-music’. Subjectivizer was the downtoner most preferred in Scenario 14, ‘at work-pay rise’ (-P-D+R) by 24% of the participants, whereas this was the group that showed the use of a single hedge throughout the analysis in Scenario 6, ‘at home’.

Upgraders’ use by GRL1-EN is presented in Chart 4.18 below.

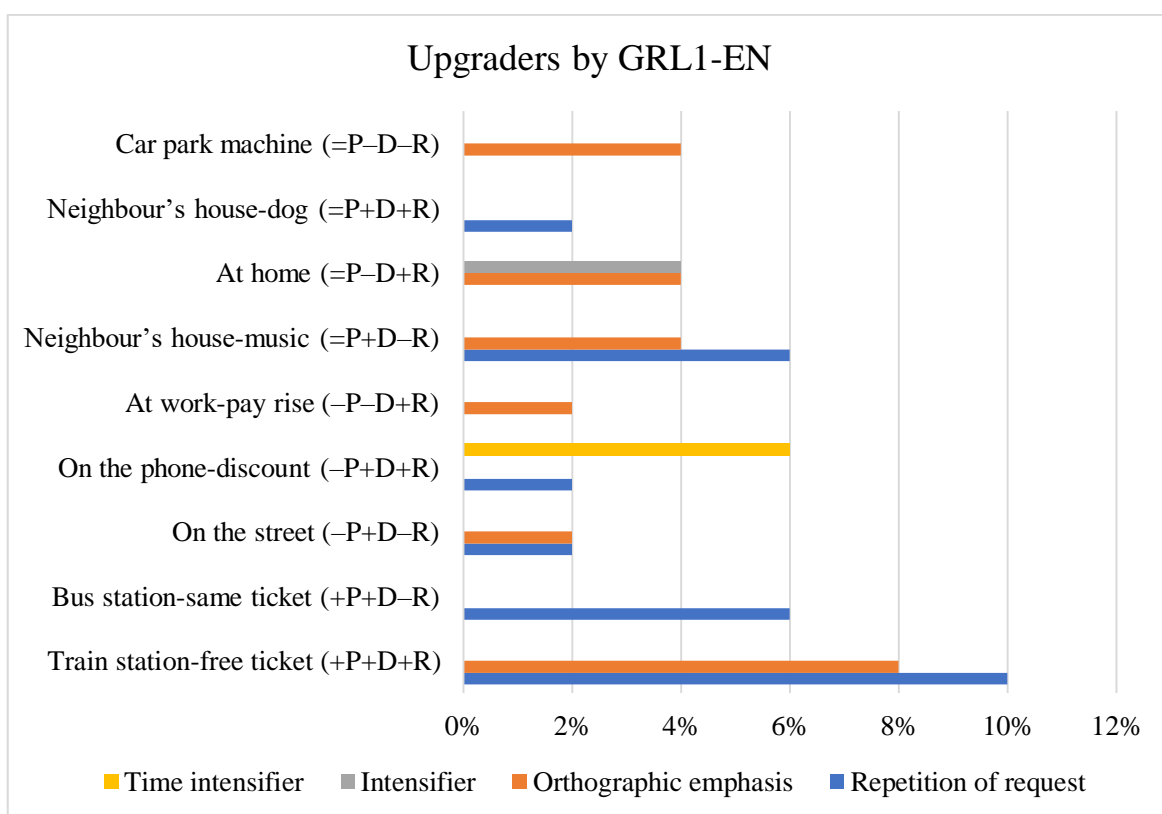


Chart 4.19 Upgraders by GRL1-EN

Repetition of request was the most preferred upgrader by this group of informants, with Scenario 3, ‘train station-free ticket’ (+P+D+R) gathering the highest percentage of preference — 10%. The same scenario showed a tendency towards the use of orthographic emphasis — the second most preferred upgrader — with a percentage of 8%.



### 4.3.3 Greek Speakers of English in Greece (GRL1-GR)

The final subsection of internal modification introduces the results of the second target group, GRL1-GR. The use of syntactic downgraders is presented in Chart 4.19 below.

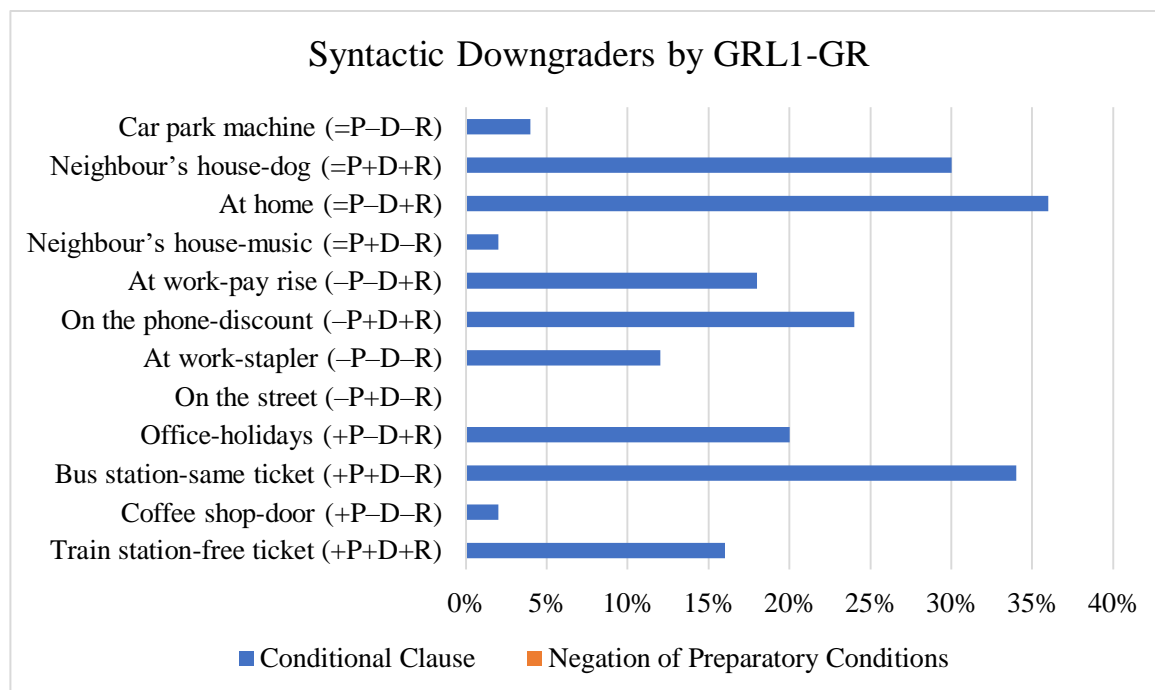


Chart 4.20 Syntactic Downgraders by GRL1-GR

Conditional clauses were favoured by a large percentage of informants in total, yet in Scenario 6, 'at home' (=P-D+R) this percentage was the highest, namely 36%. Scenario 3, 'bus station-same ticket' (+P+D-R) presented a marginally lower preference with 34%, so did Scenario 11, 'neighbour's house-dog' (=P+D+R) with 30%. All scenarios are marked with different P, D and R, except for the latter two, which share the same +D. Twenty-four percent of the speakers resorted to conditional clauses in Scenario 9, 'on the phone-discount' (-P+D+R), 20% in Scenario 12, 'office-holidays' (+P-D+R), 18% in Scenario 14, 'at work-pay rise' (-P-D+R), and 16% in Scenario 3, 'train station-free ticket' (+P+D+R). All four scenarios share a high level of R of the request. Interestingly, none of the informants opted for negation of preparatory conditions.

Chart 4.20 below shows the results for lexical and phrasal downgraders for the group.

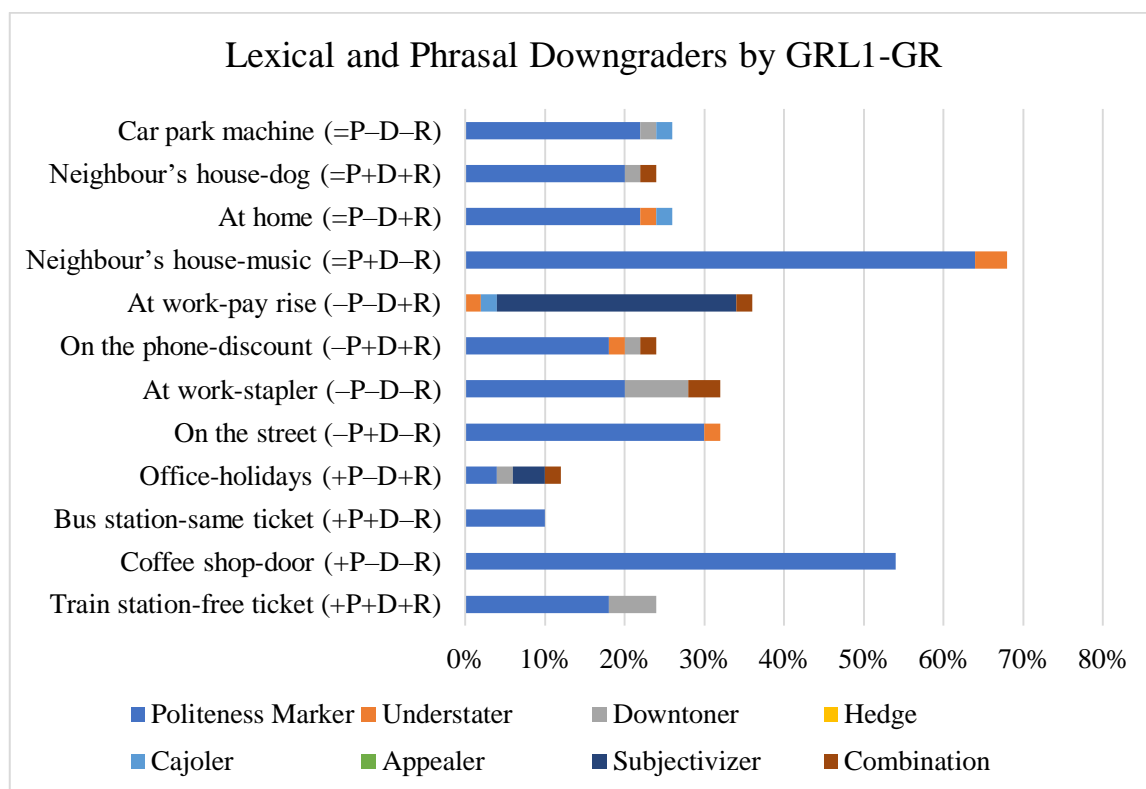


Chart 4.21 Lexical and Phrasal Downgraders by GRL1-GR

The politeness marker was the predominant downgrader among GRL1-GR, same as the rest of the groups. The scenario that exhibited the highest ratio is Scenario 1, 'neighbour's house-music' (=P+D-R) with 64% of the informants using politeness markers as mitigators. Scenario 4, 'coffee shop-door' (+P-D-R), which shares the same low level of R with the former scenario, followed with 54% informants. The third highest number of informants (30%) opted for politeness markers in Scenario 2, 'on the street' (-P+D-R), whereas the next four scenarios appeared with marginally small differences in their numbers; Scenario 6, 'at home' (=P-D+R) and Scenario 13, 'car park machine' (=P-D-R), which differ only in the level of R, both with 22%, and Scenario 7, 'at work-stapler' (-P-D-R) and Scenario 11, 'neighbour's house-dog' (=P+D+R), which differ in all sociological variables, both with 20%. Eighteen percent of the speakers opted for politeness markers in Scenario 3, 'train

station-free ticket' (+P+D+R) and Scenario 9, 'on the phone-discount' (-P+D+R), whereas Scenario 14, 'at work-pay rise' (-P-D+R) was the only situation in which the speakers used no politeness markers at all. However, this was the scenario that showed a significant number of informants (30%) in favour of subjectivizers. The rest of the lexical and phrasal downgraders were used by the participants at a relevantly low ratio.

The last internal modification category, upgraders, is presented in Chart 4.21 below. The scenarios that are not modified by upgraders are not included.

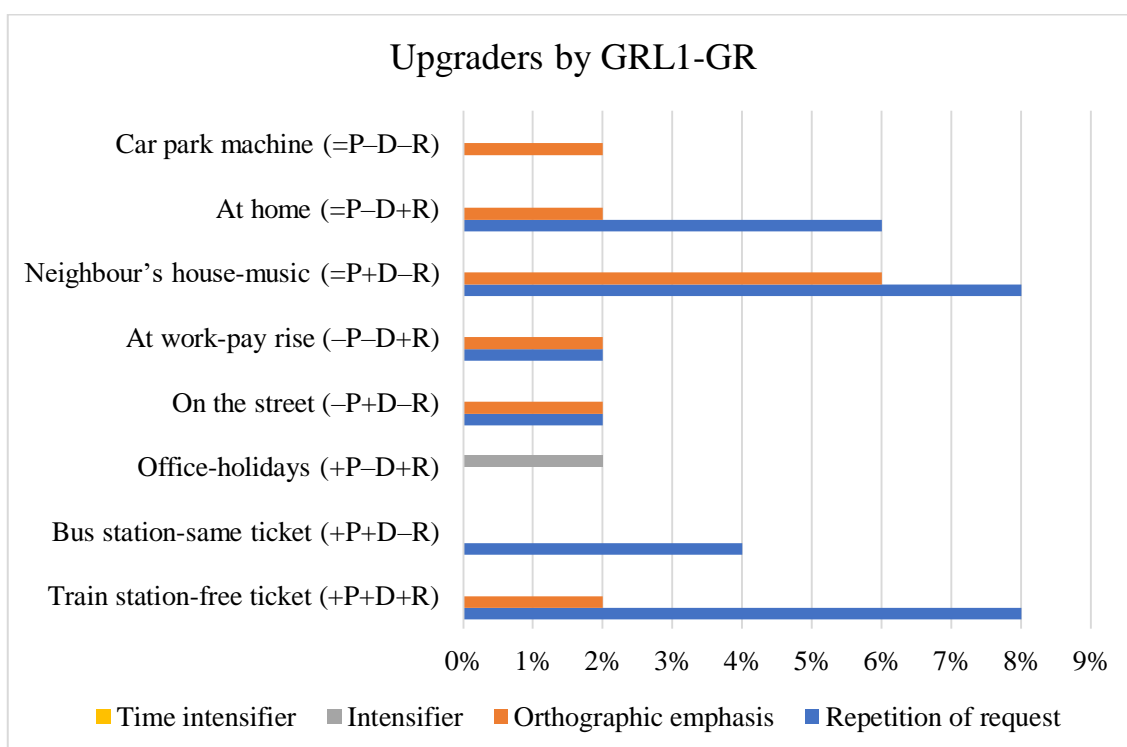


Chart 4.22 Upgraders by GRL1-GR

Repetition of request was the predominant upgrader for GRL1-GR in half of the DCT scenarios, with 8% of the informants favouring it in Scenario 3, 'train station-free ticket' (+P+D+R) and Scenario 1, 'neighbour's house-music' (=P+D-R), whereas with 6% opting for it in Scenario 6, 'at home' (=P-D+R). Scenario 8, 'bus station-same ticket', gathered 4%, whereas Scenario 2, 'on the streets', and Scenario 14, 'at work-pay rise', gathered 2% of

preference by the informants. Orthographic emphasis appeared in six scenarios in total, intensifier in one, though time intensifier appeared in no scenario at all.

#### 4.4 External Modification of the Request

In the following subsections, the data of the DCT analysis regarding external modification are presented by group. It is worth mentioning that three scenarios of the DCT invoked humour as a request imposition minimiser; Scenario 7, 'at work-stapler' (-P-D-R), Scenario 11, 'neighbour's house-dog' (=P+D-R), and Scenario 13, 'car park machine' (=P-D-R). Looking into the sociological variables of the scenarios, R is low for all the situations, D between S and H is high in the second one, and the P of the speaker is lower than that of the H in the first one. Scenario 7 invited humorous approach of the request by informants from all three groups, Scenario 11 by the target groups, and Scenario 13 by GRL1-GR solely.

##### 4.4.1 Native English Speakers (ENL1)

The results of the control group of ENL1 with regard to mitigating supportive moves are presented in Chart 4.22 below. The order of presentation accounts for scenarios with +P, -P, and =P.

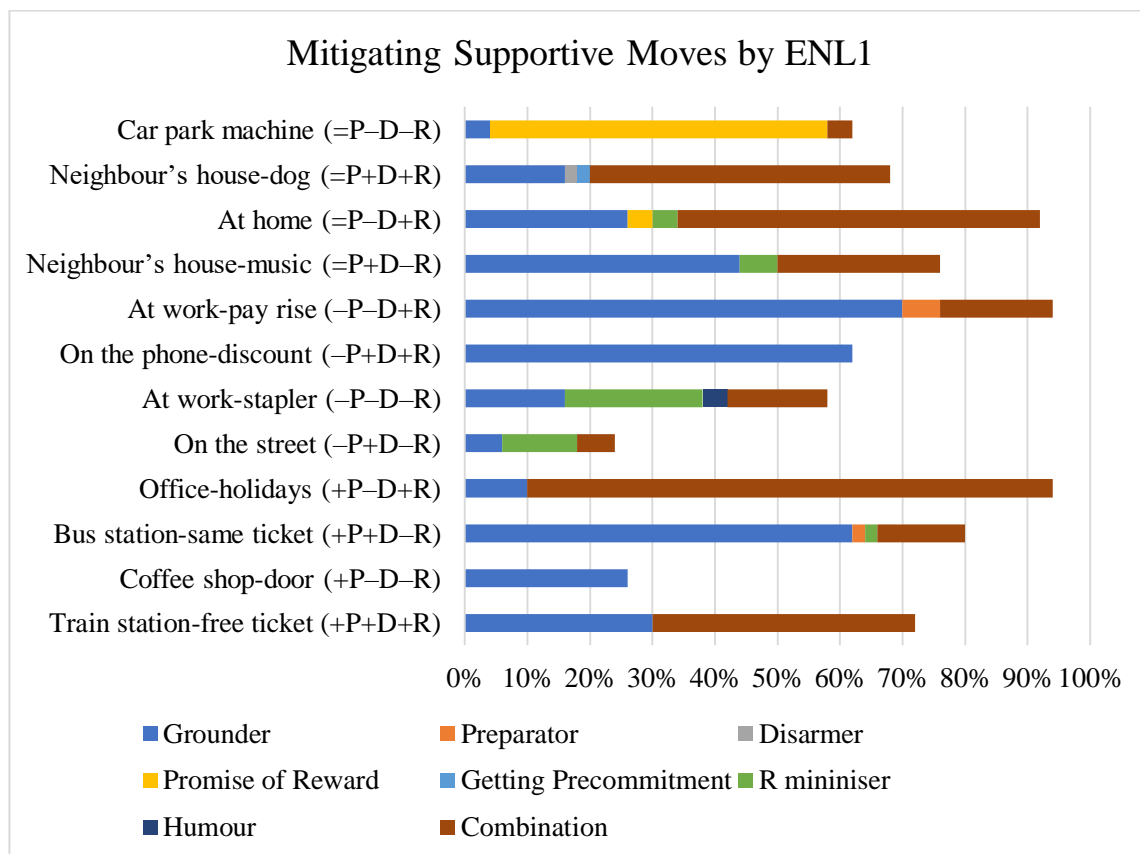


Chart 4.23 Mitigating Supportive Moves by ENL1

Regarding situations marked with high P of the S over the H, Scenario 8, ‘bus station-same ticket’ (+D-R) showed the highest number of participants (62%) resorting to grounders in order to mitigate their request. Fourteen percent of the informants also opted for a combination of grounder and imposition minimizer. Scenario 3, ‘train station-free ticket’ (+D+R) followed with 50% of the informants favouring grounder as a mitigating supportive move, yet a significant percentage of 42% speakers resorted to a combination of grounder and R minimizer. Scenario 4, ‘coffee shop-door’ (-D-R) showed the use of grounders by 26% of the participants, whereas in the fourth situation of the grouping, Scenario 14, ‘office-holidays’ (-D+R), 10% of the speakers favoured the supportive move. However, the highest number of combined supportive moves among all situations appeared in the latter situation with 84% of the participants resorting to combinations of disarmer and grounder (26%),

imposition minimizer and grounder (22%), disarmer, grounder and promise of reward (16%), and R minimizer, grounder and promise of reward (20%).

For scenarios marked with  $-P$  of the S towards the H, Scenario 14, 'at work-pay rise' ( $-D+R$ ) and Scenario 9, 'on the phone-discount' ( $+D+R$ ) exhibited high numbers of preference among the informants; 70% for the former, which also showed a preference for grounder in combination with preparator with 18%, and 62% for the latter. Scenario 7, 'at work-stapler' ( $-D-R$ ), and Scenario 2, 'on the street' ( $+D-R$ ), gathered 16% and 6% of preference for grounder, respectively, yet the former showed 22% of preference for R minimizer and 16% of its combination with grounder; for the latter, R minimizer gathered 12% of preference by the informants and its combination with grounder 6%.

The situations that are marked with  $=P$  between the S and the H showed a preference for grounders by 44% of the informants in Scenario 1, 'neighbour's house-music' ( $+D-R$ ), by 26% in Scenario 6, 'at home' ( $-D+R$ ), by 16% in Scenario 11, 'neighbour's house-dog' ( $+D+R$ ), and by 4% in Scenario 13, 'car park machine' ( $-D-R$ ). The latter scenario also showed the highest percentage of informants opting for the mitigating supportive move of promise of reward with 54%. Combinations of supportive moves were favoured by a significant number of informants in the other three scenarios, namely 58% in Scenario 6, 48% in Scenario 11, and 26% in Scenario 1; imposition minimizer and grounder (28%) and precommitment and grounder (30%) for the first situation, precommitment and grounder (24%) and R minimizer and grounder (24%) for the second, and R minimizer and grounder for the third situation in line.

The aggravating supportive moves were significantly less preferred, as only one informant resorted to an insult in Scenario 4, 'coffee shop-door' ( $+P-D-R$ ), one made a threat in Scenario 14, 'at work-pay rise' ( $-P-D+R$ ), while Scenario 1, 'neighbour's house-music' ( $=P+D-R$ ) invited for both one threat and one insult.

The following subsection presents the results for the first target group of GRL1-EN.

#### 4.4.2 Greek Speakers of English in England (GRL1-EN)

Mitigating supportive moves preferred by the first target group, GLR1-EN, are provided in a graphic presentation in Chart 4.23 below. The scenarios are grouped according to the levels of P between the H and the S to +P, -P, and =P.

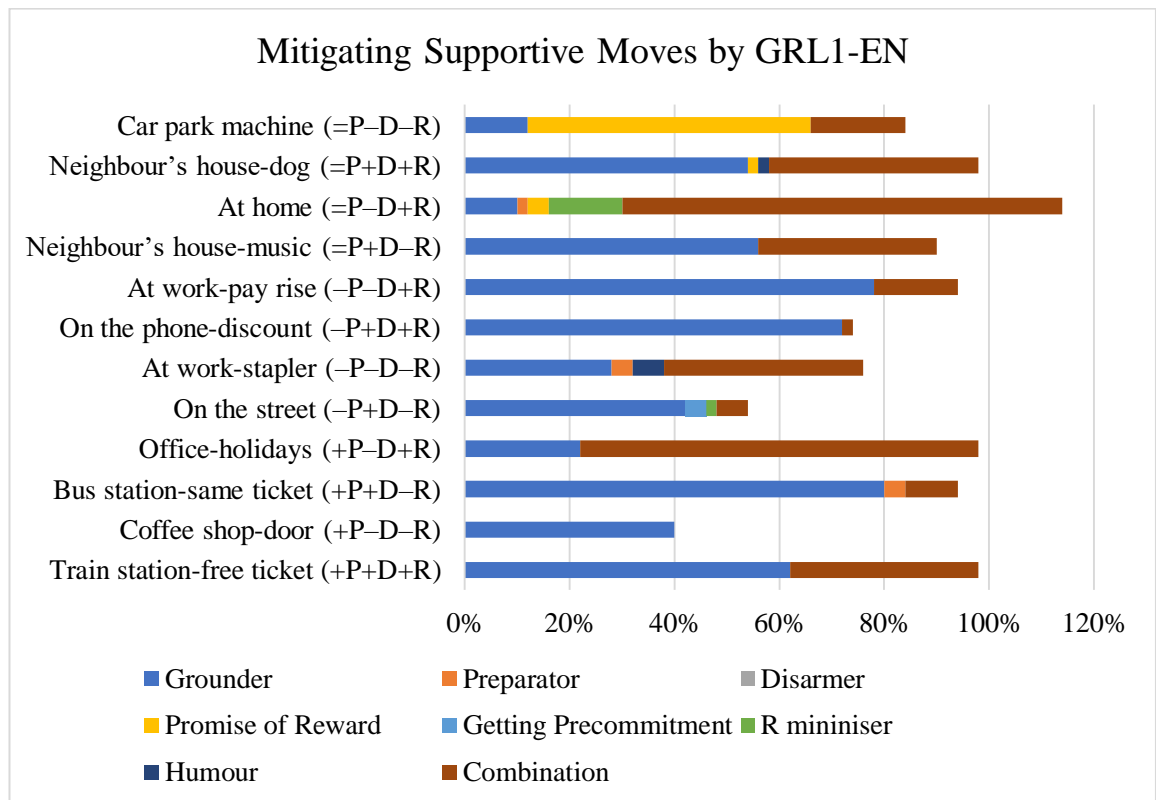


Chart 4.24 Mitigating Supportive Moves by GRL1-EN

The grounder was the supporting move that gathered the largest data in the majority of the scenarios. In the grouping of +P scenarios, 80% of the informants opted for grounder in Scenario 8, 'bus station-same ticket' (+D-R), 62% in Scenario 3, 'train station-free ticket' (+D+R), 40% in Scenario 4, 'coffee shop-door' (-D-R, and 22% in Scenario 12, 'office-holidays' (-D+R). The latter scenario gathered the largest percentage in combinations as well (76%); disarmer and grounder (30%), grounder and promise of reward (30%), and R

minimizer and grounder (16%). Scenario 3 also gathered a significant percentage of preferences, namely 36%; imposition minimizer and grounder (18%) and disarmer and grounder (18%).

The grouping of situations with  $-P$  of the S towards the H showed a tendency towards grounder with 78% of the informants in Scenario 14, 'at work-pay rise' ( $-D+R$ ), 36 in Scenario 9, 'on the phone-discount' ( $+D+R$ ), 42% in Scenario 2, 'on the street' ( $+D-R$ ), and 28% in Scenario 7, 'at work-stapler' ( $-D-R$ ). The latter scenario also gathered 38% of preference for combined grounders and R minimizers. Scenario 14 showed the combination of grounder with preparator by 16% of the informants, whereas 6% combined grounder with precommitment in Scenario 2 and 2% in Scenario 9.

For scenarios with  $=R$  between the S and the H, the informants resorted to grounders in Scenario 1, 'neighbour's house-music' ( $+D-R$ ) and Scenario 11, 'neighbour's house-dog' ( $+D+R$ ) at a percentage of 56% and 54%, respectively. Fifty-four percent was also the percentage of informants that resorted to promises of reward in Scenario 13, 'car park machine' ( $-D-R$ ). Scenario 6, 'at home' ( $-D+R$ ) invited for a variety of supporting moves by the participants, namely 10% with grounder, 2% with preparator, 4% with promise of reward, 14% with R minimizer, and 84% in combinations of all; grounder and promise of reward (30%), grounder, R minimizer and promise of reward (18%), grounder and R minimizer (16%), and grounder and precommitment (12%). Combinations were favoured in the rest of the scenarios as well. In Scenario 11, 'neighbour's house-dog', 40% of the informants opted for combinations in total; 18% for precommitment and grounder, 10% for R minimizer and grounder, 6% disarmer and grounder, and 6% for preparator and grounder. In Scenario 1, 'neighbour's house-music', 34% of the informants chose the combination of R minimizer and grounder, whereas in Scenario 13, 'car park machine', 18% favoured the combination of grounder and promise of reward.



Aggravating supportive moves appeared in one scenario of the DCT, that is, Scenario 1, ‘neighbour’s house-music’, with one informant making a threat and two of them resorting to insults.

#### 4.4.3 Greek Speakers of English in Greece (GRL1-GR)

The results of external modification for the second target group, GRL1-GR, are presented in Chart 4.24 below. The scenarios follow a grouped presentation of +P, -P, and =P between interlocutors.

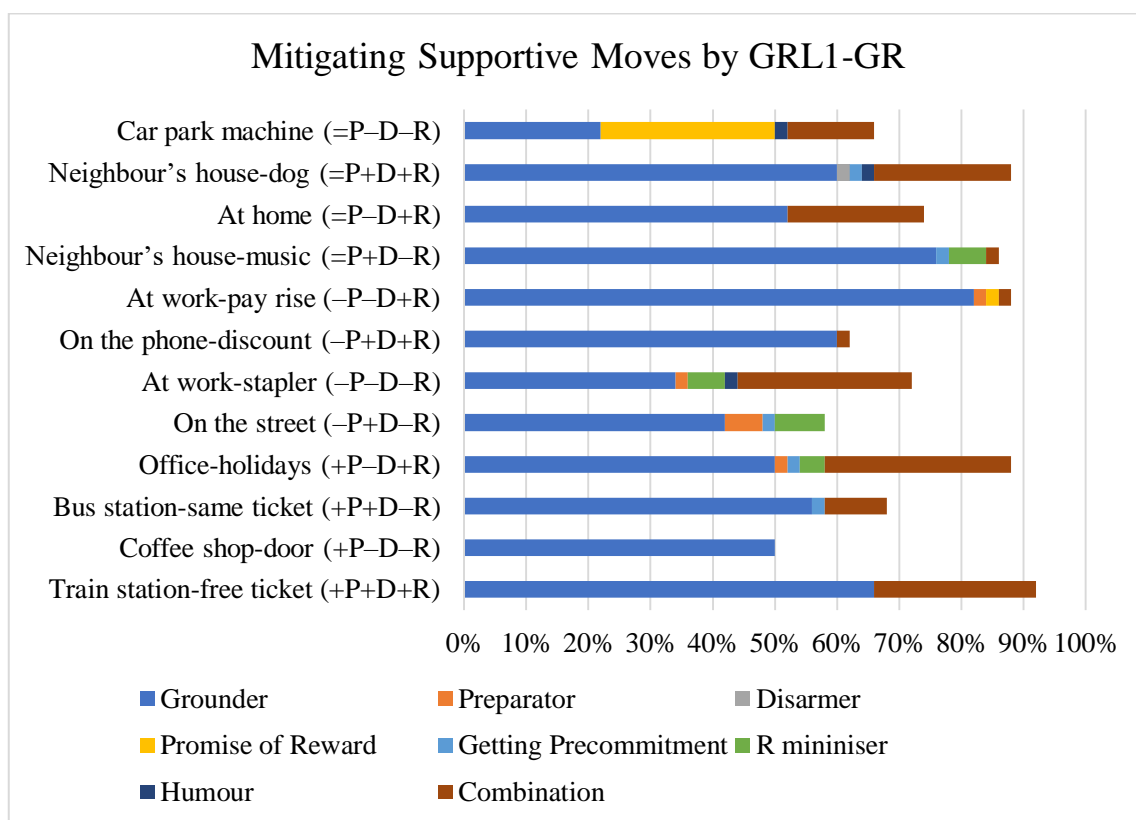


Chart 4.25 Mitigating Supportive Moves by GRL1-GR

The grouping of scenarios with +P between the S and the H showed a preference for grounder as the predominant supportive move of their request. Scenario 4, ‘coffee shop-door’ (-D-R) gathered the lowest number of preferences (30%), whereas Scenario 12, ‘office-holidays’ (-D+R) preceded with 50% of the informants, yet also with 30% in

combinations; grounder and R minimizer (10%), grounder and disarmer (8%), grounder and promise of reward (8%), and grounder and precommitment (4%). Scenario 8, 'bus station-same ticket' (+D-R) showed 56% of the informants' preference for grounder and 10% in combinations; 4% of grounder and R minimizer and 6% of preparator and grounder. Scenario 3, 'train station-free ticket' (+D+R) gathered the highest number of supportive moves, namely 66% of grounders and 26% in combinations; 14% of R minimizer and grounder, 6% of promises of reward and grounder, 4% of preparator and grounder, and 2% of precommitment and grounder.

The scenarios marked with -P drew the highest numbers of informants in favour of external modification. Grounders in Scenario 14, 'at work-pay rise' (-D+R) were used by 82% of the informants, in Scenario 9, 'on the phone-discount' (+D+R) by 60%, in Scenario 2, 'on the street' (+D-R) by 42%, and in Scenario 7, 'at work-stapler' (-D-R) by 34%. The latter scenario, however, showed a combination of grounder and R minimizer being preferred by 28% of the participants. Imposition minimizers alone were also opted for by 14% of the informants in two situations in total, namely 8% in Scenario 2, 'on the street' (+D-R), and 6% in Scenario 7, 'at work-stapler'. The former scenario gathered 6% of preference for preparatory in addition to the above.

The last grouping of scenarios, the ones marked with =P, produced similar results. Grounders were favoured by the majority of the informants in all four scenarios, namely by 76% in Scenario 1, 'neighbour's house-music', 60% in Scenario 11, 'neighbour's house-dog', 52% in Scenario 6, 'at home', and 22% in Scenario 13, 'car park machine'. The latter scenario exhibited a significant preference for promise of reward — 28% of the informants — and its combination with grounder — 14% of the informants. The same combination was also preferred by 22% of the informants in Scenario 6 situation, whereas the same percentage of participants favoured the combination of grounder and precommitment in Scenario 11.

Regarding aggravating supportive moves of the request, one threat appeared in one scenario, namely ‘neighbour’s house-music’.

#### 4.5 Alerters

The presentation of the results follows the same line of participants’ grouping in ENL1, GRL1-EN, and GRL1-GR.

##### 4.5.1 Native English Speakers (ENL1)

The first group of participants to present results is the control group, ENL1. Chart 4.25 below shows their preferences for alerters and the DCT scenarios are grouped as +P, -P, and =P.

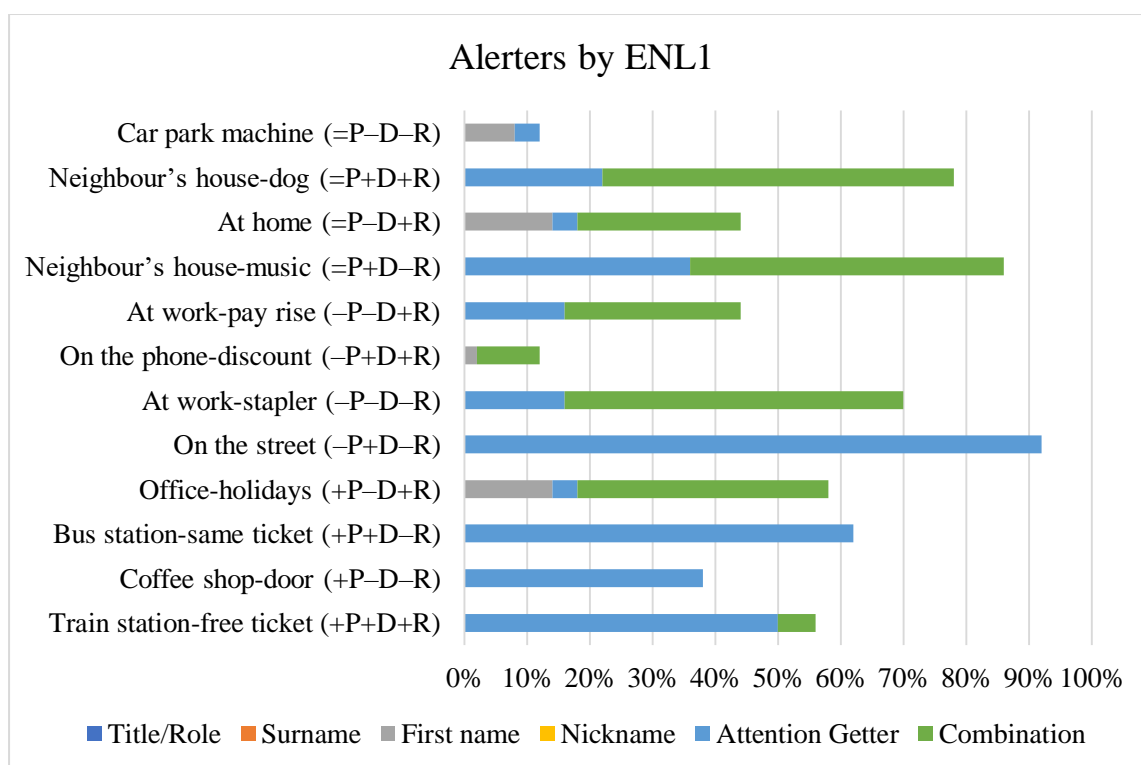


Chart 4.26 Alerters by ENL1

Attention getter was the most favoured alerter by the informants in the first grouping of +P situations. Sixty-two percent of the informants used it in Scenario 8, ‘bus station-same

ticket' (+D-R), 50% in Scenario 3, 'train station-free ticket' (+D+R), 38% in Scenario 4, 'coffee shop-door' (-D-R), yet 4% in Scenario 14, 'office-holidays' (-D+R); the nature of the scenario allowed 40% of the informants to resort to combinations of alerters, namely 38% to attention getter and first name and 2% to attention getter and endearment term. Fourteen percent of the informants also used first name to capture the hearer's attention.

In the scenarios with -P, attention getter was opted for by 92% of the informants in Scenario 2, 'on the street' (+D-R), by 16% in Scenario 7, 'at work-stapler' (-D-R) and Scenario 14, 'at work-pay rise' (-D+R), but by none of the participants in Scenario 9, 'on the phone-discount' (+D+R). Instead, 2% opted for first name and 10% for its combination with attention getter. Other combinations were used by the participants in the rest of the scenarios. Fifty-four percent of the informants resorted to combinations of attention getter and first name (36%), attention getter and nickname (8%), attention getter and surname (6%), and attention getter and title (4%) in Scenario 7. In Scenario 14, though, 28% used attention getter and first name.

The last grouping of scenarios, which are marked with =P, showed a similar preference towards attention getter and its combinations. Thirty-six percent of the informants resorted to attention getter in Scenario 1, 'neighbour's house-music' (+D-R), while 30% combined it with first name. Likewise, 22% used attention getter in Scenario 11, 'neighbour's house-dog' (+D+R), whereas 44% combined it with first name and 12% with surname. Scenario 6, 'at home' (-D+R) invited for 4% of preference for attention getters, yet for 26% in combinations with first name, which was preferred alone by 14% of the participants. First name was also preferred by 8% of the participants in Scenario 13, 'car park machine' (-D-R), where attention getter was used by 4% of the informants.

#### 4.5.2 Greek Speakers of English in England (GRL1-EN)

Chart 4.26 below presents the results for the use of alerters by GRL1-EN in grouped scenarios of +P, -P, and =P.

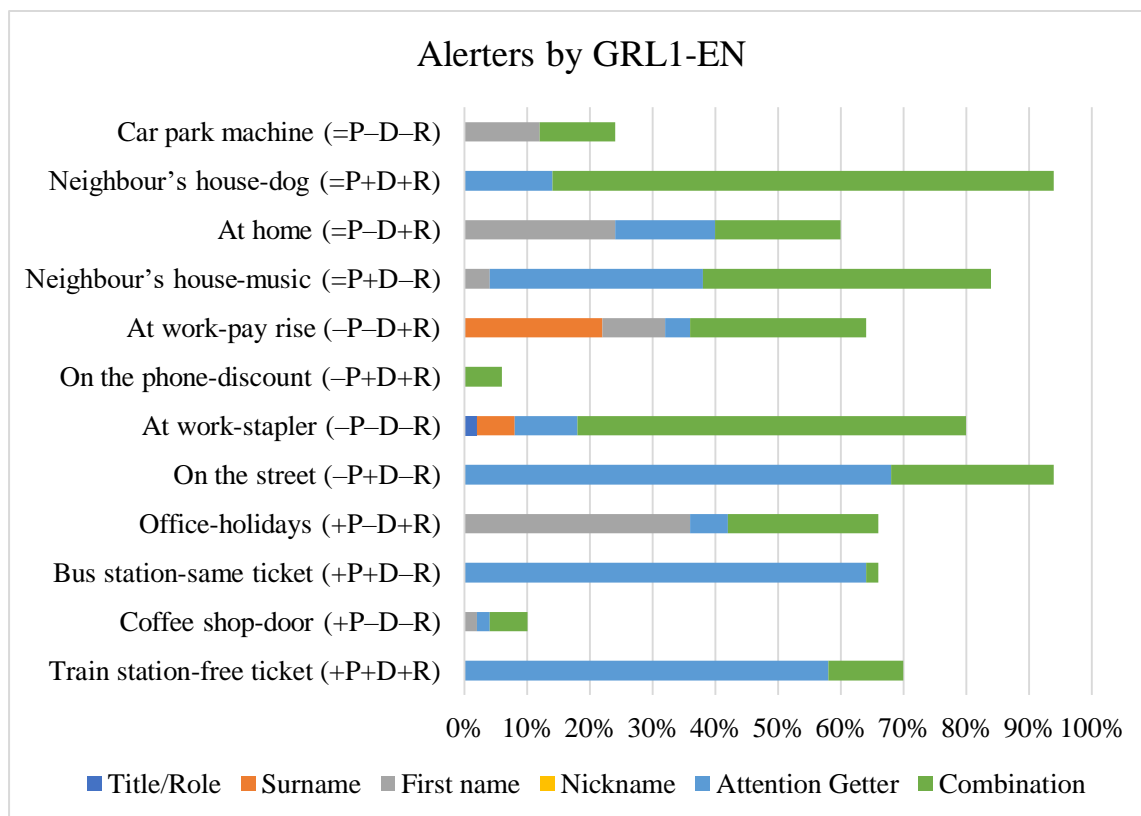


Chart 4.27 Alerters by GRL1-EN

The scenarios that are marked with +P of the S over the H showed a preference by the informants towards attention getter alone in two situations, namely Scenario 8, ‘bus station-same ticket’ (+D-R) with 64% of the informants and Scenario 3, ‘train station-free ticket’ (+D+R) with 58% of the informants. However, attention getter was combined with title/role in the same scenarios by 4% of the informants in the former and 12% in the latter. Attention getters were not particularly favoured in Scenario 12, ‘office-holidays’ (-D+R) and Scenario 4, ‘coffee shop-door’ (-D-R) — 6% versus 2%, respectively — however their combination with first name was preferred by 24% of the informants in the former scenario.

Likewise, a significant number of 36% of the participants favoured first name alone in the same scenario.

In the situations, where the P of the H is greater than that of the S, the choice of alerters by the participants showed diversity. Attention getter was preferred by 68% of the informants in Scenario 2, 'on the street' (+D-R) scenario and it was combined with role/title by 26%. However, attention getter was opted for by 10% in Scenario 7, 'at work-stapler' (-D-R) situation, yet by 62% in combinations; 28% combined it with first name, 26% with surname, and 8% with title/role. Likewise, Scenario 14, 'at work-pay rise' (-D+R) scenario showed 4% of preference for attention getter, but 28% in combinations; 14% with role/title and name, 10% with surname, and 4% with first name. In the same scenario, surname was opted for by 22% of the informants and first name by 10%. Scenario 9, 'on the phone-discount' (+D+R) situation presented 2% in combinations of attention getter and first name and 4% in combinations of attention getter and surname.

The last grouping of scenarios, which are marked with =P between the S and the H, were defined by a controlled diversity, in the sense that the informants divided their choices among three categories of alerters.

#### 4.5.3 Greek Speakers of English in Greece (GRL1-GR)

Alerters as used in the DCT by GRL1-GR are presented in Chart 4.27 below. The situations of the DCT are grouped according to their level of P between the interlocutors.

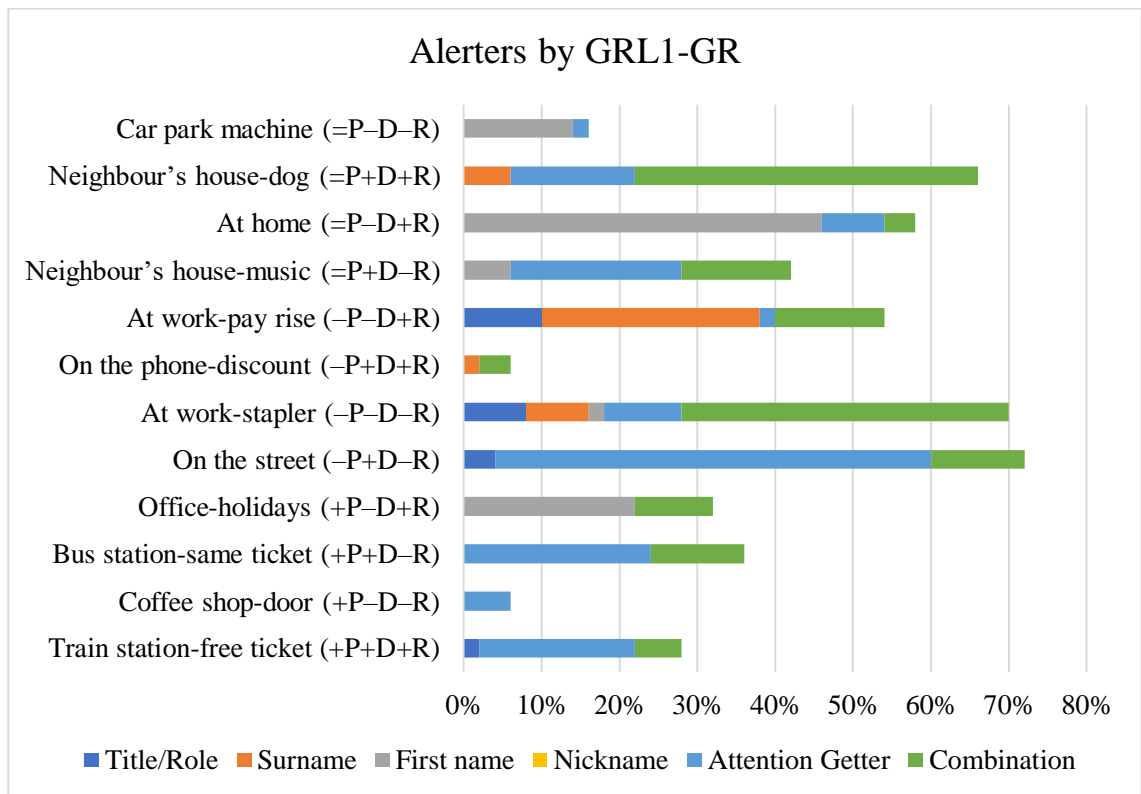


Chart 4.28 Alerters by GRL1-GR

The alerter, which was mostly preferred by the GRL1-GR participants in scenarios marked with +P, was the attention getter. Twenty-four percent of the informants opted for it in Scenario 8, ‘bus station-same ticket’ (+D-R), 20% in Scenario 3, ‘train station-free ticket’ (+D+R), and 6% in Scenario 4, ‘coffee shop-door’ (-D-R). Scenario 12, ‘office-holidays’ (-D+R) showed a preference of 22% for first name use, which appeared in combination with attention getter in five cases. The combination of attention getter with title/role was also present in scenarios Scenario 8 and Scenario 3 with 12% and 6% of the informants, respectively.

In the scenarios marked with -P, alerters appeared dispersed in their categorization. Scenario 2, ‘on the street’ (+D-R) showed 56% of preference for attention getter, 4% of preference for title/role, and 12% in combinations of the alerters above. Scenario 7, ‘at work-stapler’ (-D-R) delivered 8% of preference for title/role, 8% in surname, 2% in first name, 10% in attention getter, and 42% of preference for combinations of attention getter and

title/role (14%) and attention getter and surname (28%). Scenario 9, ‘on the phone-discount’ (+D+R) showed a 6% of preference for alerters in total, namely 2% in surname and 4% in combinations of attention getter and surname. Scenario 14, ‘at work-pay rise’ (-D+R) gathered the highest number of preferences (28%) for the use of surname, 10% of the participants used title/role, 2% used attention getter, and 14% preferred combinations of attention getter and title/role (6%), attention getter and surname (6%), and attention getter and first name (2%).

The results that scenarios with =P produce fell under four categories of alerters, namely surname, first name, attention getter, and combinations of alerters. ‘Neighbour’s house-music’ (+D-R) situation showed 6% of preference for first name, 22% in attention getter, and 14% in their combination. ‘At home’ (-D+R) scenario gathered 46% of preference for first name, 8% in attention getter, and 4% in their combination. In ‘neighbour’s house-dog’ (+D+R), 16% of the informants opted for attention getters, 6% for first name, and 44% for combinations; attention getter and surname (24%), attention getter, title/role and first name (14%), attention getter and first name (8%), attention getter and endearment term (2%). ‘Car park machine’ (-D-R) scenario narrowed alerters to 14% of preference for first name and 2% in attention getter.

#### 4.6 Lack of Modification

Arising from the results presented in the previous sections of the chapter, modification of the request, either internal or external, was opted for by the majority of the participants; downgraders, upgraders, supportive moves — mitigating or aggravating — and alerters are linguistic elements or techniques, which were present in the participants’ responses at a large scale. However, the data presented a number of informants’ responses, which were not modified and were only performed as requests without any supportive moves. Chart 4.28 below presents the relevant results for all three groups together.



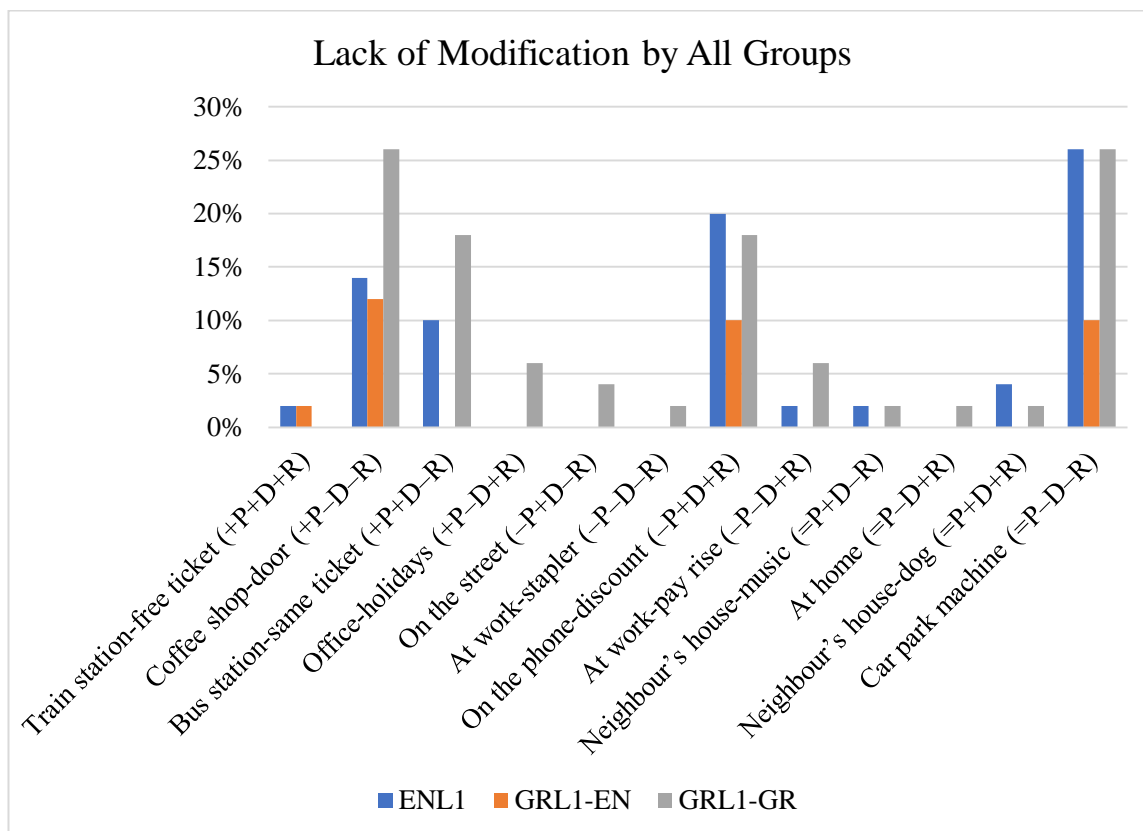


Chart 4.29 Lack of Modification by All Groups

The results of GRL1-EN presented lack of modification of the request in four scenarios in total, a number significantly lower than the 11 scenarios of the GRL1-GR and the eight scenarios of the ENL1. In scenarios marked with +P in particular, Scenario 4, ‘coffee shop-door’ (-D-R) lacked modification at the largest scale by all groups; 14% of ENL1, 12% of GRL1-EN, and 26% GRL1-GR. In Scenario 8, ‘bus station-same ticket’ (+D-R), requests were not modified by 18% of GRL1-GR and 10% of ENL1. For scenarios marked with -P, Scenario 9, ‘on the phone-discount’ (+D+R) presented the greatest lack of modification; no supportive move was preferred by 20% of the informants for ENL1 group, 18% for GRL1-GR, and 10% for GRL1-EN. The rest of the scenarios of this grouping lacked modification in requests performed mainly by GRL1-GR. Likewise, the latter group of participants omitted modification in all the scenarios of the last situation grouping, which is marked with =P between the S and the H. Scenario 13, ‘car park machine’ (D-R) gathered

the highest number of informants, who did not modify their requests, namely 26% of ENL1, 26% of GRL1-GR, and 10% of GRL1-EN.

#### 4.7 Request Perspective

The present section of the data presentation identifies the request perspective of the responses, that is, the agent upon which the focus lies during the performance of the speech act. The results of the DCT responses on request perspective are presented in the subsections below, following the informants' grouping division to ENL1, GRL1-EN, and GRL1-GR.

##### 4.7.1 Native English Speakers (ENL1)

The request perspective of the written requests by ENL1 in the DCT are presented in Chart 4.29 below. The scenarios of the DCT are divided in a threefold division of those marked with +P, those with -P, and those with =P.

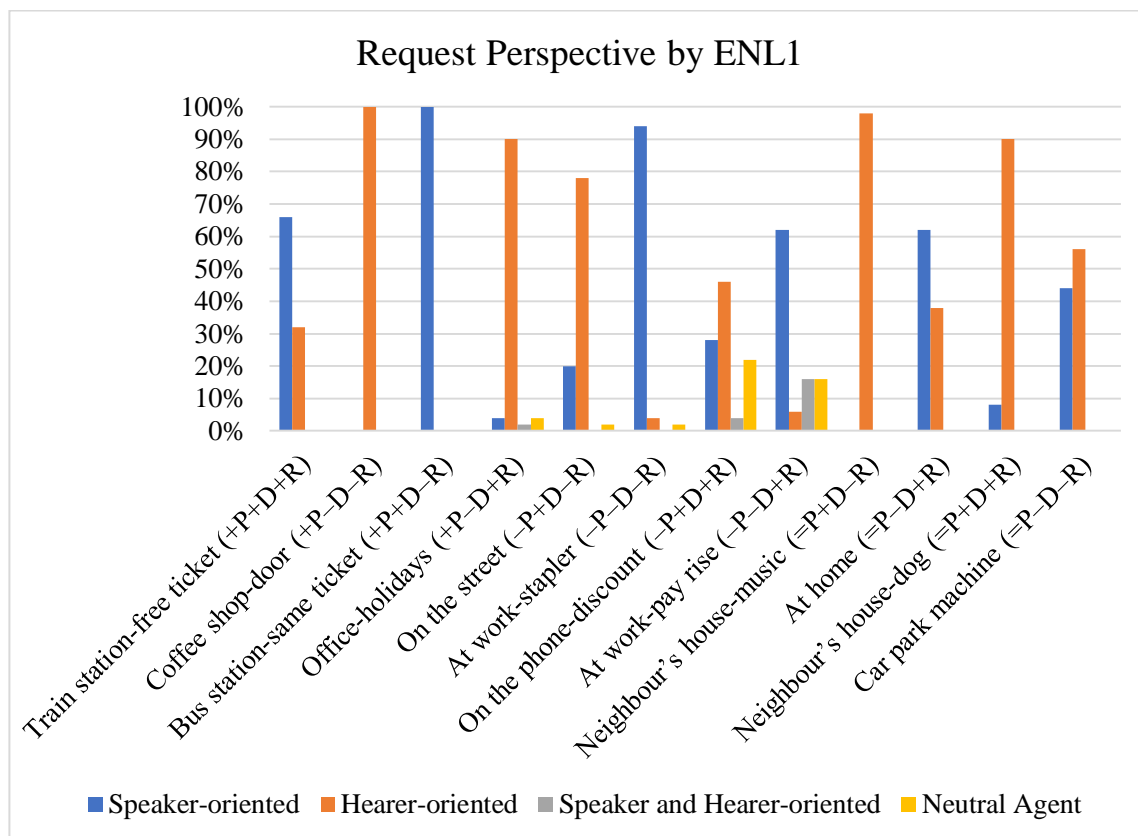


Chart 4.30 Request Perspective by ENL1

In the first grouping of scenarios with high P of the S over the H, Scenario 4, ‘coffee shop-door’ and Scenario 8, ‘bus station-same ticket’, both marked with low R, though the former with -D and the latter with +D between the S and the H, were the only scenarios where request perspective is 100% unanimous; all informants opted for hearer dominance in the first scenario and for speaker dominance in the second. Speaker dominance was also favoured in Scenario 3, ‘train station-same ticket’ (+D+R) by 66% of the informants, yet 32% opted for hearer dominance. In the same line, Scenario 12, ‘office-holidays’ (-D+R) generated a 90% of hearer-oriented requests.

The second grouping of scenarios, which are marked with -P, delivered results with diversity of agents. Scenario 7, ‘at work-stapler’ (-D-R) showed a preference for speaker dominance by 94% of the informants, whereas in Scenario 2, ‘on the street’ (+D-R) the majority of informants (78%) opted for hearer dominance; nonetheless, 20% of the

participants resorted to speaker-oriented requests. Likewise, speaker dominance was favoured by 62% of the informants in Scenario 14, 'at work-pay rise' (-D+R), where neutral agent and hearer and speaker-oriented requests were preferred by 16%, respectively. Neutral agent was also chosen by 22% of the participants in 'on the phone-discount' (+D+R) situation, where hearer dominance led with 46% of the informants and speaker dominance followed with 28%.

The last grouping of =P scenarios showed a preference for either hearer or speaker dominance. In Scenario 1, 'neighbour's house-music' (+D-R), the total of 98% of the informants performed hearer-oriented requests, when in Scenario 11, 'neighbour's house-dog' (+D+R), 90% opted for the same request perspective. Scenario 13, 'car park machine' (-D-R) divided informants in almost equal preference for the two, namely speaker-oriented requests by 44% and hearer-oriented by 56%. Scenario 6, 'at home' (-D+R), however, produced a difference in numbers between the two request perspectives, as 62% of the informants opted for speaker-oriented requests and 38% for hearer-oriented.

#### 4.7.2 Greek Speakers of English in England (GRL1-EN)

The results for the request perspective preference by the first target group, GRL1-EN, are presented in Chart 4.30, following the P-related scenario division of +P, -P, and =P.

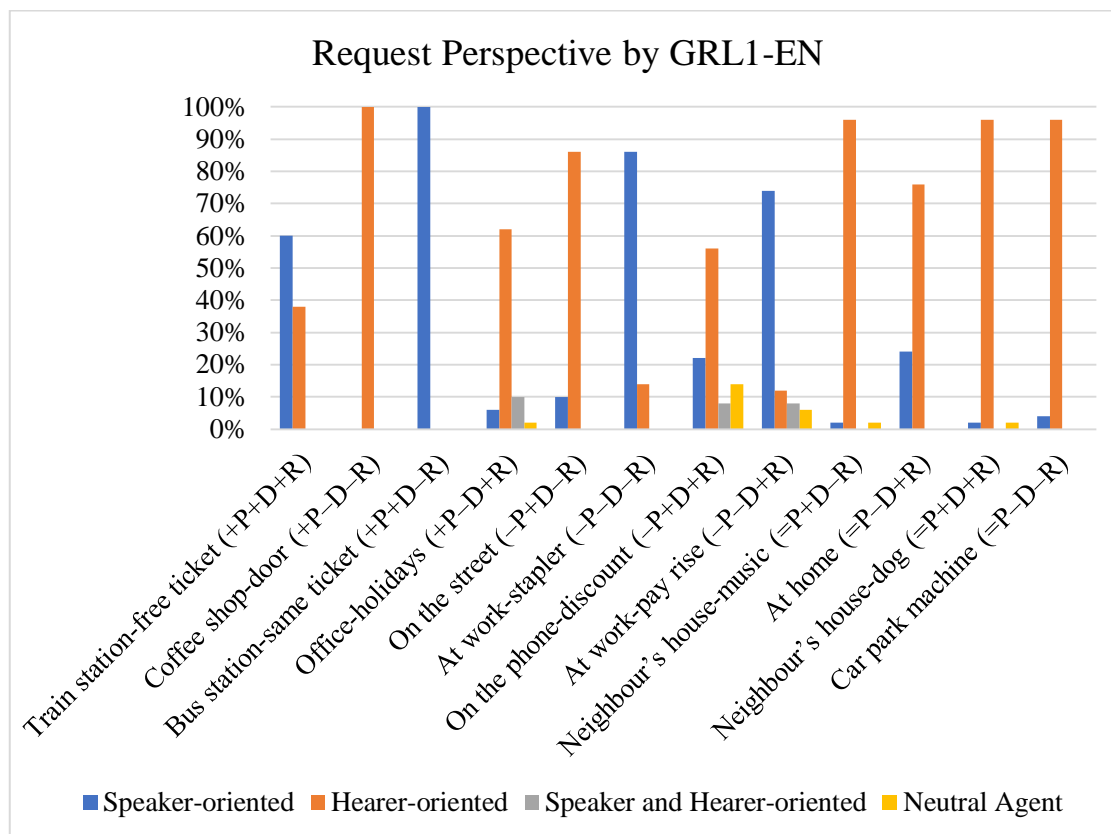


Chart 4.31 Request Perspective by GRL1-EN

Scenario 4, ‘coffee shop-door’ and Scenario 8, ‘bus station-same ticket’, both marked with +P and –R, but +D and –D, respectively, produced opposing results; hearer dominance was favoured in the former, but speaker dominance was favoured in the latter. In both scenarios, 100% of the informants chose the same request perspective. Scenario 3, ‘train station-free ticket’ (+D+R) invited for speaker dominance by 60% of the informants and hearer dominance by 38%. In Scenario 12, ‘office-holidays’ (–D+R), however, hearer dominance was preferred by the majority of the participants (62%), whereas the second most favoured choice of perspective was speaker and hearer-oriented by 10% of the informants.

Regarding the scenarios marked with –P, Scenario 2, ‘on the street’ (+D–R), and Scenario 7, ‘at work-stapler’ (–D–R), produced the largest number of informants (86%) yet opposing results; hearer dominance in the former and speaker dominance in the latter. Likewise, in Scenario 14, ‘at work-pay rise’ (–D+R), 74% of the informants favoured

speaker-oriented requests, whereas 18% opted for hearer-oriented, 8% for speaker and hearer-oriented, and 6% for impersonal. The latter perspective of impersonal requests was also favoured by 14% of the informants in Scenario 9, 'on the phone-discount' (+D+R), where the predominant request perspective was hearer-oriented with 56%, followed by speaker-oriented with 22% and speaker and hearer-oriented with 8%.

In the grouping of equal P-marked scenarios, the predominant request perspective in all scenarios was hearer dominance. Scenario 6, 'at home' (-D+R) showed a 76% preference of the informants for hearer dominance and 24% in speaker dominance. The rest of the scenarios produced the same result of 96% preference for hearer-oriented requests.

#### 4.7.3 Greek Speakers of English in Greece (GRL1-GR)

Chart 4.31 below presents the results of the second target group, GRL1-GR, in request perspective preference. The scenarios are presented in groups according to their level of P.

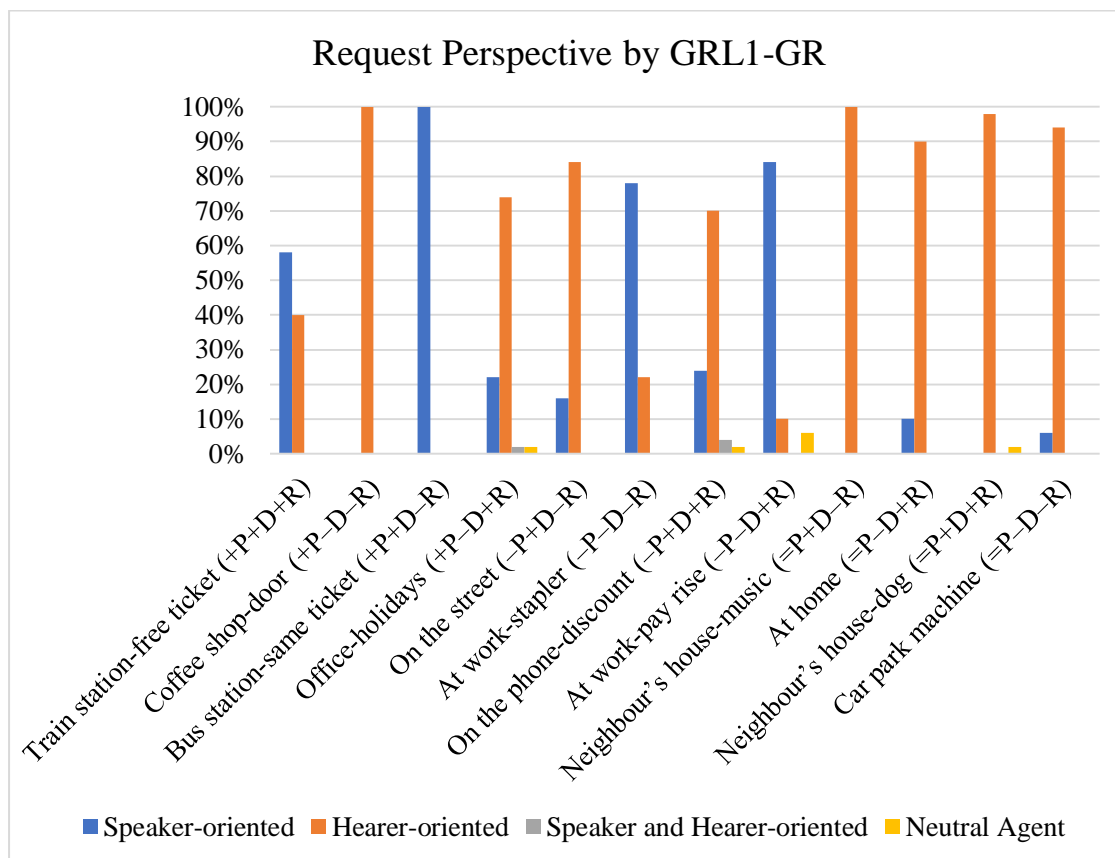


Chart 4.32 Request Perspective by GRL1-GR

The first grouping of scenarios, which are marked with +P, showed a general preference for either speaker or hearer-oriented request perspective. Scenario 4, ‘coffee shop-door’ (-D-R), and Scenario 8, ‘bus station-same ticket’ (+D-R), showed a result of 100% unanimity by the informants towards hearer dominance in the former situation and speaker dominance in the latter. Scenario 12, ‘office-holidays’ (-D+R) led to the predominance of hearer dominance with 74% of the informants, whereas speaker dominance followed with 22%. However, Scenario 3, ‘train station-free ticket’ (+D+R) presented an almost equal spread of results, namely 58% of the informants preferred speaker-oriented requests and 40% hearer-oriented.

In the scenarios where the H has power over the S, the results showed higher differences between preferences. In Scenario 2, ‘on the street’ (+D-R), 84% of the informants opted for hearer-oriented requests and 16% for speaker oriented. Likewise, in

Scenario 14, 'at work-pay rise' (-D+R), 84% of the informants preferred speaker-oriented request perspective contrary to 10%, who preferred hearer-oriented, and 6%, who decided on a neutral agent. Scenario 7, 'at work-stapler' (-D-R) situation generated 78% of speaker-oriented requests and 22% of hearer-oriented, yet Scenario 9, 'on the phone-discount' (+D+R) led to 70% of hearer-oriented requests, 24% of speaker-oriented, 4% of speaker and hearer-oriented, and 2% of impersonal.

The scenarios in which the P between the H and the S is equal, results were similar among all four situations. Scenario 1, 'neighbour's house-music' (+D-R) showed that hearer-oriented requests were preferred by a 100% of the informants, whereas Scenario 11, 'neighbour's house-dog' (+D+R) by 98%. Scenario 13, 'car park machine' (-D-R) followed with 94% and Scenario 6, 'at home' (-D+R) with 90%.

#### 4.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter introduced the results of Part I of the questionnaire, namely the DCT. The framework followed for the analysis of the DCT is Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989) CCSARP, upon which the structure of the chapter was based. The presentation of the results followed the division of the informants into groups, namely ENL1, GRL1-EN, and GRL1-GR. First, the results for the use of the request categories were introduced, namely DR (or HLD), CIR (or MLD), HN (CRI or LLD). Their statistical significance was also presented. The main results suggest that CIR were favoured by all participants in general, but high directness was preferred by GRL1-GR in particular scenarios. Second, the various request strategies were presented, alongside the newly introduced CSHNs. Query preparatory was the strategy mostly used by all informants. Third, internal modification of requests was presented in their categorization and was followed by the presentation of external modification. The main results here showed that politeness markers were the most preferred internal modification tool by all informants — even more by GRL1 — and grounders the most preferred external



modification tool. Alerters were presented next, with attention getter being the most popular among the three groups of informants, while lack of modification and, finally, request perspective concluded the chapter. The results will be discussed in Chapter six.

## 5. RESULTS PART II: JUDGEMENTS OF POLITENESS

Chapter five presents the results of the statistical analysis carried out for the second part of the questionnaire, that is, the two Likert scale tests. The Likert scale tests consisted of 12 cases each — a total of 24 requests — and were linked to scenarios 1 and 11<sup>33</sup> of the DCT of the first part in the questionnaire. The requests were created according to Blum-Kulka et al.'s CCSARP (1989) in reference to their levels of (in)directness. The rationale was that politeness and (in)directness can be related; the higher the indirectness, the higher the level of politeness (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Nonetheless, politeness and (in)directness can indeed be related, but not necessarily be coextended (Blum-Kulka, 1987; Blum-Kulka et al., 1989). In that line, four of the requests were marked with more-or-less high-level directness (HLD), four with more-or-less moderate-level directness (MLD), and four with more-or-less low-level directness (LLD)<sup>34</sup>. The scenarios were also marked with evident social distance (+D) and equal power (=P) between the hearer and the speaker, but with low level of imposition (−R) for scenario 1 and high level of imposition (+R) for scenario 11. The informants were asked to evaluate the level of politeness of the 24 requests on a 5-point rating scale, with one being impolite and five being polite.

The chapter contains a number of fairly complex analyses, some of which look at participant “group” (i.e. Greek speakers of English in Greece (GRL1-GR), Greek speakers of English in England (GRL1-EN), and native English speakers (ENL1)), some look at the level of directness (HLD, MLD, and LLD), and the remainder focuses on the individual requests. The inferential results begin with a three-way mixed ANOVA, and because the results of this analysis were significant, one-way ANOVAs were run to look at directness. The simple effects use independent samples *t*-tests and one-sample *t*-tests looking at whether

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<sup>33</sup> For the scenarios, see Appendix IV, Part II.

<sup>34</sup> The division stands for both Likert scales (see Appendix IV).

means were significantly above or below three (i.e. polite, impolite, or neutral). A reminder of the variables as items and their level of directness is presented in Table 5.1 below.

<b>Request Variables as Items and Their Level of Directness</b>				
	<b>Likert scale Test I</b>		<b>Likert scale Test II</b>	
<b>HLD</b>				
Mood Derivable with Threat	I3	<i>Turn the music down or I'll call the police.</i>	I15	<i>Look after my dog during the weekend or I'll make your life difficult.</i>
Locution Derivable	I6	<i>I'm afraid you'll have to turn the music down.</i>	I18	<i>I'm afraid you'll have to look after my dog during the weekend.</i>
Mood Derivable with Politeness Marker	I9	<i>Please turn the music down.</i>	I21	<i>Please look after my dog during the weekend.</i>
Mood Derivable with Orthographic Emphasis	I10	<i>Turn the music down, mate!</i>	I22	<i>Look after my dog during the weekend, woman!</i>
<b>MLD</b>				
Preparatory	I1	<i>Could you turn the music down?</i>	I13	<i>Could you look after my dog during the weekend?</i>
Suggestory Formula with Conditional Clause and Past Tense	I2	<i>Might be better if you turned the music down.</i>	I14	<i>Might be better for me if you looked after my dog during the weekend.</i>
Want Statement	I4	<i>I'd like you to turn the music down.</i>	I16	<i>I'd like you to look after my dog during the weekend.</i>

Suggestory Formula	I5	<i>How about turning the music down?</i>	I17	<i>How about looking after my dog during the weekend?</i>
<b>LLD</b>				
Preparatory with Past Tense and Conditional Clause	I7	<i>I was wondering if you could turn the music down.</i>	I19	<i>I was wondering if you could look after my dog during the weekend.</i>
Preparatory with Politeness Marker	I8	<i>Would you please turn the music down?</i>	I20	<i>Would you please look after my dog during the weekend?</i>
Strong Hint	I11	<i>Our apartments share some pretty thin walls, don't they?</i>	I23	<i>You love dogs, don't you?</i>
Mild Hint with Insult	I12	<i>Do we have to put up with your loud music?</i>	I24	<i>Do we have to beg you to look after our dog during the weekend?</i>

Table 5.1 Request Variables As Items and Their Level of Directness (Likert scale tests)

## 5.1 Descriptive Statistics

This part of the chapter presents the numerical statistical representation of the variables, in particular how the independent variables affect the dependent. The subsections below present the informants' demographic and characteristic statistics, the mean value, the standard error, as well as the cross-tabulation between groups.

### 5.1.1 Mean and Standard Error (Omnibus Analysis)

In this part of the analysis, the 24 requests are grouped in the three aforementioned categories of directness, namely HLD, MLD, and LLD. The grouping of the requests allows for a broader reading and interpretation of the results of the data. The examination accounts for the mean ( $\mu$ ) of the three request groups and the standard error (*s.e.*). The  $\mu$  is the measure

used to illustrate the central tendency in all the values, where values are the evaluations (Saunders, M., Lewis, P., & Thornhill, A., 2016). It is the average of the 5-point evaluation scale on each of the three groups of the 24 requests, where 1 accounts for impolite and 5 for polite. Standard error is the scale, on which the  $\mu$  of the sample population (N) deviates from the  $\mu$  of the general population (Barde & Barde, 2012). The deviation ranges between 1.00 and 5.00 in this particular study, as these are the end values of the test.

The results for the  $\mu$  and *s.e.* of the grouped values for all three groups of informants are presented in Charts 5.1 and 5.2 below for Likert scale test I and II, respectively.

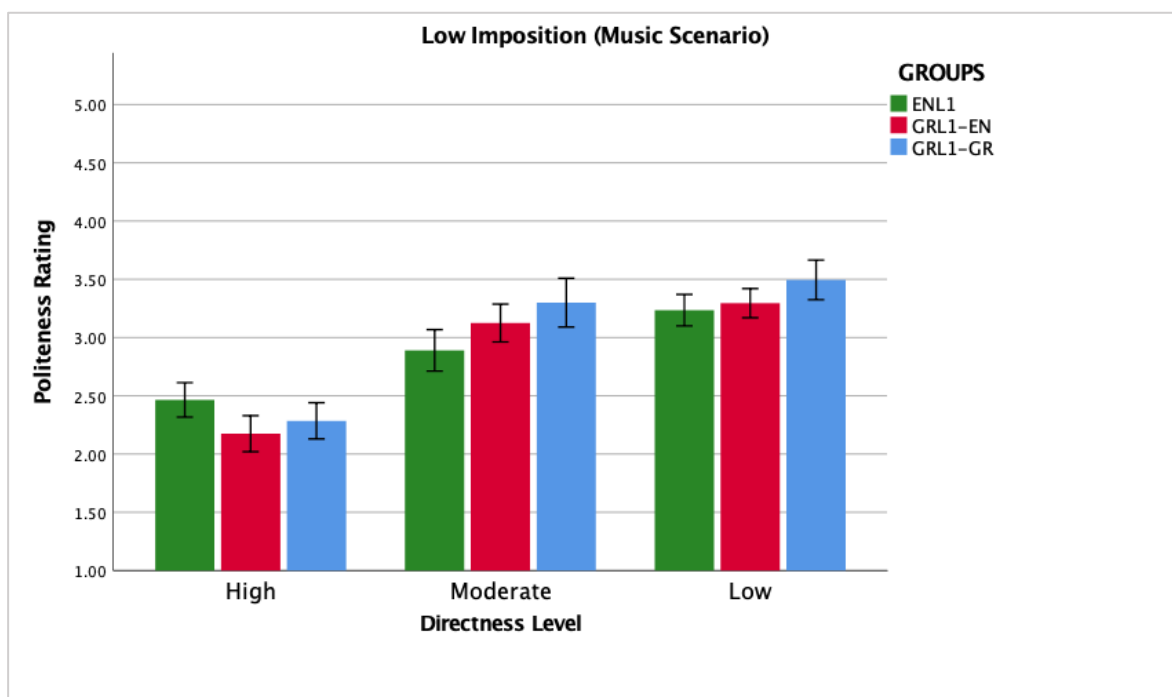


Chart 5.1  $\mu$  and *s.e.* for HLD, MLD and LLD (Likert scale test I)

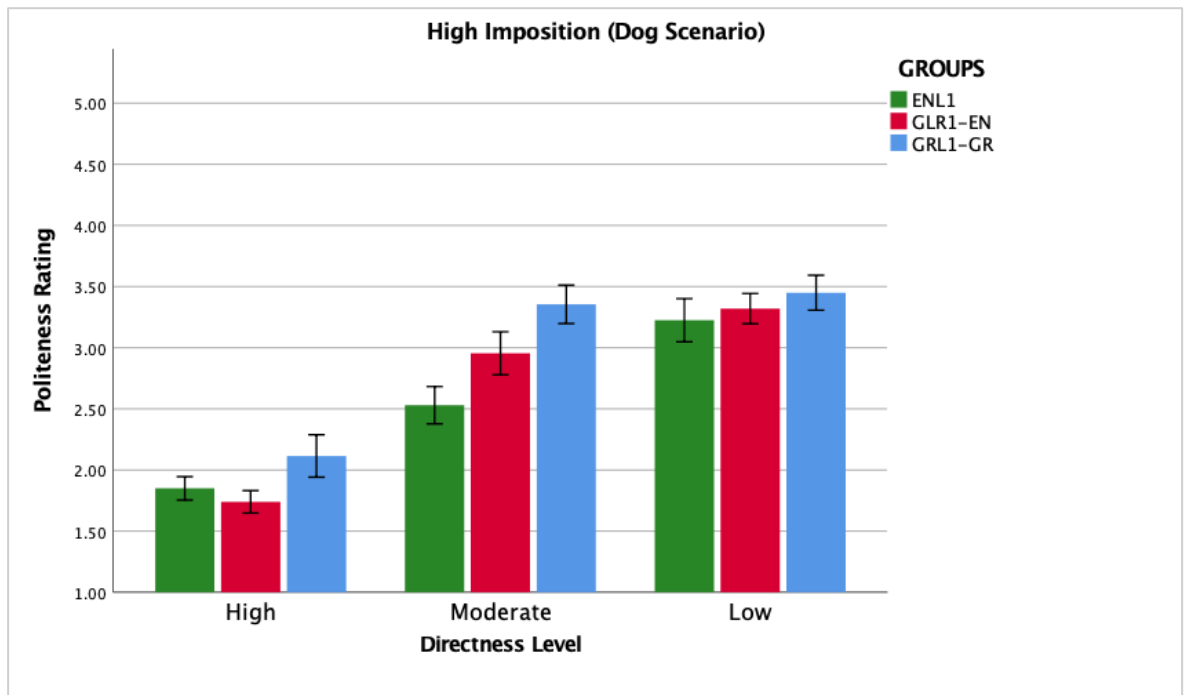


Chart 5.2  $\mu$  and *s.e.* for HLD, MLD and LLD (Likert scale test II)

The three groups of requests showed a few differences in evaluations among the three groups of informants in Likert scale test I. The  $\mu$  of the requests marked with HLD stretched from 2.175 (GRL1-EN) to 2.465 (ENL1) with an almost identical *s.e.* for the three groups of informants: 0.077 for GRL1-EN and GRL1-GR against 0.074 for ENL1. The requests marked with LLD presented similar results, with  $\mu$  varying from 3.235 (ENL1) to 3.495 (GRL1-GR) and *s.e.* ranging from 0.062 (GRL1-EN) to 0.084 (GRL1-GR). However, the requests marked with MLD showed some variation in evaluations between the three groups of informants. The  $\mu$  for ENL1 was 3.3 with *s.e.* at 0.104, whereas GRL1-GR presented a  $\mu$  of 2.89 with *s.e.* at 0.088. GRL1-EN were positioned in between with a  $\mu$  of 3.125 and *s.e.* at 0.08.

The HLD-marked and the LLD-marked requests in Likert scale test II exhibited less variation in evaluations amongst the three groups of informants than the MLD-marked ones; LLD-marked requests much less than any other group, considering the  $\mu$  for the all groups ranged from 3.225 (ENL1) to 3.45 (GRL1-GR) with similar *s.e.* ranging from 0.061 (GRL1-

EN) to 0.087 (ENL1). Regarding requests marked with HLD, the  $\mu$  for all groups was also relatively close, spreading from 1.74 (GRL1-EN) to 2.115 (GRL1-GR), yet *s.e.* was higher for GRL1-GR at 0.086 and lower for GRL1-EN and ENL1 at 0.045 and 0.047, respectively. The MLD-marked requests showed the widest spread in  $\mu$  than the other request groups with ENL1 at 2.53, GRL1-EN at 2.955 and GRL1-GR at 3.355. Their *s.e.*, however, was similar, varying from 0.075 (ENL1) to 0.087 (GRL1-EN).

### 5.1.2 Mean and Standard Error (Item Analysis)

The following part of the analysis examines the mean ( $\mu$ ) of the responses in the 24 requests of the two Likert scale tests and its standard error (*s.e.*). The mean, as aforementioned, measures the central tendency in all the values, which are 24 in total. The latter are defined as numerical variables (V) and labelled as items (I), ergo they can be attributed values. Standard error is the scale, on which the  $\mu$  of the sample population deviates from the  $\mu$  of the general population, either upwards or downwards, in this case towards 1.00 or 5.00.

#### 5.1.2.1 Native English Speakers in England (ENL1)

The  $\mu$  and *s.e.* of the values of ENL1 group are presented in Charts 5.3 and 5.4 below.

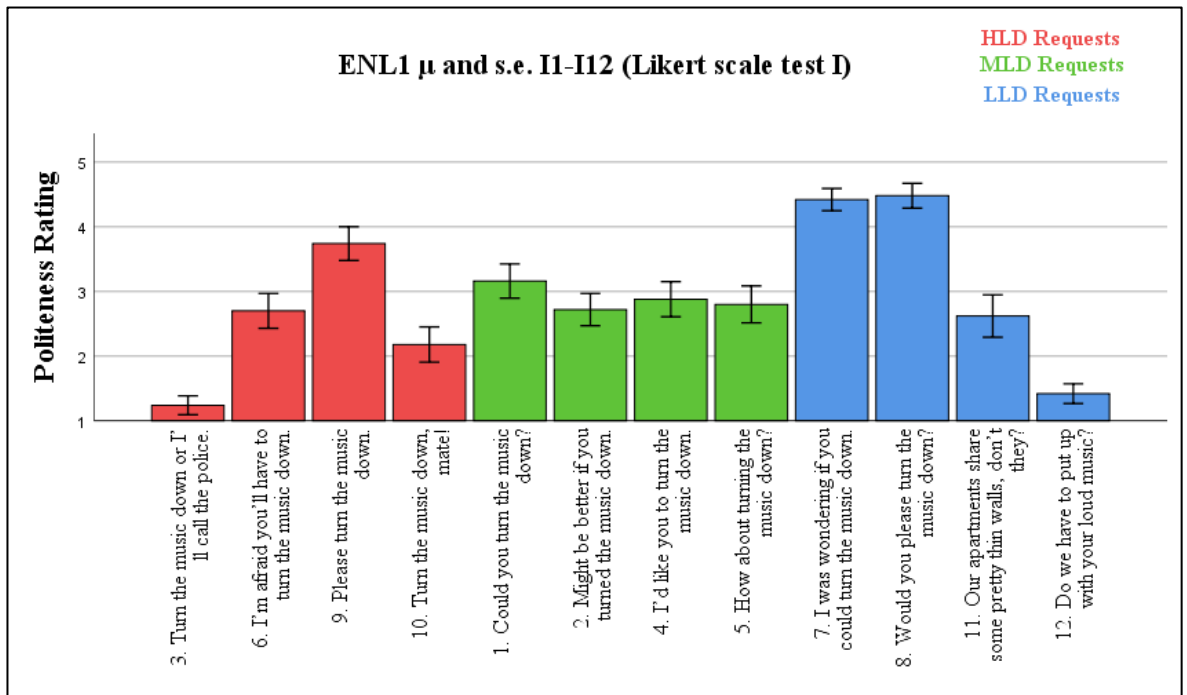


Chart 5.3 ENL1  $\mu$  and s.e. I1-I12 (Likert scale test I)

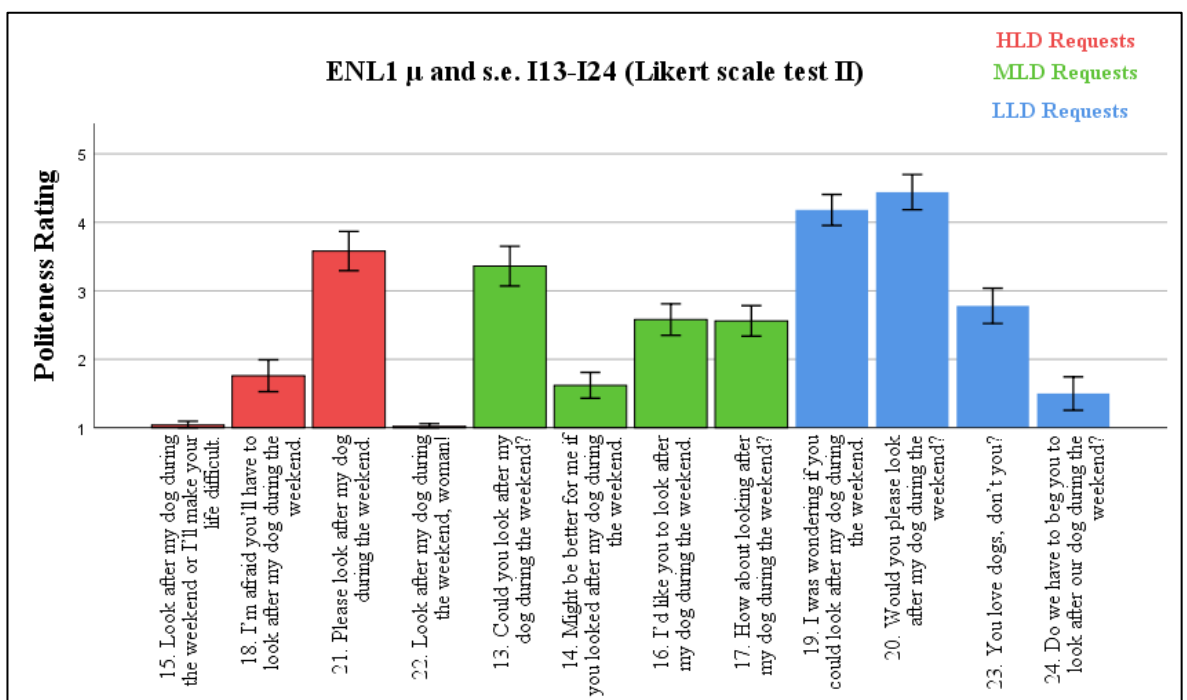


Chart 5.4 ENL1  $\mu$  and s.e. I13-I24 (Likert scale test II)

For the HLD-marked items the results led towards readings of impoliteness by the informants, excluding I9 and I21. The  $\mu$  for these items was 3.74 and 3.58 and their s.e. was .130 and .143, respectively. On the exact opposite end, I3 and I15 came with a  $\mu$  of 1.24 and



1.04, and a *s.e.* at .073 and .028, allowing for interpretations of evaluations towards high impoliteness. However, the pairs of I6 versus I18 and I10 versus I22 gave results, which clearly differentiate evaluations between the two Likert scale tests. The first pair had a  $\mu$  of 2.70 and 1.76, and the second pair had a  $\mu$  of 2.18 and 1.02. The requests in the second Likert scale test were evaluated as more impolite than the ones in the first Likert scale test. Moreover, their *s.e.* was similar — .135 (I6), .116 (I18), .136 (I10) — except for I22, which presented a very low deviation from the central tendency at .020.

I1 and I13<sup>35</sup>, which represent requests marked with MLD, showed a tendency towards neutral evaluations. The  $\mu$  was 3.16 versus 3.36 and the *s.e.* was .132 versus .145. The rest of the items of this grouping came to contrast with this neutrality<sup>36</sup> as closer to evaluations of impoliteness. In particular, I4 and I5, which pair with I16 and I17, produced a  $\mu$  of 2.88 and 2.80 in comparison with a  $\mu$  of 2.58 and 2.56. Even though the former pair of items was close to neutral 3.00, all four items' central tendency placed the informants' judgements in favour of impoliteness. Likewise, their *s.e.* was similar, ranging between .111 (I17) and .143 (I5). Lastly, I2 and I14 exhibited a noteworthy preference for low evaluations by the informants. The  $\mu$  and *s.e.* for I2 was 2.72 and .125 and that of I14 was 1.62 and .094.

The requests of the Likert scale tests, which are marked with LLD, gathered divided evaluations by ENL1 between impoliteness and politeness. I7 and I19 showed a  $\mu$  of 4.42 and 4.18 and a *s.e.* of .086 and .113, respectively, meaning the informants judged them as requests closer to politeness. Likewise, I8 and I20 exhibited high preference for polite evaluations with a  $\mu$  of 4.48 and 4.44 and *s.e.* of .096 and .128. For I11 and I23, however, judgements weighed towards impoliteness; a  $\mu$  of 2.62 and 2.78 implies a preference for evaluation closer to 2.00 than neutral 3.00. Their *s.e.* was above 0.1, with I11 surpassing it (.164) and implying a higher divergence in judgements by the sample population in

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<sup>35</sup> I1 and I13 represent requests A from Likert scale I and II. By the same token, I2 and I14 represent requests B, I3 and I15 represent requests C, and so forth.

<sup>36</sup> The evaluation of 3.00 is considered to be neutral, ergo neither polite nor impolite.

comparison to the general population than in I23 (.129). In the same line, I2 and I14 drew attention due to their measures, but also their contradiction. The  $\mu$  of the former was 2.72, whereas the  $\mu$  of the latter was 1.62. However, their *s.e.* was .125 and .094, respectively, indicating little divergence from the central tendency in evaluations by the sample population in comparison to the general population.

### 5.1.2.2 Greek Speakers of English in England (GRL1-EN)

The outcome of the statistical analysis of the values, their central tendency, and the deviation of the sample population  $\mu$  from the broader population  $\mu$  is presented below in Charts 5.5 and 5.6, respectively.

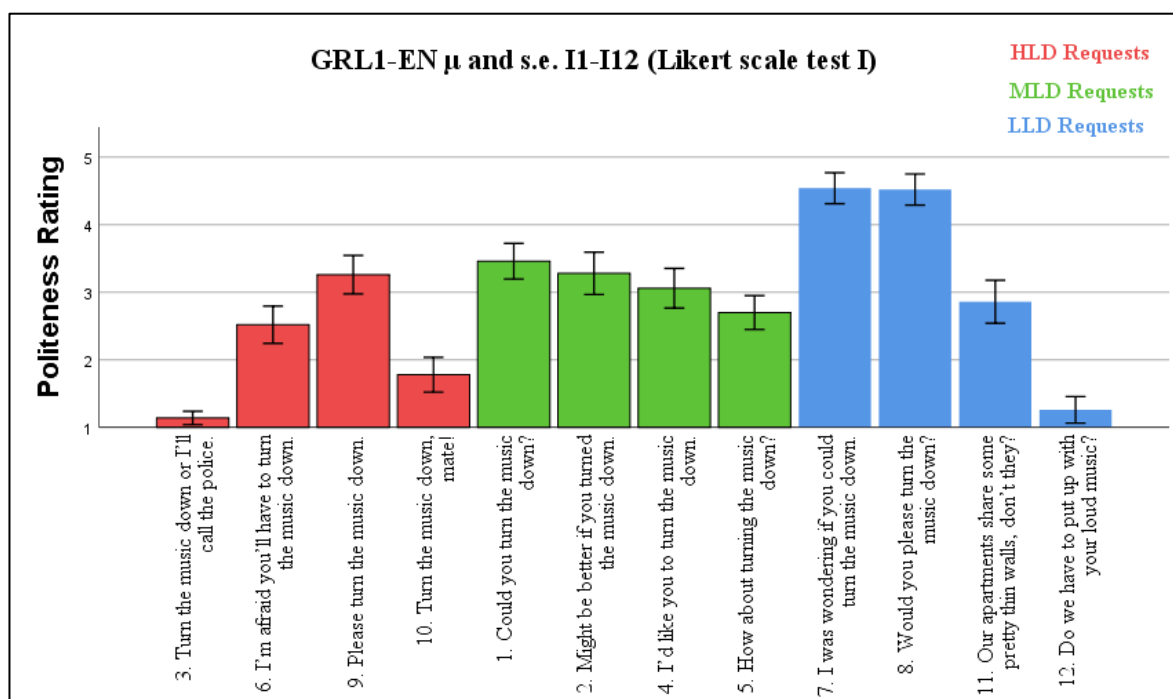


Chart 5.5 GRL1-EN  $\mu$  and *s.e.* I1-I12 (Likert scale test I)

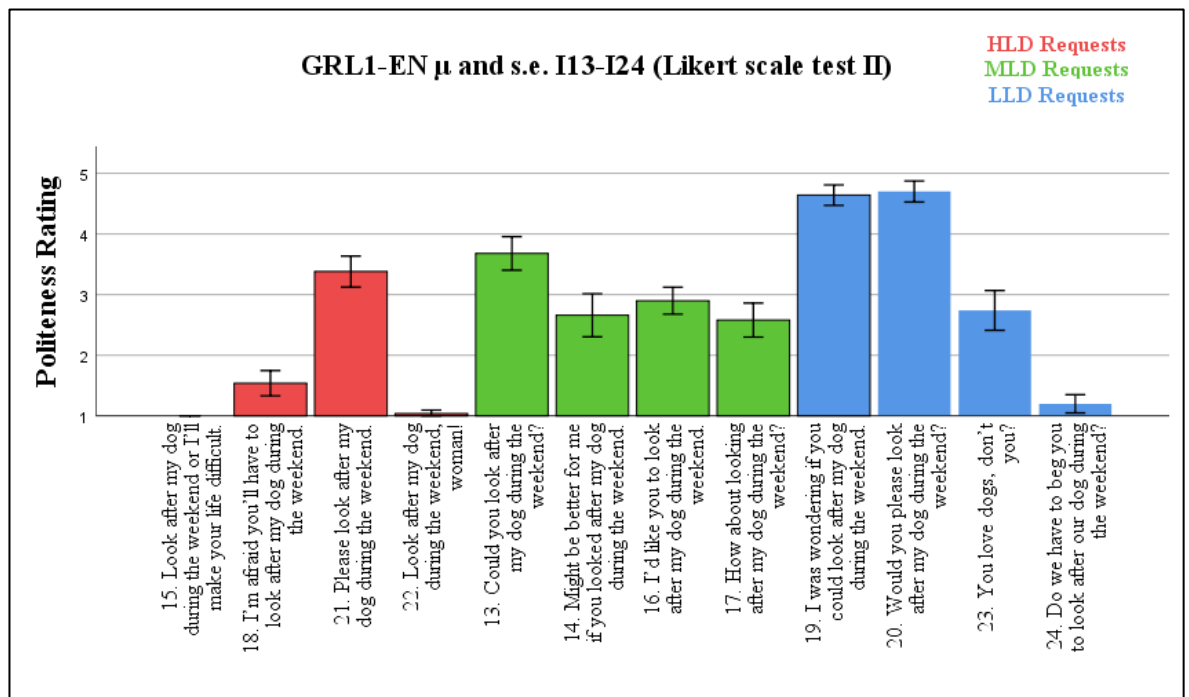


Chart 5.6 GRL1-EN  $\mu$  and *s.e.* I13-I24 (Likert scale test II)

The items that reflect requests with HLD presented an outcome with particularly low variability. The only exception was I9 and I21, with a  $\mu$  at 3.26 and 3.38 and a *s.e.* of .142 and .127, respectively. The reading of this finding allows for the assumption that the informants evaluated these two requests as at least neutral. However, there was little controversy upon the rest of the items, with a disagreement on the  $\mu$  and the *s.e.* of I10 and I22; 1.78 and 1.04, and .129 and .028, respectively. Both of the items weighed towards impolite, with I22 being evaluated clearly impolite. Yet, I10 presented a much higher divergence from the  $\mu$ , due to variation in opinions. Regarding I3 and I15, the results showed a straightforward evaluation by the informants; a  $\mu$  at 1.14 and 1.00 and a *s.e.* at .050 and .000. There was almost perfect unanimity in the evaluation of these particular requests by GRL1-EN. Contrarily, the last pair of items, I6 and I18, came with a mismatch in their  $\mu$ ; 2.52 versus 1.54. There *s.e.* was .138 and .104, showing a relevantly similar deviation of the sample population  $\mu$  from the general population  $\mu$ .

I1 and I13, mirroring requests marked with MLD, presented a  $\mu$  close to 3.50, suggesting an evaluation towards polite. Their *s.e.* was also similar — .132 and .138. The rest of the items of the MLD-requests grouping spread the analysis towards the opposite end. The  $\mu$  of I2 and I14 was 3.28 and 2.66, allowing the first to weigh towards neutrality and the second towards impoliteness. Their *s.e.* was also relevantly high, closing at .157 and .178, respectively, numbers which indicate a deviation of the sample population  $\mu$  either towards 4.00 or 2.00 for I2 and towards 3.00 and 1.00 for I14, compared to the general population. I5 and I17, with  $\mu$  2.70 and 2.58 and *s.e.* at .125 and .140, respectively, allowed little dispute over the judgement towards impolite. In the same line, although closer to neutral, I4 and I16 came with a  $\mu$  of 3.06 and 2.90. Their *s.e.*, however, was at .147 and .112, respectively. This means that informants' judgement of I4 by the sample population varied at a higher scale than of I16 in comparison to the general population.

The grouping of items marked with LLD exhibited a dual direction in their data with regard to (in)directness; high level of indirectness was not necessarily judged as a sign of politeness. I7 and I19 showed a  $\mu$  of 4.54 and 4.65 and a *s.e.* of .115 and .085, respectively, indicating a low divergence from the central tendency of around 4.50. On the same note, I8 and I20 displayed a  $\mu$  equally high, namely 4.52 and 4.70 and a *s.e.* was at .115 and .087. The rest of the items received values closer to what is considered to be either neutral or impolite, with a tendency towards the second. On the other hand, the tendency was closer to impoliteness for both I11 and I23, with a  $\mu$  at 2.86 and 2.74. Moreover, their *s.e.* was .159 and .164, implying a relevantly high divergence of the sample population  $\mu$  from the general population  $\mu$ , which was, though, much lower in I12 and I24 —.098 and .076, respectively. Adding to the tendency towards judgements of impoliteness, the  $\mu$  of the latter two items was 1.26 and 1.20, highlighting a substantially low record for requests with LLD.

### 5.1.2.3 Greek Speakers of English in Greece (GRL1-GR)

Charts 5.8 and 5.9 below present the data analysis for group GRL1-GR for the two Likert scale tests.

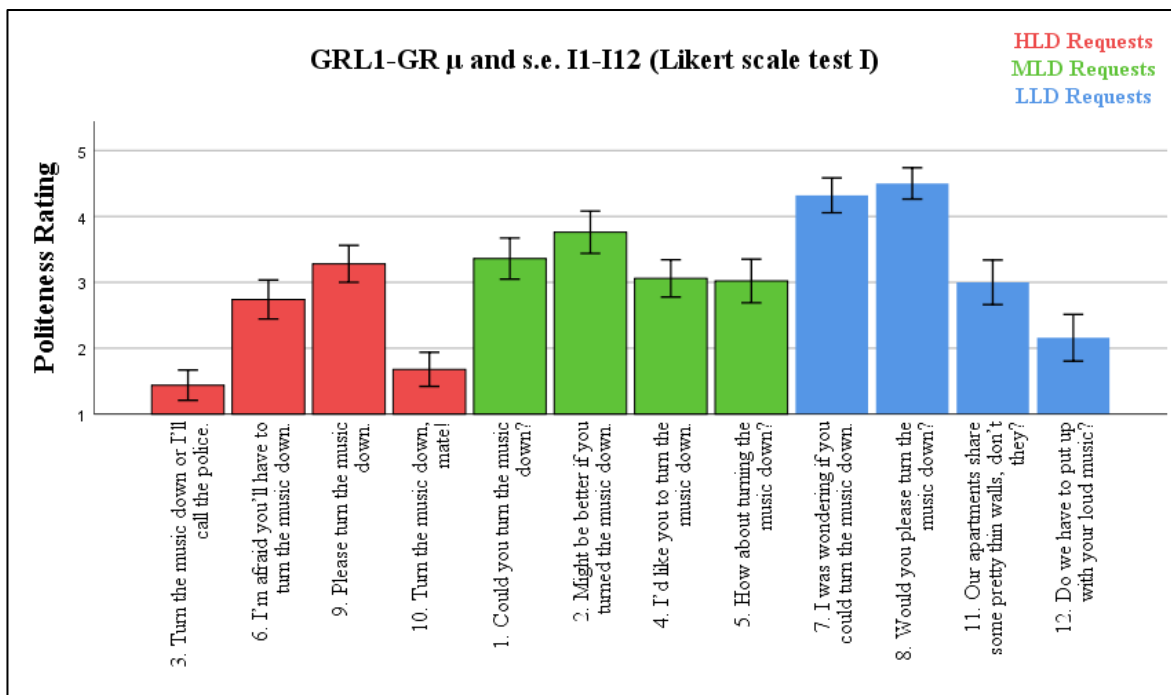


Chart 5.7 GRL1-GR  $\mu$  and s.e. I1-I12 (Likert scale test I)

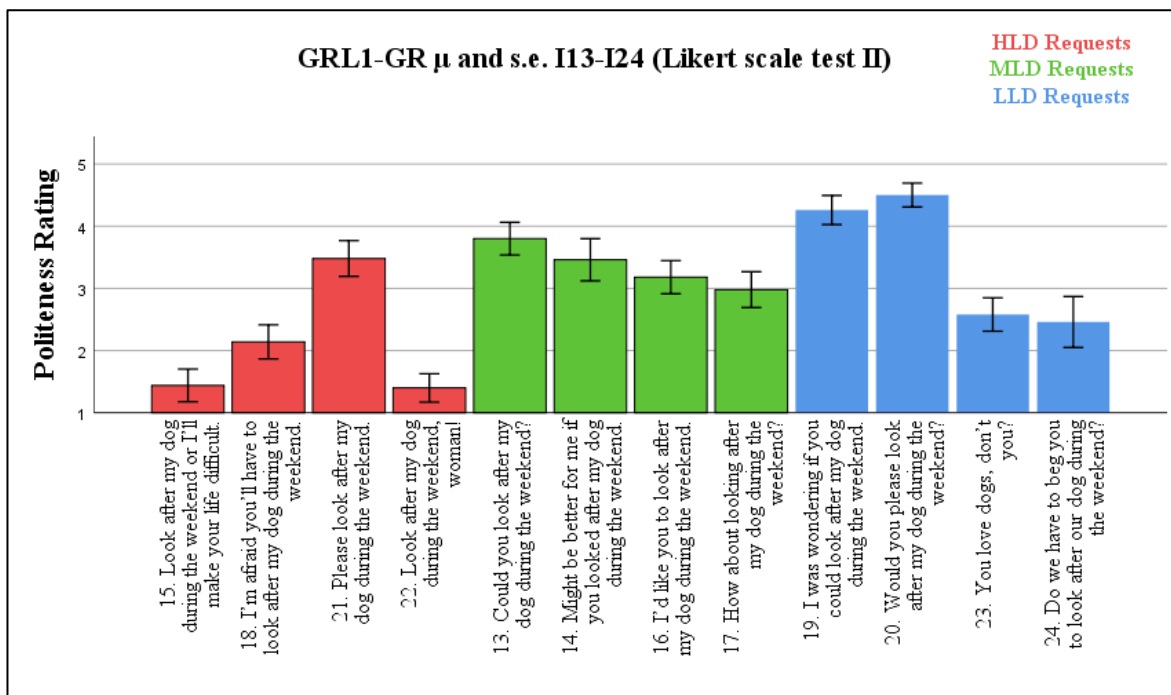


Chart 5.8 GRL1-GR  $\mu$  and s.e. I13-I24 (Likert scale test II)

For the grouping of items, which reflects requests with HLD, the results of the  $\mu$  and the *s.e.* were not consistent, but they reveal relevantly consistent evaluations. The  $\mu$  of I3 and I15 was the same — 1.44 — and their *s.e.* is similar — .115 and .131, respectively. This data leads to a reading very close to what is the outmost impolite requests. Likewise, I10 and I22 were judged by the informants as impolite requests. Their  $\mu$  was 1.68 and 1.40 and their *s.e.* .129 and .114, respectively, for both analyses. However, I6 and I18 came with a  $\mu$  of 2.74 and 2.14, providing an interpretation of the requests as merely impolite; and their *s.e.* was at .148 and .137. Even more, I9 and I21 resulted in a  $\mu$  of 3.28 and 3.48, requests that account for either neutral or even polite. The *s.e.* was very similar — .140 and .144 — resulting in the deviation of the sample population  $\mu$  being relevantly far to the  $\mu$  of the general population.

The  $\mu$  for I1 and I13 was 3.36 and 3.80, respectively. Even though both items account for requests with MLD, the former was closer to 3.00, whereas the latter was closer to 4.00, indicating that I13 calls for an evaluation closer to polite than neutral. The *s.e.* for I1 was .156 and for I13 .131, implying a variance in the  $\mu$  of the sample population in comparison with the  $\mu$  of the general population. Contrarily, the rest of the items of both Likert scale tests, which are marked with MLD, came in unanimity; I2, I4 and I5 pairing with I14, I16 and I17, respectively, showed consistency in their  $\mu$ , as well as their *s.e.* Their  $\mu$  was close to 3.00, which translates to neutral, with the exception of I2 and I14; they produce a  $\mu$  of 3.76 and 3.46, respectively, mirroring requests closer to polite. Their *s.e.*, however, was high at .161 for I2 and .170 for I14, showing high divergence of the sample population  $\mu$  compared to the general population  $\mu$ . In terms of politeness, this data is interpreted as closer to polite.

While all the aforementioned items suggest a preference towards a  $\mu$  of around 3.00, items marked with LLD were divided. I7 and I19 presented a  $\mu$  of 4.32 and 4.26, respectively, as well as similar *s.e.*; .131 and .117, respectively. In terms of politeness, this data is

interpreted as polite. I8 and I20 presented results even closer to politeness; their  $\mu$  was 4.50 and their *s.e.* was .119 and .096, respectively. However, I12 and I24, which fall under the same categorisation of requests with LLD, produced a  $\mu$  of 2.16 and 2.46. This is relatively low, considering I7 and I19, also in the same categorisation, came with a  $\mu$  of 4.32 and 4.26, respectively. Moreover, the *s.e.* of the latter two items was significantly lower than that of the former two, suggesting a lower divergence of the sample population  $\mu$  from the general population  $\mu$ . I11 and I23 confirm the variability of the data, as the one showed a  $\mu$  of 3.00 and the other a  $\mu$  of 2.58. Their *s.e.* was .169 and .134, respectively.

### 5.1.3 Cross-tabulation

The final subsection of descriptive statistics presents the comparison of individual items' values. It also examines the possible interdependence of those items. The presentation of the data is done in a table, which is named either contingency table, cross-tabulation, or cross-tab (Saunders, M., Lewis, P., & Thornhill, A., 2016). The results of the informants' evaluations are presented in pairs within the threefold grouping of the items according to their level of (in)directness, namely HLD, MLD, and LLD.

#### 5.1.3.1 Requests with High Level of Directness (HLD)

The last subsection of cross-tabulation accounts for the evaluations of politeness for requests marked with HLD. The results for the first pairing items I3 and I15 are presented in Chart 5.9 below. As a reminder, values 1 to 5 represent the evaluation scale, where 1 refers to highly impolite and 5 to highly polite.

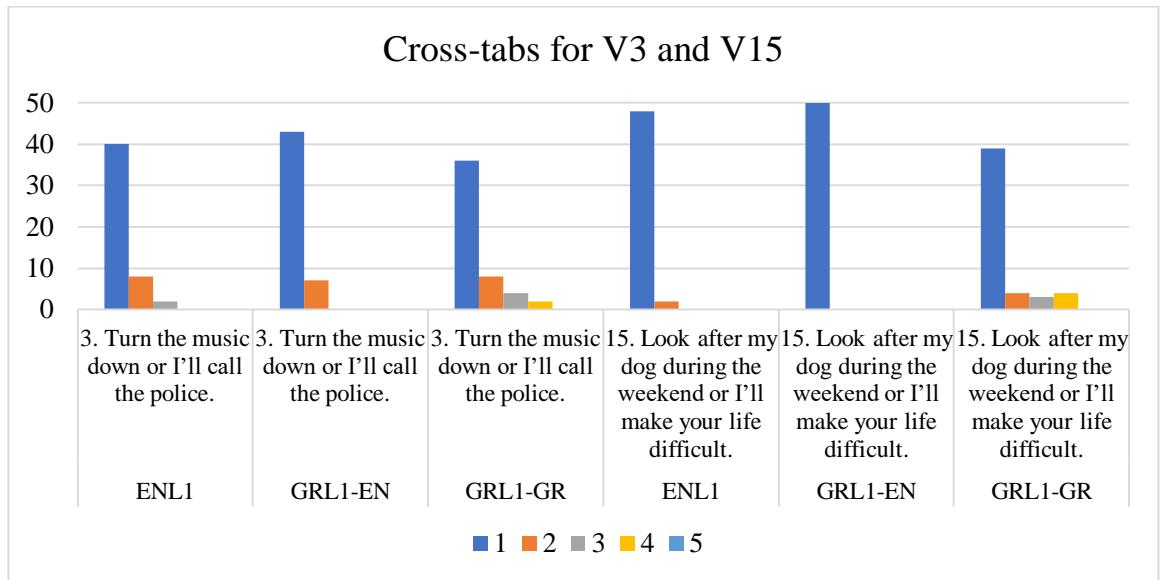


Chart 5.9 Cross-tabs for I3 and I15

All three groups opted for the outmost negative value of 1.00, which translates to highly impolite requests. In particular, I15 was the only one from the whole cross-tabulation analysis that accumulated a clear 100% of agreement in judgements by GRL1-EN. Value 2.00 gathered a small number of evaluations from all groups for I3, but not for I15, where opinions were clearer towards value 1.00.

Contrary to the above, I6 and I18 invited more dispersed judgements. Chart 5.10 below presents the data.



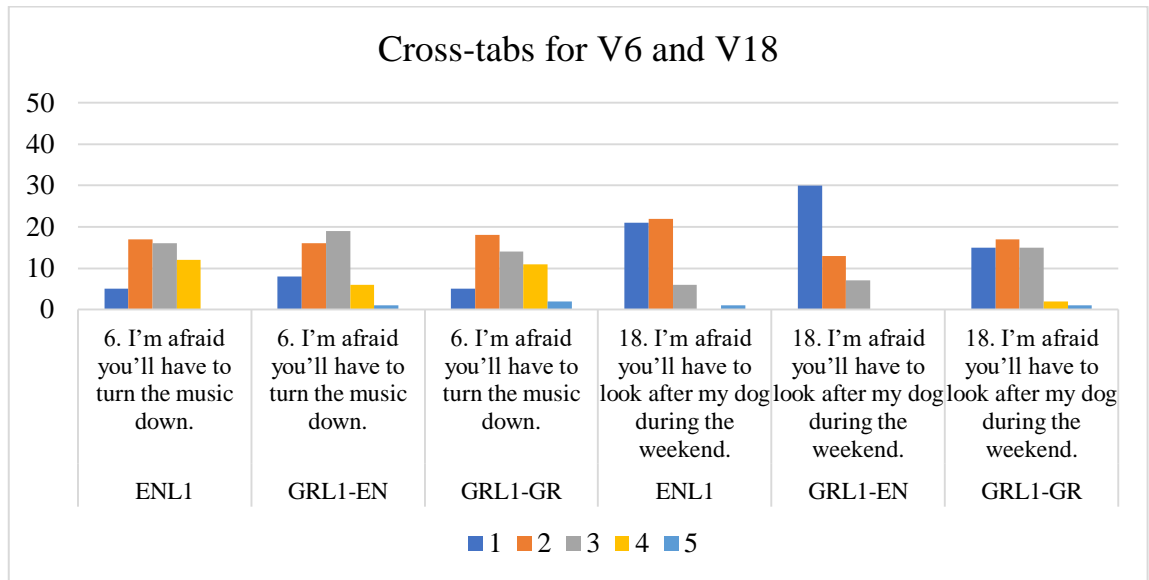


Chart 5.10 Cross-tabs for I6 and I18

For I6, GRL1-GR and ENL1 opted for value 2.00, though the second group exhibited a marginal preference against value 3.00 and even value 4.00. The first group also divided between the same values, whereas GRL1-EN favoured neutral 3.00 against the second most preferred value 2.00.

Pairing I18 also produced divisive results. GRL1-GR favoured value 2.00, same as ENL1, but GRL1-EN favoured value 1.00 by twice the amount of judgements compared to GRL1-GR. Moreover, the same value came as the second choice for ENL1 only by one evaluation less and for GRL1-GR by two. Interestingly, the latter group diverged from value 3.00 at the exact number of judgements, allowing for interpretations of the results close to either impolite or neutral.

The next pairing items, I9 and I21, exhibited equally divisive results, but towards neutrality and politeness instead of impoliteness. Chart 5.11 presents the results.

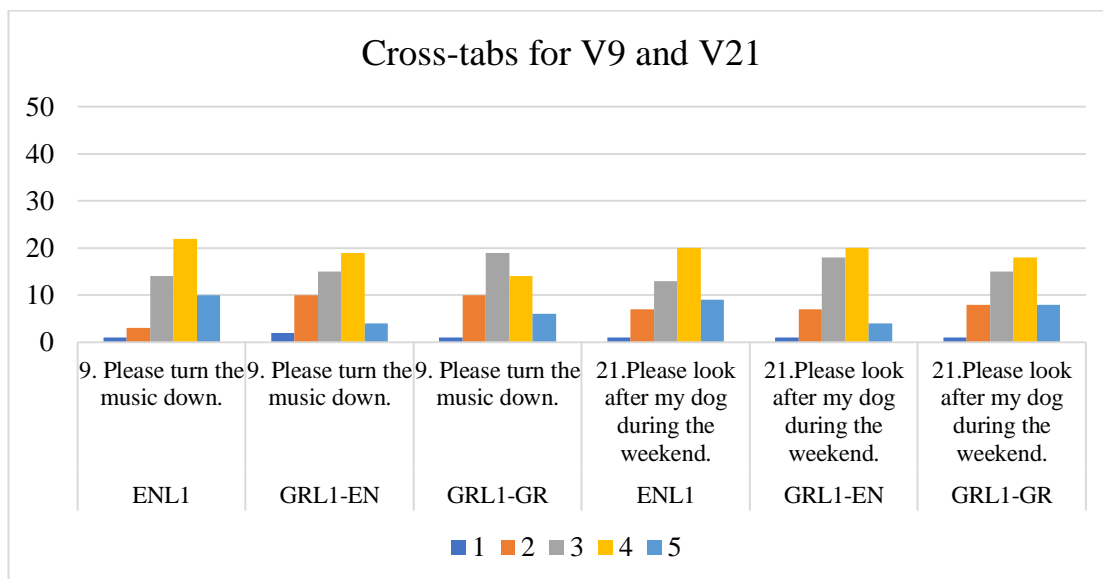


Chart 5.11 Cross-tabs for I9 and I21

The most preferred value for I9 was 3.00 for GRL1-GR and 4.00 for GRL1-EN and ENL1. The former group also opted for value 4.00 as their second choice, as well the latter two groups gathered the second highest number in evaluations on value 3.00. Even though the level of directness of the item is high, judgements varied between neutrality and politeness.

For pairing item 21, the results were similar, but with no variation in opinions between groups; most informants of all groups favoured value 4.00 and opted for value 3.00 as their second choice. Again, the level of directness of the request did not affect the judgement of politeness.

The last pair of items includes I10 and I22. Chart 5.12 presents the results of their cross-tabulations.

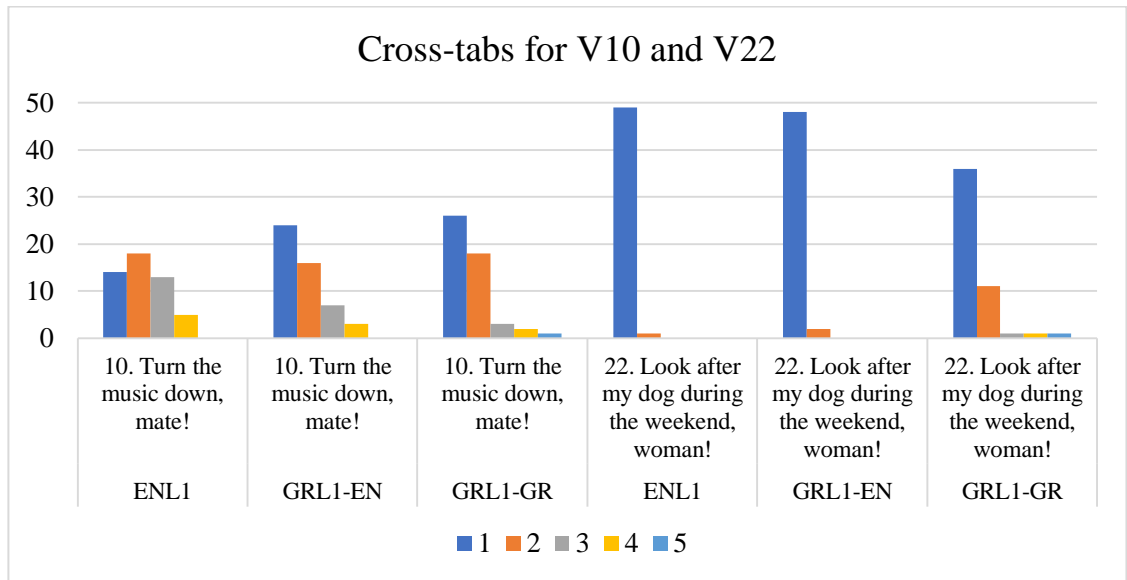


Chart 5.12 Cross-tabs for I10 and I22

Both items allow for readings towards impoliteness, however I10 presented almost equivalent results among values 1.00, 2.00 and 3.00 for ENL1. The second value was preferred by the majority of the group, and also came as the second most voted value by GRL1-GR and GRL1-EN, who instead favoured value 1.00.

Pairing I22, although it represents the same request formula as I10, was evaluated as outmost impolite by all groups. ENL1 showed no division in their opinions on this item, and also no inclination towards neutrality. The level of directness of the requests is high in both cases, so the differences in results were attributed to other factors.

### 5.1.3.2 Requests with Moderate Level of Directness (MLD)

Chart 5.13 below presents the values for the pairing items I1 and I13.

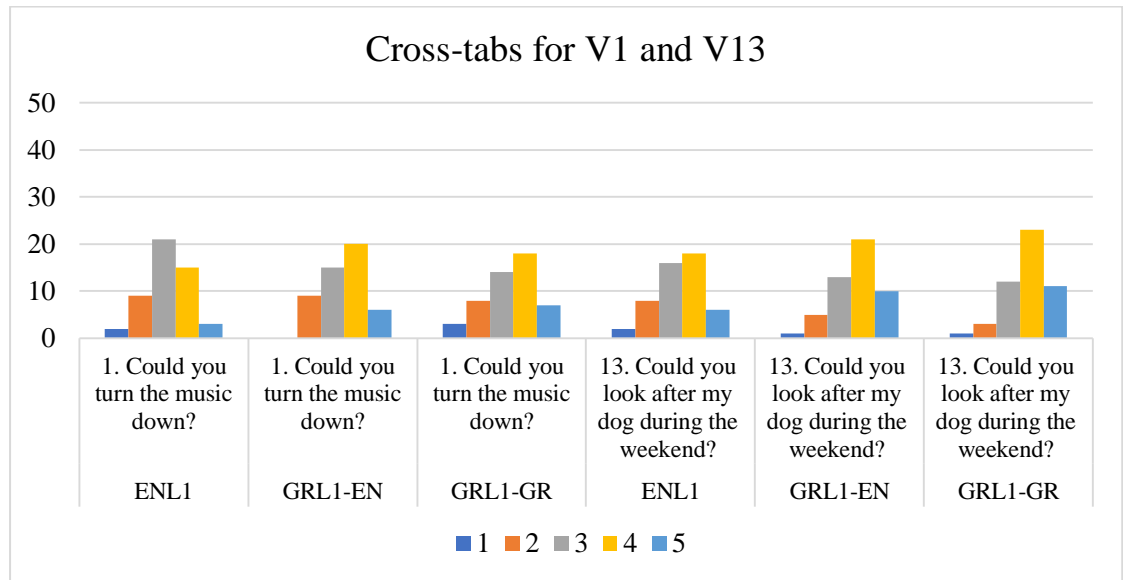


Chart 5.13 Cross-tabs for I1 and I13

The most preferred values by the three groups for I1 were 3.00 and 4.00. Although the item accounts for requests with MLD, it is noticeable that GRL1-GR and GRL1-EN showed a higher preference towards polite 4.00, whereas ENL1 showed a tendency towards neutral 3.00. There was also a noteworthy number of participants of all groups, who identified I1 as close to impolite 2.00.

I13 invited similar judgements to its pairing I1. All groups favoured value 4.00, but ENL1 showed only a marginal preference for polite readings in the request compared to neutral 3.00. GRL1-GR and GRL1-EN evaluated I13 as even highly polite — 11 and 10 informants, respectively — though neutrality was their second favoured evaluation.

The next pairing items marked with MLD, I2 and I14, are presented in Chart 5.14 below.

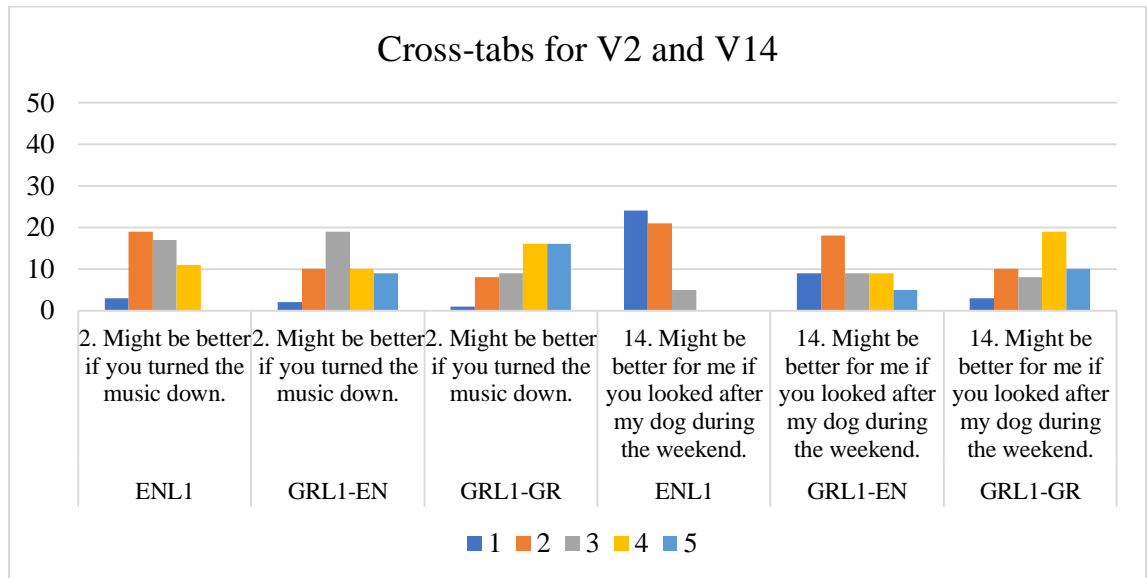


Chart 5.14 Cross-tabs for I2 and I14

The outcome of the analysis for I2 showed a high divergence in judgements between the groups. GRL1-GR chose values 4.00 and 5.00 by majority, whereas ENL1 rejected 5.00 completely and opted for value 2.00 instead. GRL1-EN considered neutral 3.00 as the proper evaluation of the request, separating their judgements from the other two groups as well.

Pairing I14 invited contradicting evaluations as well, with even higher deviation between values. Most GRL1-GR decided that value 4.00 was suitable for this request, but most ENL1 favoured value 1.00, which was almost the exact opposite value. The second choice of preference for ENL1 came in agreement with the first choice of preference for GRL1-EN, who opted for value 2.00; they also provided insight for negative readings of this request formula.

I4 and I16, also marked with MLD, are presented in Chart 5.15 below.

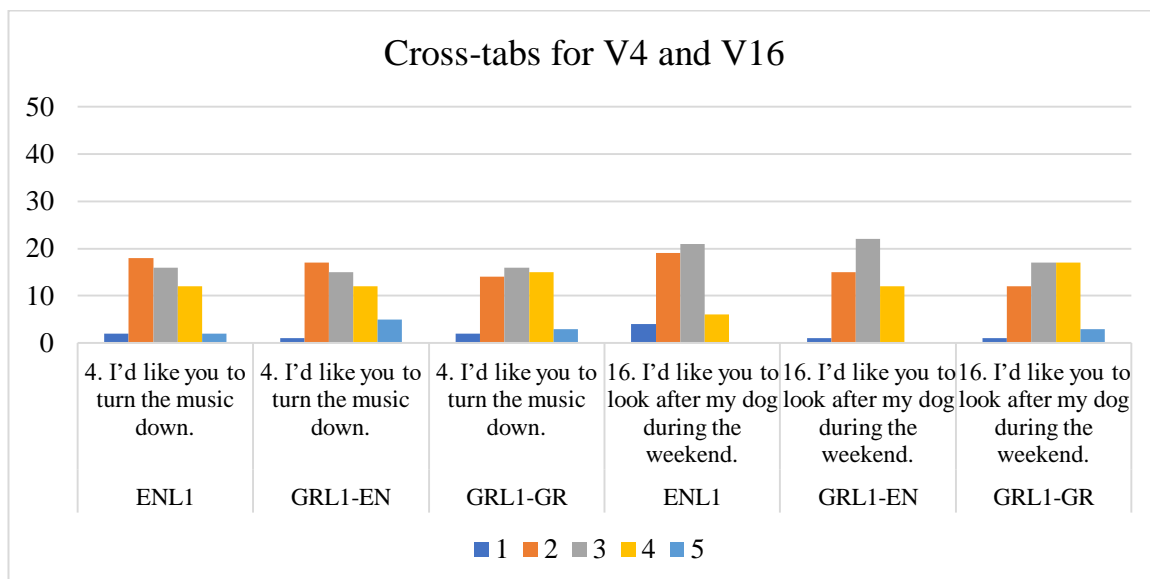


Chart 5.15 Cross-tabs for I4 and I16

The results for I4 showed that this MLD-marked request can take all possible readings. GRL1-GR favoured neutral 3.00, but GRL1-EN and ENL1 preferred impolite 2.00. On the one hand, the differences in evaluations between and within groups among values 2.00 and 3.00 were marginal, but on the other hand, so were evaluations of polite 4.00.

I16 came with equally small differences between groups' favoured values, namely 3.00 for GRL1-EN and ENL1, and 3.00 and 4.00 for GRL1-GR. Judgements close to impolite 2.00 were also significant, but value 4.00 presented the highest divergence in opinions between groups.

The last pairing of MLD-marked items, I5 and I17, is presented in Chart 5.16 below.

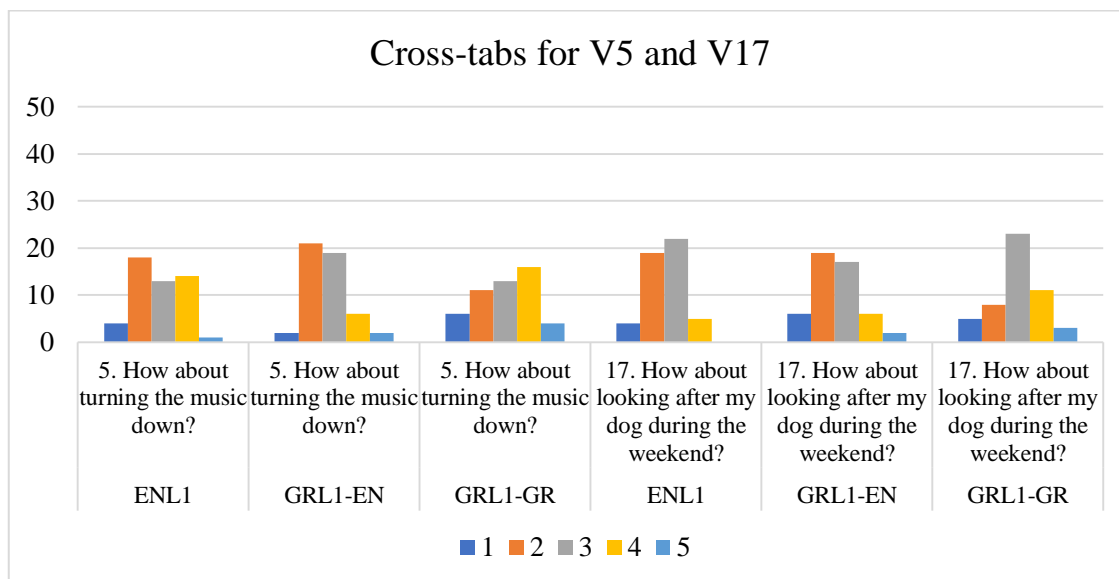


Chart 5.16 Cross-tabs for I5 and I17

I5 displayed a noticeable disunity in evaluations between groups. GRL1-GR favoured polite 4.00, whereas impolite 2.00 was favoured by ENL1 and GRL1-EN, with the latter almost equally resorting to neutral 3.00. This request seems to have invited disagreement on its level of politeness and, therefore, its level of (in)directness. However, even though GRL1-EN and ENL1's evaluations were in agreement at value 2.00, they showed a significant disagreement in the evaluation of value 4.00.

Pairing I17 also showed divergence in opinions between groups, but at a lower level. In this case, GRL1-GR and ENL1 came in agreement on neutral readings of the request, whereas GRL1-EN preferred impolite 2.00. The same value was also favoured by ENL1 as their second highest preference.

### 5.1.3.3 Requests with Low Level of Directness (LLD)

This subsection presents the cross-tabs of the requests marked with LLD. Judgements of the first pairing items, I7 and I19, exhibit high unanimity. Chart 5.17 presents the results of their cross-tabs.

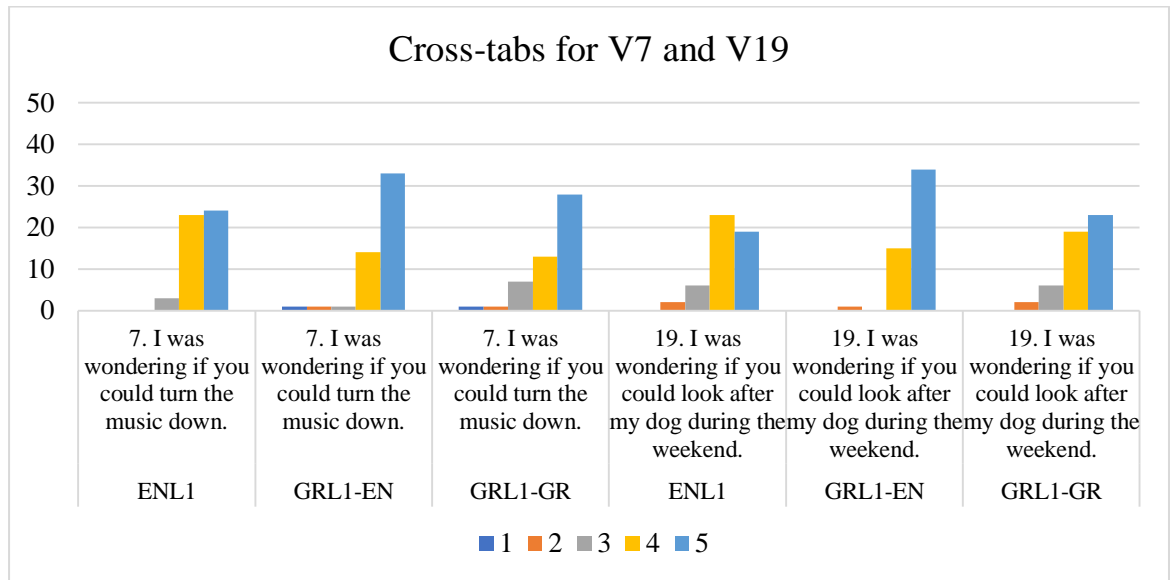


Chart 5.17 Cross-tabs for I7 and I19

All three groups opted for value 5.00 for I7, with ENL1 marginally favouring it over value 4.00; their judgement, though, was still towards polite evaluations of the request. However, the pairing I19 collected more preferences of value 4.00 for the group, contrary to GRL1-GR and GRL1-EN, who again chose value 5.00. Both items presented almost unanimous results towards polite readings of the requests.

In the same line of unanimity, albeit less decisively, and towards more polite readings, the results for pairing I8 and I20 are presented in Chart 5.18 below.



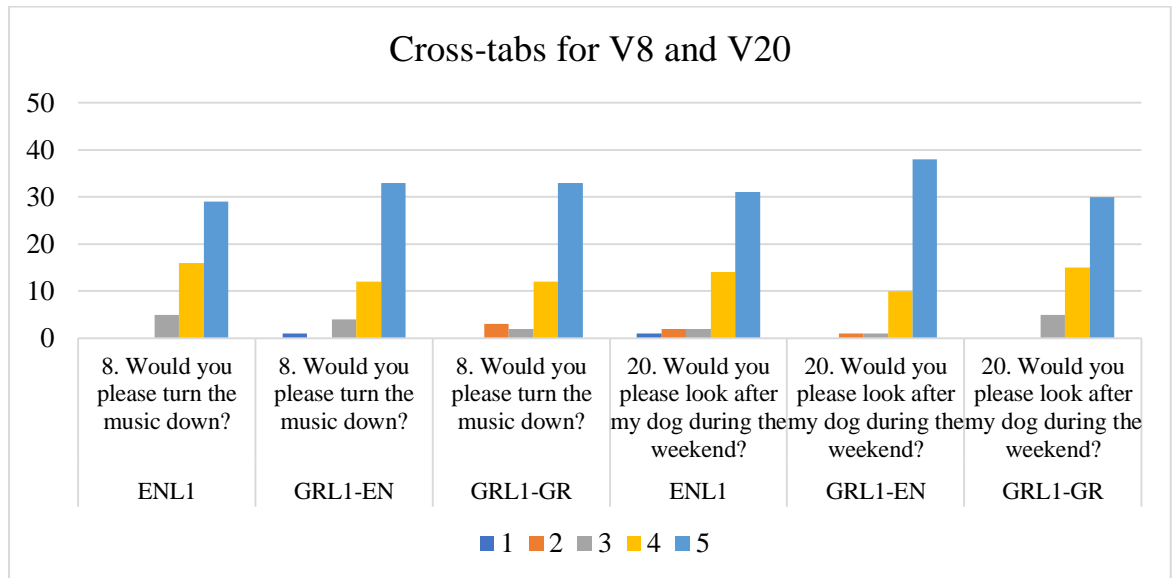


Chart 5.18 Cross-tabs for I8 and I20

This pair of items showed a clear consistency of evaluations. Value 5.00, which marks the requests as highly polite, was favoured by all three groups with very little divergence in opinions. The second most selected value — 4.00 — was still closer to politeness than neutrality, which implies that the informants attribute a positive reading to these two requests.

Contrary to the unanimity of the previous items, the results for pairing I11 and I23 are presented in Chart 5.19 below.

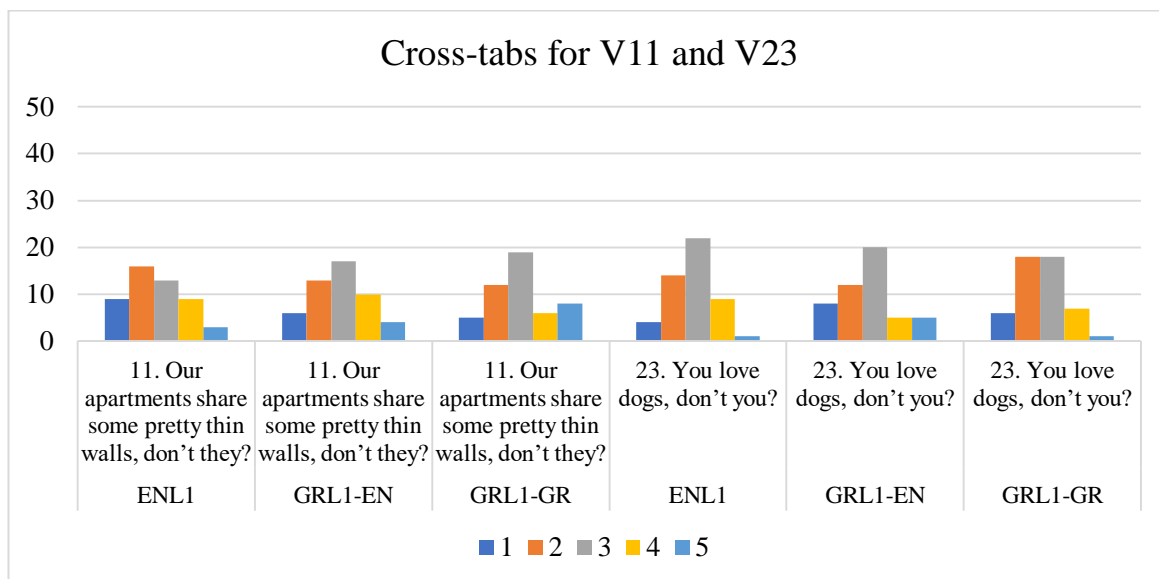


Chart 5.19 Cross-tabs for I11 and I23

For I11, a request marked with LLD, the preferred value for the Greek speakers of English was neutral 3.00, but for English native speakers impolite 2.00. The latter value was the second most popular choice of GRL1-GR and GRL1-EN, as was value 3.00 for ENL1.

For pairing I23 neutrality accumulated the majority of the evaluations of all three groups, with GRL1-GR also favouring value 2.00. This was also the second most favoured value by the other two groups, implying that both I11 and I23 divided the informants between neutral and impolite readings of the request pair.

The last two items of the grouping of LLD-marked requests are I12 and I24. Their cross-tabs are presented in Chart 5.20 below.

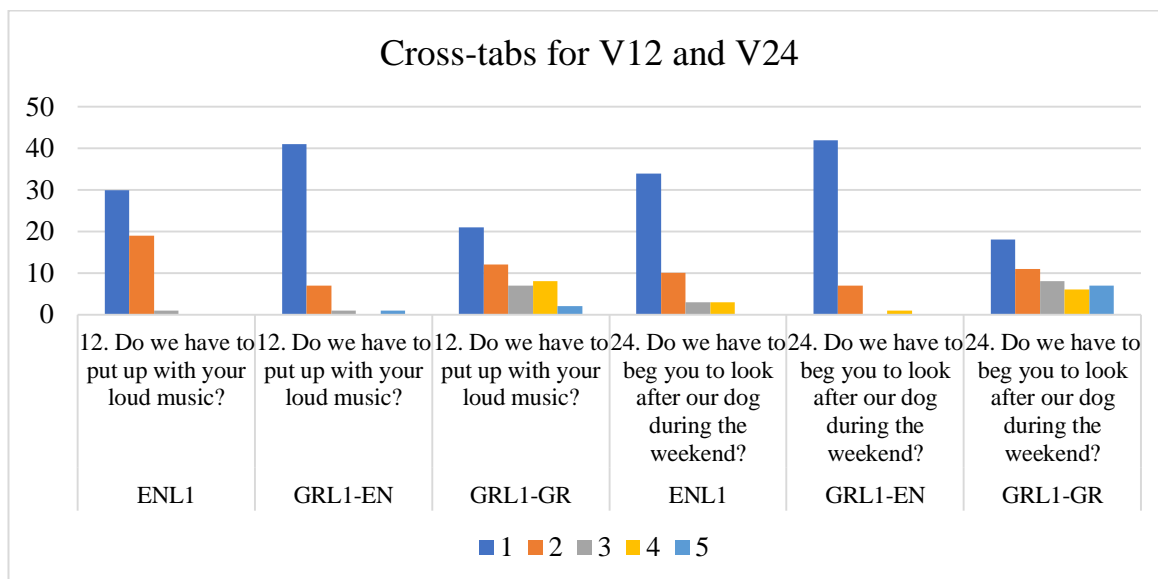


Chart 5.20 Cross-tabs for I12 and I24

The results of both items indicate that all three groups evaluated the two request formulae as impolite. Their preferred value was 1.00, with GRL1-GR and ENL1 deviating towards 2.00, still an impolite reading.

## 5.2 Inferential Statistics

Descriptive statistics, as already mentioned, highlight the relationship between the variables and the informants, for example how the three groups of this research judge the 24 requests in numbers. Inferential statistics, as discussed in Chapter three, is the other end of a strategic survey, which allows for generalisations based on samples; for instance, the readings of the 150 informants' request evaluations at the larger scale of the whole population. Both statistical processes presented below — correlation coefficient, the analysis of variance (ANOVA), and *t*-test — are examples of parametric statistical tests.

### 5.2.1 Correlations

The following three subsections present the correlation coefficient in pairs of variables, trichotomized in requests of HLD, MLD, and LLD.

#### 5.2.1.1 Requests with High Level of Directness (HLD)

In this grouping of items, the pairs to be presented are I3–I15, I6–I18, I9–I21, and I10–I22<sup>37</sup>.

Table 5.2 presents the results.

I3. <i>Turn the music down or I'll call the police.</i>	vs.	I15. <i>Look after my dog during the weekend or I'll make your life difficult.</i>	$r = .470^{**}$	$p = .000$
I6. <i>I'm afraid you'll have to turn the music down.</i>	vs.	I18. <i>I'm afraid you'll have to look after my dog during the weekend.</i>	$r = .404^{**}$	$p = .000$
I9. <i>Please turn the music down.</i>	vs.	I21. <i>Please look after my dog during the weekend.</i>	$r = .564^{**}$	$p = .000$
I10. <i>Turn the music down, mate!</i>	vs.	I22. <i>Look after my dog during the weekend, woman!</i>	$r = .217^{**}$	$p = .008$

Table 5.2 Correlations for Items with HLD

All the  $p$ -values showed a statistically significant correlation between the pairing items. Three pairs presented a  $p = .000$ , except for I10-I22, which presented a  $p = .008$ . The  $r$  of this pair was the weakest at .217, which means that the correlation between the items is positive, but not strong. Contrarily, I9 and I21 presented a strong positive correlation with a  $r = .564$ , much closer to +1. I3 and I15 followed with a  $r = .470$  and I6-I18 with a  $r = .404$ .

<sup>37</sup> See Appendix VI for the full table representation of the results.

### 5.2.1.2 Requests with Moderate Level of Directness (MLD)

The next grouping of items consists of the pairs I1–I13, I2–I14, I4–I16, and I5–I17. Table 5.3 presents the data.

I1. <i>Could you turn the music down?</i>	vs.	I13. <i>Could you look after my dog during the weekend?</i>	$r = .369^{**}$	$p = .000$
I2. <i>Might be better if you turned the music down.</i>	vs.	I14. <i>Might be better for me if you looked after my dog during the weekend.</i>	$r = .397^{**}$	$p = .000$
I4. <i>I'd like you to turn the music down.</i>	vs.	I16. <i>I'd like you to look after my dog during the weekend.</i>	$r = .352^{**}$	$p = .000$
I5. <i>How about turning the music down?</i>	vs.	I17. <i>How about looking after my dog during the weekend?</i>	$r = .335^{**}$	$p = .000$

Table 5.3 Correlations for Items with MLD

There was a statistically significant positive relationship between all pairing items, with a unanimous  $p$  of  $.000 < 0.01$ . In terms of  $r$ , the strongest positive correlation was marked by I2 and I14 with a  $r = .397$ , very close to +1. I1 and I13 produced a  $r = .369$ , I4 and I16 a slightly weaker  $r = .352$ , and I5 and I17 the lowest, still positive,  $r$  of  $.335$ . The data reveal that if an item of one of the Likert scale tests increases, the equivalent pairing item of the other Likert scale test will increase as well. In other words, if the values of a request with  $-R$  move towards one direction, the values of the pairing request with  $+R$  will move towards the same direction.

### 5.2.1.3 Requests with Low Level of Directness (LLD)

The last grouping of items includes the pairs I7–I19, I8–I20, I11–I23, and I12–I24. The results are presented in Table 5.4 below.

I17. <i>I was wondering if you could turn the music down.</i>	vs.	I19. <i>I was wondering if you could look after my dog during the weekend.</i>	$r = .491^{**}$	$p = .000$
I18. <i>Would you please turn the music down?</i>	vs.	I20. <i>Would you please look after my dog during the weekend?</i>	$r = .510^{**}$	$p = .000$
I11. <i>Our apartments share some pretty thin walls, don't they?</i>	vs.	I23. <i>You love dogs, don't you?</i>	$r = .493^{**}$	$p = .000$
I12. <i>Do we have to put up with your loud music?</i>	vs.	I24. <i>Do we have to beg you to look after our dog during the weekend?</i>	$r = .479^{**}$	$p = .000$

Table 5.4 Correlations for Items with LLD

Again, all items showed that the probability of being correlated is not by chance alone. All  $p$ -values were  $.000 < 0.01$  and all  $r$  were close to +1, identifying a positive correlation between the items. The strongest positive correlation was marked by I8 and I20 with a  $r = .510$ , very close to +1, whereas the rest of the pairs came with either a  $r = .479$  (I12-I24),  $r = .491$  (I7-I19), and  $r = .493$  (I11-I23). The data of these groupings also reveal that if one item of a certain pair increases, the pairing item of the equivalent pair will increase as well, regardless of the direction of the influence towards value 1 or 5.

All three groups of pairing items presented a statistically significant strong positive correlation. This means that whichever change occurs in the item of one pair, the same change will occur to the other item of the same pair.

### 5.2.2 Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)

Analysis of Variance allows for readings into the differences of the groups of the current study, in relation to their responses, as known as their evaluations of politeness. The subsection presents the two different models of ANOVA, namely three-way mixed ANOVA and one-way ANOVA.

### 5.2.2.1 Three-way mixed ANOVA

In this analysis, the 24 requests were grouped into the three categories of directness, namely HLD, MLD, and LLD. The grouping of the requests allowed for a broader interpretation of the results. The mean for each of the three request categories was calculated (see Charts 5.1 and 5.2) and a three-way mixed ANOVA was run. The design was a  $3 \times 3 \times 2$  (group  $\times$  directness  $\times$  imposition). Group was the between-subjects variable, and directness and imposition were within-subject variables. The results are presented in Table 5.5 below.

<b>Three-way mixed ANOVA</b>		
<i>Within-Subjects Variables</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
Imposition	33.164	0.000
Directness	467.567	0.000
Imposition-Directness-Groups	3.664	0.006
<i>Between-Subjects Variable</i>		
Groups	10.162	0.000

Table 5.5 Three-way mixed ANOVA (omnibus analysis)

The three-way interaction was significant  $F(4.00) = 3.66, p = .006$ . The main effects were also all significant (imposition:  $F(1.00) = 33.16, p < .001$ ; directness:  $F(2.00) = 467.57, p < .001$ ; group:  $F(2.00) = 10.16, p < .001$ ). The main effect of imposition showed that the requests in the low imposing scenario resulted in higher politeness ratings. The main effect of directness showed that requests marked with high directness had low politeness ratings and requests marked with low directness had high politeness ratings. Both of these findings were consistent with predictions. The main effect of group showed the MLD-marked requests exhibited variations in evaluations among the three groups of informants, in particular in the highly imposing scenario. GRL1-EN showed a clear categorical preference

based on the level of directness. They rated high directness as impolite, low directness as polite, and moderate directness as neither polite nor impolite (i.e. neutral ratings). In contrast, GRL1-GR seemed to rate the MLD-marked requests as polite (i.e. no different from the LLD-marked requests). ENL1 rated the MLD-marked requests as impolite (i.e. no different from the HLD-marked requests). Thus, the interaction between groups was primarily driven by differential ratings to the “middle” items, as all three groups gave different ratings to these requests. The HLD and LLD-marked requests were more or less viewed similarly by all three groups.

### 5.2.2.2 One-way ANOVA

One-way ANOVA<sup>38</sup> allowed for readings into the differences of the groups of the current study, in relation to their responses, as known as their evaluations of politeness. The analysis accounted for the independent grouping variable and the 24 realisations of the dependent variable (politeness) separately<sup>39</sup>. The results are presented in Table 5.6 below.

One-way ANOVA					
Likert Scale Test I			Likert Scale Test II		
HLD					
<i>Variables as items</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>Variables as items</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
I3. Turn the music down or I'll call the police.	3.333	0.038	I15. Look after my dog during the weekend or I'll make your life difficult.	9.835	0.000
I6. I'm afraid you'll have to turn the music down.	0.698	0.499	I18. I'm afraid you'll have to look after my dog during the weekend.	6.415	0.002

<sup>38</sup> To ensure the robustness of this particular parametric test, the equivalent non-parametric test of Kruskal-Wallis was run on Stata/MP 16 software, courtesy of University of East Anglia, as well as an Ordinal Probit Regression test. The results of both parametric and non-parametric tests are almost identical, ergo the analysis is robust. For the presentation of these results, see Appendix VII.

<sup>39</sup> To ensure the similarity of the **items** in each category of requests (HLD, MLD, LLD), a one-way repeated measures ANOVA across groups was run, where the request types acted as the independent variable. For the presentation of the results, see Appendix VIII.



I9. Please turn the music down.	3.890	0.023	I21. Please look after my dog during the weekend.	0.523	0.594
I10. Turn the music down, mate!	4.056	0.019	I22. Look after my dog during the weekend, woman!	9.632	0.000
<b>MLD</b>					
<i>Variables as items</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>Variables as items</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
I1. Could you turn the music down?	1.186	0.308	I13. Could you look after my dog during the weekend?	2.708	0.070
I2. Might be better if you turned the music down.	12.347	0.000	I14. Might be better for me if you looked after my dog during the weekend.	36.928	0.000
I4. I'd like you to turn the music down.	0.540	0.584	I16. I'd like you to look after my dog during the weekend.	6.246	0.002
I5. How about turning the music down?	1.267	0.285	I17. How about looking after my dog during the weekend?	3.186	0.044
<b>LLD</b>					
<i>Variables as items</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>Variables as items</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
I7. I was wondering if you could turn the music down.	0.954	0.388	I19. I was wondering if you could look after my dog during the weekend.	5.380	0.006
I8. Would you please turn the music down?	0.033	0.968	I20. Would you please look after my dog during the weekend?	1.675	0.191
I11. Our apartments share some pretty thin walls, don't they?	1.372	0.257	I23. You love dogs, don't you?	0.547	0.580
I12. Do we have to put up with your loud music?	14.796	0.000	I24. Do we have to beg you to look after our dog during the weekend?	20.821	0.000

Table 5.6 One-way ANOVA (item analysis)

In Likert scale test analysis I, the two items that revealed the strongest statistically significant difference between GRL1-GR, GLR1-EN, and ENL1, were I2 and I12. They both presented a very large  $F(2.00) = 12.347$ ,  $p < 0.01$ , and  $F(2.00) = 14.796$ ,  $p < 0.01$ . This means that the difference the three groups present in the  $\mu$  of these evaluations is not random. I10 came with the second strongest statistically significant difference between the groups

with a  $F(2.00) = 4.056$ ,  $p < 0.05$ . Again, the difference between groups does not occur by chance alone. I9 and I3 also presented statistically significant differences between groups. The former showed a  $F(2.00) = 3.890$ ,  $p < 0.05$ , and the latter a  $F(2.00) = .038$ ,  $p > 0.05$ . Both items'  $\mu$  differed, but not by chance alone.

Likert scale test analysis II displayed more differences between groups than Likert scale test analysis I. Four items showed the strongest statistically significant difference between the three groups; I14, I15, I22, and I24. For I14,  $F(2.00) = 36.928$ ,  $p < 0.01$ , for I15,  $F(2.00) = 9.835$ ,  $p < 0.01$ , for I22,  $F(2.00) = 9.632$ ,  $p < 0.01$ , and for I24,  $F(2.00) = 20.821$ ,  $p < 0.01$ . The data is indicative of the significance in different  $\mu$  between the three groups of informants. Moving onwards, I16, I18 and I19 produced similar results. For I16,  $F(2.00) = 6.246$ ,  $p < 0.01$ , for I18,  $F(2.00) = 6.415$ ,  $p < 0.01$ , and for I19,  $F(2.00) = 5.380$ ,  $p < 0.01$ . Statistically significant differences in  $\mu$  between the three groups also appeared in I17 ( $F(2.00) = 3.186$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ). The analysis ensures that the differences between groups on those evaluations did not occur by chance alone.

### 5.2.3 One-sample *t*-tests

This section of the chapter presents the results of one-sample *t*-tests (with a test value of 3), which were conducted to show whether request types were rated impolite, polite, or neutral. In total, 18 one-sample *t*-tests were run, six for each group of participants (see Charts 5.1 and 5.2). The results of the tests are presented in Table 5.7 below.

	ENL1		GRL1-EN		GRL1-GR	
	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
<i>MusicHLD</i>	-7.275	0.000	-10.712	0.000	-9.254	0.000
<i>MusicMLD</i>	-1.244	0.219	1.545	0.129	2.878	0.006
<i>MusicLLD</i>	3.499	0.001	4.747	0.000	5.847	0.000
<i>DogHLD</i>	-24.000	0.000	-27.563	0.000	-10.247	0.000
<i>DogMLD</i>	-6.200	0.000	-0.515	0.609	4.535	0.000

<i>DogLLD</i>	2.561	0.014	5.206	0.000	6.332	0.000
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Table 5.7 One-sample *t*-tests (omnibus analysis)

The results revealed that most conditions were significantly different from 3 (neutral mid-point) with three exceptions: (1) MLD-marked requests in Likert scale test II (dog scenario) for GRL1-EN ( $t(49) = -0.515, p = 0.609$ ), (2) MLD-marked requests in Likert scale test I (music scenario) for ENL1 ( $t(49) = -1.244, p = 0.219$ ), and (3) MLD-marked requests also in Likert scale test I (music scenario) for GRL1-EN ( $t(49) = -1.545, p = 0.129$ ). The rest of the requests were significant. The HLD-marked requests were significantly below mid-point (i.e. rated impolite) for all groups, with both levels of imposition (all  $p$ 's < .05). Likewise, the LLD-marked requests were all significantly above mid-point (rated polite) for all groups and with both levels of imposition (all  $p$ 's < .05).

#### 5.2.4 Independent *t*-tests

This last subsection of the statistical analysis of the two Likert scale tests presents the results of the independent *t*-tests. Independent *t*-tests are complementary to one-way ANOVA; the latter shows whether there are statistically significant differences (large  $t$  with  $p < 0.05$ ) between groups and the former indicates which are these groups. For example, if I2 comes with a statistically significant difference between groups according to one-way ANOVA, the relevant *t*-test shows if that difference occurs between ENL1 and GRL1-EN, ENL1 and GRL1-GR, or GRL1-EN and GRL1-GR. All three groups of the current project present statistically significant differences, as presented below in Tables 5.8, 5.9, and 5.10.

##### 5.2.4.1 ENL1 vs. GRL1-EN *t*-test

Table 5.8 below presents the statistically significant differences between ENL1 and GRL1-EN in their evaluations of politeness.

ENL1 vs. GRL1-EN					
Likert Scale Test I			Likert Scale Test II		
HLD					
<i>Variables as items</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>Variables as items</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
I3. Turn the music down or I'll call the police.	1.131	0.261	I15. Look after my dog during the weekend or I'll make your life difficult.	1.429	0.156
I6. I'm afraid you'll have to turn the music down.	0.934	0.353	I18. I'm afraid you'll have to look after my dog during the weekend.	1.411	0.161
I9. Please turn the music down.	2.487	0.015	I21. Please look after my dog during the weekend.	1.044	0.299
I10. Turn the music down, mate!	2.135	0.035	I22. Look after my dog during the weekend, woman!	-0.581	0.562
MLD					
<i>Variables as items</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>Variables as items</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
I1. Could you turn the music down?	-1.609	0.111	I13. Could you look after my dog during the weekend?	-1.597	0.114
I2. Might be better if you turned the music down.	-2.798	0.006	I14. Might be better for me if you looked after my dog during the weekend.	-5.174	0.000
I4. I'd like you to turn the music down.	-0.900	0.371	I16. I'd like you to look after my dog during the weekend.	-2.001	0.048
I5. How about turning the music down?	0.526	0.600	I17. How about looking after my dog during the weekend?	-0.112	0.911
LLD					
<i>Variables as items</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>Variables as items</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
I7. I was wondering if you could turn the music down.	-0.835	0.406	I19. I was wondering if you could look after my dog during the weekend.	-3.256	0.002
I8. Would you please turn the music down?	-0.267	0.790	I20. Would you please look after my dog during the weekend?	-1.678	0.097
I11. Our apartments share some pretty thin walls, don't they?	-1.051	0.296	I23. You love dogs, don't you?	0.192	0.848

I12. Do we have to put up with your loud music?	1.288	0.201	I24. Do we have to beg you to look after our dog during the weekend?	2.090	0.039
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Table 5.8 ENL1 vs. GRL-EN Independent *t*-test (item analysis)

I9 and I10, both requests marked with HLD, showed  $t(98) = 2.487, p = .015$ , and  $t(98) = 2.135, p = .035$ , respectively. Both  $p$ 's  $< 0.05$ , allowing for similar readings in the results.

The MLD-marked items, which presented statistical significance in terms of differences in the evaluations of the two groups, were I2, I14, and I16. I14 showed the highest  $t(98) = -5.174, p = .000 < 0.05$ . The finding allows to assume that ENL1 and GRL1-EN displayed a statistically significant difference in their judgement of this particular request, and also that this difference did not occur by chance alone. Likewise, I2, which pairs with I14, showed a  $t(98) = -2.798, p = .006 < 0.05$ , indicating that the difference between the two groups' evaluation of this particular request did not occur by chance alone. On the same note, I16 showed a  $t(98) = -2.001, p = .048 < 0.05$ , showing that any difference in the two groups' evaluations did not occur randomly.

The only items with LLD, which presented statistical significance in terms of differences in the evaluations of the two groups, were I19 and I24. The latter showed a weaker statistical significance with a  $t(98) = 2.090, p$ -value of  $.039 < 0.05$ , whereas the former exhibited a higher  $t(98) = -3.256, p = .002 < 0.05$ . Nonetheless, both items allow us to assume that the difference between the two groups did not happen by chance alone.

The rest of the items (I1, I3, I4, I5, I6, I7, I8, I11, I12, I13, I15, I17, I18, I20, I21, I22, and I23), which did not present statistically significant differences, may display differences that appear randomly. This means that, if the independent variables change, the dependent variables will also change. For example, if the nature of the three groups of informants changes, their evaluations will also change.

5.2.4.2 ENL1 vs. GRL1-GR *t*-test

The statistically significant differences between ENL1 and GRL1-GR in terms of the evaluative nature of their responses in the Likert scale tests are presented in Table 5.9 below.

<b>ENL1 vs. GRL1-GR</b>					
<b>Likert Scale Test I</b>			<b>Likert Scale Test II</b>		
<b>HLD</b>					
<i>Variables as items</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>Variables as items</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
I3. Turn the music down or I'll call the police.	-1.469	0.145	I15. Look after my dog during the weekend or I'll make your life difficult.	-2.977	0.004
I6. I'm afraid you'll have to turn the music down.	-0.200	0.842	I18. I'm afraid you'll have to look after my dog during the weekend.	-2.114	0.037
I9. Please turn the music down.	2.404	0.018	I21. Please look after my dog during the weekend.	0.493	0.623
I10. Turn the music down, mate!	2.665	0.009	I22. Look after my dog during the weekend, woman!	-3.275	0.001
<b>MLD</b>					
<i>Variables as items</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>Variables as items</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
I1. Could you turn the music down?	-0.979	0.330	I13. Could you look after my dog during the weekend?	-2.252	0.027
I2. Might be better if you turned the music down.	-5.117	0.000	I14. Might be better for me if you looked after my dog during the weekend.	-9.485	0.000
I4. I'd like you to turn the music down.	-0.918	0.361	I16. I'd like you to look after my dog during the weekend.	-3.417	0.001
I5. How about turning the music down?	-1.007	0.317	I17. How about looking after my dog during the weekend?	-2.306	0.023
<b>LLD</b>					
<i>Variables as items</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>Variables as items</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>

I7. I was wondering if you could turn the music down.	0.633	0.528	I19. I was wondering if you could look after my dog during the weekend.	-0.491	0.624
I8. Would you please turn the music down?	-0.131	0.896	I20. Would you please look after my dog during the weekend?	-0.375	0.709
I11. Our apartments share some pretty thin walls, don't they?	-1.614	0.110	I23. You love dogs, don't you?	1.075	0.285
I12. Do we have to put up with your loud music?	-3.842	0.000	I24. Do we have to beg you to look after our dog during the weekend?	-4.032	0.000

Table 5.9 ENL1 vs. GRL-GR Independent *t*-test (item analysis)

The HLD-marked requests, which showed statistically significant differences between ENL1 and GRL1-GR, were I9, I10, I15, I18, and I22. I10 and I22, which are paired in the Likert scale test, presented large  $t(98) = 2.665, p = .009 < 0.05$ , and  $t(98) = -3.275, p = .001 < 0.05$ , respectively. Likewise, I15 showed  $t(98) = -2.977, p = .004 < 0.05$ . I9 and I18 also showed high  $t(98) = 2.404, p = .018 < 0.05$ , and  $t(98) = -2.114, p = .037 < 0.05$ , respectively.

The items, which mirror the requests of the Likert scale tests marked with MLD, were I2, I13, I14, I16, and I17. I14 and I2 showed the highest *t* and the lowest *p*-value:  $t(98) = -9.485, p = .000 < 0.05$ , and  $t(98) = -3.417, p = .000 < 0.05$ , respectively. I16 also presented high  $t(98) = -3.417, p = .001 < 0.05$ , whereas I17 and I13 presented almost equal numerical results:  $t(98) = -2.306, p = .023 < 0.05$ , vis a vis  $t(98) = -2.252, p = .027 < 0.05$ . All results indicate that ENL1 and GRL1-GR showed differences in their judgements of politeness and that these differences did not occur randomly.

I12 and I24 belong to the request category with LLD. They are a pair of requests of the two Likert scale tests defined with +D=P-R and +D=P+R, respectively. The two items presented a similar *t*-statistics and the same *p*-value:  $t(98) = -3.842, p = .000 < 0.05$ , for I12

and  $t(98) = -4.032, , p = .000 < 0.05$ , for I24. The finding allows us to assume that the requests evaluation by the two groups did not differ by chance alone.

The items that did not show statistically significant differences in these tests were I1, I3, I4, I5, I6, I7, I8, I11, I19, I20, I21, and I23.

#### 5.2.4.3 GRL1-EN vs. GRL1-GR *t*-test

The last part of this subsection presents the numerical representation of the differences between GRL1-EN and GRL1-GR with regard to their evaluation of the Likert scale tests requests. The results are presented in Table 5.10 below.

<b>GRL1-EN vs. GRL1-GR</b>					
<b>Likert Scale Test I</b>			<b>Likert Scale Test II</b>		
<b>HLD</b>					
<i>Variables as items</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>Variables as items</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
I3. Turn the music down or I'll call the police.	-2.398	0.018	I15. Look after my dog during the weekend or I'll make your life difficult.	-3.348	0.001
I6. I'm afraid you'll have to turn the music down.	-1.088	0.279	I18. I'm afraid you'll have to look after my dog during the weekend.	-3.489	0.001
I9. Please turn the music down.	-0.100	0.920	I21. Please look after my dog during the weekend.	-0.521	0.604
I10. Turn the music down, mate!	0.548	0.585	I22. Look after my dog during the weekend, woman!	-3.060	0.003
<b>MLD</b>					
<i>Variables as items</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>Variables as items</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
I1. Could you turn the music down?	0.490	0.625	I13. Could you look after my dog during the weekend?	-0.630	0.530
I2. Might be better if you turned the music down.	-2.141	0.035	I14. Might be better for me if you looked after my dog during the weekend.	-3.259	0.002



I4. I'd like you to turn the music down.	0.000	1.000	I16. I'd like you to look after my dog during the weekend.	-1.612	0.110
I5. How about turning the music down?	-1.542	0.126	I17. How about looking after my dog during the weekend?	-1.988	0.050
<b>LLD</b>					
<i>Variables as items</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>Variables as items</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
I7. I was wondering if you could turn the music down.	1.255	0.213	I19. I was wondering if you could look after my dog during the weekend.	2.630	0.010
I8. Would you please turn the music down?	0.121	0.904	I20. Would you please look after my dog during the weekend?	1.546	0.125
I11. Our apartments share some pretty thin walls, don't they?	-0.603	0.548	I23. You love dogs, don't you?	0.756	0.452
I12. Do we have to put up with your loud music?	-4.447	0.000	I24. Do we have to beg you to look after our dog during the weekend?	-5.780	0.000

Table 5.10 GRL1-EN vs. GRL1-GR Independent *t*-test (item analysis)

I3, I15, I18, and I22 are the HLD-marked requests, which presented statistically significant differences between the two groups of informants. I15 and I18 showed a  $t(98) = -3.348, p = .001 < 0.05$ , and  $t(98) = -3.489, p = .001 < 0.05$ , respectively. I22 followed with a  $t(98) = -3.060, p = .003 < 0.05$ , whereas I3 presented a  $t(98) = -2.398, p = .018 < 0.05$ . No difference in the evaluations of the two groups occurred randomly.

The pairing items I2 and I14 were the only MLD requests with statistically significant differences between GRL1-EN and GRL1-GR. I14 presented a  $t(98) = -3.259, p = .002 < 0.05$ . Its pairing I2, displayed a  $t(98) = -2.141, p = .035 < 0.05$ .

The items, which fall under the LLD request category, are I12, I19, and I24. I24 and I12, which pair in the two Likert scale tests, showed a  $t(98) = -5.870, p = .000 < 0.05$ , and  $t(98) = -4.447, p = .000 < 0.05$ , respectively. I19 showed a  $t(98) = 2.630, p = .010 < 0.05$ . All numerical representations of the request evaluations indicate that GRL1-EN and GRL1-

GR showed statistically significant differences in their judgements, which did not occur by chance alone.

The items that did not show statistically significant differences are I1, I4, I5, I6, I7, I8, I9, I10, I11, I13, I16, I17, I20, I21, and I23.

### 5.3 Chapter Summary

This chapter presented the results of the statistical analysis carried out for the two Likert scale tests of the present study. The general division of the analysis was between descriptive and inferential statistics. Descriptive statistics covered for the informants' demographic details, mean, standard error and standard deviation, as well as cross-tabulation. The main results suggest that MLD-marked requests in both Likert scale tests present significant variation in the informants' evaluations, whereas HLD and LLD-marked requests in also both Likert scale tests show less variability. Inferential statistics presented the results arising from correlations, three-way mixed and one-way ANOVA, one-sample and independent *t*-tests. The main results of these analyses suggest that a) there is a strong correlation between the grouped items of the two Likert scale tests, b) the three-way interaction of imposition, directness and grouping variable is statistically significant, and c) HLD-marked requests in both Likert scale tests exhibit the strongest statistical significance in all evaluations by all groups of informants. The presentation of the results followed a grouping format of either the informants or the variables, that is, the requests of the Likert scale tests. The following chapter discusses the results presented in Chapters four and five, relating the findings to previous research.

## 6. DISCUSSION

This chapter of the thesis aims to discuss the results presented in Chapters four and five. The discussion draws from the data presented in the aforementioned chapters and from relevant research. The outline of the chapter follows the line of the results presentation in Chapters four and five, with minimal adaptations. A summary of the main findings from both parts of the analysis, namely the DCT and the Likert scale tests, serves as an introduction to the details of the results (6.1). In the first section of the chapter (6.2), the attested request categories and the relevant request strategies are discussed with regard to their level of (in)directness, together with the internal and external modification of the requests. Lack of modification is also debated, as well as alerters, and the section finishes with the request perspective. The second section of the chapter (6.3) discusses the statistical significance of the Likert scale Test results with regard to if and how politeness and (in)directness are correlated. Their statistical non-significance is also argued. The third section of the chapter (6.4) offers a comparison of the two parts of the analysis with regard to the participants' perception and evaluation of politeness and (in)directness. The chapter concludes with a summary of the highlights of the discussion (6.5).

### 6.1 The DCT and The Likert Scale Tests: Main Findings

Before discussing the findings of the research in detail, here are the main highlights from both parts of the analysis. With regard to the DCT, the most striking finding is that MLD was preferred by the majority of the informants, both native and non-native, throughout the scenarios of the DCT. GRL1 showed a tendency towards conventional indirectness, mirroring ENL1's default preference and exhibiting a noticeable adjustment to the target language. However, GRL1-GR consistently transferred their HLD-marked requestive patterns in their L2 more often than GRL1-EN, in particular in scenarios where the P of the S is higher than that of the H, but not exhaustively. There are scenarios where the power

relation is reverse, namely the S has less P than the H and, yet, GRL1-GR still resulted to HLD to perform their request. In cases like this, other factors than Brown & Levinson's (1987) sociological variables may have affected the informants' performance. LLD-marked requests were largely preferred by ENL1, as expected, but GRL1-EN showed a significant tendency to reflect the same patterns in highly imposing scenarios. In order to either mitigate or enhance their requests, native speakers mainly modified their speech acts internally, meaning within the structure of the Head Act, with lexical and phrasal downgraders or understaters, for example. GRL1, however, preferred external modification, that is, components outside their requestive structures, such as mitigating supportive moves (i.e. grounders), albeit the latter were also used by native speakers at a relevantly high rate. Naturally, GRL1 produced much more elaborative requestive structures than the native speakers and often resorted to over-politeness in an effort to imitate the dictates of the target culture. They also produced more H-oriented than S-oriented requests, as suggested by former research, yet not much different than the native speakers, an outcome that contradicts expectations for S orientation in their case.

The Likert scale test results revealed that the interaction of the three within-subjects variables (directness, imposition, and group of informants), as well as the between-subject variable (groups of informants), was statistically significant. According to the omnibus analysis, the participants' evaluations of politeness varied mostly with regard to MLD; the native speakers showed a marginal tendency to evaluate them as impolite, contrary to expectations, GRL1-EN as neutral, as expected, and GRL1-GR as polite, contrary to expectations. The former group of Greek participants seemed to adjust to the pragmatic norms of the target culture, whereas the latter showed signs of pragma-linguistic and socio-pragmatic transfer from L1 Greek to L2 English. For HLD and LLD, the evaluations of the three groups did not seem to differ significantly in the omnibus analysis, but the item analysis illustrated some subtle deviations. On the one hand, a close observation of the HLD-marked

requests revealed that modification with a subjectiviser, or even more powerfully with a politeness marker, affected all informants' judgements towards politeness considerations. On the other hand, participants from all groups were sceptical and dubious about the politeness nuances of the non-conventionalised, LLD hints, in particular modified with aggravating supportive moves. Comparing the high imposing with the low imposing scenario and their pairing requests, the former seemed to attract more evaluations closer to the impoliteness extreme than the latter.

## 6.2 The Realisation of Request (DCT)

In this section, the results of the DCT analysis presented in Chapter four are discussed with references to relevant studies, in an attempt to explain the data and answer RQ1 and RQ3 of the present study. The discussion follows the outline of Chapter four. Reminders of the RQs, the variables that frame the RQs, and the DCT scenarios, can be found in 1.1, Table 3.2, and Table 4.1, respectively.

### 6.2.1 Request Categories

Looking at the request categories identified in the study and presented in section 4.1, it is immediately noticeable that CIR (or MLD) outnumbered all other categories in the vast majority of the scenarios. Although both ENL1 and GRL1 resorted to MLD in most of the scenarios (see Section 6.1.1.2 below), they did not show unanimity in their preference for DRs (or HLD) and HNs (or LLD) (see Sections 6.1.2.1 and 6.1.2.3, respectively).

#### 6.2.1.1 High Level of Directness (HLD)

According to the results of the analysis (see Section 4.1.4), ENL1 generally tended to avoid directness when performing requests, GRL1-EN followed the same pattern — yet less consistently — and GRL1-GR exhibited the highest levels of directness among the

participants in the scenarios. The first noticeable difference among the three groups appears in Scenario 4, 'coffee shop-door'. The results showed that the difference of GRL1-GR's LR in preferring HLD was statistically significant compared with GRL1-EN (4.76\*\*\*) and ENL1 (4.76\*\*\*). The latter two groups presented no difference in their preference for MLD. Judging from the sociological variables of the scenario (+P-D-R), it seems that high P of the S over the H was the determinant variable in this case, considering D and R are low. Mirzaei & Esmaili (2012, p. 94) suggest that "the greater the right of the speaker to ask (+power) and the greater the obligation of the hearer to comply with the request (-power), the less is the motivation for the use of indirectness". Workplace in Greece is marked with stratified power relations between employers and employees, therefore, when the employer of the scenario asks the employee to close the door, there is little room left for indirectness. It is possible that Greek speakers of English, who reside in Greece, transferred their L1 pragmatic patterns in the L2 setting. Economidou-Kogetsidis (2010, 2012) detects the same correlation between low proficiency and L1 transferability when she discusses the requestive patterns of L2 learners of Greek. However, she admits that there is no consistency regarding this finding, as in some cases it is high levels of proficiency, and not low, that lead to L1 transferability (Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2012, p. 193).

To discuss Economidou-Kogetsidis' (2010, 2012) debate about transferability and level of L2 proficiency further, the focus remains on the workplace setting. The data of the present study showed that the preference for HLD by the Greek informants was also evident in Scenario 12, 'office-holidays'. Noticeably, the P of the S over the H is high in this situation, albeit the imposing nature of the request is also high. The results of the analysis showed that the difference of GRL1-GR and GRL1-EN's LR in resorting to HLD was statistically significant compared with ENL1 (4.44\*\*\* and 3.55\*\*\*, respectively). Interestingly, GRL1-EN seemed to transfer their pragmatic patterns from L1 to L2, just like GRL1-GR, contrary to Scenario 4, 'coffee shop-door', where they mirror ENL1's

preferences for indirectness instead. Those two situations of the DCT echo the aforementioned lack of consistency in Economidou-Kogetsidis' (2010) data with regard to transferability from L1 to L2. Nonetheless, Li (2014), who investigates how different levels of proficiency affect the production of requests by American learners of Chinese during study abroad, overrules the ambiguity. He suggests that the learners' preference for one request strategy over the other "likely reflect[s] their L1 influence" (Li, 2014, p. 112).

The power relation of Ss and Hs in the workplace seemed to generate directness by the GRL1 even in situations where the H is more powerful than the S. In Scenario 14, 'at work-pay rise', the difference of GRL1-GR's LR in opting for HLD was statistically significant compared with ENL1(4.73\*\*\*), but also with GRL1-EN (2.84\*\*\*); and even though GRL1-EN were divided between HLD and MLD, the difference of their LR in preferring HLD is statistically significant compared with ENL1 (2.07\*\*). Asking for a pay rise is a complex task in most cultures. There is the possibility that the requestee rejects the request if the amount exceeds their capacity to offer as much as they are asked (Trosborg, 1994). Nonetheless, GRL1 seemed to overcome this obstacle and perform the request directly, potentially transferring their L1 pragmatic pattern when asking for what they consider to be fair (see request strategies in Section 6.1.2.1).

In the scenarios that P is marked as equal between the S and the H, the statistically significant LR in producing HLD-marked request separated GRL1-GR from GRL1-EN and ENL1. In Scenario 1, 'neighbour's house-music', GRL1-GR were more likely to resort to HLD than ENL1 with a statistical significance of 2.72\*\*\*, but even more likely than GRL1-EN with a statistical significance of 3.19\*\*\*. Although there is little proximity and familiarity between the S and the H, GRL1-GR still conveyed the message directly, whereas GRL1-EN and ENL1 opted for MLD. High D is correlated with outgroup interaction (Triandis & Vassiliou, 1972; Sifianou, 1992) and indirectness (Brown & Levinson, 1987), yet for GRL1-GR directness seems appropriate in this specific situation, irrespective of the

D between the S and the H. A possible explanation corresponds with the young age of the H in conjunction with the low R of the request (Bella, 2009), or potentially the anger of the S towards the H (Benton, 2010), both plausible reasons to be direct towards one's interlocutor.

However, in Scenario 13, 'car park machine', which is marked with low levels of D and R, the familiarity between the interlocutors and the low-imposing requestive force urged the informants of all groups to ask for a car park machine fare directly. Relevantly, Triandis & Vassiliou (1972) emphasize the differences between Mediterranean cultures and the British culture. The former favour ingroup social engagement, which normally consists of inclusiveness and directness, whereas the latter opt for outgroup social engagement, which shows a tendency towards exclusiveness and indirectness. Interestingly, the same pattern appeared in Scenario 6, 'at home', where there is also familiarity between the S and the H, but the level of R of the request is high instead. Regardless, GRL1-GR were more likely to ask their friend for a large amount of money directly (Kouletaki, 2005) compared with GRL1-EN and ENL1 with a statistical significance of 1.70\* and 1.71\*, respectively.

#### 6.2.1.2 Moderate Level of Directness (MLD)

GRL1 generally seemed to map ENL1's pragmatic patterns and choose conventionality and indirectness to perform requests, irrespective of the levels of P, D and R of the requestive scenario. Moderate directness was preferred by the majority of the Greek informants, yet GRL1-EN exhibited a higher tendency towards MLD than GRL1-GR and, in some cases, even more than ENL1. For instance, in scenario 8, 'bus station-same ticket', the difference of GRL1-EN's LR in performing the relevant request with MLD-marked structures was statistically significant compared with GRL1-GR (1.85\*), but even more significant compared with ENL1 (-2.48\*\*). ENL1 were expected to be the most indirect group of informants, considering that D between the S and the H is high (Leech, 1983; Brown & Levinson, 1987), but both GRL1-EN and GRL1-GR outperformed the native speakers in



terms of indirectness. Scenario 2, ‘on the street’, and scenario 7, ‘at work-stapler’, showed similar results, albeit without any statistically significant difference among the groups. Nonetheless, Greek speakers, residing either in Greece or England, seemed to rely heavily on MLD.

The findings above are in line with Gonzalez-Cruz’s (2014) conclusion that Canarian Spanish L2 learners of English resort to conventionally indirect request patterns when performing the speech act in the target language, despite the fact that they favour directness in their L1. Greek speakers also favour directness in their native language (Sifianou, 1992; Bella, 2009; Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2011), yet the results of the present study showed that they resort to conventional indirectness in the L2 setting. A possible explanation is that GRL1 are familiar with the MLD requestive patterns ENL1 use in their everyday interactions, especially with considerations of politeness, due to extensive exposure during L2 learning (Gonzalez-Cruz, 2014). Conventional indirectness incorporates requestive structures that are both polite and common in Greek and English (i.e. requests with the modal verb *can*). Elaborating on the matter, Terkourafi (2002, 2005b, 2015a) argues that conventionalisation, that is, the process of assigning certain meanings to particular structures in specific contexts, plays a pivotal role in the successful L2 language production. For Terkourafi, what matters is not the meaning of a conventional structure, but how often that meaning co-occurs with this particular structure. In that line, Greek learners of English as an L2 may resort to MLD precisely because they are familiar with what MLD entails in the target language.

#### 6.2.1.3 Low Level of Directness (LLD)

As discussed in Section 6.2.1.1 above, GRL1-GR, on the one hand, showed the highest tendency towards directness, transferring their L1 requestive patterns to their L2; GRL1-EN showed some tendency, but not as intense as their Greek counterparts who reside in Greece, demonstrating a more consistent adaptation to the politeness norms — at least the ones

related with (in)directness — of the target culture. ENL1, on the other hand, showed the lowest level of directness compared to Greek speakers, as expected (Leech, 1983; Brown & Levinson, 1987; Sifianou, 1992). It is interesting to account more for HNs (or LLD), which represent the lowest level of directness when performing a request.

In Scenario 3, ‘train station-free ticket’, all informants resorted to either MLD or LLD in order to pass on their message to the H. However, ENL1 were much more likely to produce LLD-marked requests compared with GRL1-EN and GRL1-GR. Their difference in likelihood with the target groups of informants was statistically significant — 2.86\*\*\* for GRL1-EN and 4.35\*\*\* for GRL1-GR. It is noticeable, though, that, in this particular scenario, the latter two groups exhibited the highest level of indirectness in performing the request than in any other scenario of the questionnaire. There was a statistically significant difference of preference between them (1.86\*), given that GRL1-EN favoured LLD-marked requestive patterns, whereas GRL1-GR favoured MLD-marked ones, but the fact remains that both groups exhibited their highest possible level of indirectness in performing the relevant request. This tendency may be correlated with the +D, +R, and +P of the H that mark the scenario. Yeung (1997) claims that the level of R in polite requests in English written documents is influential. It seems that in scenarios with high D and R, regardless of the level of P between Ss and Hs, Greek informants activated their indirectness, too. To what extent hinting is transferred from L1 or not is open to debate. For Blum-Kulka (1987, p. 141) “non-conventional indirectness in requests is not different from other types of indirectness in discourse, namely, utterances that convey something more or different from their literal meaning”. However, Takahashi (1996) argues that Japanese learners of English as an L2 resort to their L1 highest levels of politeness, namely extreme indirectness, when involved in a highly imposing request situation. It is possible that GRL1 tried to mirror their L1 pragmatic pattern of being overly polite towards a stranger, from whom they are supposed to ask for a free ticket.

The results in Scenario 9, ‘on the phone-discount’, were similar: ENL1 preferred LLD-marked requests to ask for a discount, whereas GRL1 preferred MLD-marked ones. Interestingly, in this scenario, both GRL1-EN and GRL1-GR differed from ENL1 with the same statistical significance of 3.68\*\*\*, whereas they showed no differences between them. Greeks were positioned at the highest threads of MLD and, even though they did not map ENL1’s indirectness levels, they were still inclined to be more indirect than direct. Considering that R is low in this scenario — contrary to Scenario 3 above — it is possible that GRL1 were not as much imposed by the nature of the request as are ENL1 (Hartford & Bardovi-Harlig, 1996; Mirzaei & Esmaeili, 2012).

The scenario with the most striking difference between ENL1 and GRL1’s LLD preference is Scenario 12, ‘office-holidays’, in which, as discussed in Section 6.2.1.1, GRL1 showed a preference towards HLD. However, in Scenario 11, ‘neighbour’s house-dog’, which also presented differences among the groups, GRL1-EN were closer to ENL1’s LLD rather than GRL1-GR’s MLD. Greeks, who reside in Greece, were likely to produce requests closer to HLD with a statistically significant difference from Greeks, who reside in England (2.20\*\*), yet with an even greater statistically significant difference from native English speakers (2.50\*\*). Even though all groups of informants were being indirect in performing the relevant request in this scenario, ENL1 and GRL1-EN showed a stronger tendency than GRL1-GR. Considering that P is equal between interlocutors, it seems that +D and +R affected the way the participants responded. It is possible that the old age of the H prevented ENL1 and GRL1-EN from making the request more directly (Bella, 2009), or that the latter adjusted more to the conventional ways of performing an imposing request than GRL1-GR (Terkourafi, 2002, 2005b, 2015a).

## 6.2.2 Request Strategies

Deriving from the results presented in Section 4.2, the most frequent request strategy used by all informants in most scenarios was (query) preparatory (MLD). GRL1-GR exhibited the highest preference of all groups for mood derivable (HLD) in a number of scenarios, whereas ENL1 resorted more often than GRL1 in HNs (LLD) in highly imposing scenarios.

### 6.2.2.1 High Level of Directness (HLD)

Results for DR category (or HLD) demonstrated high diversity in strategy preference. Both GRL1 groups of informants opted for directness when performing requests in English as an L2, but only in certain social situations. GRL1-GR, who have never lived or visited England, displayed higher levels of directness and more variability in their responses than GRL1-EN. In Scenario 4, ‘coffee shop-door’, for instance, mood derivable (i.e. *Close the door because I want to talk to you*) was almost exclusively preferred by GRL1-GR (72%), whereas only 28% of GRL1-EN and 28% of ENL1 resorted to this strategy. Directness and, in particular, imperatives are not correlated with impoliteness for GRL1-GR; on the contrary, Sifianou (1992) explains that Greeks do not define politeness in terms of words, like the English usually do, but in terms of actions. Perhaps the context of workplace in Greece, as discussed earlier, with P having a sequential role in the interaction between the S and the H, accommodated for GRL1-GR’s positive transfer from L1 to L2. Interestingly, GRL1-EN seemed to adjust to the requestive patterns of ENL1, considering they showed no difference in their preference for low HLD.

In Scenario 7, ‘at work-stapler’, where the power relation is opposite, that is, the S has less P than the H, an example from the data (GRL1-GR) is indicative of potential negative transfer.

(50) I will take the stapler. Thank you

‘Θα πάρω το συρραπτικό, ευχαριστώ.’

This utterance is considered direct in English (Leech, 1983), therefore potentially face threatening, considering the S is an employee that asks to borrow his/her employer’s stapler. In fact, it is merely a request and more a statement in declarative, which requires more effort by the H to understand its illocutionary force. Declaratives are a much more common way of requesting in Greek — in in-group interactions — than in English (Sifianou, 1992). The fact that the speaker decided to perform the request in this form may indicate either that the professional relationship with his/her boss is extended, or that s/he hoped to mitigate the request with the addition of the politeness marker *thank you*. How successful this mitigation was against a potential communication breakdown with the S’s manager is open to debate. On the one hand, *will* is barely used in declarative to materialise requests in English, if at all, and it is considered less polite than interrogatives (Leech, 1983). It is, then, possible that the requestive force may elude the employer’s attention. On the other hand, workplace in England also displays power relations between superiors and subordinates, even though potentially softer than in Greece. Adding the politeness marker *thank you* at the end of the utterance may indeed compensate for the face threat, but the utterance still remains highly direct and without a clear requestive force in the target language. Nonetheless, it is likely that the low imposing nature of the request allowed for HLD, considering it would not affect the H’s willingness to act on it, that is, lend their stapler to their employee.

Similar to Scenario 7, in Scenario 14, ‘at work-pay rise’, the P of S is lower than that of the H, but also the level of R in this scenario is high. Taking the sociological variables into account, one might have expected indirectness by the informants. Nevertheless, HLD and, in particular, declaratives as requests were largely preferred by GRL1-GR (74%), with GRL1-EN and ENL1 having shown also some preference for this request strategy (22% and

28%, respectively). The vast majority of these requests were structured as shown in Examples (51) – (54) below.

- (51) Mrs Carol, I worked to your company 2 years and I believe that I deserve a pay raise. (GRL1-GR)
- (52) Yes, I would like to talk to you because I think that it is time for a raise. Do you agree? (GRL1-GR)
- (53) So, as you know, my annual evaluation has come through and as with last year, I have reached all my goals. My initial understanding was that this would translate into a rise in spine points in my pay scale. So, I have come to discuss the possibility of a pay rise with you. I am sure you see my point of view. (GRL1-EN)
- (54) Hi Carol, yeah so I've been here a while and I think the work I've done merits a raise. (ENL1)

Transfer from L1 to L2 is one possible explanation of this phenomenon for GRL1-GR and, potentially, for GRL1-EN, as discussed above. But the fact that ENL1 also resorted to HLD with declaratives that portray their requests in relation to fairness (i.e. *deserve, merits*), allows for the assumption that both native and L2 speakers of English defied, more or less, the power relations in the workplace to receive what they believed is rightfully theirs — in this case, a pay rise. GRL1-GR still outnumbered GRL1-EN and ENL1 in this particular HLD strategy with an astounding ratio, a fact that might have its roots in the current socio-economic situation in Greece, with employers very often depriving employees from what they deserve. The possibility that this level and this kind of directness in this particular scenario was a projection of GRL1-GR's suppression with precarity in the workplace in terms of acknowledgement or earnings cannot be ignored (Kretsos, 2014; Anagnostopoulos

& Siebert, 2015). As the market struggles to keep afloat, the workforce endures the consequences, such as uncertainty, low income, increasing demand in skills that are not appreciated, and so on.

Locution derivable, hedged performative, and want statement are HLD strategies with a significant frequency of use, yet at a much lower rate. The sociological variables of D, P, and R appear in various combinations in the scenarios that exhibit high ratios of preference for these strategies, implying that their effect on CLI is open to interpretation. In more detail, locution derivable was preferred mostly by GRL1-GR and GRL1-EN, albeit the latter group generally echoed ENL1's preference towards indirectness. In Scenario 12, 'office-holidays, for instance, 26% of GRL1-GR and 20% of GRL1-EN opted for this particular strategy (i.e. *Hi Helen. I'm really sorry to ask you this, but lots of work has come up and I need you to rearrange your vacation plans*), whereas only 8% of ENL1 used it. Taken that Greek language affords its speakers with structures such as *χρειάζομαι* (Sifianou, 1992), which translates to 'need', it seems possible that Greek speakers of L2 English positively transferred their requestive patterns in the target language (Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2011). The high level of R did not prevent the S from addressing the H directly, probably relying on his/her +P over the H. Economidou-Kogetsidis (2010) maintains that power is an intricate variable and presents the contradicting results of her study in the performance of requests by Greek speakers of English as an L2 and native English speakers in certain contexts. In scenarios where the P of the S is higher than that of the H, Greek participants activated indirectness to perform the request, mapping the English' requestive patterns, but in other scenarios, where the P of the S is also higher than that of the H, they opted for directness, potentially transferring from L1 to L2.

Locution derivable, hedged performative, and want statement are HLD strategies, though potentially less imposing than mood derivable or statements as requests. In Scenario 14, 'at work-pay rise', for example, 18 % of GRL1-EN resorted to hedged performative (i.e.

*Carol, I would like to request a pay raise. I have been in the company for two years now and...give reasons*) to ask for a pay rise, whereas 18% of GRL1-GR favoured want statement (i.e. *Mrs Smith, I want to discuss with you because I want a pay raise. I work in your company two years and I believe I deserve it*). To what extent GRL1 transferred their L1 requestive patterns to their L2 in this case is debatable. On the one hand, L1 Greek indeed provides a useful repertoire of requestive techniques attested also in English, such as structures with the verb *θέλω*, which translates to ‘want’ (i.e. want statements). Positive transfer, then, is possible in this case. GRL1, though, also avoided imperative, which is the a priori option to express directness in Greek. Perhaps they comprehend that imperatives are usually deemed as impolite in English (Brown & Levinson, 1987). On the other hand, structures with *θα ήθελα*, which translates to ‘will want’ in English, but is equivalent with ‘would like’ (i.e. hedged performatives), are direct, too, but more formal than ‘want’ in the Greek setting. So, even though directness was present with these strategies, GRL1 potentially felt the need to make their request more formal, presumably showing some adjustment to the English politeness system, rather than transfer from L1 to L2. Considering that the P of the S over the H in this specific scenario is low, but the level of R is high, the message still needed to be communicated somehow.

ENL1, contrary to GRL1, resorted to some level of HLD requests in very few situations, with the most remarkable in Scenario 4 (mood derivable) and Scenario 14 (statements), as aforementioned. Looking closer, though, at the DR strategies preferred by ENL1 and GRL1-EN in particular, it is noticeable that, in Scenario 2, ‘on the street’, Scenario 6, ‘at home’, and Scenario 8, ‘bus station-same ticket’, GRL1-EN were less direct even than the native speakers. This finding contradicts Economidou-Kogetsidis’ (2011) claim that Greek speakers are direct in L2 English, but confirms her claim that the P of the S is a complex variable with regard to (in)directness, as it takes all possible forms in these three scenarios; high, equal, and low. Perhaps GRL1-EN’s lower preference for directness



than ENL1 implies that the L2 speakers tried to adjust to the indirect requestive patterns of the culture they live in by being over-polite (Eelen, 2001; Watts, 2003; Haugh, 2007; Izadi, 2016).

#### 6.2.2.2 Moderate Level of Directness (MLD)

In situations, where CIR category (or MLD) was favoured by all participants, preparatory was the most frequently used strategy (Lin, 2009; Kuhl & Jadidi, 2012; Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2013). In particular, in Scenario 11, ‘neighbour’s house-dog’, both GRL1-GR (86%) and GRL1-EN (88%) showed the highest proximity to ENL1’s (82%) preference for preparatory. In Scenario 2, ‘on the street’, the results were alike; GRL1-GR (82%) and GRL1-EN (98%) mirrored ENL1’s (82%) requestive pattern. GRL1’s tendency to use these structures may indicate a dual correlation; either the L2 speakers invested in specific structures because they felt comfortable and confident to perform requests with them, or they related those structures with equivalent existing ones in their L1. Sifianou (1992) compares English and Greek requestive patterns and concludes that there are some pragmalinguistic similarities. For example, *can* translates to ‘μπορώ’ and *could* is equivalent to ‘θα μπορούσα’. Both the English modal verbs (*can*, *could*) translate to the same modal verb in Greek (‘μπορώ’). Considering GRL1 favoured *can* and *could* in most situations, regardless of the different levels of D, P, and R, it can be argued that this pattern indicates positive CLI from L1 to L2. It is possible, though, that GRL1 opted for preparatory because they are familiar with the structures that comprise it. Second language learning — in particular English — from a very young age is largely widespread in Greece. Teaching how to perform requests in English is particularly structure-focused in the Greek language learning setting.

The majority of TEFL textbooks<sup>40</sup>, used by teachers in private institutions (*frontistirion*)<sup>41</sup>, introduce requestive grammatical structures that classify conventional ways of requesting on an indicative scale of politeness throughout all the levels of the learning process (A1 – C2). L2 learners are repeatedly and profusely exposed to these structures, i.e. requests with *can* and *could*, since the early stages of language acquisition. There is a possibility that the overuse of this specific strategy has its roots precisely in the learning process of repetition.

Blum-Kulka (1987) discusses conventionality and indirectness in linguistic structures and claims that they can reflect politeness considerations for Hebrew and English speakers. Her cross-linguistic study projects the aforementioned preference for certain CIR strategies by GRL1, such as preparatory with *can* and *could*, maintaining that conventionality is correlated with politeness. Syahri (2013), who argues that Indonesian learners of English opt for indirectness because they want to show higher levels of politeness, confirms the findings. However, Terkourafi (2015) argues in favour of conventionalisation, that is, the continuous exposure to specific language use in specific social circumstances with predefined communicative targets (Terkourafi, 2015, p. 15):

I consider an expression to be conventionalized for some use relative to a context for a speaker if it is used frequently enough in that context to achieve a particular illocutionary goal to that speaker's experience. This makes conventionalization a three-way relationship between an expression, a context, and a speaker.

Accounting for Terkourafi's (2015) definition of conventionalisation, it is plausible that the frequent use of preparatory and structures with *can* and *could* by GRL1 learners of English

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<sup>40</sup> Indicative textbooks of teaching English as an L2 in Greece are *Towards Mastering Use of English* (Burlington, 2010), *On Screen* (Express Publishing, 2014), *Pioneer* (MM Publications, 2017), *English Download* (Hamilton House Publisher, 2015), *Spark* (Express Publishing, 2010).

<sup>41</sup> Tutoring in *frontistiria* is the prevailing way of learning English in Greece.

as an L2, within most contexts, echoes that threefold dimension of interaction, considering she also ties conventionalisation with considerations of politeness.

The sociological variables of D, P, and R do not seem to play a significant role in the realisation of preparatory strategy; only in Scenario 4, ‘coffee shop-door, Scenario 12, ‘office-holidays, and Scenario 13, ‘car park machine’, preparatory was merely opted. Nonetheless, the participants’ contact with the target society may show some potential correlation. Both GRL1-GR and GRL1-EN favoured preparatory in nine of the 12 scenarios of the DCT, as already discussed. Interestingly, GRL1-EN largely opted for structures with *can* (i.e. *Can you turn down your music because it's really late?*), *could* (i.e. *Could you please turn down the music*), *would* (i.e. *Would you please help me to sleep by eliminating the noise?*) or *I was wondering if* (i.e. *Well, I was wondering if you could lent me £2.000 and I promise I'll return them to you as soon as possible*), whereas for GRL1-GR *can* (i.e. *Thomas can you turn down the music is one o'clock and I try to sleep*) and *could* (i.e. *Could you lower the volume please?*) prevailed; *would* was not opted by any participant of the latter group. Considering that all the aforementioned modal verbs and structures are taught at B1 level, GRL1-GR’s lack of use in *would* may be attributed to lack of familiarity with the structure. Bardovi-Harlig & Bastos (2011) maintain that proficiency in the target language is a determinant variable in pragmatic knowledge during study abroad, yet Li (2014) claims the opposite. Nonetheless, the fact that GRL1-EN reside in England might be an affecting factor that shaped their self-perception of how to perform a proper request. Even though Bardovi-Harlig & Bastos (2011) reject length of stay as influential, they consider intensity of contact with the target society pivotal in L2 pragmatic competence, same as Bella (2012a).

#### 6.2.2.3 Low Level of Directness (LLD)

Hints (or LLD) are the most indirect strategy of performing a request according to Blum-Kulka et al. (1989). Brown & Levinson (1987) maintain that indirectness and politeness are

positively correlated; the highest level of politeness presupposes the highest levels of indirectness. The scenarios that presented the absolute indirectness by the participants of the present study were Scenario 3, ‘train station-free ticket’, Scenario 9, ‘on the phone-discount’, and Scenario 14, ‘at work-pay rise’. Even though ENL1 were those, who generated the highest percentage of HNs (60%, 44% and 28% for Scenarios 3, 9, and 14, respectively), GRL1-EN and GRL1-GR also showed some preference for the strategy in Scenarios 3 and 9; 32% and 20% in Scenario 3, and 20% and 16% in Scenario 9, respectively. Interestingly, the vast majority of HNs were CSHNs, that is, conventionally structured, meaning their grammatical structure resembles CIR, but their illocutionary force is non-conventionally conveyed (see Section 3.6.1.2 for details). Here are six examples of CSHNs from Scenarios 3 and 9, one for each of the three groups.

(55a) *I have missed my train but cannot afford another ticket so would it be possible to get on a different train?* (ENL1, ‘train station-free ticket’)

(55b) *Would it be possible to catch another one on my previous ticket or buy a ticket on credit?* (GRL1-EN, ‘train station-free ticket’)

(55c) *I was wondering if I can use the same ticket for a latter service.* (GRL1-GR, ‘train station-free ticket’)

(56a) *Would there be any flexibility on the price?* (ENL1, ‘on the phone-discount’)

(56b) *So, would you be able to do something better for me...?* (GRL1-EN, ‘on the phone-discount’)

(56c) *Yeah, I know that, and I think it will be perfect in my kitchen, but it costs a lot, can we do something about that?* (GRL1-GR, ‘on the phone-discount’)

Both the scenarios are marked with high R and D, yet the P of the S over the H is either low or high, which did not seem to play a role in these situations. The increased R and D, though,

potentially urged the participants to opt for LLD-marked requests. In a more detailed comparison of the groups, ENL1, who exhibited the highest percentage of preference for this structure, seemed to resort to an elaborate description of their request's target, rather than perform the actual request indicated in the description of the scenario. It is worth mentioning that CSHNs were the most extensive responses of the native speakers in terms of word count, alongside with the preparatory strategy. It is possible that the lack of familiarity with the H and the highly imposing nature of the scenario affected their request production towards high indirectness. Likewise, GRL1-EN and GRL1-GR may have also been affected by the sociological variables towards producing LLD-marked requests, potentially in an effort to be more polite. Another possible explanation is that GRL1's familiarity with specific structures of requesting in English was an influential factor that they resorted to CSHNs. Blum-Kulka et al. (1987) claim that conventionally structured request strategies are the most common ways of performing a request. With regard to politeness considerations, it is possible that GRL1 sought to avoid a rejection of their request, therefore they hinted.

### 6.2.3 Internal Modification of the Request

According to Brown & Levinson (1987), requests are inherently FTA. In that respect, they are predisposed to impose their illocutionary force on the requestee. The level of this de facto imposition is determined by societal, individual, circumstantial, and other factors, one of which is the division of the requestive force in material and non-material, as in the present study. In order to alleviate the potential imposing nature of a request, Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) list a number of linguistic choices that the S can resort to and modify the request, internally or externally. The internal modification consists of syntactic downgraders, lexical and phrasal downgraders, and upgraders.

Lexical and phrasal downgraders were the most frequently used internal modification linguistic devices throughout the DCT test. In particular, politeness marker *please* appeared

in the majority of the scenarios, and the percentage of its usage by GRL1 was higher than ENL1, regardless of the level of P, D, and R. Scenario 1, ‘neighbour’s house-music’, for instance, was the social situation, in which GRL1 predominantly activated *please* as a mitigator — 50% of GRL1-EN and 64% of GRL1-GR — vis a vis ENL1 (26%). Trosborg (1994, p. 258) clarifies the dual function of this politeness marker; it either mitigates the imposing nature of the speech act and triggers politeness considerations, or “emphasises its requestive force”. Based on this argument, the lack of *please* in the requests performed by the ENL1 seems unusual. Syahri (2013), who compares indirectness in politeness between native English and Indonesian EFL learners, maintains that native English speakers do not accompany their requests with *please*, unless they are marked with directness. Taken that ENL1 favoured indirectness in this particular scenario, it is plausible that they displayed politeness through their unmodified request and spared the use of politeness markers for more direct structures. Native Greek speakers, on the other hand, did not rely heavily on politeness markers, irrespective of the level of directness of the request. They considered them redundant in most situations — excluding social circumstances marked with high power difference between interlocutors (Sifianou, 1992; Antonopoulou, 2001; Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2005, 2010). It is possible, therefore, that, even though GRL1’s preference for *please* did not arise from CLI, they tried to soften their requests to sound more polite. As aforementioned, a plethora of EFL teaching textbooks expose Greek learners of L2 English to British politeness and its conventional linguistic realisations very early into the language acquisition process.

Confirming Syahri’s (2013) suggestion that ENL1 resort to the use of *please* when being direct, the results in Scenario 9, ‘on the phone-discount’, showed null use of the marker by ENL1, albeit the level of R is high. It is possible that the native speakers expressed redress by resorting to high indirectness in this scenario, namely CIRs and CSHNs. However, the results in Scenario 14, ‘at work-pay rise’, contradict Syahri’s (2013) argument, as almost

one-third of ENL1 favoured directness and, yet, *please* was not used at all in their requests. Interestingly, GRL1-GR exhibited the same tendency, opting out of using the politeness marker in the same scenario. The urgency of the situation and the feeling of asking for what one deserves potentially urged the participants to be more direct in in this particular scenario, but not necessarily less polite. Regarding GRL1-EN, *please* was overused in all scenarios, possibly in an effort to express higher levels of politeness (Izadi, 2016).

Another interesting politeness marker in the data was *sorry*. It was used by ENL1 twice more often than GRL1-EN and GRL1-GR in total — 73 instances for GRL1-GR, 84 instances for GRL1-EN, and 146 instances for ENL1. In particular, Scenario 3, ‘train station-free ticket’, seemed to extract a relevantly high ratio of preference (16%) for this marker by the native speakers. The level of P, D and R in this specific scenario is high, potentially urging the participants to mitigate their requestive force by apologising in advance for its imposing nature. In the majority of the responses, *sorry* appeared at the beginning of the request, i.e. *Ever so sorry mate, I've just missed my train is it alright if I use this ticket for the next service or shall I get another ticket?.* It is possible, therefore, that *sorry* behaved as an attention getter instead of *excuse me* (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989). Both *sorry* and *excuse me* translate to ‘συγγνώμη’ in Greek, which is used as an apologetic device and attention getter in formal situations (Sifianou, 1992). It was, then, expected that GRL1 would have used either the one or the other in a highly imposing scenario, like Scenario 3; the fact that they did not, implies that either they are not familiar with this usage of *sorry*, or that they are more exposed to other downgrading structures.

The second most frequently used lexical downgrader was understater, with a significant rate of usage in Scenario 6, ‘at home’. None of the GRL1-GR informants opted for it, yet 28% of GRL1-EN (i.e. *I would really appreciate if you could continue playing your music but slightly lower*) and 32% of ENL1 (i.e. *Would it be possible for you to turn your music down a bit*) did. Lundell & Erman (2012), in their study of requestive patterns of

French speakers of English and native English speakers, claim that length of residence in the target country does not affect the production of lexical downgraders by the non-native speakers, meaning that the native English speakers outnumber the French L2 speakers in the selection of this mitigation device. The results of the present study confirm the same tendency overall. Nonetheless, GRL1-EN seemed to choose specifically understaters in most of the scenarios, bearing a significant resemblance with ENL1' usage patterns. This finding potentially reflects the impact of GRL1-EN's contact with the target society and its pragmatic norms on their pragmatic performance (Takahashi, 1996). Considering that L1 Greek speakers commonly mitigate their requests by largely using diminutives (Sifianou, 1992; Tannen & Kakava, 1992; Terkourafi, 2005c), GRL1-EN seemed to adapt to the use of this linguistic device, in particular.

Another noteworthy finding of lexical downgraders arose from the responses in Scenario 14, 'at work-pay rise', with the use of subjectivizer. This modification device was used by all participants, yet GRL1-GR (30%) and GRL1-EN (24%) seemed to outnumber ENL1 (18%). The relevant result is in line with Suh's (1999) suggestion that native English speakers generate, all in all, more downgraders, but less subjectivizers than Korean speakers of L2 English, when performing a request. Deriving from the data of the present study, the most common subjectivizer employed by GRL1-GR and GRL1-EN was *I think/believe that*, found with requests in the declarative form (i.e. *I think I deserve a pay rise*). Sifianou (1992) explains that the verbs *think* and *believe* are predominantly used in English in requests in the interrogative form, such as *Do you think/believe you could lend me your car?*. In such linguistic environments, *think* and *believe* are conventionalised and, therefore, requestive in essence, but they also indicate that the S seeks for the agreement of the H on the illocutionary force of the utterance in a mitigating way. In Greek, the same utterance would be 'Πιστεύεις ότι θα μπορούσες να μου δανείσεις το αυτοκίνητό σου;', a proposition that is a question of opinion and has no requestive force whatsoever. The Greek equivalent structure of



agreement that Sifianou (1992) detects in her data is constructed with another verb, namely *λέω*, which translates to ‘say’. It is used idiomatically in structures such as *Τι θά’ ληγες να μαγειρέψω μακαρόνια;*, which is loosely translated and equivalent to ‘What would you say if I cooked pasta?’. Drawing from the above, it seems that when GRL1-GR and GRL1-EN used *I think/I believe that* to perform requests in the declarative form in L2 English, they tried to mitigate their request by sharing their genuine opinions about something, but also without seeking for their interlocutor’s agreement. The illocutionary force of their requests is found in the directness of their address, rather than in the conventionalised use of a verb. Example (57) below portrays eloquently how GRL1 conveyed and mitigated the requestive force of their utterance with the use of the verb *believe/think* in declarative, distinguishing it from its conventional use when seeking for agreement.

(57) *Mrs Carol I worked to your company 2 years and I believe that I deserve a pay raise. What do you think?* (GRL1-GR)

The actual request displays the use of *believe* in declarative as a genuine opinion with a mitigating dimension (*I believe that I deserve a pay raise*), deriving from the fact that the employee has worked in the company for two years, ergo deserves a pay rise. However, the use of *think* in the following utterance (*What do you think?*) has the function that Sifianou (1992) detects, namely, to seek for agreement and, potentially, also mitigate the Head Act. Given that the P of the S is lower than that of the H in this highly imposing scenario, it is possible that Greeks, even though they favoured directness, tried to mitigate the imposing nature of their request.

Syntactic downgraders, namely conditional clauses and negation, are also categorised as internal modification mechanisms. They were second in preference by the participants of the study, after lexical and phrasal downgraders. Conditional clauses, which

were used by all groups almost evenly in the vast majority of the scenarios, severely outnumbered negation, which was merely used by the native speakers and almost not at all by the target groups. Regarding conditional clauses (i.e. *Hello, my name is X and I live in the same building with you. I need to leave for the weekend and I have a dog. I was wondering if it would be easy for you to keep an eye on it*), on the one hand, the wide usage of this particular mitigation mechanism shows that Greek speakers of L2 English adopt and use it successfully in the target language, potentially in an effort to be more indirect, hence more polite. However, the results of Scenario 11, ‘neighbour’s house-dog’, which were the most significant in all the scenarios, present an interesting fact. GRL1-EN (60%) exhibited a much higher preference for conditional clauses in this situation than GRL1-GR (30%) and ENL1 (38%). The sociological variables of D and R of the scenario, being both high, may have been an affecting factor that GRL1-EN generated structures with such intense modification (Takahashi, 1996; Marti, 2006). The old age of the H may also justify such a tendency (Bella, 2009).

With regard to negation of preparatory conditions, on the other hand, this mitigating method was largely underused by both groups of GRL1. There were no instances of usage by GRL1-GR in any of the scenarios of the DCT, whereas only one informant of the GRL1-EN group used it in four scenarios, i.e. in Scenario 7, ‘at work-stapler’ (*So sorry to bother you Peter, you couldn’t let me use your stapler by any chance, could you?*). The poor numerical representation of negation in the data underlies implicitly a major caveat in L2 language teaching and exposes the pitfalls of pragmatic competence in the L2 setting. Considering that negation was present at the highest rate of 8% throughout the scenarios by the native speakers, it means that, in essence, the structure is existent as a mitigating mechanism. It seems unusual to encounter null instances of negation in the GRL1-GR data and only one instance in the GRL1-EN, but there is a plausible dual explanation behind this phenomenon. On the one hand, there is not an equivalent structure in Greek to mirror

negation (Sifianou, 1992), therefore it would be unwarranted to expect GRL1 to show transferability from L1 to L2. On the other hand, Greek learners of English should be familiar with the structure and its mitigating pragmatic nuances within communication at B1-B2 level, but they are not. Negation may be taught as a requesting structure at an intermediate level (B1), but learners are systematically exposed to it at an advanced level (C1). This delay in exposure to the structure potentially deprives learners from liaising with the grammatical elements of negation, let alone with its pragmatic power in the communicative process. Milon (1974), after comparing the learning curves of the grammatical structures of negation by a native English speaker and a seven-year-old Japanese learner of English as an L2, proves that there are impressive similarities in the acquisition process. He attributes this tendency to the early age of exposure of the L2 learner to the target language. Interestingly, the one GRL1-EN informant that used negation of preparatory conditions in four scenarios has lived in England since her early childhood and for more than five years, a situation that quite resembles Milon's (1974) finding. The usage of the structure by this participant suggests that, except for young age, length of stay can potentially have a positive impact on L2 speakers, should they be exposed to the target culture regularly.

Upgraders were the least preferred internal modification device employed by the informants, with repetition of request and orthographic emphasis being the most frequent in use. Regarding repetition, on the one hand, none of the native speakers favoured it in any of the scenarios, whereas GRL1-GR resorted to this strategy of request modification in more scenarios than GRL1-EN. Scenario 1, 'neighbour's house-music' (i.e. *Hello. Could you please reduce the volume of the music? The time is a bit strange for the current one. Don't turn it off, just a change in the volume*), Scenario 3, 'train station-free ticket' (i.e. *Yes, I want to ask you if it is possible to have one ticket for free. I just missed the train and I don't have money for another ticket. Can you give me one please?*), and Scenario 7, 'bus stations-same ticket' (i.e. *I missed my bus and I want to ask you if it is possible to use the same ticket for*

*the next one. Is it?*), exhibited the highest ratio of preference for repetition (a maximum of 10%). The sociological variables of P, D and R do not show consistency in these three scenarios, so it is unlikely that they affected GRL1's choice of this upgrader. Considering, though, that L1 Greek speakers are more eloquent than L1 English speakers (Sifianou, 1992), it is possible that repetition, which acts as an extension of their original request, allows to argue in favour of potential positive transfer. Van Mulken's (1996, p. 696) suggests that "the second (or even third) head act utterance [counts] as a 'confirmation' strategy".

For orthographic emphasis, on the other hand, the results were very similar, in the sense that this modification technique appeared mainly in the same scenarios as repetition. The difference was that both native and non-native speakers favoured it, yet the latter showed a higher preference than the former, for example, GRL1-GR (8%) in Scenario 3, 'train station-free ticket' (*Please, please, please, let me have a free ticket, cause I have just missed my train, and I have no money to buy another one! Please, I'm desperate!*). Greeks are characterised by cultural elements of inclusivity (Triandis & Vassiliou, 1972; Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005) and being emotional is part of it, making emphasis in their linguistic expression probable in both oral and written form.

#### 6.2.4 External Modification of the Request

To regulate the illocutionary force of a request, a speaker can modify it either internally or externally (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989). The external modification techniques are mitigating supportive moves and aggravating supporting moves. Regarding the second category, the data of the study revealed minimal usage of aggravation (i.e. Scenario 1, *Please, turn down the music or I will call the police*). On the contrary, mitigating supportive moves were in abundance in the results.

Grounders, namely reasons, explanations, or excuses of why one performs a request (i.e. *Hello Miss, I would like kindly to ask you if I could use the same ticket that I booked for*

*the train of 7 but unluckily I missed it because the tube had severe delays and that was the reason that I was late*), is the supportive move that all groups of participants opted for in order to soften the imposing nature of their requests. GRL1 resorted to grounders twice, or even three times, more frequently and intensively than ENL1. For example, in Scenario 2, ‘on the street’, both GRL1-GR and GRL1-EN showed a preference for grounders at a rate of 42%, whereas ENL1 at only 6%. Likewise, in Scenario 11, ‘neighbour’s house-dog’, GRL1-GR (60%) and GRL1-EN (54%) severely outnumbered ENL1 (16%) at the use of the supporting move. Interestingly, the level of R in the two scenarios is different, that is, low in the first one and high in the second, making it difficult to assume that imposition of the request is an affecting factor in the choice of the supportive move. However, Marmaridou (1987) maintains that, in written request contexts, Greek speakers rely heavily on grounders in order to achieve politeness, whereas English speakers avoid justifications in an attempt to not impose. Regarding the two target groups in particular, GRL1-GR exhibited a slightly higher preference for this mitigation technique than GRL1-EN in the vast majority of the scenarios. The former, being unfamiliar with the target language culture and having a B1 – B2 level of proficiency, may have resorted to grounders more in an effort to be more polite. Nonetheless, it is supported with research that grounder is the most frequently documented external modification tool, regardless of the L2 speakers’ level of proficiency in the target language (Van Mulken, 1996; Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2009; Li, 2014). Ellis (1992) also discusses how the environment, namely being home or abroad, may affect the normal acquisition of the modifier and he claims that it does not. It is, therefore, expected that both GRL1-GR and GRL1-EN resort to grounder to minimise the imposition of their requests, in spite of their differences in rate.

Imposition minimisers (i.e. *Yeah, thanks - actually if you don't mind could you close the door there, just so it's easier for us to hear each other properly, thanks*) are another mitigating supportive move, which is, though, mainly used by the native participants (Otcu

& Zeyrek, 2008). GRL1 showed a tendency towards this modifier as well, but almost exclusively combined with grounders. The two target groups combined these two modifiers just as much as they combine other supportive moves, although it should be stressed that GRL1-EN exhibited more refined combination strategies, i.e. more than two modifiers together. It was precisely this tendency to combine that differentiated GRL1 from ENL1 (Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2008, 2009, 2012), who barely used multiple combinations in only three scenarios and at very low rates. GRL1's contact — or lack of contact — with the target culture did not necessarily affect the production of requests with combinations of mitigating supportive moves; their verbosity can be attributed to the fact that Greeks are, in fact, more talkative and analytic<sup>42</sup> in their communication than the British (Sifianou, 1992). It is possible, therefore, that GRL1 activated “the phenomenon of ‘too many words’ (where excess of words is determined by listener's criteria)” (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1986, p. 171), leading to potential pragmatic failure, simply by transferring their pragmatic repertoire from L1 to L2. Here are some examples of GRL1 and ENL1 requests from the data that capture the phenomenon of ‘too many words’, arising in Scenario 11, ‘neighbour's house-dog’ (Example 57).

(57a) *Hey Kate if you can do me a solid could you look after my dog I'll get you the food and everything. It would be a massive help. (ENL1)*

(57b) *Hello, Kate, I'm Nina from next door, we bumped into each other in the elevator the other day...I hope you are settling in well? I don't mean to bother you, but I was wondering whether I might ask a huge favour of you? Do you think you might be able to kind of look after Sooty, my dog over the weekend if you don't have plans, that is? It would only involve feeding him twice a day and opening the door to*

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<sup>42</sup> ENL1 provide the shortest responses in the DCT compared to all three groups (11335 words in total), whereas GRL1-GR the second longest (13785 words in total) and GRL1-EN by far the longest (21304 words in total).

*the terrace for him so he can have a stretch and go to the loo so to speak –no walking or anything like that, that would be imposing too much. He’s very friendly and gets along just fine with everybody, so you would not need to worry about that. I know it’s a lot to ask and I would be so very grateful and willing to make it up to you in any way I can... (GRL1-EN)*

*(57c) Hey Mrs White. I'm George, I live next door. How are you? Listen, I know we just met but I will be out of town for a couple of days this Saturday and I was wondering if you could look after my dog for me. (GRL1-GR)*

### 6.2.5 Alerters

Alerters are considered the openers of a request, perhaps the most common way to attract the H’s attention. All participants of the current study introduced their requests with alerters, which they precede the actual speech act by default. Attention getter (i.e. *Hey. I have managed to miss my bus. Am I able to use this same ticket for the next service?*) was by far the most frequently encountered alerter in the data by all three groups of informants. ENL1 displayed the highest percentage of usage in the majority of the scenarios, as, for instance, in Scenario 2, ‘on the street’, with 90% compared with GRL1-EN (68%) and GRL1-GR (56%). Scenario 9, ‘on the phone-discount’, was the only one, in which speakers did not need to attract the H’s attention, because they were already in the middle of a conversation on the phone.

However, a more elaborative reading of the representation of attention getters in the data revealed that their combination with other alerters — in particular with first name, surname and title — was the second most favoured alerter in the data. There were certain factors that affected the choice of one combination by the speakers of one group and another combination by the speakers of another group. In Scenario 7, ‘at work-stapler’, for example, ENL1 (36%) opted for the combination of attention getter and first name (i.e. *Hi Peter, I*

*can't find my stapler anywhere, could I please borrow yours?*), GRL1-EN (28%) also chose this combination (i.e. *Hey, Peter! Any chance you've got my stapler? No? Well, can I borrow yours for a bit then?*), but GRL1-GR did not favour it at all. Instead, they selected the combination of attention getter, title and surname (i.e. *Good morning Mr Brown. I need my stapler, but I cannot find it. Can I please borrow yours for a minute?*), which was also favoured by GRL1-EN at an even percentage with attention getter and first name (28%). The scenario describes an interaction in the workplace, and as discussed above, workplace power relations in Greece are complex. Employees address their managers by their titles or their surnames, accompanied by verbs in the plural number — Greeks rely heavily on the *tous/vous* system of their language; it is a matter of respect, and respect is correlated with politeness in the Greek culture (Sifianou, 1992). Therefore, it is possible that GRL1 transferred their pragmatic patterns of addressing a superior in their L2. Richards & Sukwiwat (1983) discuss the transferability of Asian honorifics and claim that L2 learners resort to the overuse of this particular aspect of linguistic politeness of their culture, in order to be polite in the target language. Nonetheless, GRL1-EN, who reside in England, showed also a tendency towards the use of attention getter and first name. Perhaps their exposure to the British culture affected their use of address terms and they managed to adapt to the cultural norms of the target society.

In the same line with the former scenario, in Scenario 11, 'neighbour's house-dog', ENL1 (44%) opted for the combination of attention getter and first name, whereas GRL1-EN and GRL1-GR resorted to the combination of attention getter, title and surname (46% and 24%, respectively). In this specific situation, the factor that urged GRL1 to transfer their pragmatic patterns from the Greek cultural setting was perhaps the age of their neighbour. When addressing the elderly in the Greek culture, either the surname or a title of the addressee is preferable. In fact, imperatives, which are so widely used in Greek, are considered inappropriate in a social situation when a younger person interacts with an older



one (Sifianou, 1992). Respect is again in interplay with politeness. It is worth mentioning that this Greek cultural characteristic of paying respects to the elderly by addressing them on a title and surname basis extends to both genders.

#### 6.2.6 Lack of Modification

The results in the data, which did not show any modification of the speech act, reveal that GRL1-GR were the participants with the strongest tendency to not modify their requests at a much higher rate than ENL1 and an even higher than GRL1-EN. Their forwardness, which was attested irrespective of the level of imposition of the speech act, the power relations and the distance between Ss and Hs, complements the discussion about the frequent directness that GRL1-GR exhibited when performing requests in L2 English. For example, a request like *Close the door* in Scenario 4, ‘coffee shop-door’, can be interpreted by the H as impolite due to its directness and, therefore, its lack of face-saving considerations (Blum-Kulka, 1987).

However, the request also lacks internal or external modification, another probable reason that the H might find HLD-marked requestive patterns — or even MLD and LLD-marked ones for that matter — face threatening. Research in cross-cultural and interlanguage pragmatics, and in particular speech acts and requests, suggests that high language proficiency in L2 entails native-like use of modification, contrary to other levels of language learning that indicate relative underuse of modification (Trosborg, 1994; Barron, 2003; Otcu & Zeyrek, 2008; Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2008, 2009, 2012). Considering that GRL1-GR are speakers of L2 English at an intermediate level, it is possible that their lower level of proficiency was responsible for less modification than GRL1-EN. This limited modification and its subsequent forwardness sketches how GRL1-GR shaped their speech act in terms of what can be interpreted as pragmatic directness. To strengthen the argument, GRL1-EN is the group that instantiated the least unmodified requests, even less than ENL1. It can be

assumed that their contact with the target culture inhibited their forwardness and directness and activated their acquired indirectness, in an effort to reach native-like levels of politeness. Leech (1983), however, maintains that being too polite can mean being impolite, i.e. be perceived as ironic. Second language learners are expected to differentiate between being polite and being over-polite (Eelen, 2001; Watts, 2003; Haugh, 2007; Izadi, 2016).

#### 6.2.7 Request Perspective

The orientation of the requestive force is of paramount importance for the performance of the speech act. Supposing that requests are FTAs by default, the involvement of the addresser or the addressee in the communicative act and, therefore, the reaction of the requestee to the illocutionary force, may affect the perlocutionary power of the speech act of request.

Research has shown that H-oriented requests in L2 English outnumber S-oriented (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Ellis, 1992; Lin, 2009; Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2012; Ogiermann & Bella, 2020) and the results of the present study confirm this suggestion. Nonetheless, the speaker orientation was not insignificant at all in the data. In Scenario 8, ‘bus station-same ticket’, for example, all Greek participants, both GRL1-EN (100%) and GRL1-GR (100%), resorted to S-oriented requests, mirroring ENL1’s patterns (100%). Speaker orientation in counter interactions like this one is in line with Trosborg’s (1994) finding that such situations can indeed generate S-oriented requests by L2 English speakers, but only in combination with directness, suggesting at the same time that the context of the conversation deems them as inappropriate and impolite. She also maintains that conventional indirectness is mainly H-oriented, a claim highlighted also by Ellis (1992). The results of the present study, however, contradict Trosborg’s (1994) findings, as Scenario 8 displayed conventional indirectness instead of directness and speaker orientation instead of hearer. In fact, Scenario 8 exhibited the highest ratio of preferences for CIRs in the data and a totally unanimous speaker orientation. Similar results were produced in Scenario 3, ‘train station-free ticket’,

also a counter interaction. Even though the speaker orientation was not absolute, GRL1-EN (60%) and GRL1-GR (58%) still favoured it instead of hearer orientation, just like ENL1 (66%), and combined it with conventional indirectness instead of directness. The only factor that differentiates Scenario 3 and Scenario 8 is the level of R, which did not seem to affect the results significantly. Sifianou & Antonopoulou (2005) do not consider service encounters to be FTAs, so potentially the informants of the present study exhaust their politeness considerations in only resorting to indirectness. Nonetheless, it is possible that they directed their request towards the S, as in taking the responsibility of a potential rejection by the H.

In Scenario 13, 'car park machine', GRL1 did not mirror ENL1's relevantly large preference (44%) for S-oriented requests. Both groups of Greek participants resorted to H-oriented strategies, namely GRL1-EN at 96% and GRL1-GR at 94%. Distance between the interlocutors is low in this situation. Perhaps this familiarity enabled GRL1's pragmatic nuances of inclusiveness (Sifianou, 1992), therefore they worried less about a potential rejection of their request. Likewise, in Scenario 6, 'at home', in which distance between the S and the H is also low, the results verify the same tendency; ENL1 (62%) favoured S-oriented requests, whereas GRL1-EN (76%) and GRL1-GR (90%) favoured H-oriented. Considering that the level of R of the request is different in the two scenarios, ergo, non-sequential, and the P between the S and the H is equal, it is possible that D was the determinant variable of this correlation between the two scenarios. Lin (2009), who argues that native speakers of English prefer S-oriented requests contrary to non-native speakers, ties this tendency of the former to a deviation from the original function of requests and a process of conventionalisation. More specifically, it is argued that, since requests are H-oriented by definition, in the sense of wanting to get the H to do what is requested by the S (Searle, 1976), opting for S-oriented structures is a divergence from the standardised force of the speech act. This divergence "has undergone a process of conventionalisation as a form of mitigation in the English language" (Ogiermann & Bella, 2020, p. 21), same as the process

of conventionalisation of indirect speech acts. Bringing the two together, namely speaker orientation and conventional indirectness, portrays rigorously how politeness is conceptualised in the English language and culture, that is, in terms of mitigation and avoidance of FTAs (Ogiermann & Bella, 2020). GRL1, therefore, either negatively transferred<sup>43</sup> their L1 pragmatic pattern of hearer orientation to L2 English or failed to adjust and demonstrate successfully the subtle pragmatic nuances of speaker orientation. Example (58) below highlights the difference in perspective between ENL1 and GRL1, as discussed so far (Scenario 6).

(58a) *Well Mary. I was wondering if I could borrow a bit of money for a very important project I'm working on?* (ENL1)

(58b) *I would like to ask you a favour, can you lend me 2.000 pounds please?*  
(GRL1-EN)

(58c) *Mary, I am in a very difficult financial situation. I need money urgently. Can you lend me £2,000?* (GRL1-GR)

Economidou-Kogetsidis (2013), who compares naturally occurring data (recorded telephone interactions) and data arising from a written DCT, claims that request perspective is attached and affected by the inquiring nature of the request; that is, whether the S asks the H for information or for action. She argues that “the hearer perspective of the naturally occurring requests was tied to callers’ requests for information... whereas the speaker perspective of the WDCT [written discourse completion test] requests was tied to requests for action” (Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2013, p. 33). Scenario 2, ‘on the street’, of the present study, which is the only one in the present study that describes a situation of asking for

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<sup>43</sup> Kasper (1997) suggests that positive transfer presupposes that L2 speakers are familiar with the similarities of their L1 with their L2, with request perspective often eluding their attention and reflection.

information, seems to validate Economidou-Kogetsidis's (2013) argument. Moreover, the results of the written form of the DCT of the current project confirm her findings of a correlation between H-oriented responses and WDCTs. However, there are a number of scenarios in the data that negate her claim, such as Scenario 3 or Scenario 7. It is possible, then, that either WDCTs do not differ from recorded telephone interactions with regard to the informants' spontaneity in their responses, or that request perspective needs more attention and analysis in more situations.

Ellis (1992) maintains that native speakers of English demonstrate the capacity to interchange perspective orientation in order to mitigate a potentially FTA. This is clear in the data, as ENL1 divided largely their responses in either H-oriented or S-oriented, with the latter being attested largely in highly imposing scenarios. Nonetheless, native speakers also resorted to requests with inclusive orientation or without an agent at all, in an attempt to be even more indirect, and, therefore, more polite. On the one hand, in Scenario 14, 'at work-pay rise', for example, ENL1 (16%) showed a relatively noticeable preference for inclusive orientation (i.e. *Hi Carol. I've been working here for 2 years and wondering if we could discuss a potential pay rise?*). GRL1-EN (8%) also used this requesting technique, though less favourably (i.e. *Hello Carol. You know I've been with you for two years now and I've been taking on more and more responsibilities within my role. Do you think we could discuss the possibility of me getting a pay rise? I've been working very hard lately and I think it is something that you would need to consider*), whereas GRL1-GR did not prefer it at all. The use of *we* as the agent of the request potentially has mitigating nuances in these request examples. On the other hand, in Scenario 9, 'on the phone-discount', for example, ENL1 (22%) showed a meaningful preference for impersonal structures (i.e. *The problem is I really want this table but cannot justify how much it is. Is there any possibility of a reduction in price?*). GRL1-EN (14%) merely followed this pattern (i.e. *I really like this table, but it is out of my budget, is there any room for a better price?*), but GRL1-GR did not. It is possible

that impersonal structures mitigate the force of the request (Ogiermann & Bella, 2020) and that was the purpose of their use.

### 6.3 Judgements of Politeness (Likert Scale Tests)

The second part of the analysis of the present study reveals how the participants evaluate politeness with regard to (in)directness. The aim is to compare the two groups of GRL1 with the group of ENL1 and between them, in order to conclude whether GRL1's length of contact with the target culture affects their perception of politeness. The discussion surrounds the statistical analysis of the group evaluations of individual variables (12 different levels of (in)directness, mirroring the request strategies of CCSARP with and without modification), accompanied with the group evaluations of grouped variables (three levels of (in)directness, mirroring the request categories of CCSARP). The aim is to identify if the informants perceive indirectness as politeness, and vice versa (for a reminder of the variables and their level of directness, see Table 5.1 in Chapter 5).

#### 6.3.1 (In)directness and Politeness: Their Statistical Significance

Inferential statistics allow for the results of the data to be generalised by illustrating whether the tests that were run to evaluate the rigorousness of the research design are robust. For the present study, inferential statistics accounted for the evaluation of the Likert scale tests data in two forms, namely individually and grouped, in order to consider for the variables in examination both collectively and separately.

##### 6.3.1.1 High Level of Directness

The results of the three-way mixed ANOVA give an overview of how the three primary variables of the research design — (in)directness, imposition, and groups of informants — interacted and extracted the relevant evaluations by the participants of the study. It is

reminded that, for the purpose of enabling a broader reading of the data, the 12 different levels of directness of each Likert scale test were grouped in the three concise categories of HLD, MLD, and LLD. The outcome, which was statistically significant for all three ways of interaction, suggests that HLD-marked requests were generally evaluated as impolite by all three groups of informants in both +R and -R scenario, with the latter, though, extracting more polite ratings than the former, potentially due to its softer requestive force. However, a closer reading of the separate levels of requestive (in)directness reveals more refined results.

Regarding separate items, I6 (*I'm afraid you'll have to turn the music down*) and I18 (*I'm afraid you'll have to look after my dog during the weekend*) do not show similar results. Item 6 does not present statistically significant differences between groups, but a close look at I18 reveals a noteworthy difference in judgements. GRL1-EN's evaluations of the request are almost equally divided between the two values of impoliteness, matching ENL1's evaluations, but GRL1-GR trisect their evaluations towards the two values of impoliteness, as well as neutrality. Interestingly, the statistical significance of the evaluative activity of the groups of informants marks the differences between ENL1 and GRL1-EN as non-significant ( $p = 0.161$ ), therefore random. On the contrary, the differences between the native speakers and GRL1-GR ( $p = 0.037$ ), as well as the differences between the two groups of Greek informants ( $p = 0.001$ ), do not occur by chance alone. This means that the same experiment would produce the same results with different  $N$ . The structure *have to* (locution derivable or obligation statement) is categorised as a DR by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), albeit *I'm afraid* mitigates the imposing nature of the utterance. The equivalent Greek structure of *I'm afraid* is 'φοβάμαι', which can also be used to mitigate a locution derivable. However, *φοβάμαι* as a verb exhibits scales of intensity in its usage, meaning it can also be translated to 'I'm scared' or even 'I'm terrified/petrified'. Additionally, *φοβάμαι* raises a condescending tone in a similar requestive structure in Greek, in the sense that the context does not allow space

to refute the request, an inflexibility in option that does not stem from the S. Therefore, it is possible that GRL1-GR perceive this specific request as an unavoidable task that the H is obliged by the circumstances to deliver. In fact, looking into the scenario, it seems that this explanation is plausible, considering that the request also exhibits a high level of R, which is a potential affecting factor.

I9 (*Please turn the music down*), which pairs with I21 (*Please look after my dog during the weekend*), is marked with low level of R and exhibits different results in evaluations than I18; all three groups of informants favour neutral close to polite values, yet ENL1 exhibit the highest rate of evaluations in polite and highly polite judgements than the rest of the groups. The divergence between the native speakers and the two groups of Greek L2 speakers is statistically significant ( $p = 0.015$  for GRL1-EN and  $p = 0.018$  for GRL1-GR), yet GRL1-EN and GRL1-GR ( $p = 0.920$ ) do not show statistically significant differences. Imperatives are highly direct requests, yet the structure does not seem to affect the evaluations of the L2 speakers more than those of the native speakers; they negate the assumption that directness reflects impoliteness (Blum-Kulka, 1987; Kasanga (2006; Ogiermann, 2009b). Nonetheless, GRL1 are familiar with imperatives as requests in their L1 setting, as they are with the importance of the politeness marker *please* in the L2 English setting. Perhaps the politeness marker *please* and its conventionalised way of usage (Sifianou, 1992; Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2005, 2011) softens the imposing nature of the request, even though such a conviction is refuted by Culpeper & Haugh (2014). Item 21 does not present statistically significant differences between groups.

Contrary to I9 and I21, I10 (*Turn the music down, mate!*) and I22 (*Look after my dog during the weekend, woman!*) lack a politeness marker. In I10, the evaluations of the Greek informant propose a preference for impoliteness, whereas interestingly, ENL1 evaluate the utterance as less impolite than GRL1, contradicting the assumption that directness is correlated with impoliteness (Blum-Kulka, 1987; Kasanga (2006; Ogiermann,



2009b). ENL1's evaluations span from highly impolite to neutral, whereas GRL1's span from highly impolite to impolite. Any divergence in the  $\mu$  between the native speakers and the two groups of L2 speakers does not occur by chance alone ( $p = 0.035$  for GRL1-EN and  $p = 0.009$  for GRL1-GR). It is possible that the endearment term *mate* softens the imposing nature of the request for ENL1, but not for GRL1. Colloquial terms such as *mate* or *bloke* were only recently introduced and incorporated in TEFL textbooks, so their pragmatic force could potentially elude GRL1. Moreover, the omission of the politeness marker *please*, as well as the orthographic emphasis with the exclamation mark are also possible reasons that GRL1 lean towards impoliteness. Last but not least, they could also be preoccupied by the convention that imperatives are generally perceived as impolite in the British cultural setting (Borwn & Levinson, 1987; Sifianou, 1992). I22, on the other hand, generates statistically significant differences between ENL1 and GRL1-GR ( $p = 0.001$ ), as well as between the two groups of Greek speakers ( $p = 0.003$ ). ENL1 and GRL1-EN align in their judgements towards high impoliteness, but GRL1-GR diverge from them towards four different directions: high impoliteness, impoliteness, and even neutrality and politeness. This divergence does not occur by chance alone. On the one hand, perhaps ENL1 and GRL1-EN share the common understanding that this request is highly impolite due to the structure (imperative), the vocative of the term *woman* with an exclamation mark (*woman!*), and the level of imposition of the request (+R). GRL1-GR, on the other hand, perceive the request as highly impolite as well, probably for the same reason, yet a significant number of the participants are more lenient. Considering that the request is marked with HLD and perceived as impolite in general, evaluations of neutrality and politeness by GRL1-GR could be considered as random effects.

A close look at I3 (*Turn the music down or I'll call the police*) and I15 (*Look after my dog during the weekend or I'll make your life difficult*) may clarify the dispersion of GRL1-GR evaluations for I22 above. ENL1 and GRL1-EN consider I15 highly impolite ( $p$

= 0.156). For GRL1-GR, though, the request is highly impolite in general, yet their evaluations range between highly impolite and polite ( $p = 0.004$  for GRL1-GR vs. ENL1 and  $p = 0.001$  for GRL1-GR vs. GRL1-EN). Likewise, I3 accumulates highly impolite and impolite evaluations by ENL1 and GRL1-EN ( $p = 0.261$ ), when GRL1-GR opt for highly impolite values, with a dispersion of evaluations up to polite values ( $p = 0.145$  for GRL1-GR vs. ENL1 and  $p = 0.018$  for GRL1-GR vs. GRL1-EN). These differences — excluding the difference between GRL1-EN for I3 — do not occur by chance alone. Considering that the requests are generally evaluated as impolite, potentially due to their level of directness (imperative), the aggravating supportive moves (threat), or both, it can be assumed that GRL1-GR's evaluations of neutrality or politeness possibly arise as random effects from the data (see Section 6.3.2). After all, politeness and threats are inherently contradictory (Leech, 1983). The same explanation of random effects could be advocated for I22.

#### 6.3.1.2 Moderate Level of Directness

The statistically significant outcome of the three-way interaction of directness, imposition, and groups of informants suggests that MLD-marked requests revealed a noteworthy variability in the informants' evaluations, in particular in the highly imposing scenario of the Likert scale test II. More specifically, even though GRL1-EN connected HLD with impoliteness, LLD with politeness, and MLD with neutrality, as expected, GRL1-GR's and ENL1's evaluations equalised MLD with politeness and impoliteness, respectively. A closer look at the separate levels of (in)directness confirms the finding.

Regarding separate items, I2 (*Might be better if you turned the music down*) and I14 (*Might be better for me if you looked after my dog during the weekend*) exhibit the most significant divergence between groups in a comparison of the judgements of ENL1 with GRL1. ENL1, on the one hand, evaluate I2 as marginally impolite, whereas GRL1-EN evaluate the request as neutral and closer to polite. GRL1-GR, on the other hand, are

positioned even closer to polite than GRL1-EN. These differences in the evaluative direction of the three groups are statistically significant ( $p = 0.006$  for ENL1 vs. GRL1-EN,  $p = 0.000$  for ENL1 vs. GRL1-GR, and  $p = 0.035$  for GRL1-EN vs. GRL1-GR), which means that the judgements of this particular request will produce the same results with a different  $N$  sample. The diversion of the  $N$ 's central tendency in evaluations from the general population is very high for both groups of non-native speakers. They range between impolite and highly polite evaluations, potentially because the H-oriented request seems imposing, in the sense that it deprives the H of his/her flexibility to either succumb to the requestive force or not. For Leech (1983), the H's freedom to refuse an imposition by the S makes an impositive polite. GRL1-GR are more consistent towards politeness readings of the request. In this case, a possible explanation, besides the fact that H-oriented requests is the default choice for Greek speakers, is that they understand the structure as polite due to the existence of *might be better if*. *Might* is translated to 'ίσως' or 'μήπως' in Greek, meaning maybe. Both *ίσως* and *μήπως* are downtoners in Greek (Sifianou, 1992; Bella, 2014) and they mitigate the imposing nature of a request. Perhaps GRL1-GR, who have no experience of contact with the target culture, rely more on translating the structure than interpreting it, transferring their pragmatic perception of *might* from L1 to L2. After all, socio-pragmatics and pragmatics are intertwined (Leech, 1983; Barron, 2003; Chang, 2011; Mirzaei & Esmaeili, 2012).

In the same line, I14 exhibits an even higher divergence in the results of the three groups. ENL1 evaluate it as highly impolite close to impolite, GRL1-EN as impolite close to neutral, and GRL1-GR as polite close to highly polite. The divergence from the central tendency of the general population again high, allowing for many possible readings of the request, and the differences of the groups are statistically significant, therefore not random ( $p = 0.000$  for ENL1 vs. GRL1-EN,  $p = 0.000$  for ENL1 vs. GRL1-GR, and  $p = 0.002$  for GRL1-EN vs. GRL1-GR). The significance of the results is accumulated in the evaluations

of polite and highly polite, which none of the native speakers opts for. Perhaps the highly imposing nature of the scenario makes the request structure even less polite than in I2 for ENL1. However, GRL1-GR favour politeness and high politeness more than any other value, whereas GRL1-EN seem to align more with ENL1. It seems that the structure *might be better if* is perceived as coercive, even though it is followed by a conditional clause in the past tense, which is supposed to have a mitigating function in certain contexts (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989). Taken that the level of R of the request is higher than its pairing item (I2), the expectation would be for GRL1-GR to perceive the request as impolite, mirroring the native speakers. Even though GRL1-EN's perception of (in)directness may be affected by R (Mirzaei & Esmaeili, 2012) and their capacity to adjust to the target cultural norms may be enhanced by exposure, GRL1-GR seem to transfer their pragmatic understanding of the utterance as polite from their L1, due to the structure of *might be better if* and its force in the Greek setting. Takahashi (1996) suggests that highly imposing request scenarios in L2 urge non-native speakers of English to project their L1 politeness considerations.

I13 (*Could you look after my dog during the weekend?*), which pairs with I1 (*Could you tune the music down?*) and which presents statistically non-significant results, also adds value to the argument in favour of L1 transferability to L2. Most of GRL1-EN and GRL1-GR evaluate the request as neutral, polite or highly polite, whereas ENL1 focus on neutrality and politeness. The differences between the latter group and GRL1-EN are non-significant ( $p = 0.114$ ), nor are between the two groups of Greek informants ( $p = 0.530$ ). However, how native speakers and Greek speakers with no contact with the target culture evaluate the request presents statistical significance ( $p = 0.027$ ). *Could*-structure is a relevantly polite way of requesting in English, yet the equivalent Greek structure 'θα μπορούσες' (singular) or θα μπορούσατε' (plural) is overly polite, especially in the *vous* treatment. Taken that the H is an elderly, therefore a person of respect in the Greek culture, it is possible that GRL1 consider this request as appropriate for the setting. Moreover, the request perspective (H-

oriented) potentially hinders ENL1's preference for high politeness, but not GRL1's (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Ellis, 1992; Lin, 2009; Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2012; Ogiermann & Bella, 2020).

Extending the discussion on MLD-requests, I16 (*I'd like you to look after my dog during the weekend*) also shows interesting results. ENL1 assign impolite close to neutral evaluations to the request, GRL1-EN follow the same pattern showing adjustment to the target politeness considerations, but GRL1-GR prefer mostly neutral to polite evaluations. The differences in judgements between ENL1 and the two groups of GRL1 are statistically significant ( $p = 0.048$  for GRL1-EN and  $p = 0.001$  for GRL1-GR), yet the differences between GRL1-EN and GRL1-GR are not ( $p = 0.110$ ). This means that the native speakers' judgements of politeness differ from those of the Greek speakers of L2 English nonrandomly, whereas the distinct politeness evaluations of GRL1-EN and GRL1-GR occur by chance alone. The same happens with I4 (*I'd like you to turn the music down*), which is the highly imposing pairing item of I16, and which presents statistically non-significant results for all informants of all groups. Considering that *I'd like* opens a want statement in English and want statements are categorised as DRs (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989), yet with less clear illocutionary force than, for instance, mood derivable (order) or locution derivable (obligation), it seems plausible that the native speakers and GRL1-EN render this particular request as inappropriate in a highly imposing scenario, contrary to the GRL1-GR. Greek learners of English as an L2 are exposed to the conventional ways of polite requesting in the target language from the very early stages of their L2 acquisition, therefore one could argue that the lack of contact with the target culture generates transferability from L1 to L2 for GRL1-GR. In addition, *I'd like* is translated to 'θα ήθελα' in Greek, which is a formal and indirect structure, particularly used in situations where R and D are high. It is, then, possible that GRL1-GR translate the utterance in Greek and evaluate it by relying more on considerations of politeness in the Greek cultural setting, rather than the English.

I17 (*How about looking after my dog during the weekend?*) is the last MLD-request that exhibits statistically significant results, contrary to its pairing I5 (*How about turning down the music?*). ENL1's and GRL1-EN's evaluations align, hence they present no statistically significant differences ( $p = 0.911$ ). However, ENL1's and GRL1-GR's evaluations, as well as the judgements of the two groups of Greek participants, differ with statistical significance ( $p = 0.023$  for ENL1 vs. GRL1-GR and  $p = 0.050$  for GRL1-GR vs. GRL1-EN). The native speakers and GRL1-EN, on the one hand, favour more neutral and impolite values, perhaps being affected by the perspective orientation of the request. There is no clear agent, but it is subtly suggested that the H comply with the force of the request. GRL1-GR, on the other hand, favour neutral and polite values. The utterance is a conventionally structured suggestion, which is marked with relevantly low directness (Blum-Kulka et. al, 1989), even lower than want statement. *How about* translates to 'τί λεζ/τί θα' λεγεζ (να)' in Greek, which is equal to 'what do you say/what would you say if'. The opening to suggestions/requests of this kind reflects indirectness in Greek and it is used generally to make a request gently and with considerations about the H's willingness or availability to conform with the requestive force of the utterance. Considering the scenario is highly imposing, the suggestion that R is an affecting factor with regard to politeness considerations in the L2 setting seems valid. Al-Marrani & Sazalie (2010), discussing politeness and request strategies employed by Yemeni learners of English as a foreign language, explain that R affects the speakers' choice of request strategy. Nonetheless, Hartford & Bardovi-Harlig (1996), having analysed email requests in the academic setting, which produced contradictory results, do not firmly concur with the suggestion that R is a determinant variable affecting politeness evaluations.

### 6.3.1.3 Low Level of Directness

The three-way mixed ANOVA analysis revealed that LLD-marked requests were evaluated similarly by the three groups of informants in both +R and –R scenarios. The majority of the evaluations was correlated with politeness considerations, but a more elaborate observation of the 12 different levels of (in)directness in the LLD category reveals some deviations.

To begin with politeness considerations and set the standards of comparison, the pair of I7 (*I was wondering if you could turn the music down*) and I19 (*I was wondering if you could look after my dog during the weekend*) and the pair of I8 (*Would you please turn the music down?*) and I20 (*Would you please look after my dog during the weekend?*) are evaluated as polite by all groups of informants. The three of the four items presented non-statistically significant differences, whereas only I19 showed significance in the results ( $p = 0.002$  for ENL1 vs. GRL1-EN and  $p = 0.010$  for GRL1-EN vs. GRL1-GR; ENL1 and GRL1-GR showed no statistically significant differences with  $p = 0.624$ ). GRL1-EN exhibited a preference for high politeness, whereas GRL1-GR and ENL1 showed a similar tendency towards politeness. The past tense of the request opening (*I was wondering*), accompanied by a conditional clause and past-tensed modality (*if you could*), reflect high indirectness and it seems that the participants aligned with the sentiment. According to Leech (1983), past-tense modals, which refer to hypothetical situations, allow for the H to refuse commitment in the real world, hence abide by the illocutionary force of the request. It is this freedom that the H has to decline an imposition that makes the imposition obsolete and the request polite. On another note, *I was wondering if* is such a conventionalised structure, in the sense of having a clear requestive force despite its actual semantic meaning (Terkourafi, 2005b, 2015a), and is being consistently and persistently taught as the ultimately polite requestive pattern in TEFL textbooks, that justifiably GRL1 judged it as polite in a highly imposing scenario. The fact GRL1-GR generated less polite evaluations than GRL1-EN may suggest that their lack of contact with the target society hindered their familiarity with this particular

structure and led them to rely on the translatable — from L1 Greek to L2 English — *can/could* structures, as discussed in Section 6.2.2.2 (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Sifianou, 1992).

Items I11 (*Our apartments share some pretty thin walls, don't they?*) and I12 (*Do we have to put up with your loud music?*), and their paring I23 (*You love dogs, don't you?*) and I24 (*Do we have to beg you to look after our dog during the weekend?*), exhibited the most significant results; they were generally evaluated as impolite, even though they are typically categorised as hints and are, therefore, highly indirect (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989). The first pair, I11 and I23, did not present statistically significant differences among the three groups of informants, but the second pair, I12 and I24, did; for I12,  $p = 0.201$  for ENL1 vs. GRL1-EN (the only non-significant difference between groups),  $p = 0.000$  for ENL1 vs. GRL1-GR, and  $p = 0.000$  for GRL1-EN vs. GRL1-GR. Likewise, for I24,  $p = 0.039$  for ENL1 vs. GRL1-EN,  $p = 0.000$  for ENL1 vs. GRL1-GR, and  $p = 0.000$  for GRL1-EN vs. GRL1-GR. On the one hand, ENL1 clearly positioned the items between highly impolite and impolite. GRL1-EN shared their stance, yet they leaned towards high impoliteness. On the other hand, GRL1-GR's evaluations, spanned throughout all values. Indeed, impoliteness collected the highest percentage in evaluations, yet there is a significant number of informants, who were divided between neutral and polite. Blum-Kulka (1987) claims that hints can be face threatening due to lack of pragmatic clarity. They are supposed to have an opaque and elusive illocutionary force; the aim is to communicate the message without uttering the words that would unravel the hidden meaning. Moreover, background knowledge is often enlightening in a non-transparent interaction, let alone when that interaction is materialised with hints in the form of questions (Trosborg, 1994). Considering that the English are structurally (in)direct (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Sifianou, 1992), it seems plausible that the non-conventional structure of the requests allowed for their variable interpretations. ENL1's evaluations were based more on grammatic syntactical structures than pragmatics. GRL1-



EN, who have contact with the target culture, possibly adjust and consider non-conventional indirectness obscure and impolite, too. Perhaps GRL1-GR, though, who do not have contact with the target culture, indeed transfer their L1 Greek pragmatic considerations in these contexts.

In addition to the above, the plural personal pronoun *we* implies inclusiveness in the Greek cultural setting, ergo familiarity and positive politeness (Sifianou, 1992). This consideration potentially also adds humorous dynamics in the utterance (Antonopoulou & Sifianou, 2003). Both the joint speaker orientation and the possibility of attributed humour to the utterance are valid reasons for GRL1-GR to lean towards neutrality. Furthermore, I12 and I24 consist of interesting semantic elements, too. On the one hand, the verb *beg* is pleading, yet, in combination with the plural subject pronoun *we*, it may imply impatience. On the other hand, the phrasal verb *put up with* has a negative meaning, implying that the S is annoyed by something the H does — in this case, the loud music late at night. Both semantic structures have a modifying effect and it seems that pragmatics and semantics are intermixed in these examples in such a way, that ENL1 and GRL1-EN perceive the hints as FTA, therefore evaluate them as impolite, whereas GRL1-GR do not.

### 6.3.2 (In)directness and Politeness: Their Statistical Non-Significance

Ten of the 24 items produced statistically non-significant results among the three groups of informants. This does not mean that any dispersion in evaluations, or any  $\mu$  for that matter, is unimportant for the study. Statistical significance allows for firm readings in the data, but statistical non-significance allows for flexibility towards a potential re-design of the experiment. As discussed in 6.3.1, there are values that exhibit statistically significant differences among groups, yet they arise in the data as random effects. In the same line, there are values in the data that do not present statistically significant differences among groups, yet they may not arise as random effects. Random effects are variables, which produce values

(numerical representations) as an unexpected result of a random phenomenon. They allow for individual effects on the data, contrary to the fixed effects, which are variables that produce non-random quantities and incorporate random effects as part of the whole analysis process. The significance of random effects emerges from their potentiality to produce values that may map the values of a future or a past experiment (Blitzstein & Hwang, 2014). Both statistically non-significant results and random effects (in statistically significant results or not) strengthen the present experiment, in the sense that any result is meaningful for the study, regardless of their numerical representation. In that line, this subsection briefly discusses I1, I4, I5, I6, I7, I8, I11, I20, I21, and I23.

I6 (*I'm afraid you'll have to turn the music down*) and I21 (*Please look after my dog during the weekend*), which are marked with HLD, presented unanimity in the evaluations by the three groups. Both the native and non-native speakers perceived I6 as impolite, neutral or polite, and I21 as neutral or polite. There was a relevant dispersion in the values, but the majority of the participants were positively affected by the subjectivizer *I'm afraid* and the politeness marker *please* towards politeness considerations (see Section 6.3.1.1)

I1 (*Could you turn the music down?*), I4 (*I'd like you to turn the music down*) and I5 (*How about turning the music down?*), which are marked with MLD, produced unanimity in their  $\mu$ , but higher dispersion in the results. I4 was considered marginally less polite by ENL1 than GRL1, potentially due to the directness level of the request and the S orientation (see Section 6.3.1.2), with which ENL1 may be familiar, but not comfortable with (Rintell & Mitchell, 1989). Likewise, I5 found ENL1 and GRL1-EN in agreement towards impoliteness, whereas GRL1-GR towards neutrality (see Section 6.3.1.2). I1 is the only one that accumulates most responses of all groups in two values; neutrality and politeness, as expected.

I8 (*Would you please turn the music down?*) and I20 (*Would you please look after my dog during the weekend?*), as well as I7 (*I was wondering if you could turn the music*

*down*), marked with LLD, demonstrate the highest unanimity in evaluations by all three groups of participants. Any divergence from the central tendency is minimal, which allows to assume that there is an agreement in evaluations by both native and non-native speakers. In terms of structure, it seems that the modal verb *would* increases the perception of politeness of the request. Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) and Trosborg (1994) suggest that *would* increases the perception of indirectness of a request, therefore, it potentially fluctuates its correlation with politeness, too. Sifianou (1992) discusses the use of modal verbs *will* ‘θα + interrogative’ and *would* ‘θα + past subjunctive’ and concludes that the former is considered as informal, whereas the latter as formal, thus more polite. Therefore, GRL1 either positively transfer their pragmatic considerations to L2 English or adjust to the conventional way of requesting in the target language.

I11 (*Our apartments share some pretty thin walls, don't they?*) and I23 (*Do we have to beg you to look after our dog during the weekend?*), also marked with LLD, divide all participants of all groups between impolite and neutral. It is likely that the question tags, which can potentially mitigate the impact of an utterance on the H, affect the evaluations towards neutrality. Nonetheless, Blum-Kulka (1987) maintains that hints are evaluated as polite by English native speakers, which contradicts this finding (see Section 6.3.1.3). She also argues that CIR is the most popular request category they employ in order to express politeness (see Sections 6.2.2.2 and 6.3.2.2). Economidou-Kogetisidis (2011) maintains that, with regard to transferability from L1 Greek to L2 English, Greek speakers tend to resort to directness and hints more often than CIRs.

#### 6.4 The DCT and The Likert Scale Tests: Bridging The Gap?

Bringing the two parts of the analysis together illustrates how the informants' production and evaluation of requests differ or collide with regard to politeness and (in)directness. ENL1, who are the control group, favoured conventional indirectness in both the DCT and

the Likert scale tests, but not non-conventional indirectness. They generated quite a large number of hints in the DCT, but they evaluated them as neutral in the Likert scale tests, contrary to expectations. Similarly, even though they did not produce direct structures in the DCT, they evaluated as polite a mood derivable (imperative) modified with the politeness marker *please* in the Likert scale tests.

GRL1-EN, the first target group, followed the same patterns with the native speakers in both parts of the analysis, but with a few exceptions. In the DCT, they favoured conventional indirectness, as they did in the Likert scale tests. However, they evaluated it as more polite than ENL1 did, as, for example, in a suggestory formula mitigated with the structure *might be better + past conditional*. Additionally, conventional structures with the modal verb *would* and with the preparatory *I was wondering + past conditional* were merely used in the DCT, but they were evaluated as highly polite in the Likert scale tests. GRL1-EN also produced a relevantly high number of hints in the DCT, but they evaluated them as neutral instead of polite in the Likert scale tests, same as ENL1. Regarding directness, they produced direct structures in two scenarios of the 12 of the DCT, where familiarity between the S and the H is probably the principle reason that they transferred their L1 Greek pragmatic patterns of requesting. In the Likert scale tests, they kept a similar attitude towards directness, by evaluating the modified imperative with the politeness marker *please* as polite, just like the native speakers, but also by considering the want statement initialised with *I'd like* to be neutral.

GRL1-GR, the second target group, also favoured conventional indirectness in both parts of the analysis. They largely produced it in the DCT and evaluated it as more polite than ENL1 and GRL1-EN in the Likert scale tests. Interestingly, they assigned polite considerations to structures with *would*, *might be better if* and *I was wondering if*, which they barely, if at all, used in the DCT. The same tendency occurred with non-conventional indirectness; hints were not part of the GRL1-GR's requestive production in the DCT, but

they evaluated them as neutral or close to neutral in the Likert scale tests. Regarding directness, imperatives were produced and perceived similarly by GRL1-GR in the two parts of the analysis, but with a noticeable difference. Even though they extensively produced unmodified imperatives in the DCT, the equivalent unmodified mood derivable in the Likert scale tests were perceived as impolite. Notwithstanding, the imperative with the politeness marker *please* was evaluated as polite. This difference potentially stems from the variability of the sociological factors of D in the scenarios of the DCT and the scenarios of the Likert scale tests; the familiarity of the S with the H allowed for more directness in the former, whereas unfamiliarity hindered directness in the latter.

Upon observation of the request production and evaluation of the three groups of informants, three conclusions are immediately noticeable. First, GRL1 are familiar with specific conventionally indirect structures and their politeness dynamic, but they do not use them in their speech (i.e. *would* or *I was wondering*). Laufer (1998) argues that L2 passive knowledge is significantly more evolved and progressed than L2 free active knowledge<sup>44</sup>, offering a plausible explanation as to why GRL1 do not resort to specific requestive structures, even though they recognise them. Second, non-conventionally indirect structures, namely hints, are not perceived as polite by any of the participants, but they are considered as an appropriate requestive technique should they become conventionalised (CSHN). The obscure illocutionary force of hints can affect the communication process by inviting a number of possible interpretations of an utterance. ENL1 and GRL1 potentially opt for conventionality due to their familiarity with it and its facilitating communicative power (Terkourafi, 2015a, 2015b). Third, directness may be produced more by GRL1-GR, but all three groups evaluate it as polite when modified with a politeness marker. The power of

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<sup>44</sup> Passive knowledge is considered the basic receptive understanding of, for instance, a word's meaning, whereas free active knowledge is the use of that word with its meaning freely and without any prompts, as opposed to active knowledge, which refers to the use of the same word and its meaning with a prompt (Laufer, 1998).

modification is present in all the results, with this particular one being the most prominent and only recently more consistently researched (Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2012). The overuse of this particular politeness marker by GRL1 in the DCT and the softening force it has in the Likert scale tests, contrary to the lack of politeness markers in L1 Greek requests, is a testament of how regular and consistent exposure to specific elements of language use assist language learning (Segalowitz, 2000, 2007).

## 6.5 Chapter Summary

In the above chapter, the results of the analysis of the DCT and the two Likert scale tests were discussed with reference to past and existing literature on politeness, requests, transfer, second language pragmatic competence, and research in (in)directness. The discussion of the DCT followed the format of the presentation of the results in Chapter four, whereas the results of the statistical analysis were discussed with reference to their statistical significance and non-significance. The following chapter provides an overview of the concluding remarks of the project, discusses the limitations of the study, and suggests potential directions for future research.

## 7. CONCLUSIONS

The present chapter presents an overview of the key findings of the study, discussing potential future research directions arising from them. The limitations of the study are also acknowledged in terms of population sampling, the DCT, and the Likert scale tests.

### 7.1 General Findings

Before connecting the general findings of the study with the research questions, here are two major conclusions from the two different parts of the analysis. Regarding the DCT, GRL1-GR produced more direct requests than ENL1 and GRL1-EN and transferred their L1 Greek pragmatic considerations to the target language. This tendency seems to have been affected more by the low level of D between the interlocutors, than any level of P or R, and the familiarity of the S with the H served well in favour of CLI. With regard to the Likert scale tests, the high level of R clearly added intensity towards more impolite evaluations by all groups of informants, yet GRL1-GR seem to have been affected less than ENL1 and GRL1-EN. It is possible that the impact of +R was remedied by the availability of familiar conventionally indirect structures (i.e. *could*), softened directness (imperative with *please*), or recognisable mitigating linguistic devices from L1 Greek (i.e. *might* ‘ίσως’ or ‘μήπως’).

#### 7.1.1 Research Question 1: Do GRL1 transfer their L1 Greek pragmatic patterns to L2 English when performing requests?

One of the RQs of the present study aimed to examine whether Greek speakers of L2 English are affected by CLI and transfer their requestive patterns from L1 to L2 or are pragmatically competent when they perform the speech act of request in the target language. A DCT was designed with 12 request scenarios, in which the informants were asked to complete the missing part of a dialogue. On the one hand, as shown, Greek speakers of English, who

generally favour directness in their L1, demonstrated a disposition towards conventional indirectness in their L2 English. It seems that their pragmatic competence on that level is achieved, at least at acquired intermediate and proficient levels of the L2. However, considering that their preferences were situated with specific requestive structures, which are also available in their L1 Greek (i.e. *can I/you* or *could I/you*), it is possible that they exhibited positive transfer; either they were facilitated by the commonalities in the two languages, or they overused L2 familiar patterns.

On the other hand, GRL1-GR, who have never visited England or had any contact with the target culture, displayed directness in their requestive performance in scenarios, where either the P of the S over the H was high or factors other than P, D and R were at play (i.e. fairness). Perhaps the context of the situations triggered their L1 Greek pragmatic considerations of directness and exhibited negative transfer by dismissing conventional indirectness. Moreover, both GRL1-GR and GRL1-EN, who have lived in England for at least six months, demonstrated an overuse of request modification, either with grounders or the politeness marker *please*. The former implies negative transfer, as Greeks tend to offer more excuses or reasons than the English, whereas the latter shows adjustment, and with noticeable intensity. In the same token, hearer orientation was also overused, potentially signalling negative transfer from L1 Greek, albeit the native English speakers showed a similar, contradictive to former research, tendency in the present study. These findings add value to the existing literature of research in CLI (Takahashi, 1992; Hartford & Bardovi-Harlig, 1996; Suh, 1999; Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2008, 2009; Zegarac & Pennington, 2008; Bardovi-Harlig & Bastos, 2011; Tabatabaei & Samiee, 2013; Ogiermann & Bella, 2020, among others) and L2 acquisition (Kasper & Rose, 2002b; Taguchi, 2011, among others).



### 7.1.2 Research Question 2: Does L1 Greek affect GRL1's evaluations of politeness in L2 English requests?

With regard to politeness considerations, one of the four RQs of the study was set to examine if L1 Greek affects GRL1's evaluations of L2 English (im)polite requests. Two Likert scale evaluation tests of 12 request structures were designed, inquiring that the participants evaluate the level of politeness of the requests — in correlation with their level of (in)directness — on a scale from one (highly impolite) to five (highly polite). The statistical analysis detected that there are generally more differences in the evaluations between the native speakers and GRL1-GR, than the native speakers and GRL1-EN, or GRL1-GR and GRL1-EN. However, the evaluations of both GRL1-GR and GRL1-EN seemed to be affected by the use of their L1 Greek mitigation techniques (i.e. the adverb *ίσως/μήπως* 'might (be better if)') in MLD-marked scenarios; ENL1 judged them as impolite, whereas GRL1 as neutral, when R was high, or polite, when R was low. In the same line, suggestions were generally evaluated as neutral or impolite (in the +R scenario) by ENL1, but GRL1, and in particular GRL1-GR, generated evaluative scores closer to neutral or polite, potentially affected by traditional openings, such as *how about* 'τί λες/τί θα' λες (να)', that bear softening elements in L1 Greek. Directness, on the one hand, ascribed as a behavioural quality to GRL1, did not seem to affect GRL1-GR's judgement of politeness considerations, in the sense that they attributed impolite references to it, irrespective of their L1 Greek native patterns. Indirectness, on the other hand, and specifically conventionalised, was perceived as highly polite by both groups of Greek participants, indicating noticeable pragmatics adjustments to the target culture. It is possible that native speakers and GRL1 perceive politeness similarly, but the latter show an enhanced preference and seem overpolite in an effort to perform the speech act properly. Research in (im)politeness and L2 pragmatic competence, in particular with reference to CLI, can benefit from the findings of this part of

the present study (Taguchi, 2006; Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2010, 2011; Yu, 2011; Shahrokhi, 2012; Taguchi, 2017, among others).

7.1.3 Research Question 3: Is GRL1's length of residence in the target country a determinant variable in the performance of requests in L2 English?

Another RQ of the research project aimed to measure if length of residence in the target country has an effect on the requestive performance of GRL1 in their L2 English. Resuming on transferability, GRL1-GR, who are Greek speakers of English without any residence time in the target country, seemed to resort to their L1 requestive patterns of directness more often than GRL1-EN, who reside in the target country. In particular, GRL1-GR preferred directness when the S's power was higher than the H's, i.e. in the workplace scenarios. GRL1-EN also resorted to directness in these scenarios, but irrespective of the interlocutors' power relations. It seems that GRL1-EN adjust more to the conventional ways of requesting in English. Moreover, GRL1-EN favour conventionally structured hints more often than GRL1-GR, allowing us to assume that their perception of conventionality is more developed than GRL1-GR's due to their contact with the target culture.

Adding on length of residence in the target country, it seems that GRL1's requestive performance was also affected with regard to modification, as aforementioned. The extensive use of politeness markers and, in particular, of *please* indicates that both GRL1-EN and GRL1-GR were exposed to the norms of appropriate requesting conduct in English. However, GRL1-EN exhibited a marginally lower preference for *please*, resembling ENL1's attitude towards the marker (Syahri, 2013). On the same note, understaters were preferred by ENL1 and GRL1-EN on a similar level but were not preferred by GRL1-GR at all (Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2011), confirming that GRL1-EN's contact with the target culture has an effect on their adjustment to the norms of their L2 setting.

The effects of length of residence in the L2 country are furthermore supported by the results of the present study with reference to grounders. Indeed, both GRL1-GR and GRL1-EN used explanations, excuses and reasons to mitigate their requests more often than ENL1, yet GRL1-EN showed a softer tendency in comparison with GRL1-GR. Presumably, their contact with the target society helped them to adapt to the customs of their L2 setting more successfully than GRL1-GR, who were exposed to L2 English via teaching, albeit no experiential stimuli. In the same line, the wide use of the H's first name as an alerter by GRL1-EN, contrary to GRL1-GR, allows us to assume that length of residence played a pivotal role in this finding, too. Considering how important the *tu/vous* treatment is in Greek, GRL1-EN seemed to overcome their native customary pattern and adopt the L2 English approach to opening a request.

All the aforementioned findings add value to research in CLI and L2 acquisition, and in particular the speech act performance (requests) in the L2 setting (Le Pair, 1996; Pinto, 2005; Lin, 2009; Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2011; González-Cruz, 2014, among others). Moreover, the CSHN request category in particular, which arises from the data, contributes to Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989) framework of request categorisation with further insights on conventionality and (in)directness, potentially allowing for a broader interpretation of (in)directness in terms of politeness and FTAs.

7.1.4 Research Question 4: Are GRL1's judgements of politeness in L2 English requests affected by their length of residence in the target country?

The last question of the study aimed to investigate if length of stay in the target country affect GRL1's evaluations of polite requests. On the one hand, it seems that ENL1 and Greek speakers of English, who live in Greece, disagreed in their evaluation of high indirectness as polite. Their differences were equally divided between high and low-imposing requests. ENL1 did not show signs of unravelling the polite requestive force of the hints, whereas

GRL1-GR showed some signs, taken that they evaluated them closer to neutral. On the other hand, the comparison of ENL1 and Greek speakers of English, who reside in England, showed that the two groups differ less in the judgement of hinting as a requestive pattern, irrespective of the level of R of the two scenarios. GRL1-EN favoured conventional indirectness (i.e. *could/would you/I was wondering if*) more than any other group of participants, potentially showing a meaningful adjustment to the elements of pragmatic competence in their L2, notwithstanding the similar preference by GRL1-GR. However, regarding suggestions as requests, exposure to the target society did not seem to affect GRL1-EN positively, considering they mirrored more GRL1-GR's evaluations than ENL1's, exhibiting signs of transfer from L1 Greek, in particular in the highly imposing scenario of the Likert scale tests.

There were also differences between the two groups of Greek participants. They seemed to disagree on the evaluation of direct and highly indirect requests, with high-imposing requests extracting twice the amount of data than low-imposing, confirming that R is an influential factor in politeness evaluations for GRL1-GR. HLD-marked requests that are modified with softeners, such as *I'm afraid* 'φοβάμαι', were perceived by GRL1-GR as less impolite than by GRL1-EN. Similarly, but with the opposite results, LLD-marked requests, which are modified with aggravation, were judged as less impolite by GRL1-GR than by GRL1-EN. A possible explanation was that these judgements were activated as random effects in the study. Research in (im)politeness and (in)directness, L2 pragmatic acquisition, and transfer, can build upon the findings of the politeness judgements of the present research project (Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2010, 2011; Yu, 2011; Bella, 2011, 2012a, 2012b; González-Cruz, 2014; Taguchi, 2017; Ogiermann & Bella, 2020, among others).

## 7.2 Limitations

For the purpose of identifying underlying differences in the politeness patterns of L2 speakers when performing requests in the target language, the level of proficiency is advocated as one of the indicative parameters. It is argued that elementary level speakers, namely beginners, potentially perform requests in English less successfully than advanced level speakers, namely proficient (Lin, 2009; Bardovi-Harlig, 2009; Taguchi, 2011; Khalib & Tayeh, 2014). Even though the present study, which gathered information from higher education students in Greece and England, did not account for this particular factor, it aimed to compare the two groups of Greek speakers irrespective of their different level of proficiency in English for a number of reasons. Primarily, competence comprises of more elements than a proven level of proficiency. Obtaining a *CEFR* certificate does not necessarily secure the successful use of a second language, even if part of the test includes language in use activities, unless one has regularly practised it, or has been exposed to the target language society. For example, a B2-level Greek university student in England can possibly perform the speech act of request more successfully than a C2-level Greek university student in Greece. Likewise, cross-linguistic influence from L1 to L2 may be more apparent in the performance of proficient speakers, who have never lived in an English-speaking country, than in intermediate speakers who live, or have lived for some time, in the target culture. In that line, it was still feasible to compare the results of GRL1-GR, B1-B2-level, university students with their GRL1-EN, C1-C2-level, counterparts.

In addition, universities and technological educational institutes in Greece provide students of all disciplines with the option to study English as a second language, during their four, five, or six-year undergraduate studies. The level of proficiency is set to B2 for technological educational institutes and to C1 for university students, which immediately means that all students who attend English modules must show competence at these levels

in order to complete their course of study<sup>45</sup>. However, recruiting students with C1-C2 level of proficiency in English at the Technological Education Institute of Central Macedonia in Serres, Greece, was intricate. On the same note, the university language policy for international students in England specifically indicates that non-native prospective students, who wish to enrol, should at least present a B1-B2 level of proficiency proof of language. This means that Greek university students in the UK should fall at least under this category. However, none of the Greek participants in England showed a proficiency level in English lower than C1-C2.

With regard to the population sample, the researcher acknowledges that university students are a targeted audience and, therefore, the findings of the present study might not be generalised to other social groups. However, this choice of participants for the study made the process of gathering and comparing the data of the three different groups feasible due to their demographic homogeneity.

The speech act of request in the L2 setting and transfer from L1 to L2 was examined with the help of the DCT. The written DCT indeed extracts more refined responses than natural occurring speech, yet the plethora of studies, which have used and still use this particular research tool, make data from different studies – and therefore the present research project – comparable. Moreover, the purpose of providing scenarios was precisely to help the participants reflect on the social situation and give the response they would opt for if they were in them. Nevertheless, research can benefit from triangulation, namely the combination of at least three research tools, such as oral or written DCTs, Likert scale tests, observation and field notes, role plays, prior and post-questionnaire interviews, and recordings.

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<sup>45</sup> It is not unlikely to encounter students of lower level of proficiency in English than B2. They generally prefer attending other language courses, such as French, Italian, German, or Spanish, in which the proficiency level is not set.

For the investigation of factors that might affect transferability from L1 to L2, the sociological variables of P, D and R are the target of a long-lasting and ongoing debate due to their intricate nature. There are different perceptions and definitions (Holtgraves, 1986; Slugoski & Turnbull, 1988; Kasper, 1990; Wood & Kroger, 1991; Spencer-Oatey, 1996, among others) of what constitutes each one of the three, eroding their dynamics. Nonetheless, they are still powerful and present in discourse and clarity in how they are defined in each research endeavour suffices to account for them.

The correlation of (in)directness and politeness, which was measured with the help of the Likert scale tests, could also be examined qualitatively in a variety of contexts (Terkourafi, 2012), or on a propositional level (Kecskes, 2015), in an attempt to factor in extra-linguistic and para-linguistics elements as well. However, the exploratory nature of the project aimed to extract quantifiable results, in order to highlight numerically the significant socio-pragmatic and pragma-linguistic differences of GRL1's perception of politeness in and outside their L1 and L2 setting.

The grouping of the 12 different levels of (in)direct requests of the Likert scale tests in HLD, MLD, and LLD for presentational reasons generated some complexities. Even though the employed request strategies followed a somewhat modified categorisation from the original request categories of the CCSARP framework (DR, CIR, NCIR), the results of the omnibus analyses would have been more robust if the 12 different levels of (in)directness had been treated separately. Therefore, the three-way mixed ANOVA design would have accounted for the variables as they were originally conceived: 3 x 12 x 2 (group × directness × imposition). Had it been done so, the need to run the one-sample *t*-tests would have also been unnecessary.

### 7.3 Future Recommendations

The challenges of L2 learning with regard to L2 competence are addressed widely by research in pragmatics, from applied linguistics to cognitive linguistics and psycholinguistics. The level of proficiency holds a prominent position in pragmatic research as a crucial point of departure to evaluate and validate one's L2 competence. It would be beneficial for L2 pragmatic research to extend the present research towards this direction and investigate how this particular factor affects GRL1 speakers of English L2. The comparison of the results with studies that discuss the significance of proficiency in other language pairs (Takahashi, 1996; Bardovi-Harlig, 2009; Bardovi-Harlig & Bastos, 2011; Bou Franch, 2012; Li, 2014) would add more value to the field. English as Lingua Franca constitutes a suitable and useful language counterpart for comparisons in L2 pragmatics, yet there are other language pairs, potentially less broadly used but equally influential, that would contribute to the field with additional insights about competence.

Pragmatic competence is also a significant factor of analysis in bilingualism and multilingualism. Findings on the interplay of languages in the speakers' mind could prove advantageous for L2 research, considering L2 speakers activate more or less both L1 and L2 when interacting in the L2 setting. Even though the present study focuses on the pragmatic value of the speech act of request, there are other speech acts, such as refusals (Félix-Brasdefer, 2008; Bella, 2012a), apologies (Koutsantoni, 2007; Saldago, 2011), or thanking (Bardovi-Harlig, Rose & Nickels, 2008; Rüegg, 2014). Their investigation would add valuable input in L2 pragmatic research.

Considering that specific mitigation strategies, such as negation, are not attested in the data of the present study by the GRL1, or that S-oriented requests in certain scenarios are preferred by GRL1 contrary to ENL1's choice (Ogiermann & Bella, 2020), a closer investigation on L2 language teaching in terms of intensity would be useful for future reference. Evaluative research in teaching skills would prove valuable for L2 learners'



competence. Moreover, learners are speakers on all social settings, so population samples from various interactional environments, such as the workplace, the formal academic setting of scholars, medical environment, and so on, will add value to research in CLI, speech acts and (im)politeness. In addition, individual differences in these environments, such as age or gender, can also add value to the L2 research on pragmatic competence (Kasper & Rose, 2002b; L1, 2014).

Reversing the process of the present study and looking into how ENL1 learners of Greek perform the speech act of request in their L2 Greek would provide further insights on the same language pair (Bella, 2012; Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2012). The results of the two studies can be compared, to detect how the learning process is achieved on a pragmatic level for the learners of L2 Greek and the learners of L2 English. With regard to the L2 learning, acquisition, and teaching setting, textbooks should teach pragmatics and metapragmatics (Kasper & Rose, 2002a), i.e. politeness patterns in context.

On another note, reverse transfer (transfer from L2 to L1) would provide very interesting insights on CLI into L2 research (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; Moattarian, 2013), and in particular on pragmatic competence. As already discussed, pragmatic awareness and competence are hard to achieve in an L2, yet research shows that exposure to the target L2 culture eventually affects the L1 production (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008).

Politeness research is a vibrant research field within pragmatics, interlanguage pragmatics, and cross-cultural pragmatics. Speech acts are still, and will be, in the centre of the attention, as an integral part of the communication process, both linguistically and culturally. Since the two-thousands, more discourse-oriented approaches are arising, extending the research interest beyond utterances, sentences and propositions. Other frameworks of analysis can be employed to extract answers of how politeness considerations are formulated and used in the L2 setting (Spencer-Oatey, 2002; Watts, 2003; Mills, 2003; Terkourafi, 2005b; Culpeper, 2011; Kádár & Haugh, 2013, among others). However,

acquiring the pragmatics and meta-pragmatics of the notion is a process that brings together various fields of expertise, such as linguistics, psychology, sociology, or anthropology. They are all influential in adding valuable input in current research issues, potentially enlightening aspects of (im)polite communication that have scarcely weighted in.

Unquestionably, the scope of the present study can only extend to the areas that has explored, yet the suggestions, which have emerged from it, could unravel insightful features for research on CLI and pragmatic competence, in particular with considerations of (im)politeness. The contribution of the project to the existing literature with the comparison of English as an L2 and Greek as an L1 illuminates the intricate area of interlanguage pragmatics, offering another pair of comparable languages in cross-cultural communication and extending recent research (Bella, 2012; Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2012). The speech act of request, although widely examined, still invokes questions regarding performance, in particular with reference to the sociological variables of P, D and R, yet the present project highlights the significance of research towards this particular direction. Moreover, even though length of residence is an understudied affecting factor of pragmatic competence, it certainly holds a prominent position in the current research endeavour, being the defining element of comparison of the two groups of the Greek participants. Given all the above, politeness as a linguistic act and a cultural norm is, once more, in the centre of the investigation, confirming that language learning and cultural awareness are, and should be, intertwined.

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## Appendices

### Appendix I

#### Brown & Levinson's Politeness Strategies with examples

Brown & Levinson's Positive Politeness strategies		
Claim "common ground"	Convey that S and H are co-operators	Fulfil H's want (for some X)
1. Notice, attend to H (his interests, wants needs, goods)	9. Assert or presuppose S's knowledge of and concern for H's wants	15. Give gifts to H (goods, sympathy, understanding, cooperation)
2. Exaggerate (interest, approval, sympathy with H)	10. Offer, promise	
3. Intensify interest to H	11. Be optimistic	
4. Use in-group identity markers	12. Include both S and H in the activity	
5. Seek agreement	13. Give (or ask for) reasons	
6. Avoid disagreement	14. Assume or assert reciprocity	
7. Presuppose/raise/assert common ground		
8. Joke		

Examples of Brown & Levinson's Positive Politeness strategies		
Claim "common ground"	Convey that S and H are co-operators	Fulfil H's want (for some X)
1. <i>Look at you, Jane! Great haircut! By the way, can you spare me a pen?</i>	9. <i>'I know you hate this, but can I borrow a pen, Jane?'</i>	15. <i>'I'll buy you a coffee if you lend me a pen.'</i>
2. <i>'Oh my God, Jane!! You look super-duper amazing! Any pen for me by the way?'</i>	10. <i>'I promise I won't ask again, but a pen for me...?'</i>	

3. <i>'So, I open my pencil case, and what do I see? No pen ... Do you have any?'</i>	11. <i>'You'll lend me a pen, I hope.'</i>	
4. <i>'Jane, lovey, do you have a pen to borrow?'</i>	12. <i>'Do us a favour and lend me a pen, Jane!'</i>	
5. <i>'Hey Jane, lovely weather today, don't you think? Listen, can I borrow a pen from you?'</i>	13. <i>'Why not lend me a pen?'</i>	
6. <i>'No, I'm okay with pencils. I only need a pen.'</i>	14. <i>'You'll lend me a pen, won't you?'</i>	
7. <i>'Did you know that Mike got promoted? Do you have a pen to write his new contact details down?'</i>		
8. <i>'Jane, do you happen to have an extra pen? It's not like you don't know me, is it?'</i>		

Brown & Levinson's Negative Politeness strategies				
Be direct	Don't presume/ assume	Don't coerce H (where X involves H doing A) (both 1. and 2. are included here, too)	Communicate S's want to not impinge on H	Redress other wants of H's, derivative from negative face
1. Be conventionally indirect	2. Question, hedge	3. Be pessimistic	6. Apologise	10. Go on record as incurring a debt, or as not indebted H
		4. Minimize the imposition	7. Impersonalize S and H: Avoid the pronouns "I" and "you"	
		5. Give deference	8. State the FTA as a general rule	

			9. Nominalize	
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Examples of Brown & Levinson's Negative Politeness strategies				
Be direct	Don't presume/assume me	Don't coerce H (where X involves H doing A) (both 1. and 2. are included here, too)	Communicate S's want to not impinge on H	Redress other wants of H's, derivative from negative face
1. <i>'Could you please lend me a pen, Jane?'</i>	2. <i>'I'd kind of like to borrow a pen from you, Jane.'</i>	3. <i>'You wouldn't lend me a pen, Jane, would you?'</i>	6. <i>'I'm sorry to ask, but can I borrow a pen from you, Jane?'</i>	10. <i>'You don't have to lend me a pen if you don't want to, Jane.'</i>
		4. <i>'A pen is not much to ask, is it, Jane?'</i>	7. <i>'Any pens around here?'</i>	
		5. <i>'I'm so stupid I forgot my pen again, Jane. Can I borrow yours?'</i>	8. <i>'It's not right to ask, but can I borrow your pen, Jane?'</i>	
			9. <i>'Is borrowing a pen from you ok, Jane?'</i>	

## Appendix II

### Textbooks of Teaching English as an L2

- i. Cunningham, S.; Moor, P.; (with Comyns – Carr, J.). (2005). *Cutting Edge Pre-Intermediate*. Longman.
- ii. Grant, D.; McLarty, R. (2006). *Business Basics International Edition*. Oxford University Press

- iii. Clandfield, L. et al. (2010). *Global Elementary*. Macmillan Education.
- iv. Clandfield, L. et al. (2010). *Global Pre-Intermediate*. Macmillan Education.
- v. Hughes, J.; Stephenson, H.; Dummett, P. (2014). *Life elementary*. National Geographic Learning.

### Appendix III

#### Blum-Kulka et al.'s Request Categorisation

All examples are taken from the results of the present study:

Descriptive category	Examples
1. Mood Derivable	Yes, come in and close the door please.
2. Performative	I'm asking you to borrow your stapler.
3. Hedged Performative	... I know that you like dogs and I would like to ask you if you could look after my dog.
4. Obligation Statement	Unfortunately, we must rearrange your holidays because we need you here!
5. Want Statement	It's about your holidays. I want to rearrange your plans because I need you here, in the company.
6. Suggestory Formulae	How about a discount?
7. Query Preparatory	I hate to be asking you this, but is there any possibility you could lend me £2000?
8. Strong Hints (A)	I kind of need your help next week. Can you?
9. Mild Hints (B)	Can we do something about the sound volume?

### Appendix IV

#### The Questionnaire

Part I

The DCT

Situations of Part I of the questionnaire:

**1) Neighbour's house:** It is one o'clock in the morning and you're trying to sleep, but Thomas, your 18-year-old neighbour, whom you don't know very well, is playing music too loud. You knock on his door and ask him to turn it down.

*Thomas: Yes? How can I help you?*

*You:* \_\_\_\_\_

**2) On the street:** You are lost in Amsterdam, trying to find Anne Frank's house. You see a policewoman and ask her for directions.

*You:* \_\_\_\_\_

*Policewoman: Ok, you turn left over there and you go straight down Prinsengracht. The house is on number 263-267.*

**3) Train station:** You're at the train station and you've just missed your train. You don't have the money for another ticket. You go to the counter and ask the male assistant if it's possible to have one for free.

*Male assistant: Can I help you?*

*You:* \_\_\_\_\_

**4) Coffee shop:** You're the owner of a coffee shop and you want to talk to Mark, one of your employees. He walks into your office and you ask him to close the door, so you can have some privacy.

*Mark: You wanted to see me?*

*You:* \_\_\_\_\_

**5) University campus:** You are taking a break in the student lounge. A friend comes by and gets himself/herself a cup of coffee from the free machine coffee. He/She asks if you'd like one, but you refuse the offer.

*Friend: Hey, you want some coffee?*

*You:* \_\_\_\_\_

**6) At home:** You're in a very difficult financial situation and you need to borrow some money urgently. You ask one of your best friends, Mary, for £2,000.

*Mary: So, what did you want to talk to me about?*

*You:* \_\_\_\_\_

**7) At work:** You can't find your stapler and there's no one at the office except your boss, Peter Brown. You knock on his door and ask for his.

*Peter Brown: Come in!*

*You:* \_\_\_\_\_

**8) Bus station:** You're at the bus station and you arrive too late to catch the bus. You go to the counter and ask the female assistant if you are allowed to use the same ticket for the next service.

*Female assistant: Can I help you?*

*You:* \_\_\_\_\_

**9) On the phone:** You want to buy a kitchen table from a very expensive store. You call John Woods, the manager of the store, and ask him for a discount.

*John Woods: Yes, it is indeed an expensive table. You see, its quality is one of a kind.*

*You:* \_\_\_\_\_

*John Woods: Err, I suppose I could give you 15%. Would that be ok?*

**10) University campus:** You are walking on campus. A friend invites you to come to a party at his/her house the following Sunday, but you cannot go, so you refuse his/her invitation.

*Friend: Hi. We are having a little party this Sunday? Do you want to come?*

*You: \_\_\_\_\_*

**11) Neighbour's house:** You're planning on going away for the weekend, but you can't take your dog with you. You knock on your neighbour's door, Kate White, who is new at the building and in her middle 60's, to ask her to look after it.

*Kate White: Yes? What can I do for you?*

*You: \_\_\_\_\_*

**12) Office:** You're a manager in a company and you need Helen's help, who is your employee, during the weeks she is due to be on holiday. You ask her to rearrange her plans.

*Helen: You wanted to see me. Is there anything I can do for you?*

*You: \_\_\_\_\_*

**13) Car park machine:** You're at the car park machine with your friend Jack and you realise you don't have the coins for the car park fee. You ask him for £2.

*You: Oh no! It's £2 for the car park and I only have a credit card.*

*Jack: So what's the problem? Oh, the machine takes coins.*

*You: \_\_\_\_\_*

**14) At work:** You've worked for 2 years in the same company and you think it's time you deserve a pay raise. You have a meeting with your boss, Carol Smith, and ask her for it.



Carol Smith: *So, what is it that you wanted to discuss with me?*

You: \_\_\_\_\_

Part II

The Likert scale tests

Evaluation of politeness, Part II of the questionnaire:



**Asking your new neighbour, Thomas,  
to turn the music down**

**Impolite**

**Polite**

	1	2	3	4	5
<b>A.</b> Could you turn the music down?	1	2	3	4	5
<b>B.</b> Might be better if you turned the music down.	1	2	3	4	5
<b>C.</b> Turn the music down or I'll call the police.	1	2	3	4	5
<b>D.</b> I'd like you to turn the music down.	1	2	3	4	5
<b>E.</b> How about turning the music down?	1	2	3	4	5
<b>F.</b> I'm afraid you'll have to turn the music down.	1	2	3	4	5
<b>G.</b> I was wondering if you could turn the music down.	1	2	3	4	5
<b>H.</b> Would you please turn the music down?	1	2	3	4	5
<b>I.</b> Please turn the music down.	1	2	3	4	5

<b>J.</b> Turn the music down, mate!	1	2	3	4	5
<b>K.</b> Our apartments share some pretty thin walls, don't they?	1	2	3	4	5
<b>L.</b> Do we have to put up with your loud music?	1	2	3	4	5

**Asking your new neighbour, Kate**

**White, to look after your dog during the weekend**                      **Impolite**    **Polite**

<b>A.</b> Could you look after my dog during the weekend?	1	2	3	4	5
<b>B.</b> Might be better for me if you looked after my dog during the weekend.	1	2	3	4	5
<b>C.</b> Look after my dog during the weekend or I'll make your life difficult.	1	2	3	4	5
<b>D.</b> I'd like you to look after my dog during the weekend.	1	2	3	4	5
<b>E.</b> How about looking after my dog during the weekend?	1	2	3	4	5
<b>F.</b> I'm afraid you'll have to look after my dog during the weekend.	1	2	3	4	5
<b>G.</b> I was wondering if you could look after my dog during the weekend.	1	2	3	4	5
<b>H.</b> Would you please look after my dog during the weekend?	1	2	3	4	5

<b>I.</b> Please look after my dog during the weekend.	1	2	3	4	5
<b>J.</b> Look after my dog during the weekend, woman!	1	2	3	4	5
<b>K.</b> You love dogs, don't you?	1	2	3	4	5
<b>L.</b> Do we have to beg you to look after our dog during the weekend?	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix V

Ethical Approval Consent Form

**CONSENT FORM**

Researcher: Maria Tsimpiri

Institute: University of East Anglia, United Kingdom

The purpose of this study is to get an indication on how people perform linguistically when in certain circumstances. In the study, you will be asked to complete a discourse completion test and two rating scale tasks. Your participation in this study will take about 20 minutes. If you have any questions about the study, they will be answered for you.

Your participation in this study is purely voluntary, and you may withdraw your participation or your data at any time without any penalty to you.

Your data will be kept completely confidential by the researcher. Your personal information will not be stored with the data.

If you have any questions, you can contact: [M.Tsimpiri@uea.ac.uk](mailto:M.Tsimpiri@uea.ac.uk)

**I have read the description of this study, my questions have been answered, and I give my consent to participate.**

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

## Letter of Ethics Approval



Name  
Politics, Philosophy, Language and Communication Studies  
UEA

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17 July 2015

Dear Maria,

I am writing to you on behalf of Professor Peter Kitson, Chair of the General Research Ethics Committee, in response to your submission of an application for ethical approval for your study 'Politeness and Cross-linguistic Influence: Requests in English and in Greek'.

Having considered the information that you have provided in your correspondence Professor Kitson has asked me to tell you that your study has been approved on behalf of the Committee.

You should let us know if there are any significant changes to the proposal which raise any further ethical issues.

Please let us have a brief final report to confirm the research has been completed.

Yours sincerely

**Christina Jones**  
**Administrative Assistant**  
Research and Enterprise Services East Office  
University of East Anglia  
Norwich Research Park  
Norwich NR4 7TJ  
Email: [GREC@uea.ac.uk](mailto:GREC@uea.ac.uk)

Appendix VI

Correlations table

	I1	I2	I3	I4	I5	I6	I7	I8	I9	I10	I11	I12	I13	I14	I15	I16	I17	I18	I19	I20	I21	I22	I23	I24	GROUPS	
I1	Pearson Correlation	1	.292**	.187*	.061	.091	-.027	.136	.161*	.185*	.006	.014	.014	.369**	.091	.211**	.066	-.075	-.030	.152	.038	-.017	.033	-.049	-.002	-.082
	Sig. (2- tailed)		.000	.022	.458	.269	.739	.096	.049	.024	.939	.860	.868	.000	.269	.009	.424	.359	.719	.063	.643	.832	.692	.552	.984	.316
	N	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150
I2	Pearson Correlation	.292**	1	.115	.287**	.221**	.212**	.103	.077	.011	-.110	.116	.178*	.203*	.397**	.143	.104	.057	.055	.018	-.014	-.001	.025	-.051	.159	-.379**
	Sig. (2- tailed)	.000		.160	.000	.007	.009	.209	.349	.896	.181	.158	.029	.013	.000	.080	.205	.486	.503	.827	.863	.986	.759	.536	.051	.000
	N	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150
I3	Pearson Correlation	.187*	.115	1	.134	.158	.206*	-.105	-.108	.118	.223**	.049	.405**	.123	.045	.470**	.084	-.058	.186*	-.127	-.156	.095	.493**	-.008	.258**	-.136
	Sig. (2- tailed)	.022	.160		.101	.054	.012	.201	.188	.149	.006	.551	.000	.135	.588	.000	.304	.478	.022	.122	.057	.246	.000	.925	.001	.096
	N	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150
I4	Pearson Correlation	.061	.287**	.134	1	.327**	.218**	.160*	.165*	.190*	.099	.023	.182*	.150	.180*	.081	.352**	.205*	.100	.175*	.216**	.235**	.039	.120	.082	-.074
	Sig. (2- tailed)	.458	.000	.101		.000	.007	.050	.044	.020	.226	.778	.026	.067	.027	.323	.000	.012	.225	.033	.008	.004	.633	.143	.318	.368
	N	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150
I5	Pearson Correlation	.091	.221**	.158	.327**	1	.169*	.223**	.168*	.087	.063	.274**	.215**	.071	.034	.167*	.143	.335**	.152	.141	.071	.077	.085	.238**	.183*	-.087

	Sig. (2-tailed)	.269	.007	.054	.000		.039	.006	.040	.290	.446	.001	.008	.390	.675	.042	.081	.000	.063	.086	.389	.349	.304	.003	.025	.287
	N	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150
I6	Pearson Correlation	-.027	.212**	.206*	.218**	.169*	1	.053	-.052	.076	.120	-.018	.126	.013	.162*	.027	.147	.077	.404**	-.029	.040	.083	.039	.036	.186*	-.017
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.739	.009	.012	.007	.039		.522	.523	.352	.144	.831	.124	.875	.048	.742	.072	.352	.000	.726	.625	.311	.634	.659	.023	.841
	N	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150
I7	Pearson Correlation	.136	.103	-.105	.160*	.223**	.053	1	.391**	.226**	.059	.211**	-.125	.100	-.046	-.076	.117	.078	-.039	.491**	.180*	-.032	-.046	.077	-.184*	.051
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.096	.209	.201	.050	.006	.522		.000	.005	.471	.010	.128	.223	.577	.355	.153	.345	.637	.000	.027	.696	.576	.350	.024	.532
	N	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150
I8	Pearson Correlation	.161*	.077	-.108	.165*	.168*	-.052	.391**	1	.410**	.110	.000	-.189*	.237**	.030	-.134	.202*	.082	-.030	.326**	.510**	.240**	-.177*	.064	-.091	-.011
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.049	.349	.188	.044	.040	.523	.000		.000	.182	1.000	.020	.004	.717	.101	.013	.319	.719	.000	.000	.003	.031	.434	.270	.898
	N	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150
I9	Pearson Correlation	.185*	.011	.118	.190*	.087	.076	.226**	.410**	1	.290**	-.034	.125	.217**	-.135	.090	.133	.041	.131	.201*	.326**	.564**	-.024	.095	.005	.190*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.024	.896	.149	.020	.290	.352	.005	.000		.000	.676	.128	.008	.099	.271	.105	.618	.111	.013	.000	.000	.772	.246	.947	.020
	N	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150
I10	Pearson Correlation	.006	-.110	.223**	.099	.063	.120	.059	.110	.290**	1	.030	.103	.029	-.133	.084	.137	-.039	.021	.023	.008	.201*	.217**	.124	-.068	.216**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.939	.181	.006	.226	.446	.144	.471	.182	.000		.718	.208	.725	.105	.307	.095	.633	.796	.782	.923	.014	.008	.132	.408	.008
	N	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150
I11	Pearson Correlation	.014	.116	.049	.023	.274**	-.018	.211**	.000	-.034	.030	1	.168*	.052	-.031	.061	.013	.245**	.014	.197*	.071	-.074	.090	.493**	.029	-.134

	Sig. (2-tailed)	.860	.158	.551	.778	.001	.831	.010	1.000	.676	.718		.040	.526	.710	.456	.870	.003	.864	.016	.387	.367	.276	.000	.727	.102
	N	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150
I12	Pearson Correlation	.014	.178*	.405**	.182*	.215**	.126	-.125	-.189*	.125	.103	.168*	1	.025	.223**	.473**	.242**	.264**	.280**	-.065	-.134	.128	.446**	.163*	.479**	-.315**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.868	.029	.000	.026	.008	.124	.128	.020	.128	.208	.040		.759	.006	.000	.003	.001	.001	.433	.103	.119	.000	.046	.000	.000
	N	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150
I13	Pearson Correlation	.369**	.203*	.123	.150	.071	.013	.100	.237**	.217**	.029	.052	.025	1	.216**	.109	.119	.014	.086	.290**	.370**	.173*	.078	.038	.093	-.182*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.013	.135	.067	.390	.875	.223	.004	.008	.725	.526	.759		.008	.186	.146	.863	.293	.000	.000	.034	.344	.647	.256	.026
	N	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150
I14	Pearson Correlation	.091	.397**	.045	.180*	.034	.162*	-.046	.030	-.135	-.133	-.031	.223**	.216**	1	.213**	.309**	.181*	.323**	-.035	.092	-.004	.136	.067	.288**	-.577**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.269	.000	.588	.027	.675	.048	.577	.717	.099	.105	.710	.006	.008		.009	.000	.027	.000	.667	.261	.961	.096	.417	.000	.000
	N	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150
I15	Pearson Correlation	.211**	.143	.470**	.081	.167*	.027	-.076	-.134	.090	.084	.061	.473**	.109	.213**	1	.312**	.086	.230**	-.070	-.157	.018	.569**	-.009	.310**	-.282**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.009	.080	.000	.323	.042	.742	.355	.101	.271	.307	.456	.000	.186	.009		.000	.298	.005	.397	.056	.831	.000	.911	.000	.000
	N	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150
I16	Pearson Correlation	.066	.104	.084	.352**	.143	.147	.117	.202*	.133	.137	.013	.242**	.119	.309**	.312**	1	.385**	.294**	.249**	.177*	.213**	.335**	.136	.181*	-.280**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.424	.205	.304	.000	.081	.072	.153	.013	.105	.095	.870	.003	.146	.000	.000		.000	.000	.002	.030	.009	.000	.098	.026	.001
	N	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150
I17	Pearson Correlation	-.075	.057	-.058	.205*	.335**	.077	.078	.082	.041	-.039	.245**	.264**	.014	.181*	.086	.385**	1	.231**	.227**	.104	.109	.051	.320**	.201*	-.181*

	Sig. (2-tailed)	.359	.486	.478	.012	.000	.352	.345	.319	.618	.633	.003	.001	.863	.027	.298	.000		.004	.005	.204	.183	.533	.000	.014	.027
	N	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150
I18	Pearson Correlation	-.030	.055	.186*	.100	.152	.404**	-.039	-.030	.131	.021	.014	.280**	.086	.323**	.230**	.294**	.231**	1	-.079	.126	.160*	.287**	.111	.294**	-.177*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.719	.503	.022	.225	.063	.000	.637	.719	.111	.796	.864	.001	.293	.000	.005	.000	.004		.339	.125	.050	.000	.177	.000	.030
	N	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150
I19	Pearson Correlation	.152	.018	-.127	.175*	.141	-.029	.491**	.326**	.201*	.023	.197*	-.065	.290**	-.035	-.070	.249**	.227**	-.079	1	.460**	.036	-.089	.131	-.090	-.043
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.063	.827	.122	.033	.086	.726	.000	.000	.013	.782	.016	.433	.000	.667	.397	.002	.005	.339		.000	.658	.277	.109	.273	.606
	N	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150
I20	Pearson Correlation	.038	-.014	-.156	.216**	.071	.040	.180*	.510**	.326**	.008	.071	-.134	.370**	.092	-.157	.177*	.104	.126	.460**	1	.393**	-.150	.157	.054	-.033
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.643	.863	.057	.008	.389	.625	.027	.000	.000	.923	.387	.103	.000	.261	.056	.030	.204	.125	.000		.000	.068	.055	.508	.689
	N	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150
I21	Pearson Correlation	-.017	-.001	.095	.235**	.077	.083	-.032	.240**	.564**	.201*	-.074	.128	.173*	-.004	.018	.213**	.109	.160*	.036	.393**	1	.066	.154	.139	.042
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.832	.986	.246	.004	.349	.311	.696	.003	.000	.014	.367	.119	.034	.961	.831	.009	.183	.050	.658	.000		.420	.059	.090	.609
	N	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150
I22	Pearson Correlation	.033	.025	.493**	.039	.085	.039	-.046	-.177*	-.024	.217**	.090	.446**	.078	.136	.569**	.335**	.051	.287**	-.089	-.150	.066	1	.012	.369**	-.302**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.692	.759	.000	.633	.304	.634	.576	.031	.772	.008	.276	.000	.344	.096	.000	.000	.533	.000	.277	.068	.420		.888	.000	.000
	N	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150
I23	Pearson Correlation	-.049	-.051	-.008	.120	.238**	.036	.077	.064	.095	.124	.493**	.163*	.038	.067	-.009	.136	.320**	.111	.131	.157	.154	.012	1	.043	.081



	Sig. (2-tailed)	.552	.536	.925	.143	.003	.659	.350	.434	.246	.132	.000	.046	.647	.417	.911	.098	.000	.177	.109	.055	.059	.888		.602	.323	
	N	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150
I24	Pearson Correlation	-.002	.159	.258**	.082	.183*	.186*	-.184*	-.091	.005	-.068	.029	.479**	.093	.288**	.310**	.181*	.201*	.294**	-.090	.054	.139	.369**	.043	1	-.343**	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.984	.051	.001	.318	.025	.023	.024	.270	.947	.408	.727	.000	.256	.000	.000	.026	.014	.000	.273	.508	.090	.000	.602		.000	
	N	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150
GROUPS	Pearson Correlation	-.082	-.379**	-.136	-.074	-.087	-.017	.051	-.011	.190*	.216**	-.134	-.315**	-.182*	-.577**	-.282**	-.280**	-.181*	-.177*	-.043	-.033	.042	-.302**	.081	-.343**	1	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.316	.000	.096	.368	.287	.841	.532	.898	.020	.008	.102	.000	.026	.000	.000	.001	.027	.030	.606	.689	.609	.000	.323	.000		
	N	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150

Appendix VII

Robustness Checks for one-way ANOVA

Kruskal-Wallis Results for I1-I24		
Item Name	Chi-squared	P-value
I1. Could you turn the music down?	2.478	0.2896
I2. Might be better if you turned the music down.	21.136	0.0001
I3. Turn the music down or I'll call the police.	3.777	0.1513
I4. I'd like you to turn the music down.	1.005	0.6049
I5. How about turning the music down?	2.810	0.2454
I6. I'm afraid you'll have to turn the music down.	1.192	0.5509
I7. I was wondering if you could turn the music down.	2.838	0.2420
I8. Would you please turn the music down?	0.633	0.7286
I9. Please turn the music down.	7.771	0.0205
I10. Turn the music down, mate!	9.179	0.0102
I11. Our apartments share some pretty thin walls, don't they?	2.556	0.2785
I12. Do we have to put up with your loud music?	21.514	0.0001
I13. Could you look after my dog during the weekend?	5.279	0.0714
I14. Might be better for me if you looked after my dog during the weekend.	50.097	0.0001
I15. Look after my dog during the weekend or I'll make your life difficult.	17.619	0.0001
I16. I'd like you to look after my dog during the weekend.	10.515	0.0052
I17. How about looking after my dog during the weekend?	6.906	0.0317
I18. I'm afraid you'll have to look after my dog during the weekend.	11.662	0.0029
I19. I was wondering if you could look after my dog during the weekend.	11.232	0.0036
I20. Would you please look after my dog during the weekend?	3.580	0.1670
I21. Please look after my dog during the weekend.	1.222	0.5428
I22. Look after my dog during the weekend, woman!	20.942	0.0001
I23. You love dogs, don't you?	1.234	0.5395
I24. Do we have to beg you to look after our dog during the weekend?	31.131	0.0001

Ordinal Probit Regression for 12 Pairs of Items										
Item name	LR	ENL 1 vs. GRL 1-EN	ENL 1 vs. GRL 1-GR	GRL 1-EN vs. GRL 1-GR	Item name	LR	ENL 1 vs. GRL 1-EN	ENL 1 vs. GRL 1-GR	GRL 1-EN vs. GRL 1-GR	Rho
I1	2.49	-1.54	-1.06	0.49	I13	5.28*	-1.62	-2.22*	-0.61	0.40526**

I2	22.46 ***	- 2.61* **	- 4.70* **	- 2.23* *	I14	57.37 ***	- 4.73* **	- 7.36* **	- 3.25* **	0.238690 5***
I3	5.14*	0.92	-1.34	- 2.21* *	I15	20.15 ***	0.02	- 2.76* **	-0.03	0.662680 4***
I4	1.11	-0.94	-0.88	-0.07	I16	12.43 ***	- 1.89* **	- 3.50* **	- 1.68* **	0.389229 ***
I5	2.06	0.37	-1.02	-1.39	I17	6.19* *	-0.08	- 2.19* *	- 2.12* *	0.351345 6***
I6	1.47	0.90	-0.25	-1.15	I18	12.57 ***	1.46	- 2.11* *	- 3.49* **	0.457807 1***
I7	2.46	-1.27	0.19	1.44	I19	11.74 ***	- 3.22* **	-0.58	2.66* **	0.644373 3***
I8	0.29	-0.49	-0.42	0.07	I20	3.79	- 1.74* **	-0.11	1.65* **	0.664193 8***
I9	7.67* *	2.47* *	2.33* *	-0.14	I21	1.20	1.09	0.51	-0.58	0.620388 8***
I10	8.03* *	2.13* *	2.65* **	0.54	I22	21.00 ***	-0.57	- 3.31* **	- 3.20* **	0.498922 7***
I11	2.92	-1.07	- 1.69* **	-0.63	I23	1.09	0.26	1.01	0.74	0.558827 3***
I12	24.16 ***	1.80*	- 3.14* **	- 4.69* **	I24	35.14 ***	1.98* *	- 3.93* **	- 5.51* **	0.438408 3***

## Appendix VIII

One-way repeated measures ANOVA for similarity of items

	<i>F</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
HLDmusic-Groups	2.388	0.028
MLDmusic-Groups	3.309	0.003
LLDmusic-Groups	4.412	0.000
HLDdog-Groups	2.054	0.057
MLDdog-Groups	7.645	0.000

LLDdog-Groups	11.382	0.000
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