Politeness in Professional Contexts

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Politeness in Professional Contexts
Edited by Dawn Archer, Karen Grainger and Piotr Jagodziński

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Introduction

Politeness in professional contexts

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This edited collection, on *politeness in professional contexts*, has been written with three target audiences in mind: academics, professionals and practitioners. Politeness – and especially facework (or relational work) more generally – is relevant to almost every sphere of social life.[1] Yet, only a handful of publications deal specifically with the way(s) in which politeness theory can be applied to professional contexts (e.g., Holmes and Stubbe 2003; Jamet and Jobert 2013; Fernández-Amaya et al. 2012; Terkourafi 2015; Jagodziński et al. 2018). These extant publications tend to be overtly academic in orientation, moreover. We mean, by this, that they seek to enrich "professional practice based upon a knowledge of and/or insights from facework and (im)politeness research" without necessarily being interested in changing "the way interaction in professional contexts is perceived and conceptualized by the practitioners themselves" (Archer and Jagodziński 2018: 168).[2] This edited collection is made up of twelve chapters, which not only theorize about but, in some cases, also seek to operationalize "politeness and facework concepts" for "real world" settings (ibid). The settings drawn upon, moreover, are of crucial importance to human achievement, fulfilment and well-being: namely, medical

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1. The term, *facework*, is associated primarily with Goffman, and relates to the actions an interlocutor engages in "to make what [s/]he is doing consistent with face" (Goffman 1967: 5); *face* being an image that our interlocutor might claim based upon what others seem to be assuming about him or her. The term, *relational work*, was used by Watts (2003) and associated relational researchers as a means of distinguishing discursive politeness research from Goffmanian-inspired approaches to politeness, such as Brown and Levinson's (1987), which were considered (by Watts and others) to focus too much upon the mutual maintenance of face needs. *Relational work* is thus meant to emphasise how an interactional negotiation of face relationships involves not only politeness (or the mutual maintenance of face needs) but also impoliteness (i.e., deliberate face attack) and other forms of inappropriate (versus appropriate) behaviour.

2. With the exception, perhaps, of some of the papers in Jagodziński, Archer and Bousfield (2018).

contexts (see Section 1), business and organisational contexts including workplace email interactions (see Section 2), and legal and security contexts (see Section 3). After providing a brief outline of each chapter, based on its professional context (in Section 1–3), we highlight the different notions of politeness and facework that have been drawn upon by the authors (in Section 4) and then summarize their (shared versus diverging) approaches to context, politeness theorizing and professional practice/training (in Section 5–5.3).

1.   Introduction to Part I: Politeness in medical contexts

The four chapters on politeness in medical contexts explore the relevance of facework to interaction in health care settings. The study of talk is now fairly widely acknowledged as being able to shed light on the day to day operation of the organisation and, importantly, on the quality of care (Harvey and Koteyko 2013; Iedema 2007). However, the study of politeness, and specifically politeness in hospitals, remains generally under-researched (Iedema 2007; Graham 2009; Mullany 2009; Locher and Schnurr 2017). Such studies of interaction in health care contexts can extend and contribute to politeness theory itself by observing the ways in which not only personal face considerations are at play, but also professional and institutional ones (see e.g., Kong (2014) for a discussion of the relationship between different face types and (professional) identity roles). The four chapters in this section apply variations of politeness theory to a wide variety of medical participants and contexts, using a variety of analytical methods. They apply concepts of politeness and face to professional and institutional interaction in ways, moreover, that can inform professional practice whilst extending our theoretical understanding of face, rapport and politeness.

The chapter on general practitioner (GP) training – by Tristan Emerson, Leigh Harrington, Louise Mullany, Sarah Atkins, Dick Churchill, Rachel Winter and Rakesh Patel – has a particularly applied agenda as the authors argue that the micro-linguistic analysis that is involved in the study of politeness can provide new insights into GP training that otherwise uses a simplistic notion of "rapport" (see Chapter 2). By applying Spencer-Oatey's (2008) concept of rapport management in interaction, as well as the concepts of professional and personal face (Othaber and Marquez-Reiter 2011) to simulated GP consultations, they unearth some of the detrimental aspects of current advice to trainee GPs in the UK context. Through detailed qualitative analysis of two training scenarios they argue that a slavish adherence to the concepts of "patient-centred care" can, in fact, be detrimental to the overall professional goals of the encounter. In one illustrative case, the trainee's attempt to establish "rapport" gives the patient a false impression that all is well

with their test results. The situation then has to be retrieved as the doctor works the situation around to delivering bad news. Emerson et al. argue that politeness theory, including concepts of face sensitivity and rapport management taken from Spencer-Oatey and Franklin (2009) and extended to include "personal" and "professional" face, can provide candidate GPs with a "linguistic toolkit" with which to reflect on their interactional behaviour in consultations. They further suggest that the data they have collected and analysed for this study can be the basis for developing useful additional GP training tools.

Malgorzata Chalupnik and Sarah Atkins' chapter also aims to have a practical application of Spencer-Oatey's notion of rapport, but this time in the context of encounters between members of a medical team (see Chapter 3). They look specifically at requests and indirectness and relate them to leadership styles within the inter-professional team. They make the point that effective inter-professional communication has beneficial and sometimes life-saving effects on treatment and points out that there is therefore a need for improved research and training into discursive strategies in these situations. As with Emerson et al. (Chapter 2), the data are from simulated encounters (in this case a simulated accident/emergency case) but are arguably "natural", nonetheless, since these simulations are genuine training tools used in UK medical training. Chalupnik and Atkins make effective use of a combined method of quantitative and qualitative analysis of politeness features in interaction. The quantitative analysis looks at delegating tasks (using a version of Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989) coding of directives) and active listenership (using Knight and Adolph's 2008 coding scheme for verbal and non-verbal indicators). The qualitative analysis looks at rapport management, based on Spencer-Oatey (2000) and Goffman's (1967) notion of face. Quantitative findings suggest that the most effective team leaders were perceived to be those who combined indirectness with giving direction. The qualitative analysis shows how such interactions are managed in terms of mitigation strategies and general rapport-orientation strategies. Indicators of active listenership are also shown to be higher in those candidates that were more favourably evaluated. On the basis of these findings, Chalupnik and Atkins argue that verbal strategies that *flatten* professional hierarchies can lead to increased efficiency in meeting a task goal. She concludes that effective leadership can include enhanced rapport-building strategies and that politeness and task urgency can effectively occur side by side. This, they suggest, challenges normative ideas about leadership as well as challenging assumptions made within politeness studies concerning relational work and mitigation strategies being in tension with the "maximum efficiency" (Brown and Levinson 1987) that is required in task-oriented and urgent work settings. However, they point out that the evaluations made by the health professionals involved may be context and culture-specific and could put non-British candidates (whose use of indirectness

may be conventionally different) at a disadvantage. They suggest, therefore, that pragmatics awareness training could be usefully included in communication skills training for health professionals.

The data examined in Karen Grainger's chapter is relatively rare in that it focuses on one of the allied medical professions: occupational therapy (see Chapter 4). It involves the detailed qualitative analysis of encounters with a stroke patient undergoing rehabilitation. Using the notions of personal and professional face orientation, and applying the essentially moral basis of polite behaviour, Grainger argues that both therapist and patient collaborate in constructing an optimistic outcome of rehabilitation therapy. This is part of an institutional moral order that places the main responsibility for recovery with the motivation that the patient may show. In this non-curative medical context, "hope work" (Perakyla 1991) is negotiated interactionally in order to uphold a professional version of reality in which sustained effort in rehabilitation therapy is the key to recovery. The analysis shows that, when this professional definition of the situation is momentarily challenged by the patient, the therapist works to re-establish this moral order, even possibly at the expense of giving the patient false expectations of how much can be achieved through therapy. The chapter does not make specific recommendations for communication skills training but the implications for practice echo those in Emerson et al. (see Chapter 2). Namely, that health professionals could benefit from a reflexive and critical awareness of their communicative practices since unswerving adherence to a prescribed professional ethos (such as motivation, optimism or rapport) is not always in the best interests of the patient.

Olga Zayts and Fefei Zhou's chapter looks at a somewhat different medical context: interaction involving a health professional giving advice to the general public on-line (see Chapter 5). It is a very valuable area for the application of politeness theory, nonetheless, given the increasing use of mobile health apps as a common form of medical consultation; particularly in China (where the data are taken from). Zayts and Zhou's main analytical framework is that of relational work (Locher and Watts 2005) through which they focus on the practice of advice-giving. The particular app under analysis deals with post-partum recovery for new mothers and looks at how the competing discourses from traditional Chinese practices and modern neoliberal beliefs are negotiated on-line. The main focus is the way humour is used as a relational strategy. The authors argue that there is considerable potential face threat involved in criticising traditional practices that advice-seekers may mention and so medics posting advice conduct extensive relational work in order to negotiate an appropriate "equilibrium" with their audience. While humour is used for relational purposes, potential risks to professional or expert face are countered by drawing on medical terminology and historical knowledge to present themselves as a credible source. Overall, the analysis of interactional norms on

digital platforms is relatively new and thus worthy of examination. Despite this being a non-institutional and digital (i.e., not face-to-face) context, the notion of professional face still applies. Such studies also extend our understanding of how politeness works in novel professional settings, of course.

2.   Introduction to Part II: Politeness in business and organisational contexts (including emails)

The five chapters on politeness in business and organisational contexts explore the relevance of facework to business, institutional, and organisational contexts. There are numerous points of convergence between the chapters in terms of (i) their theoretical underpinnings, (ii) their epistemological and ontological perspectives, (iii) the way the authors conceptualise (im)politeness, facework, and rapport-management, and (iv) the way the authors conducted the analysis. Before we move on to the brief summaries of each chapter, it is perhaps useful to emphasise at least some of those commonalities with a view to helping the reader form an overarching view of Section 2 of the present collection. The first two chapters in Section 2 utilise Spencer-Oatey's (2000, 2005, 2008) rapport management framework to explain and analyse their datasets. Both chapters thus emphasise the dynamic, negotiated, and context-dependent nature of politeness and rapport in institutional context(s). This is especially pronounced in Rachel Mapson's chapter, as she concentrates on the way interpreters of British Sign Language evaluate (im)politeness *in situ*, in the course of the interaction with their clients (see Chapter 7). The two chapters emphasise, further, that (im)politeness poses a specific interactional challenge in the analysed settings. In Caroline Debray's case, impoliteness impacts the interpersonal dynamic among group members, in this case, the university students working on various projects (see Chapter 6). Similarly, Mapson clearly demonstrates how impoliteness impacts the rapport between the client and the interpreter, as well as the strategies the interpreters adopt when faced with a challenging task of translating impoliteness from one code to another. The strength of both chapters lies not only in the nuanced analysis of unfolding interactions, but also in the way the authors challenge some of the deeply rooted theoretical claims reproduced in extant subject literature. Debray challenges the preconception that troubled working relationships will always be characterised by open conflict. The author's analysis shows that the linguistic performance of group members involved in an ongoing conflict can be marked by the use of strategies aimed at mitigating or avoiding conflict. Similarly, Mapson convincingly dispels the myth of the interpreter as conduit. The analysis clearly demonstrates that the interpreter's linguistic choices play an active part in negotiating the interpersonal relationships of the

involved parties. Interestingly, this active negotiation of interpersonal relationships is also a feature of both Jagodziński's and Marsden's chapters, where emphasis is placed on the fluid boundaries between the transactional and the relational, and the difficulty – or even the superfluity – of separating the two categories when analysing service encounters. From a methodological perspective, an interesting feature of Piotr Jagodziński's and Vera Freytag's chapters is the fact that both researchers were themselves members of the examined Communities of Practice (Wenger 1999) (henceforth CofP). This fact clearly contributed to the authors' familiarity with the norms of the examined communities and helped to demonstrate that it is indeed possible to meaningfully separate the researcher's and the participant's identities without jeopardising the quality and the objectivity of the analysis. In Jagodziński's chapter, the fact that he was a member of the examined community of practice served as a springboard for further theorising about the nature of the relationship between lay and professional perceptions of conflict and (im)politeness, leading the author to argue for the academic treatment of "folk" perceptions as something that can usefully inform (im)politeness research. In this way, he has demonstrated that a potential methodological hurdle, may, in fact, be turned into a convincing argument in the process of supporting and developing an inter-professional dialogue between linguists and professional (call centre) practitioners. This is an overarching theme of the entire volume, addressed to a greater or lesser extent in each chapter. It is ultimately up to the reader to assess how effectively each author in Section 2 approached the task. The brief summaries presented below might provide the reader with further help in deciding on the reading order and evaluating the relevance of the subject matter of each chapter.

The chapter by Caroline Debray focuses on the analysis of a long-term relational conflict among 8 students working on projects at a UK university over a period of 8 months (see Chapter 6). The author has transcribed 25 hours of interactional material, concentrating on how the group interactionally managed the conflict with one problematic member called Allen. Debray's analysis has revealed a number of interactional strategies that the interactants used to deal with Allen. What makes Debray's study particularly interesting is that her analysis reveals what might be described as an interesting interactional paradox. More specifically, "team members were much more willing to disagree, argue and provide negative feedback to interlocutors with whom they had positive relationships than with those with whom relationships were strained". As pointed out by Debray, "[t]his finding raises further questions regarding the conceptualisation of disagreements-as-conflicts". Debray provides a useful list of specific (linguistic) behaviours towards David (a British team leader for an oil and gas company), some of which include "accepting decisions without questioning", "backing down quickly in an argument", and "withholding face-to-face feedback". These strategies might be of particular

interest to institutional stakeholders, as Debray emphasises that the interactants' were aiming at "avoiding a negative reaction at all costs, even to the detriment of their performance". This crucial conclusion underlines the critical usefulness of the findings of (im)politeness research for organisational and business contexts, as it clearly demonstrates how individual members' linguistic performance may have an impact on the functioning of the entire institution.

Similarly to the above, Rachel Mapson's chapter focuses on the interactional management of impoliteness, albeit in a markedly different context of sign interpreting (see Chapter 7). This context is marked by interpreters' unique interactional position. Although they are both recipients and speakers, they are not the originators of the message. Utilising Spencer-Oatey's (2002, 2005, 2008) rapport management framework, Mapson clearly illuminates not only the complex nature of the interaction between the speaker and the interpreter, but also takes into account cross-cultural considerations and context-specific influences. Throughout the chapter, Mapson convincingly argues that (im)politeness poses a real challenge to professional sign language interpreters. Through semi-structured group discussions, Mapson reveals seven main influences on interpreters' interactional decisions related to (im)politeness. They relate to, for example, self-preservation, intention, and un/familiarity. Mapson consistently advocates for the conceptualisation of interpreting as a process rather than a product. This approach, in turn, aligns with her chosen approach to the analysis of rapport management, which focuses on the interactional negotiation of (im)politeness. Mapson concludes her chapter with a strong and – given her findings – fully justified call for the abandonment of the "historical perception of the interpreter as a conduit". Given Mapson's analysis, the complexity of the interaction between the interpreters and the clients requires a much more nuanced and context-sensitive treatment than the conduit metaphor would allow for.

The central theme of Jagodziński's chapter is that call centre professionals' language practices can be situated at the intersection of lay and scholarly understandings of (im)politeness phenomena, and the nature of linguistic communicative behaviour more broadly (see Chapter 8). He argues that call centre language practices, such as heavy language regulation, language policing, styling, and their underpinning ideologies (Jagodziński and Archer 2018) escape categorisation based on dichotomies such as "lay" versus "theoretical" (Kádár and Haugh 2013: 86) or "folk linguistic" versus "professional" (cf. Niedzielski and Preston 2000, 2007). His argument centres around a general observation that the members of the examined call centre CofP are not professional linguists, per se, yet they engage in what could be described as nuanced and at times highly sophisticated (meta)theorising. For example, Jagodziński's (2013) fieldwork revealed that the kind of communication training advocated by call centre practitioners, as well as the language-related

assumptions hidden in various in-house training materials, are, at least partially, underpinned by elements of social-psychological, linguistic, and marketing research (cf. Jagodziński and Archer 2018). Based on these initial observations, Jagodziński takes this argument further and adopts a folk-pragmatic (Niedzielski and Preston 2007, 2009) approach to examine the nature of the relationship between aspects of (im)politeness research and call centre linguistic practices. Following Haugh's (2018: 163) call, the chapter can be seen as a modest but important contribution to the metatheorization of (im)politeness research, specifically to examine what call centre quasi-theories can contribute in this respect.

Vera Freytag's chapter analyses the use of directives in emails in a multilingual workplace (see Chapter 9). The author analysed 300 British English and 300 Peninsular Spanish e-mails written by native speakers of the respective languages. Freytag used a triangulatory approach to data collection and supplemented the analysis of emails with a small-scale perception study, in which she elicited metapragmatic comments regarding the use of directives. This was done through the use of on online questionnaire sent to both the English and Spanish e-mail writers. Freytag's analysis revealed that both Spanish and English email writers "employ a shared set of head act and modification strategies for the realization of directives". What is especially interesting, however, is that Freytag's analysis revealed a high level of directness in both Peninsular Spanish and British English emails. This runs contrary to a finding in the extant politeness literature, which predicts that speakers of British English tend to employ indirectness and clearly orient to negative face. Freytag has also concluded that the choice of a particular strategy depends on contextual and cross-cultural factors and variables such as sex, social distance, or power. Interestingly, Freytag points to the fact that in workplace contexts politeness concerns may be overridden by effectiveness concerns: something that was supported by the evidence elicited in the form of metapragmatic comments.

The last chapter in Section 2, by Liz Marsden, is a study of relational work in a sole trader's intercultural business emails (see Chapter 10). Contrary to Freytag's study, the author was not only a participant observer, but was participating in the email exchanges with her customers, whom she provided with proofreading services. Compared to other chapters in Part II, this study has a unique, longitudinal character, in that the author has analysed email exchanges taking place over three years (2011–2014). Marsden has revealed how "non-salient politeness practices develop in dyadic interactions and how the historicity of the relationship can be a crucial resource drawn upon to increase closeness between participants" (Kadar and Haugh 2013: 78). To that aim, Marsden has used a corpus of 1072 business-to-consumer emails. The major finding of the chapter is that relational work through emails is not only achieved through self-disclosures, but also through using computer mediated communication affordances such as cues and

media sharing. Moreover, Marsden provides tangible evidence for the fact that building a relationship through email in a business context is clearly a function of time, requiring the exchange of as many as 100 emails. This, Marsden writes, is how much time is needed to allow your interlocutor into "further circles of one's self" (Goffman 1971: 192).

3.   Introduction to Part III: Politeness in legal and security contexts

The three chapters making up this section on legal and security contexts explore areas that have been understudied – and, in some cases, effectively ignored – by politeness and facework researchers (to date). As Archer (2017) notes, for example, although the courtroom is probably the most studied legal context when it comes to politeness, impoliteness and facework strategies, the facework implications of judges' interaction strategies remain an understudied research area, nonetheless. Karen Tracy's chapter is particular noteworthy, in this regard, because it contrasts the facework strategies used by judges in two courtroom contexts: oral arguments heard by a panel of judges in the US appellate court (see also Tracy 2011, 2016) and small claims hearings heard by a single judge (see also Tracy and Caron 2017). Tracy begins her chapter with a review of (some of the) extant research on facework, politeness and identity (see Chapter 11). She then provides a background for the two court activities, and analyses both their differing (judicial) questioning practices and the facework implications thereof, before concluding that future politeness theorizing needs to better attend to – by further foregrounding – context (see also Section 5.1, this chapter). One facework-related difference of note, for example, is that the appellate court judges tended to be impolite, rude or verbally aggressive only rarely. Instead, they adopted a stance akin to (what, for Tracy, equates to) "impersonal professionalism" (see Chapter 11). The judges in the small claims hearings tended to engage in verbally aggressive behaviour with some regularity, however. This is in spite of there being no particular mandate to suggest the need for such verbal aggression on the judges' part (cf. a criminal lawyer's need to undermine a witness's testimony during their cross-examinations, sometimes to the point of chastising them: Archer 2011a). Tracy provides the example of a judge who, annoyed by a litigant's lack of preparation prior to the start of the session, responded with "extreme case formulations ("Nobody read…"), reprimands ("You haven't done that?") and complaints ("I don't know why we give people orders if they won't read 'em")", all of which served "to upgrade the seriousness of the failure and threaten the other's positive face in consequence" (cf. Brown and Levinson 1987). Another judge, in the same small claims setting, used a (long) questioning sequence that not only sought to "limit the litigant's freedom to act, and hence the

person's negative face" but also effectively suggested "a sceptical stance" on his part, thereby threatening the "litigant's positive face" (see Chapter 11). Tracy goes on to link such "pursuit[s] of a topic through a sequence of questions" to Culpeper and Terkourafi's (2017) argument that future politeness theorizing should be detached from a (single) speech act unit in her concluding comments (see also Section 5.2, this chapter).

Dawn Archer, Cliff Lansley and Aaron Garner deal with a massively under-explored professional context when it comes to facework: interactions between Air Marshals (AMs) or Behavioural Detection Officers (BDOs) and persons of interest in an international airport setting (see Chapter 12). They focus, moreover, on a particular use of facework, which is also under explored (within the area of linguistics at least): namely, the strategic use of small talk for transactional purposes. This equates to AMs and BDOs using what is normally considered *phatic communication* as an intelligence-gathering technique such that they can extract "targeted information from a person" of interest "in a manner that [hopefully] does not disclose the true intent of the conversation" (NCIS, 2013) to them. For these authors, in particular, seeking to enrich "professional practice based upon a knowledge of and/or insights from facework and (im)politeness research" is not just as an academic exercise (Archer and Jagodziński 2018: 168). Rather, it is a means of changing the way interaction "is perceived and conceptualized" in such contexts – especially by practitioners (ibid. See also Section 6.3, this chapter). They thus report on their participation in a Behavioural Detection programme for European airport and intelligence/security agencies (Lansley et al. 2017). They also highlight a study they undertook in an international airport, which – in line with the findings of their chapter – confirms the transactional value of small talk when it operates covertly from within a phatic veil. Archer et al.'s work has notable implications for our (linguistic) theoretical understanding of small talk, in particular, given that small talk is nearly always distinguished from "transactional", "instrumental", "goal oriented" or "means-end rational" talk within the extant linguistic literature (see, e.g., Maynard and Hudak 2008: 662, and also Section 5.2, this chapter). The authors' main motivation, though, is to demonstrate the techniques that AMs and BDOs can use, when initiating their small talk with others, and contrasting these with examples of "chat-downs" (Price and Forrest 2012: 248), as a means of highlighting the differences between them. They note, for example, how a chat-down in an aviation setting is akin to a verbal pat-down, and thus tends to be much more *overtly transactional* discursively speaking. A border control official's questions are focussed on establishing a would-be-traveller's (true) identity, nationality, travel history and (imminent to future) travel plans, for example. Although some small talk may be evident in their interaction with these would-be-travellers – in the form of, say, a greeting – greetings do not have to be reciprocated; nor does the official

(have to) give their name to the would-be-travellers, generally speaking. Small talk used transactionally by AMs and BDOs, in contrast, is designed to give passengers the sense they are chatting with someone who *only* has "a genuine (albeit passing) interest in" them (even though they do, in fact, have a means-end rationale for engaging with them too). As such, greetings and/or names do tend to be exchanged, along with other types of self-disclosure(s). Such interactions can also involve the establishment of a shared mutual reality, and/or mutual face enhancing behaviours.

Dawn Archer's solo-authored chapter explores the negotiation tactics used by a US police negotiator during a barricade incident, prior to outlining the ensuing facework implications for him and his subject (see Chapter 13). Like Archer et al. (Chapter 12), Archer is very much interested in changing the way interaction "is perceived and conceptualized" in such contexts – especially by the practitioners themselves (Archer and Jagodziński 2018: 168). She thus reports on training that she has been developing, in consultation with UK police negotiators, which draws on an understanding of facework in conjunction with linguistic concepts such as *reality paradigms* (see also Sections 5.2 and 5.3, this chapter). Archer (2002, 2011b) used the latter to, first, explain courtroom participants' use of diverse – and often opposing – truth filters when making sense of their world (Archer 2002, 2011b) and, then, to demonstrate the way(s) in which this impacted upon their understanding (as well as treatment) of the other. More recently, she has applied it to a barricade incident, which ended with the death of the subject, in order to show that the negotiator's "perception of reality" diverged to such an extent to be evident in his facework (Archer et al. 2018: 186). The negotiator undermined the subject's "*want* to have freedom of action", for example, "by repeatedly ordering him to "keep his mouth shut/shut up", to "man up" and "take care of [his] problems" (ibid: 190). This was taken to highlight his worldview that "real" men behave rationally, rather than being like the subject, that is, "unable to cope due to being rejected by a girl-friend" and suffering "with depression" in consequence (ibid: 189). Archer's chapter expands on – as a means of operationalising – the reality paradigm concept specifically for police negotiators, such that they can, first, "identify" and, then, "attempt to influence subjects' mental models of their world(s)". By way of illustration, she notes how a subject's "consistent use of 'I can't go back'", in a second barricade incident, "pointed to a 'belief-world' that" the negotiator "had to attend to" if he hoped to end what had quickly become a standoff. He did so by offering his own *belief*-world, namely, that the subject "was 'gonna be okay'…and that, as" he "did not 'wanna hurt anybody…everyone [else was] gonna be just fine today'" too. The negotiator then set about persuading the subject "he had a future worth living for". He moved him towards this "new *outer reality*" (ibid: 196) linguistically by getting him "to think about" his "experiences in a new kind of way" (Voutilainen 2012: 236–7, 242). This included offering him not only "an alternative future" but ways of getting "to that

future via both a re-interpretation of his current predicament and…the promise of specific future actions on" the negotiator's "part that, importantly, were", first, "contingent upon" the subject "promising and then performing reciprocal (imminent) future actions" for him. Archer also identifies other mental worlds a negotiator might use (or listen out for), when attempting to influence their subjects, relating to wants, intents, knowledge, etc. (cf. Werth 1999). These mental worlds have the added benefit of being things negotiators can identify (more easily) at the word or statement level in real time: especially where statements involving "(not) want to/ (not) wanna", "(not) going to/(not) gonna", "promise, will", etc., are repeated several times. "Promise" and "will" equate to direct and indirect forms of promising, of course. A second speech act that negotiators are believed to make extensive use of is that of complimenting or face enhancement more generally. As Archer notes, complimenting/face enhancement have been "much discussed by politeness researchers" in particular. A third influencing strategy of note – that of promoting similarity – has received little attention to date, however, in spite of Brown and Levinson's (1987: 108) assessment of it as "a way of implying common ground", "such that a relational connection can be created/maintained for the duration of that interaction (Haugh 2011)". Archer concludes by asserting that these are but a few of the many "concepts already drawn upon by negotiators" that "can be linked to facework" (see also Section 5.3, this chapter).

4. Notions of politeness, facework and relational work adopted in this edited collection

Linguistic politeness as an area of academic study has developed considerably over the last three decades or so and there continues to be much debate as to how politeness can, or should, be defined. This debate springs, at least in part, from the ambiguity of the word "polite", which has an everyday lay meaning as well as being used in a technical sense. The "first wave" of politeness theorising (Grainger 2011; Culpeper 2011) constructed the study of politeness as an outgrowth of traditional pragmatics (see, e.g., Brown and Levinson 1987), and understood politeness to be the avoidance of committing face-threatening acts. In the "second wave", scholars such as Eelen (2001) and Watts (2003) argued that politeness studies should be about the discursive struggle over the very meaning of what is involved when it comes to ordinary people polite. Locher and Watts (2005) argued that politeness is a sub-set of wider "relational being work" and still others (e.g. Arundale 2006; Spencer-Oatey 2008) that politeness is not just about avoiding face-threat, but is generally about doing "facework" – that is, paying attention to the face needs of participants in interaction via linguistic, paralinguistic and non-verbal means. A third,

and most recent, "wave" of politeness theorising tends to take the view that there are insights from all these approaches that can usefully be applied to interactional data (see Grainger 2011; Haugh and Culpeper 2018). While definitions and boundaries remain fluid and debatable, we can broadly say that doing relationship work in interaction involves doing facework, which may involve the lay concept of politeness but is not confined to it. This notion of politeness is reflected in the chapters in this book. The folk idea(s) of politeness as appropriate behaviour are clearly important in professional contexts, as, arguably, a large part of behaving professionally involves knowing how to follow the norms of etiquette in a particular context. Some of the chapters, for example Chapter 5 on relational work in digital health care (Zayts and Zhou) and Chapter 7 on politeness in sign language (Mapson), deal precisely with these lay evaluations of politeness. Other chapters, such as Jagodziński's "Towards a folk pragmatics of call centre service encounters" (see Chapter 8), demonstrate that in business and organisational contexts the dichotomous view of "lay" vs "professional" concepts of (im)politeness cannot be upheld easily, and that professional practitioners come up with their own understandings of what constitutes polite versus impolite linguistic behaviours. Most of the chapters in this book agree, however, that the broadly understood notion of politeness includes the way in which professional identities and relationships are reflected and constructed through talk. For example, Marsden, in her longitudinal study of business correspondence, demonstrates how those relationships are built through email exchanges over an extended period of time (see Chapter 10). Similarly, Mapson shows how interpreters, by virtue of their professional roles and identities, are faced with a challenging task of negotiating politeness norms, not only between the interactants themselves but also across codes (see Chapter 7). Inasmuch as the idea of "face" provides the unifying theoretical underpinning for many of these chapters, what the above mentioned chapters also have in common is the emphasis on the difficulty involved in drawing a meaningful distinction between the transactional and the relational, as well as between lay (folk) and professional (scholarly) understandings of (im)politeness and rapport management. Jagodziński, in particular, advocates for the importance of taking into account professional practitioners' understandings of (im)politeness as a valuable means of promoting dialogue with and between professional practitioners. He argues, for example, for the treatment of call centre professionals as interactional stakeholders capable of articulating their own justified and nuanced conceptualisations of language and communication, which may both inform and be informed by academic theorising. Given our mention of the blurring of the transactional and the relational, above, we should perhaps mention – once again – the work by Archer et al. (Chapter 12), which has sought to show that small talk can be both transactional and relational simultaneously, especially when used as a covert means of gleaning information from strangers (see

also Section 4, this chapter). The notion of facework as a strategy has been heavily criticised by researchers in the recent past: even though, as this volume reveals, facework in institutional settings does tend to have a strategic bent. Whether this means politeness and facework researchers should look again at the issue of intentionality is for future work to decide.

5.   Context, politeness theorizing and professional practice/training

When taken collectively, the twelve chapters making up this edited collection allude to three matters that are worthy of brief attention prior to moving on to the contributions themselves. Namely, how best to deal with *context* when it comes to our understanding(s) of politeness and facework more generally, the future of *politeness theorizing*, and the consequences (of the authors' work, as well as related work) for *professional practice/training*. We will deal with each, in turn, beginning with context.

5.1   Context

Tracy (Chapter 11) calls attention to an insight that is not only true of – but has been a motivator for – this particular edited collection, in addition to the special issue co-edited by Jagodziński, Archer and Bousfield (2018). Namely, the need to pay as much attention to how "people seek[ing] services" or "work[ing] as professionals" engage in facework, as we have to "informal exchanges between friends and acquaintances" (in previous research). For Tracy, this means paying more attention, in particular, to how *institutional* contexts will differ based on activity so that we have a better understanding of them practically, and can use our more nuanced understandings, in turn, to more effectively refine extant theories relating to (im)politeness and facework. Tracy has found that oral argument, for example, has "little in common with ordinary conversation or even other institutional activities where argument and disagreement are common, as for instance occurs in academic discussion (Tracy 1997)". Archer makes a similar point, when it comes to a better appreciation of professional practice (see Chapter 13). Indeed, one stated motivation for her project with police negotiators is to make their training "particularly sensitive to changing contexts" by explicitly considering how, for example, a barricade incident differs, linguistically (and especially relationally) speaking, from a suicide bid. When taken collectively, Archer and Tracy's work suggests that it may even be insufficient to refine our current politeness concepts, theories and models so that they become activity-type specific, if we are to fully appreciate the effect(s) of context on participants' facework (choices). We say this as, in both of

the barricade incidents Archer has studied for example, the negotiators sought to get their subjects to relinquish a firearm and exit a house (in one case) and a car (in the other). One succeeded, the other did not. In the former case, there was much more evidence of face enhancement. In the latter, much more evidence of face aggravation. There were places, however, where the successful negotiator used tactics that were face threatening to the point of being potentially patronising. When the subject stated he had made mistakes, for example, the negotiator "mirrored his description back to him", using the same language, "before stating that, at only 'twenty two years old' he was 'still a kid'". As Archer notes, the "likely strategy, here, was to signal…he was young enough to change his future (and hence do something about the man he had become in order 'to survive day to day' in prison)". The subject disagreed, by stating "his belief that he had 'fucked [his] life forever'". This prompted a reciprocal (more emphatic) disagreement from the negotiator, albeit quickly followed by a self-disclosure "that he had 'a son that's twenty two' who was (also) 'still a kid' (as a means of justifying his youthful assessment of [him])". The negotiator then went on to broach another, potentially face-threatening topic: the subject's "addiction problem", likening it to his "biggest obstacle". By exploring different examples of the same activity type, Archer is hoping to determine what makes one negotiation more successful than another, even when both display evidence of face-threatening behaviour and disagreement(s). To what extent such nuances can then be represented in (by being factored into) a facework theory or model is a matter for future research to determine.

Chapters 2–5 within the "medical contexts" section also make it clear how it is not only one's physical environment but also the professional and institutional identities being sustained within the organisation which are extremely relevant to the way relationships and interactions are managed. Medics and patients alike are subject to explicit institutional directives to "create rapport" (Emerson et al., Chalupnik and Atkins) or to remain optimistic (Grainger). The analyses provided in these chapters demonstrate that attempts to hold the professional "line" can sometimes backfire in terms of genuine patient welfare.

A further important facet of context is the digital or on-line context. This cuts across several of the book sections, in particular, Zayts and Zhou's chapter on an on-line medical advice forum (see Chapter 5), Marsden's longitudinal study of business email correspondence (see Chapter 10) and Freytag's chapter on the use of directives in a multilingual workplace (see Chapter 9). All three contributions serve to highlight the fact that computer mediated communication is in every walk of life and has, or is developing, its own norms and characteristics.

Finally, the national cultural context of interaction is something that has long interested politeness scholars, and it continues to be of great relevance to professional communication. The cross-cultural aspects of (im)politeness are taken up by

Freytag, in particular, as part of her analysis of a large corpus of workplace emails written by native speakers of English and Peninsular Spanish. Freytag's findings point to the fact that, in institutional contexts, communicative effectiveness may take precedence over politeness. It is also worth reiterating, once more, that the deeply held belief of English politeness as being primarily oriented towards negative face (cf. Brown and Levinson 1987) is not reflected in her analysed data.

5.2   Politeness theorizing

Given our mention of the possible need to rework existing theory, this is an opportune moment to highlight that several of the chapters touch on (albeit different) issues relating to politeness theorizing. Tracy, for example, concurs with Culpeper and Terkourafi's (2017) argument that future politeness theorizing should be detached from – so that it is not unduly influenced by – the notion of a speech act as a single unit (see Chapter 11, and also Section 4, this chapter). As Culpeper and Terkourafi (2017: 16) note, the "basic building block of" possibly the most influential politeness model – that of the Brown and Levinson (1987) – "is the Face Threatening Act (FTA), and that notion is clearly aligned with speech act theory" (henceforth SAT). Yet, it has long been accepted that, as speech acts are shaped by numerous factors in their context-of-use – not least the speaker, hearer and "the broader activity or event in which they occur" – traditional SAT cannot fully capture their "complexities" (Culpeper and Terkourafi 2017: 17–8). Even when speech acts (co-)occur in conventionalised ways in certain activity types, moreover, it does not follow that their face-threatening potential remains stable across those activity types or even within the same activity type (as noted in Sections 4 and 5.1). It remains the case, nonetheless, that professionals share Austin's (1962/1975) notion that speakers "do" things with their words, be it complimenting, promising, insulting, etc., and that these moves can be face enhancing or face threatening in some contexts. As such, Archer continues to draw upon the notion of speech act (following Archer et al. 2018), albeit seeing them as "reasonably accurate approximations of the prototypical instances of verbal behaviour describable by means of" in her case "the English verbs used as labels" (Verschueren 1999: 132).

As noted in Section 4 (of this chapter), Archer's own contribution to politeness theorising is shaped by her desire to operationalise the concept of "reality paradigm", for police negotiators specifically, such that they are able to identify – as a means of influencing – "subjects' mental models of the world". Archer believes this to be particularly important, for police negotiation, as "mental models" to do with belief, obligation, (not) knowing, tentativeness, etc., "have the capacity to" not only "shape how a subject understands his/her world", but "how s/he makes inferences

from/predictions based on what others have said or done (and decisions about how to act in consequence)". For example, the negotiator "needed to convince" the subject "to surrender a firearm, and end" the "barricade incident", which "meant convincing him he had a future". His tactic was to tell the subject he "was 'gonna be okay'", etc., that is, project "an immediate future reality for" him "that was different to" the subject's "prediction he would be killed by police snipers".

Archer et al.'s work offers an amendment to our politeness and facework theorizing, too (see Chapter 12). In this case, we must adjust our (linguistic) understanding of small talk so that we allow for times when it can be used transactionally, albeit under a phatic veil. This also applies to other contexts, such as medical interactions, as the chapter by Emerson et al. discusses (see Chapter 2). Whether this means arguing that small talk is simultaneously relational and transactional, or on relational-transactional continuum, is debatable, however, as it is more likely that small talk works transactionally only when speakers hide their means-end rationale under a phatic veil. To know this for sure would require further research, of course.

The chapters by Emerson et al. and by Grainger (see Chapters 2 and 4) both make use of the distinction between personal face and professional face. As they both acknowledge, while this is not a new development, their work does underscore the fact that "face" is applicable to more than just the individual social actor; when people occupy professional roles their face needs become institutionally relevant and influenced. This is something that is often overlooked in non-institutional studies. Similarly the extension of politeness studies into the digital sphere can lead to new conceptions of what counts as (im)polite.

5.3   Professional practice/training

Archer (Chapter 13) and Archer et al. (Chapter 12) are particularly emphatic about their aim of improving practitioners' understanding of politeness and facework. Indeed, both identify training opportunities that they have previously engaged with or are currently engaged in. Whilst their approaches to training differ (in the sense that the latter keep linguistic terminology to a minimum and focus, instead, on small talk as an elicitation technique for intelligence gathering), neither train participants in the same way they might learn about politeness and facework concepts (theoretically) in a Higher Education setting. Although not directly stipulated in their chapters, both do use video and/or audio recording when training police negotiators, airport personnel and other professionals, however (Archer, p.c.). Their training practices thus fall in line with Emerson et al.'s and Chalupnik and Atkins' suggestion(s) that data videos can be used as discussion points designed to raise metalinguistic awareness in professionals (see Chapters 2 and 3).

Arguably, this kind of metalinguistic awareness-raising has the potential to hone professionals' skills in critical reflection without putting them in a communication straight-jacket (cf. Chapter 8, and also below). There would arguably be a need to explicitly grow awareness of the cultural differences between an individual's own taken-for-granted practices and those of the less familiar cultures they are interacting with, however (so they do not assume, falsely, that there is only one way of doing facework – their way).

It is worth noting, in closing, that some (im)politeness researchers and theorists remain deeply sceptical about the effectiveness of explicit 'politeness training' (O'Driscoll p.c.). There are both theoretical and practical reasons for this scepticism. An overarching theoretical reason might have to do with the fact that there is no one unified, coherent, and fully predictive theory of (im)politeness. As a consequence, by adopting their chosen approaches and methodologies, researchers subscribe to the ontological and epistemological assumptions behind them. In so doing, they contribute to what Haugh (2018) refers to as "sterile eclecticism" in impoliteness research. Explicit teaching of (im)politeness in any professional setting would necessarily mean either overt or covert imposition of the tenets of the chosen paradigm, such as pragmatic (cf. Brown and Levinson 1987) or discursive (Watts 2003). Practically speaking, translating the various theoretical approaches with their distinctive terminologies (cf. the debate surrounding the notion of what constitutes rudeness vs impoliteness in the Introduction to Locher and Bousfield 2008) into institutionally deliverable and teachable units to uninitiated audiences seems a daunting, if not an impossible, task. It is not a surprise, then, that the aforementioned scepticism is also noticeable in the present volume, with a number of authors refraining from advocating for explicit training in politeness or facework.[3] Indeed, the chapters by Chalupnik and Atkins, and Emerson et al. or Jagodziński (both of whom use training materials as data) suggest that, in fact, practitioners' may be hampered by being told explicitly how to "create rapport" or "do leadership" (see Chapters 2, 3 and 8). Jagodziński, further, points to the dangers of succumbing to an illusion that academic (im)politeness researchers will be able to provide the professional practitioner with the unequivocal answer to the pertinent question, "So what is it that I need to say to the customer?" A potential way out is to recognise that professional practitioners utilise their own Stocks of Interactional Knowledge (henceforth SIKs) (Peräkylä and Vehviläinen 2003), that is, their own strategies, (quasi)-theories, and interactional heuristics – some of which may usefully enter into a dialogue with impoliteness theorising and, as a consequence, inform or be informed by (im)politeness research. This is in line with Haugh's (2018) call for

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3.   Interestingly, there have been attempts at operationalising facework for communication training purposes made by for example Domenici and Littlejohn (2006).

theorisation of impoliteness being advanced "through approaching the study of (im)politeness in different languages and cultures on their own terms." As demonstrated in the current volume, recognising those terms involves acknowledging that professionals coming from different CofPs – be they medical, legal, security, business or educational – have the capacity to reflect upon their own communicative practice, and, in consequence, will not always remain passive in the face of the dominant (communication training) ideologies (cf. Woydack 2019).

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Politeness in medical contexts

CHAPTER 2

Learning to manage rapport in GP trainee encounters

A discursive politeness approach

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Keywords: health communication, discursive (im)politeness, rapport management, professional identity, doctor-patient interaction, face, power, applied linguistics, medical training, simulated interaction

1. Introduction

This interactional goals chapter examines trainee doctor-patient interactions, focusing on face (Orthaber and Marquez-Reiter 2011; Archer and Jagodzinski 2015), professional identity (Wilson et al. 2013), rapport management (Spencer-Oatey 2005) and power dynamics (Fairclough 1989; Mead and Bower 2000), using a discursive approach to politeness theory (Mills 2011). We examine how a cohort of junior doctors training to be General Practitioners (GPs) in the UK attempt to manage rapport successfully to explore patients' concerns, reach a diagnosis, and suggest appropriate follow-up action, in a series of simulated interactions. These consultations take place in a dedicated simulator suite of GP consultation rooms at a major UK teaching hospital.

In addition to bringing new empirical data to an under-researched area, we aim to take an innovative applied linguistic approach, which enables theories of discursive politeness, face, and rapport management to become of practical value, with practitioners being able to use key linguistic frameworks on a regular basis to assist with their roles as medical trainers. Our approach involves working collaboratively with the medics responsible for delivering this training, which has included expansion of the programme to incorporate dedicated linguistics workshops for GP

trainees, where linguistic tools and terms from discursive politeness and rapport management are taught and applied to interactional data. We focus in particular upon how rapport management manifests within these simulated consultations and how this relates to the (un)successful delivery of diagnoses. As an integrated part of the analysis, we will also examine how power is enacted in these simulations, as an important and inextricably linked facet of rapport management.

2.   Background

2.1   Politeness in healthcare settings

The application of linguistic (im)politeness theories and approaches in a variety of professional settings is a growing field (e.g., Holmes and Stubbe 2003; Mullany 2007, 2009; Bousfield 2008; Jagodzinski, Archer and Bousfield 2018) and researchers have drawn upon a range of tools and techniques offered by different approaches to politeness in order to observe the complexities and (un)successful workings of professional communication. In this chapter, we take an applied linguistic approach to investigating the usefulness of rapport management, face, and identity in healthcare interaction, whereby we collaborate with medical practitioners to produce a set of findings that are of practical use and relevance to themselves and their trainee doctors. Our aim is for our analytical approach to discursive politeness and subsequent research findings to directly inform future practical training of junior doctors, who wish to become General Practitioners in the UK's National Health Service, a nationalised, publicly funded healthcare body. As Section 3 (Methodology) will demonstrate, currently General Practice trainees in the UK are informed by a generic framework of 'rapport' in the assessment of their consultation skills.

Our findings will also be of relevance more globally to healthcare training within systems where simulated talk is used as a training tool and assessment method. Our specific focus is on face, rapport management, and the construction of professional identities by junior doctors from a discursive politeness perspective (Mills 2011). Professional identity in this instance is conceptualised as "how a doctor thinks of himself or herself as a doctor" against a set of professional standards that may mutable over time (Wilson et al. 2013: 369). Adopting a discursive approach, we subscribe to the understanding that (im)polite linguistic phenomena, as well as issues of face, rapport, and identity, do not "inhere in semantic analysis" (Dynel 2015: 337) and instead are continuously co-constructed, co-performed and negotiated by interactants over stretches of discourse which are influenced by powerful and often complex contextual factors and "social forces" (Mills 2011: 26).

Locher and Schnurr (2017) note that there is a still a paucity of research on (im) politeness in healthcare contexts. They agree with Mullany's (2009) earlier view, that the field of healthcare opens up a wealth of opportunities and rewards for politeness research and that it is still a necessity to produce much more linguistics research in this area. Indeed, Locher and Schnurr (2017: 704) state, "it is not surprising that this context yields such challenging and rich data since interactions between the parties in question (health professionals, caretakers, patients) involve intricate negotiations of differences in power, dependency, expertise and trust". Indeed, health communication specialists have started to demonstrate how communication problems can be caused by power asymmetries (Sutcliffe et al. 2004; Bromiley 2008), demonstrating the need for applied linguists to evidence how these asymmetries are negotiated and managed effectively in interaction.

Barriers to accessing research domains remain though, particularly in terms of gaining initial access to data and the considerable length of time that it can take to secure ethical approval from healthcare bodies. Despite these, research which has produced empirical investigations of politeness in healthcare settings thus far has managed to investigate different contexts and a range of professional role responsibilities. Research has also taken place in different healthcare domains and geographical locations, including anti-natal genetic counselling encounters in Hong Kong (Zayts and Kang 2009), work with elderly care homes in Japan (Backhaus 2009), and interprofessional communication between hospital teams in the US (Graham 2009). This work on verbal interactions also sits alongside work in online settings, including Locher's (2006) study of a US university's health advice online column and Harrison and Barlow's (2009) work on online self-management arthritis settings. This chapter will add to research in the field by focusing upon face-to-face, dyadic, simulated healthcare encounters taking place between trainee doctors and patients (specially trained actors playing the role of patients). From a discursive politeness perspective, we examine how trainee doctors are learning to manage rapport, identify when it is successful and when it is not, and explore how rapport management and face can be turned into practically applicable frameworks for trainee practitioners to enhance their professional identities and performance as GPs. As stated above, it is important that this work is of use and value to healthcare practitioners and academic trainers who are conducting health communication training and their students; as such, it has informed the specialised linguistic training workshops that have been run for junior doctors as part of this programme's expansion. Indeed, as Locher and Schnurr (2017: 705) point out, politeness approaches are well-placed to conduct health communication research, as concerns including the teaching of effective communication skills "provide a challenging and worthwhile interface" within the field of healthcare and politeness studies:

> The creation of rapport and empathy, learning how to 'listen' and how to interpret patients' narratives […] coincides with the interest of impoliteness scholars concerned with interpersonal pragmatics issues, such as norms of conduct, identity construction and the negotiation of face.   (Locher and Schnurr 2017: 705)

2.2   Power dynamics: Doctor-patient interaction

The traditional view of the doctor-patient dyad positions the patient as a relatively powerless interlocutor. This perspective can be traced back to a sociological, Parsonian (1951) conception of a palpable knowledge gap between a "technically competent" doctor and an uninformed "lay patient" who lacks sufficient power and who relies on the professional to be the knowledge bearer and the one with interactional power. The doctor thus occupies a rather fixed and rigid role, what Pateman (1980) termed "oppressive" power, with an autonomous interlocutor displaying power overtly, as is accorded to them through their professional role responsibility. This traditional, rigid view of power sits alongside Freidson's (1970) idea that the profession of medicine, and thus the individual interlocutors who occupy institutional power roles, operate as gatekeepers of specialised knowledge in asserting professional dominance. Subsequent work, including Fairclough (1989) and Wodak (1996), takes a more nuanced perspective, with the linguistic performance of the clinician viewed as steeped in institutional and professional modes, serving to reinforce a bio-medical identity as the dominant interlocutor within the dyad. This is a relationship that is characteristically asymmetrical in both its power and agency, to the detriment of the patient.

From a politeness perspective, we would argue that the rigid view of power in doctor-patient dyads aligns most closely with Brown and Levinson's (1987) work, whereby "P" (power) is relatively fixed and accords with the pre-existing relationship between the speaker (S) the hearer (H). Mishler (1984) meanwhile, characterised the incongruences between doctor-patient as opposing "voices" – that of the institution of medicine and that of a patient's lifeworld – a conceptualisation that encompasses both the literal voices at play in the discourse of the consultation as well as the underlying theoretical frameworks of what is being understood and expressed by both speakers. Such is the ubiquity of asymmetrical power roles in a clinical dyad that Harvey and Koteyko (2013) contend this has now become a naturalised form of discourse, hiding a complex architecture of power whilst being generally thought of as a common-sense approach to healthcare interactions. The traditional approach to power has also been critiqued for an over-emphasis on macro-societal forces at the expense of individual agency (Pilnick 1998; Barbour 2011), for focusing too heavily on the experience of the patient over the professional (Atkinson 1999), and for presenting an exaggerated and depreciating view of medical dyads (Sharrock 1979). Furthermore, studies such as Gill (1998), Maynard

(1991) and Stivers (2007) have focused on how asymmetries are jointly achieved by both participants in the consultation, accentuating the interactive problem-solving at hand, along with the utility of each participant being an expert in their particular experiential domain.

More recently, the move towards patient-centred care (Dwamena et al. 2012) and the increased pervasiveness of medicalisation processes (Conrad 1992; Metzl and Herzig 2007) in everyday Western life also casts doubt on the relevance of the sub-servient patient-doctor power dynamic and identity categorisation. Medicalisation, in particular, has led patients to experience increased access to knowledge online and in the media (Barker 2008), culminating in the phenomenon of the "expert patient" (Shaw and Barker 2004). The expert patient has a recognisable identity construction as an empowered and informed consumer of healthcare resources, characterised by their active agency regarding health-based choices. Indeed, the adoption of patient-centric approaches – distinguished by a focus on power-sharing and patient empowerment (Mead and Bower 2000) – has arguably neutralised notions of structural, oppressive power. Within politeness research, Spencer-Oatey (2002) and Holmes and Stubbe (2003) have documented how "expert power" can be enacted regardless of professional role responsibility – often those lower in the institutional hierarchy will have expert knowledge of particular subjects. On such occasions, they become experts and can accrue interactional power for themselves. From a discursive politeness perspective, we argue that both power and (im)polite-ness are fluid and dynamic notions and that both doctors and patients are capable of performing power successfully even in an institutional setting where one partici-pant occupies an institutional power role as a medical expert. The onus is still on the doctor to enact this power role and take responsibility. The fluidity of power can be seen as it shifts and drifts between interlocutors as interactional discourse develops.

Patients can therefore accrue power for themselves within interactions. Thus, instead of being viewed as a rigid concept, power should be viewed as a "net" or a "web" (Foucault 1981; Mills 2007), and despite the pre-assigned discourse roles of "doctor" or "patient", power can be enacted by either participant. Interestingly though, the empowerment of patients, in an attempt to make consultations more egalitarian, has been met with mixed results in terms of patient satisfaction levels (Pilnick and Dingwall 2011). Instead they posit that asymmetrical talk may itself "lie at the heart of the medical enterprise" as an enduring mode of interaction within the clinical dyad (Pilnick and Dingwall 2011: 52). Interactional asymme-try in medical encounters has, therefore, received much attention in the research literature. The topic requires further development from a linguistic politeness perspective. We believe that this topic, and communication skills guidance more broadly, would really benefit from an empirical application of linguistic concepts of politeness, "face", and rapport-management, which examines how relationships are constructed and managed through the unfolding interaction.

2.3 Face and rapport management

In order to investigate the interactional styles of trainee medical professionals, we integrate the notions of "personal face" and "professional face" into the framework of rapport management. Spencer-Oatey and Franklin (2009: 102) define rapport management as "people's subjective perceptions of (dis)harmony, smoothness-turbulence and warmth-antagonism in interpersonal relations". Hence rapport management refers to the ways in which "(dis)harmony is (mis)managed" (ibid). Thus, the management of rapport encapsulates any behaviour that may have a negative effect on rapport, as well as a neutral or positive one. As such, Spencer-Oatey (2008: 31–32) posits that interlocutors can orient towards rapport with others with a desire to enhance, maintain, challenge, or even neglect it, if showing a lack of concern for the quality of relations between interactants. Therefore, during interactions, interlocutors make continuous (sub-conscious) evaluations about whether the rapport between them is being enhanced, maintained, neglected, or damaged. According to Spencer-Oatey and Franklin (2009), these assessments are made on three bases, summarised in Figure 1.

The first factor that can influence rapport refers to the "Interactional Goals" desirable for interactants to achieve in an encounter. Whilst transactional goals and relational goals have previously been dichotomised in sociolinguistic theory, it is now widely acknowledged that they are often inextricably linked (cf. Coupland 2000; Holmes 2000, 2006; Koester 2006; Mullany 2007). Rapport can be negatively affected in two ways with regard to interactional goals. On the one hand, an interactant's inability to achieve a desired goal might result in frustration or annoyance which,
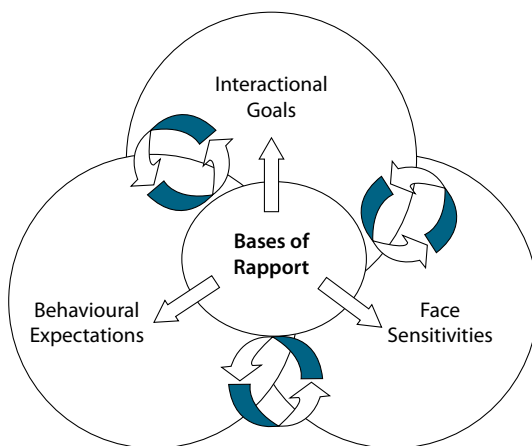
Figure 1. The three bases of rapport in a model of Rapport Management (Spencer-Oatey and Franklin 2009:)

in turn, may damage rapport. On the other hand, rapport management judgements can be negatively affected when people have different interactional wants.

Moving on to "Behavioural Expectations", judgements of rapport can also be influenced by the expectations that interactants have regarding behaviour. During an interaction, people "often take up clearly defined social roles" (Spencer-Oatey and Franklin 2009: 106), such as "doctor" and "patient", which inform the relations between participants (such as institutional hierarchies), as well as explicitly or implicitly informing the specific rights and obligations of the participant. Rapport may be negatively impacted if the perceived expectations of a specific role responsibility are not met or upheld. Behavioural Expectations can also be determined by the communicative activity at hand. Certain activities or activity types (Levinson 1979) may be associated with particular communicative conventions that exist across five domains, through which rapport-relevant communication can be conveyed. We argue that these domains provide an effective checklist (Spencer-Oatey 2005: 99):

1.   the illocutionary domain (the performance of speech acts)
2.   the discourse domain (the organization and management of an interaction)
3.   the participation domain (turn-taking and verbal responses)
4.   the stylistic domain (stylistic elements of an encounter)
5.   the non-verbal domain (proxemics and the use of gestures)

It is in relation to "Face Sensitivities", the third base of rapport, that we introduce the notions of personal face and professional face into rapport management. Face Sensitivities concern the self-aspects or attributes that people may be face-sensitive about, such as their status and perceived competence (e.g., as clinicians). We believe that the addition of the distinction between personal face and professional face (originally proposed by Orthaber and Marquez-Reiter 2011), will further enable us to address exactly how rapport is managed and how power is enacted and exhibited by interactants in these dyadic interactions. These conceptualisations of face are also directly related to the definition of professional identity we proposed earlier (Wilson et al. 2013). Indeed, Spencer-Oatey (2007) has noted the interrelatedness of face and identity concepts.

The distinction between "personal" face and "professional" face has so far had great utility in capturing the different types of face at stake in professional interactions, especially where professionals who represent an institution/organisation are engaged in a synecdochical relationship with that institution/organisation (Jagodzinski 2013; Archer and Jagodzinski 2015; Harrington 2018). Personal face concerns an individual's identification of "self and/or other(s) in a workplace setting beyond their company role or their professional role" (Archer and Willcox 2018: 269). Professional face is the "professional persona" through which an

institution/organisation presents itself to the public, that which is "on loan" to them from an institution/organisation (Orthaber and Marquez-Reiter 2011: 3863). We propose here that the professional face at stake in GP consultations need not necessarily be "on loan" to the trainee (from the NHS, for instance), as being a healthcare practitioner in a publicly-owned, national health service is arguably different from being an employee of a corporate organisation; there are different, life-long professional identities legally set when becoming a doctor, such as abidance with the GMC's "Good Medical Practice" (2013) framework, for instance. Nonetheless, we propose that professional face as a professional persona and its interplay with personal face will offer an effective tool for considering which face-concerns trainee GPs may foreground in these simulations. It is worth noting that, whilst matters of personal face are not typically a primary concern in a number of professional contexts, personal face and professional face are "inevitably entwined" (Harrington 2018: 202). As such, the two concepts should not be viewed as mutually exclusive.

The differentiation of face types is also of value as it helps focalise the professional face-concerns, wants and needs of a GP in a simulated, dyadic health encounter, which is of particular interest when the doctor is acutely aware that their professional identity performance is being assessed. We thus consider the identification of personal face and professional face to be applicable tools for practitioners and junior doctors in medical training programmes and healthcare pedagogy more broadly.

2.4   Simulated interactions

The use of simulated interactions, with actors as patients in medical training, has become increasingly prevalent as a medical assessment tool (Atkins et al. 2016). It has been used to address areas perceived to have been neglected in traditional medical training, including communication and interactional skills (Bradley 2006), in light of the move towards patient centrism. For empirical politeness research on spoken interaction, reliant as it is on data recordings, the ethical hurdles of gaining access to healthcare contexts involving patients are arguably somewhat overcome with this interactional data, though it brings its own issues regarding authenticity and artificiality. As a research area within applied linguistics, medical simulation has been relatively neglected in comparison with "authentic" dyadic encounters, with Seale et al. (2007) suggesting that this is due to concerns over the artifice of scenarios and the often scripted nature of the language involved. Indeed, how a sense of reality operationalises educational or assessment validity within medical simulation is an ongoing debate within existing literature. For example, Hanna and Fins (2006: 266) contend that the typical power dynamics found in consultations can be reversed within simulations, as the simulated patient becomes the holder of institutional "knowledge and judgment".

Accordingly, the nascent professional identity of the medic, lack of clinical consequences, and – at times – the presence of assessors, could create an environment that insufficiently portrays the reality of consultation dynamics. Both Hanna and Fins (2006) and Seale et al. (2007) contend that simulation could become an exercise in professional mimicry, ultimately engendering synthetic patient relationships. Linguistic analysis has also shown a tendency of simulated patients to talk and interrupt more than the medic, giving credence to the idea of an inversion of asymmetry (de la Croix and Skelton 2009). Whilst more recently Atkins (2018) has demonstrated that the abbreviated presentation of background and symptoms by simulated patients – comparative to real life patients – makes junior clinicians work harder to gain information throughout simulated consultations and that ultimately, the brevity of simulator's talk may provide them with a more powerful footing overall in the consultation.

Given the pedagogical nature of clinical simulations, a further area of research is on the performative success of the candidates. Roberts et al. (2003) concluded that successful candidates within simulated examinations exhibited a consistent set of communicative strategies, including empathy, attentiveness and shared problem-solving. However, the means by which successful candidates manoeuvred through context-sensitive sequences could be difficult to teach, and most attempts at "stock" phases and "trained empathy" were counterproductive. Atkins et al. (2016) re-address the reality-validity debate, concluding that the performance assessed within simulated consultations is not the real communication of a clinician, but the ability to craft the "credible appearance of such" – a primary constituent of which is the ability to "play the game" most effectively by deftly altering formulaic language to demonstrate empathy and concern to pass the examination.

Therefore, there are clear issues and ongoing debates amongst researchers analysing simulated data. However, we would argue that there is still real value in analysing simulated training data. As a training and learning resource, success in the Clinical Skills Assessment examinations (henceforth CSA) is crucial if a candidate is to become a qualified GP (Atkins et al. 2016). At the time of recording, these candidates had only 4 attempts to pass the CSA examination, ordinarily the maximum number of attempts a doctor is permitted, at which point they are no longer able to gain a "Certificate of Completion of Training" to practice as an independent GP in the UK. The stakes are clearly very high for these candidates, their future careers, and the career pipeline of GPs. Furthermore, the healthcare practitioners who have created the scenarios and scripts for the patient actors have based these on real-life scenarios that they have encountered themselves in practice. Therefore, whilst it is clear that we are not witnessing naturally-occurring healthcare encounters, we would argue that there is still a clear need to examine simulated talk, particularly on pedagogical grounds, where the impact of passing/failing is so acute.

3. Methodology

The data examined in this chapter are taken from a corpus of 60 simulated doctor-patient interactions, collected over the course of a year, as part of a targeted educational support programme set up within postgraduate, GP specialty training funded by Health Education England (HEE). The project assists GP registrars in their consultation skills, introducing concepts such as self-regulation theory and metacognition into their practice in preparation for the Clinical Skills Assessment component of their assessment. As we have seen above, passing the CSA is a mandatory requirement in a GP registrar achieving a Certificate of Completion of Training (CCT) to practice as a fully qualified GP in the UK's NHS.

The CSA comprises a series of 13 simulated consultations, primarily assessed in three specific domains: data gathering and assessment skills, clinical management skills, and interpersonal skills. The interpersonal domain bears most relevance to our study. This domain contains the following generic assessment criteria pertaining to the candidate's explicit establishment of "rapport" (in lay terms), their show of "sensitivity and empathy" within the consultation, along with "listening and understanding", skills of exploration and negotiation, and the ability to use "appropriate language". As can be seen from Table 1, these criteria do not offer a high level of detail or communicative guidance on how to achieve rapport. In addition to these criteria, is it worth noting that medical training literature often advocates for an approach to the consultation characterised by exploration of patient's ideas, concerns and expectations (I.C.E).

Table 1. CSA interpersonal skills criteria, Royal College of General Practitioners

Assessment Domain: Interpersonal skills	Demonstrating the use of recognised communication techniques to understand the patient's illness experience and develop a shared approach to managing problems. Practising ethically with respect for equality and diversity, in line with the accepted codes of professional conduct.
positive descriptors:	negative descriptors:
– Establishing rapport – Showing sensitivity and empathy – Exploring the patient's concerns – Listening and understanding – Using appropriate language – Negotiating options for treatment	– Does not appear to develop rapport or show sensitivity for the patient's feelings – Does not indentify or explore information about patient's agenda, health beliefs & preferences – Does not make adequate use of verbal & non-verbal cues. Poor active listening skills – Does not identify or use appropriate psychological or social information to place the problem in context – Does not develop a shared management plan, demonstrating an ability to work in partnership with the patient – Does not use language and/or explanations that are relevant and understandable to the patient

The structure of the training programme from which our data was taken allows GP trainees to undergo a diagnostic interview with a member of Health Education England's Professional Support Unit (PSU) before *and* after participating in two consultations designed to parallel those found in the CSA. Prior to each simulation, candidates are interviewed by a GP educator to establish their priorities, strategies and pre-existing confidence levels for the consultation. They are interviewed a second time immediately following the consultation to establish post-hoc, reflective assessments. This element of the dataset allows an innovative approach to investigating rapport management and face in the consultation by accounting for the "interactants' interpretations" of behaviour as per a first-order approach to (im)politeness (Hardaker 2015: 207).

The analysis incorporates two randomly selected simulated consultation scenarios utilised within the training programme, known henceforth as Scenario A and Scenario B. Both scenarios are in some way based on reported real-life experiences of the qualified GPs who are involved in the training process. In Scenario A, the simulated patient is attending the GP surgery to receive results of neurological tests and is ostensibly unaware of the potential gravity of their implications. Against this context, the candidate must deliver a diagnosis of Multiple Sclerosis. Scenario B also involves a patient in receipt of test results, who has previously reported recurrent bouts of sickness. The patient is unaware that he has had a liver function test performed by the hospital, and seemingly has an underlying and undisclosed alcohol problem which he is not comfortable discussing. In both scenarios, the candidate performs the role of a locum-style doctor who has no previous experience of the patient. Other than challenging and refining the consultation skills of the candidates prior to the CSA exam, these consultations have no set prescriptive pedagogical outcome. We will now move on to analysing data taken from these scenarios.

4. Data analysis

We begin the analysis by focusing on a specific, recurring strategy, whereby candidates attend to patients' face concerns, build rapport and hence can be observed to enact a patient-centric approach. As this phenomenon often acts as a means by which clinicians can directly educe patients' thoughts, concerns and expectations via *wh*-interrogatives, we have categorised it "invitation to input" (henceforth ITI). These questions are linguistically distinct from clinical "data-gathering" questions found in GP consultations. Rather than acting as a clinical mechanism to enable the GP to formulate diagnoses, they pertain to eliciting attitudinal assessments from the patient, or can entail the patient's involvement in the prospective diagnosis and/

or treatment itself. As such, ITIs are often concerned with epistemic attributions of knowledge or irrealis moods, and convey rapport-relevant information that relates to the participation domain of the interaction.

Extracts 1 and 2 below are taken from scenario B, where the patient is attending the consultation to receive test results. Prior to Extract 1, the candidate has spent this initial part of the consultation gathering data from the patient, investigating the background to the complaint at hand. The candidate's approach to the simulation is evidenced in the pre-consultation interview in which they identify patient satisfaction and the patient feeling that they are being listened to as key objectives. They stated the following: *"my overall goal is for the patient to be satisfied and listened to and also that we've been able to reach an understanding how we're going to move forward…I need to listen to the patient's concerns and expectations"*. In the extracts the candidate is indicated by the epithet CAN and the patient by SIM

```
    (1)
1   SIM:   No don't know it was a long time ago and he died sort of <0.5>
            you know I'm
2           just concerned that I might have similar
3   CAN:   Similar symptoms ok <0.5> and what would you want us to do?
            I know you've
4           done a blood test but was there anything else you were
            hoping we may be able to
5           do?
6   SIM:   Stop me being sick
7   CAN:   Stop you being sick ok definitely we can do something about
            that <0.5> and er
8           how I mean but since then have you saw the doctor have you
            passed any sort of
9           <0.5> coffee black stools since you've seen the doctor
```

Lines 3–5 of Extract 1 contain a typical manifestation of the ITI, the interrogative *wh-* form "what would you want us to do?" – that is, an invitation for the patient to offer their own thoughts on the management of the issue at hand. In this instance, the use of the ITI operates as a rapport-building device that enacts a patient-centric approach by facilitating patient involvement and expression of opinion. In doing so, it foregrounds their agency in the interaction over the clinician's professional face. Hence, this speech act of inviting attempts to communicate rapport-relevant information that belongs to the illocutionary domain, as well as signalling the co-management of the discourse.

However, the patient's decidedly practical response to this, the declarative "stop me being sick" (line 6), evidences that their orientation to the dyad is not to impart their own ideas on how the illness could be investigated further, but to receive a resolution to it. Accordingly, an invitation to offer an opinion in this way appears superfluous to the patient's primary interactional goal and hence the ITI is

seemingly perceived as misplaced, as the patient's incongruent reaction suggests. In the post-hoc interview, which illuminated the candidate's own interpretations of the consultation, the candidate acknowledged that their attempts to share the management of the case did not work as intended, stating the following: *"I don't think he was on board with that fully…sharing the management, I don't think that really worked out"*. The patient's response, which implied the discordancy of the candidate's ITI, points to the patient resisting a patient-centric approach. Arguably it may be the case that this belies the patient's expectation that the consultation will align more closely to that of a traditional, asymmetrical power dynamic for this activity type.

Extract 2 demonstrates another potential issue with deploying the ITI as a means of building rapport:

```
   (2)
 1  CAN:    Now what I'm saying is that given <0.5> the blood test
            results and given <0.5>
 2          what's been going on with you there are a number of
            possibilities as to what's
 3          going on <0.5> you mentioned one of them yourselves with
            your uncle <1.0>
 4          that could be a possibility? <1.0> wha- what's going
            through your mind <0.5> if
 5          you don't mind me asking?
 6  SIM:    Well <0.5> I just think I've <0.5> probably got stomach ulcer
 7  CAN:    Hmm hmm hmm
 8  SIM:    You know vomiting <0.5> feeling sick
 9  CAN:    Hmm
10  SIM:    Sort of <0.5> retching <0.5>
11  CAN:    Yeah
12  SIM:    All the time
13  CAN:    Yeah <1.0> an- and you're right to think along those lines
            but <1.0> one thing
14          we do know from <0.5> medical <0.5> erm literature and
            <0.5> science is that
15          <1.0> when people like yourselves <0.5> of your age get
            symptoms like that it
16          could <0.5> be mimicking something more serious
```

Here, the wh- interrogative at lines 4–5, ("what's going through your mind <0.5> if you don't mind me asking?") yields that the patient expects the condition to be a non-serious ulcer, attested by their use of "just" as a minimiser, along with the hedges "I just think" and "probably" (line 6). The candidate, however, knows he has a more serious diagnosis to introduce. Subsequently, the candidate spends the next stretch of discourse attempting to realign the patient's expectations in line with his own agenda (lines 13–16).

The ITI strategy can thus also be damaging to the clinician's professional face when used ineffectively. By its very nature, the ITI offer is a linguistic manifestation

of patient-centric strategies to minimise the clinician's monopoly on interactional power, including evaluative expertise and decision-making within the consultation, by sharing the participatory domain with the patient. The candidate can be seen to sacrifice elements of their professional face and identity by sharing the opportunity to evaluate the evidence at hand in the consultation. Even in clinical data gathering, non-ITI questions found within the data, placing elements of diagnostic agency with the patient can elicit threats to professional face. For instance, in response to a question asking whether a patient knows what brings on their sickness, they responded with "this is really why I came to see the doctor in the first place". However, that is not to say all ITI use is detrimental to rapport in these dyadic encounters. There is also evidence of candidates utilising an ITI and receiving crucial information from the simulator in response. What is markedly different within these more fruitful instances is that the candidate has already offered a form of evaluative statement in regard to the condition; the ITI is coupled with preliminary diagnosis or management and generally occurs later in the consultation. In respect to the behavioural expectations of rapport within these scenarios, the success of an ITI that yields information rests on its contextual grounding within the organisation and management of the consultation.

We will now move on to a more detailed examination of a different candidate undertaking Scenario A, in which they are required to deliver bad news (Maynard 2003), namely the MS diagnosis, to a seemingly unsuspecting patient whose symptoms have subsided significantly since medical tests took place. As previously noted, the delivery of diagnosis is the primary interactional goal, or macro speech act (Van Dijk 1977), which governs the dyad from the candidate's perspective. The delivery of bad news in general, and of a serious illness in particular, poses a substantial threat to the patient's personal face. We also believe that the successful or unsuccessful delivery of this speech act can also have implications for the doctor's professional face and personal face, in terms of how they are perceived, evaluated, and approved of by the patient. Too direct a delivery, for instance, may lead to assessments of the doctor that run contrary to their own self-image, such as being an unsympathetic doctor and an insensitive individual more generally. Given the potential complexity of delivering bad news, in the pre-consultation interview, the candidate explained that a standard I.C.E (Ideas, Concerns, Expectations) approach may not be appropriate for this scenario, especially if the patient is not familiar with the condition with which they have been diagnosed. They commented that: *"I like to share the management and do the safety netting, although it's not always so straightforward, if it's a breaking bad news then it's a different approach"*. Extract 3 gives the opening of the encounter:

```
    (3)
1   CAN:    Hi
2   SIM:    Hiya
3   CAN:    My name is doctor <name> nice to see you <0.5> how can I
            help you today?
4   SIM:    I came in er <0.5> probably a few weeks ago to see doctor <name>
5   CAN:    Yeah
6   SIM:    Erm <0.5> I told him at the time I'm <0.5> I had some
            weakness and er <0.5>
7           pins and needles <0.5> in me left leg <0.5> and it was going
            down to me foot
```

Despite what was articulated in the pre-interview, after initial small talk and introductions (lines 1–3) the candidate opens the consultation with an open-ended question ('how can I help you today?'). As Robinson (2006: 25) highlights, these opening constructions are designed to elicit potentially new information from the patient – demonstrating that the clinician may not have pre-existing knowledge of the patient's current concerns. In this particular instance however, the simulator confirms that the reason for her visit is to follow up a prior consultation (line 4, she subsequently explains that she has undergone tests) immediately underpinning the candidate's primary interactional goal as the delivery of the results. Nonetheless, the candidate fails to address this explicitly in the proceeding exchange, and then allows the patient to dominate the conversational floor, shifting topic to give her own personal assessment and evaluation of her health and life. This constitutes a significant 4 minutes 40 seconds of the consultation, an excerpt of which is given as Extract 4:

```
    (4)
1   CAN:    You know what I thought it was and I still think it is as
            well I think I trapped
2           a nerve somewhere <0.5> and erm <0.5> I know sometimes I
            they can be a
3           bother to heal <0.5> you know what I mean they can take
            quite a long time
4           to and I think that's what I did and I think it's just
            coming back to normal
5   CAN:    now
6   SIM:    Okay
7           So er <0.5> it's nice to have some nice news 'cos erm <0.5>
            it's been a <0.5>
8           pretty erm <0.5> crap year a couple of years for me and my
            husband <0.5>
9   CAN:    you know what I mean me mum had breast cancer so
10  SIM:    Sorry
11          We had to er <0.5> nurse mum through that so <0.5> now
            bless her she's
12          gone er <0.5> we're gonna book some holidays and we're
            going to enjoy life
```

```
13          for a change know I mean just me and I'm and <0.5> get out
            and see a bit
14  CAN:    of the world so like I say I feel a bit of a fraud being
            here especially
15  SIM:    Not at all
16  CAN:    Seeing how many's in that waiting room
17  SIM:    Where are you going to for this holiday?
18          Well we-s thinking to be honest we might erm <1.0> we might
            go to America
19          to be honest <0.5> we been <0.5> we thought about <0.5> a
            few years back
20  CAN:    but <0.5> mum got ill
21  SIM:    Mhm
22          So I had to put everything on the back burner <0.5> erm
            he's retired now so
23          I've retired so like you say life's too short so we're
            gonna make <0.5> the
24          most of what years we've got left together and <0.5>
            hopefully <0.5> have
25  CAN:    a few nice holidays doctor
26  SIM:    Yeah there's still plenty of time you're quite young so not
            to worry about that
            Exactly that's what I keep saying we're still young
```

At different points in Extract 4, the candidate can be seen to ostensibly fulfil a number of the domains outlined in the CSA interpersonal skills listed in Table 1. Initially the patient presents her own diagnosis (lines 1–4). At a transition-relevant place (TRP), the candidate issues a discourse marker "okay" (line 5), but instead of then taking the floor, he pauses, resulting in another TRP which enables the patient to re-take the floor and deliver a vignette of her mother's terminal illness (lines 6–13). The candidate listens, understands and empathises with the patient, in principle, displaying characteristics of good interpersonal communication, but this discursive stretch has drifted off-topic from the patient's illness to the illness of a close family member. One useful tool that conceptualises what is going wrong here is Holmes' (2000) small talk continuum – the patient moves along the continuum from transactional to affective talk. Instead of preventing this and getting back on-topic, the candidate facilitates the patient moving topic. The candidate should be the interactant responsible for moving the topic to the transactional information, albeit dispreferred information, that he needs to disseminate. By asking her where she is going on holiday and providing reassurance, the candidate shifts the discourse even further away from the transaction at hand to affective, social talk. This foregrounds the candidate's personal face over his professional face-concerns. This attentiveness is arguably face-enhancing for the patient, and at this stage in the interaction contributes to the effective establishment of positive rapport between the interlocutors. However, one aspect that the Interpersonal Skills Criteria (Table 1) does not explicitly mention but is nonetheless assessed by the examiners

is the length of time candidates spend establishing initial rapport. Whilst the candidate demonstrates a number of the interpersonal skills he is being assessed on, this does not contribute to the main interactional goal of delivering the diagnosis. Interestingly, the candidate bypasses the patient's explanation that her symptoms have subsided and that she feels positive about this, including when she uses met-atalk to hypothesise that the test results are okay: "it's nice to have some nice news"; instead of capitalising on the present topic of the discourse as an opportunity to deliver the test results, the candidate continues to prioritise building rapport. This further attests to the impression that the patient has formed a particular expectation about how the rest of the consultation will play out. The effect of the divergent expectations that the interlocutors have forged in Extract 3–4 culminates in Extract 5, where the patient attempts to leave the room as she believes the consultation is over:

```
(5)
1  CAN:   Okay <0.5> and er <1.0> did you have any thoughts how we
          could help you
2         today?
3  SIM:   No to be honest I like I say I nearly didn't come because I
          feel so well and
4         erm <0.5> sitting out there listening to everybody else's
          ailments I feel a bit
5         of a fraud so er <0.5> no there's nothing you can do for me
          today doctor and
6         like I say it I've got plenty to do today myself so I won't
          waste any more of
7         your time [SIM rises from seat]
8  CAN:   No not all we need to go – so <0.5> er the reason for you
          coming in here
9         today was sorry I couldn't get that
```

The ITI question "did you have any thoughts how we could help you today?" (line 1), similar to that with which the candidate opened the consultation, reiterates an offer of help, invests them with transactional agency, and moves towards equalising the power relationship between interlocutors. This, again, represents an interactional manifestation of the patient-centric approach, where the clinician prioritises patient autonomy and compromises his professional face by handing over interactional power through topic control. That the patient has taken up this perceived transactional agency is indicated by her direct reply to the yes/no question, "no", followed by the declarative "there's nothing you can do for me today doctor" (line 5). Given that the candidate has prioritised affective social talk over transactional talk, he has significantly deferred addressing the interactional goal at hand. As well as being concerned with taking up valuable clinical time, the patient now believes the consultation is over and stands up to leave (lines 6–7). The patient's orientation is evidenced by a series of declaratives, including "I feel so well" and "I feel a bit of

a fraud" (lines 3 and 4). Subsequently, Extract 6 demonstrates how the candidate now has to very quickly repair the patient's misperception of the consultation's interactional purpose as she attempts to leave:

```
      (6)
1   CAN:    Okay so <0.5> now I've had a chat with you <name> <0.5> and
            now I
2           want to tell you about the letter which the neurologist has
            sent us after
3           having investigated you so thoroughly
4   SIM:    Yeah
5   CAN:    Yeah because you had all these problems and things <0.5> so er
6           I have to discuss this letter with you alright
7   SIM:    Yeah
```

As the candidate has primarily devoted their energies to establishing rapport with the patient (Extract 3–5), they now have the challenge of rapidly re-orienting towards a clinical agenda that will enable them to deliver the diagnosis. That such a navigation is necessary is signalled by the candidate's discourse marker "now", which is immediately followed by the metacommunicative evaluation "I've had *a chat* with you <name>". Whilst the patient's first name is presumably employed to maintain rapport, the latter declarative characterises the candidate's own evaluation of the preceding discourse. Here, they use metalanguage to signal an explicit shift from informal, affective talk in the form of "a chat", to a more forceful performative speech act of "telling". This shift is punctuated by another pause and the discourse marker "now" across lines 1–2: "and now I want to tell you about the letter which the neurologist has sent us". The candidate finally foregrounds their professional face-concerns and thus draws attention to the underlying interactional goal. However, the exchanges that take place in Extract 7 demonstrates that, despite this explicit switch, the candidate repeatedly defers the delivery of the results:

```
      (7)
1   CAN:    Okay <0.5> so er I it's very good that all your symptoms
            are getting
2           better I'm so so happy to see you today in such a good
3   SIM:    Mhm
4   CAN:    Mood and everything <0.5> but the the letter <0.5> has got
            some er news
5           which is not really good
6   SIM:    Really <0.5>
7   CAN:    Alright I it it tells us about the condition you have
8   SIM:    Are you sure you've got the right letter doctor I mean I
            know I've not
9           seen you before but <0.5> are you sure you know <0.5> who I
            am and you've
10          got the Right letter
11  CAN:    Yeah I I it's <name> isn't it
```

```
12   SIM:    Yeah
13   CAN:    Yeah we've got the right letter <0.5> and er <0.5> I it's
             not all that bad
14   SIM:    Oh good
15   CAN:    So I just need to discuss that with you so but <0.5>  but
             it's it's to tell you
16           about what problem you have so would you want er <0.5> sort of
17           <husband> to be here when I discuss this with you or do you
             want <0.5>
18           me to go through the letter with you?
19   SIM:    Why would I want <husband><0.5> why would I want <husband>
20           <0.5> you know what I mean is it just the trapped nerve
21   CAN:    Er it's <0.5> it's it's a bit more than a trapped nerve I'm
             sorry to say that
22   SIM:    <2.0>
23   CAN:    Well what do y' what do you mean by that doctor
24   SIM:    Er <0.5> I <0.5>do you want me to go through it?
25   CAN:    Well I want to know <0.5> what you mean by it yeah
26           So <0.5> ((clears throat)) er <0.5> I I it's a have you
             heard of a condition
             called multiple sclerosis at all?
```

That the candidate's first reference to the diagnosis, "some er news which is not really good" (lines 4–5), is introduced by the conjunction 'but', and hence takes place via a conventional implicature, is indicative of the sense that the remainder of the consultation may run contrary to what has preceded it. In addition to the noun phrase "some er news", broken by the hesitation marker "er", the candidate's language continues to be vague. For instance, he refers to "the condition you have" (line 7) and "what problem you have" (line 16), which presuppose an issue (currently nameless) that has not even been signalled until this point in the interaction. By beginning the diagnosis in this fashion, the condition at hand becomes metonymically represented by "the letter", which assuages the delivery of bad news. Adolphs et al. (2004: 20) have argued that the use of vague language within medical encounters can serve as procedural politeness and a "deference strategy" which operates to soften any impositions posed. In Extract 7, we argue that the use of vague language contributes to a sense of ambiguity and, crucially, the repeated deferral of delivering the diagnosis; although 'multiple sclerosis' is finally mentioned as a condition (line 26), it still has not been directly delivered as a diagnosis and is instead becomes a topic introduced in the form of an interrogative about the patients' knowledge of the term. Prior to this point, the patient's expectation of clarification or explanation from the clinician is signalled by the silences that are observed when the patient has opportunities to contribute (lines 15 and 21), following the candidate pointing metapragmatically to his next performative speech act. These are delivered with a classic hedging strategy in the form of a need statement, accompanied with minimiser 'just': 'I just need to discuss' (lines 15).

Nonetheless, the discussion of the letter and the delivery of bad news is deferred further; the sense of imprecision and confusion is intensified when the patient repeatedly queries why she should want her husband to be present (lines 16–17). This interrogative simultaneously expresses her confusion and challenges both the candidate's professional face and personal face by querying their professional competency and their apparent inability to speak directly. When the explanation the candidate offers is vague once more, typified by minimisers and an expression of regret ("it's it's a bit more than a trapped nerve I'm sorry to say"), the patient explicitly requests, via a *wh*-interrogative, that the candidate provides clarification of what they "mean" (line 22). This is directly followed by the patient's overt desire to understand what they 'mean' (line 24). That such requests from the patient are necessary, and are interspersed with the candidate asking another superfluous, metacommunicative question ("do you want me to go through it?" (line 23)), is indicative of the prolonged ambiguity of the consultation. In fact, the diagnosis is delivered 8 minutes and 15 seconds into the consultation; according to Royal College of General Practitioners' guidelines, consultations of this nature should not exceed 10 minutes. Once the diagnosis has finally been delivered, it is met with denial and disbelief by the patient:

```
    (8)
1   SIM:   Yeah I have and er to be honest <1.0> when I have <0.5>
           heard of that <0.5>
2          I've seen everybody in wheelchairs <0.5> who seems to have
           that problem
3          well what's that got to do with me?
4   CAN:   Erm I'm sorry to say that <0.5> but <0.5> the test results
           and the
5          specialist who has seen everything <0.5> he thinks it could
           be multiple
6   SIM:   sclerosis
7          Thinks <0.5> I think he's wrong there ducky <0.5> I I if he
           only thinks
8   CAN:   you know what I mean
9   SIM:   He he I think he er <0.5> the findings are
           He's got it wrong ducky
```

Notably, the diagnosis itself is attenuated further by being delivered as reported speech from an absent third party, "the specialist" (line 4). In this instance, the epistemic marker "think" acts as a scalar implicature which in turn mitigates the certainty of the diagnosis. As line 6 shows, the combination of the candidate repeatedly hedging the diagnosis in this way and the patient's previously held expectations of the interaction results in her mounting a direct challenge to the specialist's diagnosis, delivered by the candidate, with "I think" being used to boost the force of her denial: "I think he's wrong". Questioning the diagnosis in this way poses another significant challenge to the candidate's professional face. The candidate

does attempt some repair, using hesitation markers and adopting the epistemic marker themselves, "I think" (line 8), but once more the patient takes the floor to issue a direct declarative, this time with "I think" as a pragmatic particle, which also indirectly operates as a challenge: "he's got it wrong ducky" (line 9).

In light of this challenge, we now examine how rapport is manifested as the candidate finally delivers the diagnosis:

```
   (9)
 1  CAN:   The result of the test is back and I think that's one of
           the reasons he
 2         asked you to make an appointment to see me today ah <2.0>
           now I'm
 3         just going to go through it with you if that's ok <0.5> ahm
           he <1.0>
 4         basically the consultant looked at the results of the tests
           that you had
 5         and he <0.5> he I'm afraid the result is not what we
           expected in terms
 6        of the fact that I know the symptoms have gone but um <0.5> and
 7         that's I mean <0.5>  you feel that things are back to
           normal and
 8         however on the result and on the investigation they did the
           scan of the
 9  SIM:   head ahm <0.5>  they found some damage
10  CAN:   Damage
11         Yeah in terms of the ah <0.5> the nerves ahm which just
           like talk of the
12  SIM:   brain itself <0.5> they did find that you have what we call
           multiple
13         sclerosis
14  CAN:   I'm not being funny doctor I know I've not seen you before
           but <2.0>
15  SIM:   I know you don't know me but are you sure you've got the right
16  CAN:   notes?
17         Yeah
18         Like I say because you know what I mean this is not making
           sense to
19         me
20         Ahm yeah <0.5> I'll definitely explain it in details ahm
           ahm <0.5>
21         because I know you did mention that the symptoms have sort of
22  SIM:   improved you had a couple of times a few years ago had it
           again and
23  CAN:   the symptoms you mentioned and the fact that they've improved
24  SIM:   <0.5> and with the finding on this ahm <2.0> scan <0.5> I'm
           afraid
           that it might actually be consistent with multiple
           sclerosis <4.0>
           I can't believe what you're telling me
           I'm so sorry do do you want some tissues <15.0>
           That's me done for then <1.0>
```

As in previous extracts, the candidate hedges the delivery of the diagnosis. He does this by referring to the necessity of the patient to attend the consultation "I think that's one of the reasons" (line 1) and with a vague initial reference to the condition as "damage" (line 8). Following this, the candidate does clarify the diagnosis, and collectivises their assertion with an externally deictic "they" (line 11), which refers to the consultants, and collective "we", which ostensibly refers to the medical profession generally and includes the clinician themselves. In lines 12–13, the patient reacts to the diagnosis with an explicit challenge to professional face. First, they preface the challenge with the mitigatory and idiomatic "I'm not being funny", which signals that following utterance may be face threatening. Secondly, they make specific reference to the context in which the consultation has occurred and the relationship between the interactants: "you've not seen me before…you don't know me". On line 13, the patient explicitly questions the epistemic authority of the candidate, "are you sure you've got the right notes?".

In this post-diagnostic section of the consultation there is a dual challenge for the candidate in terms of rapport management: they must navigate and manage a sequence of utterances that rapidly switch between face threats and disbelief, which are also exclamations of potential misunderstanding, whilst demonstrating the elements of empathy and clarity that are required by the CSA competency domains. For example, on line 15, the patient's declarative that "this isn't making sense to me' is seemingly evidence of misunderstanding. However, the patient's next utterance (line 22), which follows the candidate having metapragmatically signposted their intent to explain the diagnosis "in details" [sic] (line 16), has now shifted to signal disbelief. She states that "I can't believe what you're telling me" (line 22). By line 24 there seems to be a sense of acceptance of the diagnosis. However, this acceptance takes the form of the patient self-evaluating and predicting her own death through the declarative: "that's me done for then". Contrary to the candidate's original intention, this declarative simultaneously threatens the patient's own face and the candidate's professional face by concluding that no medical intervention can help her. In fact, there was no discursive space remaining in the consultation to discuss any potential treatment or a prognosis.

As previously noted, Scenarios A and B establish interactional contexts where the patient has already been seen at an earlier date by their regular GP, with the candidate now handling the follow-up appointment as a locum-style GP. We believe that the contextual grounding of Scenario A is a specific route by which the simulated patient can explicitly make challenges to the professional face of the candidate, particularly via exhibitions of disbelief with regard to the diagnosis. How the candidate deals with this challenge can be viewed as a key part of the communicative assessment process.

5.   Discussion

Through a discursive politeness approach, we have a conducted a detailed qualitative analysis of turn-by-turn manifestations of rapport, face, and identity, emergent through stretches of discourse, in the delivery of two different healthcare scenarios, both of which are focused on the challenging and inherently face-threatening premise of the need to deliver bad news to a patient (Maynard 2003). We have identified ITIs as a prime interactional manifestation of a patient-centric approach in contemporary healthcare and also illustrated how the contextual structuring of the scenarios themselves work to affect rapport within them. This chapter has also shown how there can easily be a mismatch between the amount and type of talk that is required to effectively maintain rapport and how this is carefully balanced out with the amount and type of talk that is required for the transactional part of a professional interaction to take place successfully.

Our in-depth analysis has focused on a variety of different linguistic tools and terms and how these can be of applied use to healthcare practitioners as teaching and learning tools that can stay with trainee clinicians throughout their careers. We have also demonstrated how an over-emphasis on building positive rapport through social talk and the foregrounding of the candidate's personal face concerns can derail the primary interactional goals of a GP consultation and make the successful performance of that goal significantly more challenging. It runs the risk of damaging the relationship between doctor-patient, as an inability to effectively and appropriately shift to transactional talk occludes the primary interactional goal of the consultation, resulting in confusion and disbelief on the part of the patient. Furthermore, alongside demonstrating the importance of the question types that clinicians use, including the identification of ITIs, we have also demonstrated the important role played by metacommunication, discourse markers, speech acts, topic control and transition-relevant places in dyadic healthcare encounters in terms of manifestations of face and professional and personal identity construction. Indeed, identification of key linguistic forms and how they function in interactional terms is a key part of the linguistics workshop delivery built into this training programme as part of our collaborations with healthcare practitioners as applied linguists. The availability of pre- and post-hoc interviews for this dataset demonstrates that aspects of rapport, patient satisfaction and empathy are reported to be at the forefront of concern for many of the candidates, including those whose data is analysed in this chapter. This suggests that these are communicative strategies that are being actively chosen by candidates for the exercise and are perceived as a key requirement for success, to the point where they are actively verbalised to the examiner at hand.

For example, the primary reflection of the candidate whose discourse was analysed in Scenario A (Extract 3–9) was rapport focused. He articulated that he had not demonstrated enough empathy and explicitly contrasted his performance to a real consultation, rather than taking any particular concern regarding the delivery of diagnosis: "if it's a real scenario it would have been different…I am quite empathetic and compassionate for my patients and in a real situation I feel it more, in a simulated situation I feel it less". This may suggest that the core emphasis on "establishing rapport", as it is conceptualised by the CSA in Table 1, may be unhelpful to some candidates in achieving a balanced, approach in a successful consultation, especially when striking a balance between transactional, information delivery and the affective talk that builds rapport is critical for communicative success. In essence, an overt emphasis on rapport becomes a demand characteristic of the exercise itself. In our data analysis, there is evidence of candidates getting lost in enhancing face through affective talk and the foregrounding of personal face concerns at the expense of asserting their professional face and effectively delivering the transactional information required in the form of an inherently face-threatening diagnosis.

It is also possible that the active and frequently face-challenging identity of the patient – discussed further below – also has a role to play in the candidates' emphasis on rapport with these simulated consultations. Arguably, the simulated patients characterised within these scenarios do not fulfil Shaw and Baker's (2004) criteria of the "expert patient" as informed and empowered persons bringing their own expertise to bear on the consultation process – although it is worth noting that the actors themselves are fully briefed and aware of the details and diagnosis of the case. Instead, the dominance of the clinical role is challenged via specific instances of threats to professional face, rejection of patient-centric strategies, as well as, ultimately, the contextual grounding of the cases themselves as demanding consultations. This accords with Hanna and Fins' (2006) notion of an inversion of asymmetry within simulated consultations that can demarcate them from "real" GP consultations and is perhaps exemplified by the relative lack of success that many elements of vague language have within these consultations. Conversely – as has been noted previously – vague language is frequently found within "real" medical encounters (Adolphs et al. 2007), functioning successfully to elide areas of extraneous medical information for the patient. Within the data analysed in this chapter however, we have demonstrated how the simulated patient often seizes upon areas of vagueness and presents these as places where candidates need to explain themselves more clearly.

Ultimately, the approach that we have observed here may speak more of the pedagogical nature of the training programme's scenarios as methods to engender a reflective approach in the performance of rapport within the consultation for the

candidates. Pilnick and Dingwall (2011) suggest that patient deference towards the physician is due to shared local goals orienting around the successful diagnosis and treatment of the ailment. Simulated consultations may well show a difference in some scenarios. Whilst the candidate's rapport-building methods may remain approximately the same in the simulation, the simulator holds more institutional licence to freely confront any elements of the candidate's discourse without repercussion to their personal selves, though it is worth noting and reiterating here that they are very carefully briefed and trained by the medical practitioner teams. Also, whilst a certain shift in local power dynamics may be somewhat different from "real" dyads, that is not to say that this modified form is without value; indeed the two scenarios presented in this training programme may be reflective of an increase in patient agency more generally, resulting from medicalisation, patient-centrism and the development of the expert patient. As we have highlighted earlier, the scenarios are based upon real-life encounters from the authentic experiences of GP trainers and so whilst they are artificial and cannot be deemed "authentic" discourse, they are arguably indicative of and reflective of contemporary changing practices in dyadic GP consultations. Perhaps they are further indicative of the communicative behaviours that are culturally valued in medicine generally and general practice specifically.

Indeed, managing the agency of patients in terms of dyadic rapport and how this, in turn, establishes notions of an empathic, patient-centric approach, is an important focus in the data analysed in this chapter. The ITI concept that we have put forward is a discursive strategy which can, if successfully delivered, promote egalitarian discussion and ownership of the management and treatment of the condition at hand within the consultation. However, it is notably operationalized by the clinician as the dominant interactant within the dyad, and as our data have exemplified, it is a contextually-sensitive strategy, which can appear formulaic or promote confusion if untethered to foregoing clinical evaluation within the consultation. This suggests that the linguistic manifestation of patient-centric strategies, which allow patients an evaluative stance within the consultation, relies upon a high degree of skill from the clinician, particularly in terms of ensuring that, as linguistic devices, they are not misinterpreted and that their delivery is successful. The ability to learn these skills to demonstrate them effectively in the CSA is the ultimate goal of the training programme under scrutiny.

Although there is still a preference for naturally-occurring, real-life data to examine (im)politeness in professional contexts, it is the intention of this chapter to highlight the value and significance of examining simulated interactions, particularly where they are being used as part of a gatekeeping process to govern who will attain the professional identity of becoming a GP. It is clear that there are still ethical barriers to gaining access to healthcare interactions and whilst these can

sometimes be successfully overcome, it is also necessary not to overlook simulated interactions whereby a great deal of medical training takes place around the globe and where crucial decisions are taken in terms of who can and cannot practice medicine in particular communities and societies. Crucial decisions about the kinds of communicative behaviours that new doctors must become apprenticed in and demonstrate they can perform to a more experienced assessor can be witnessed through assessed, simulated interaction, thus raising awareness of the sets of interactive behaviours and practices which are valued by particular professional healthcare communities.

6.   Conclusion

In terms of the applied linguistic value of this research, the overall intention has been that the theoretical and analytical approaches in this chapter provide a series of practical, tangible linguistic tools, that can be demonstrated and taught to candidates through transcription-based, linguistic data analysis to assist practitioners and trainee clinicians. Knowledge and application of the tools has been used to evaluate and enhance candidates' communicative practices, through reflective work in workshop settings and beyond. Through a linguistically informed, detailed theory of rapport management and power, as opposed to a lay understanding of what it means to "establish rapport", as it is listed in the CSA generic descriptors table, it is the intention that trainers can use linguistic tools to train candidates and patients in simulations to carefully consider the communicative strategies they use. Discursive politeness and rapport management provide a framework of identity construction, including the enactment of professional face, personal face and power in interaction, delivered through the variety of linguistic tools and techniques that we have identified in this chapter: question types, including ITIs, the small talk transactional talk continuum (Holmes 2000), speech acts, metacommunication, hedging devices, discourse markers, topic control and transition-relevant places between turns. Providing trainers and candidates with linguistic toolkits such as these enables them to be more reflective language users. The aim is to enhance communicative practices to assist in preparation of candidates for CSA-style examinations, but also and most importantly to make the day-to-day interactions of GPs more effective for both GPs as a professional group and for the benefit of patients.

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Team interaction in healthcare settings

Leadership, rapport-building and clinical outcomes in ad hoc medical teams

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1. Introduction

The contemporary provision of patient care is observed to be increasingly reliant on teams of healthcare professionals of different specialisms rather than autonomously functioning uniprofessional groups (Leathard 1994; Thomas et al. 2014; Villagran and Baldwin 2014). With evidence of poor communication among members of ad hoc medical teams routinely leading to instances of critical incidents and mistakes (US Joint Commission 2014; Rider and Keefer 2006; Slade et al. 2008), the increased reliance on interprofessional team collaboration places increased pressure on such interaction being effective, facilitating the successful exchange of information and expertise. For those leading ad hoc medical teams, this creates complex roles that require them to be able to not only effectively interact with individual members of their teams but also facilitate effective team collaboration, this being also central to ensuring patients' safety and the successful attainment of clinical goals.

In order to examine the relationship between leadership, rapport-building and clinical performance, the chapter examines interactions observed in the specific context of emergency medicine training in a large teaching hospital in the UK. Seven video-recorded trauma simulations and seven video-recorded debrief sessions form part of the data analysed here. These video recordings are then supplemented also by field notes and training documentation, both of which were collected as part of the ethnographic research carried out in the training where trainee doctors prepare to carry out managerial tasks in their specialist roles.

In the chapter, the trainees' different leadership styles, as characterised by the means through which they delegate tasks and signal active listenership to other interlocutors, are identified and matched up to their relative success. The former in turn is established on the basis of the consideration of the overall evaluation of the trainees' leadership skills by those taking part in the simulation and the effects that the candidates' leadership styles have on the joint completion of clinical tasks, particularly as evidenced by the overall speed with which the station is completed by the candidates. In the chapter, it is discussed specifically whether the presence or absence of more elaborate rapport-building strategies, as exemplified by mitigation of requests and the use of markers of active listenership, can have an effect on the team's performance and the joint achievement of clinical tasks as outlined in the clinical performance marking sheet. In our analysis, we concentrate specifically on how rapport (Spencer-Oatey 2000) is attended to in interaction. We examine also the uptake of this management of rapport, examining the implications of its form for the goal-orientated aspect of communication observed in the medical sphere. We do not wish to make claims about the analysis providing an exhaustive overview of all of the features of rapport management observed in this context but instead focus on the features linked to the autonomy-imposition continuum in the communicative repertoires that the trainees draw upon. A close attention is paid specifically to the mitigation of requests and also the use of (in)directness – drawing upon a modified version of Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989) CCSARP ("Cross-Cultural Study of Speech Act Realization Patterns") coding manual, and the concept of active listenership (Coates 1986).

The aim of the chapter is to demonstrate the ability of linguistic research – and politeness research specifically – to have practical application in the healthcare domain. As asserted by Mullany (2009) and then Locher and Schnurr (2017), there is still a real need for healthcare communication research to be more "applied". While there is a growing body of research addressing communicative issues pertaining to that sphere (Lambert 1995, 1996; Spiers 1998; Grainger 2002, 2004; Jameson 2003; Delbene 2004; Woolhead et al. 2006; Backhaus 2009; Brown and Crawford 2009; Graham 2009; Harrison and Barlow 2009; Mullany 2009; Zayts and Kang 2009), there are relatively few studies exploring issues relating to politeness in interprofessional medical interaction (Arber 2008; Graham 2009). This is despite the coordination of interprofessional work being essentially a primarily linguistic – and more specifically a pragmatic – phenomenon.

While recognising the distinct nature of simulated interactions in comparison to real-life healthcare talk (for discussion, see Atkins 2019), we wish to hypothesise that such simulated scenarios importantly provide a vital site for the formation of future professional practice and a means of determining what discursive practices are evaluated positively by experienced medical staff. From that perspective, they

are deemed worth investigating and analysing with the prospect of gaining a better understanding of the rapport building strategies observed in the context of ad hoc medical teams and informing professional practice and communication skills training in medical education as well.

2.   Background

Communication observed in the healthcare sector has been an object of frequent linguistic study since the 1980s. Traditionally dominated by inquiry into doctor-patient interaction, particularly as observed in primary care (Mishler 1984; West 1984; Fisher 1984; Borges 1986; Silverman 1987; von Raffler-Engel 1989; Heritage and Sefi 1992; Maynard 1992; Cicourel 1999; Sarangi and Roberts 1999; Sarangi 2004; Heritage and Maynard 2006), the field slowly started to diversify. With its maturation, more attention started being paid to interactions between patients and members of allied medical professions as well as professional and interprofessional teams. This increased focus on the multiplicity of interlocutors and audiences pertaining to healthcare settings addressed the need for healthcare communication research to move beyond its primary patient-doctor focus (Iedema 2005; Sarangi 2006; Graham 2009), recognising that healthcare communication necessarily involves "a wide variety of interlocutors who occupy a whole range of different professional roles" (Mullany 2009: 3–4). Interactions of patients and nurses (Crawford et al. 1998; Spiers 1998; Grainger 2002), physiotherapists (Ballinger et al. 1999), pharmacists (Pilnick 1998, 1999) and occupational therapists (Mattingly 1994) have been explored in more depth. More focus started being placed also on the investigation of how teams of different healthcare professionals interact with one another, importantly shedding light on the processes of multi-party delivery of care. Even in cases when the interaction under investigation did not entail direct engagement with the patient, its quality importantly could still have significant implications for clinical outcomes, patients' satisfaction (Brookes and Baker 2017) and health.

2.1   Team interaction in healthcare settings

The departure from the traditionally predominant autonomous functioning of different healthcare specialisms is something that has been increasingly observed in recent years (Leathard 1994; Thomas et al. 2014; Villagran and Baldwin 2014). In the context of the UK, and the UK National Health Service (NHS) specifically, this has been linked, among many, to the economic, political and social changes

brought about during the 1980s (for discussion, see Thomas et al. 2014). During that time, pressure was placed on public services to become more closely aligned to market-driven organisations, all in the face of tight controls over public spending and with healthcare contexts having to reconfigure the way in which they operate to adapt to this. The drive towards a more coordinated, multi-disciplinary patient care was one of the means of responding to the shrinkage in the resources available to healthcare services. On the other hand, such reconfiguration was also attributed to the need to avoid incidents tied closely to issues with information sharing, with interprofessional teams being hypothesised to be able to draw upon a breadth of expertise when responding to often complex medical concerns, many of which requiring attention of more than one specialism (for discussion, see Leathard 1994).

While generally advocated, interprofessional team interaction can be also associated with its own set of limitations, not least those involving the complex and often-changing variables affecting it. As argued by Villagran and Baldwin (2014: 362), for example, "all too often health organizations manifest fragmentation and turbulence that limit the capacity for optimal team functioning". Hollenback et al. (2012) enumerate skill differentiation, authority differentiation, and temporal stability of ad hoc teams as significant factors affecting how they operate. Issues surrounding institutional hierarchies, varying disciplinary stances and ways of performing clinical tasks can all bear significant implications for the quality of exchanges that ad hoc teams have, potentially having implications for the clinical decision-making that those interactions inform. Physician-centredness and discursively-elaborated power asymmetries in particular can all play a significant role in limiting interdisciplinary team's ability to provide coordinated patient care, with interprofessional collaboration being premised on "power sharing and parity" where the medical profession often has the most to lose (Thomas et al. 2014: 16). Multiple studies demonstrate that, all too often, physician's satisfaction with team interaction is not met with similar levels of satisfaction from other members of the medical team that they lead (Nicotera and Clinkscales 2010; O'Leary et al. 2010; Ng et al. 2017), suggesting that coordination in interprofessional collaboration is, in many cases, yet to be achieved.

Issues surrounding the lack of coordination in interprofessional care are evidenced to lead to poor communication and, at times, also critical incidents and mistakes (Gawande et al. 2003; Leonard et al. 2004; Lingard et al. 2004; Sutcliffe et al. 2004; Rider and Keefer 2006; Slade et al. 2008; US Joint Commission 2014). The case of Elaine Bromiley, a patient admitted to a hospital for a seemingly routine operation, provides one such example of poor team communication being associated with breakdowns in an ad hoc team functioning and effectiveness (Bromiley 2008). Centering on failure of due care, the case highlighted the complexities of interdisciplinary team interaction, and specifically communication across historically

emergent and institutionally entrenched hierarchies in ad hoc teams. The investigation into Bromiley's death demonstrated for example that experienced nurses, despite having brought tracheotomy equipment into the operating theatre, felt unable to speak up when they thought a tracheotomy should have been performed. One of the key recommendations of the coroner's report in this case was fostering a more collaborative environment in ad hoc teams in order to allow all members of their members to contribute to the delivery of patient care (Harmer 2005). Similar recommendations were put forward in relation to the specific context of emergency medicine as well (Ng et al. 2017). In both cases, the role played by the establishment of rapport between different healthcare professionals in ad hoc teams was recognized, highlighting the fact that when all "caregivers communicate effectively and have the opportunity to share their own pieces of the puzzle, the whole picture of patient care is enhanced; conversely, when there are pieces missing, patient care is compromised" (Graham 2009: 14).

2.2   Training to lead and manage rapport

For those leading medical teams, it is recommended that, in order to avoid the aforementioned instances of breakdown in team interaction or information-sharing, power asymmetries are to be discursively collapsed. Teamwork and effective team communication skills are considered central to professional development of healthcare staff, with calls for their greater incorporation in the training of medical professionals (US Joint Commission 2014).

Despite the evident need for team communication training, the delivery of it is still relatively scarce, the predominant focus being placed on the development of individual communication skills and competencies as opposed to those associated with working as a team (Kuziemsky et al. 2009). Moreover, the delivery and the design of such materials is constrained by the need to resolve a seemingly contradictory set of recommendations, with healthcare professionals – on one hand – needing to discursively collapse power asymmetries, which in British English may be often normatively associated with – among others – drawing upon more mitigated and also often less direct linguistic forms and – on the other hand – being encouraged to rely upon direct linguistic forms to achieve clarity and efficiency (Apker et al. 2005; Orasanu and Fischer 2008). There is consequently a lack of sufficient training and research which informs our understanding of what discursive strategies are and can be used in interdisciplinary contexts to foster shared decision-making and problem-solving, with rapport building in healthcare contexts – and interprofessional medical interaction specifically – remaining still under-researched.

2.3   Research into politeness phenomena in medical interaction

Politeness research that has been carried out in relation to talk observed in medical settings draws upon different theoretical and analytical frameworks devised by politeness theorists. Among these, studies influenced by Brown and Levinson's (1987) seminal work (Lambert 1995, 1996; Spiers 1998; Grainger 2002; Backhaus 2009; Brown and Crawford 2009). Brown and Levinson's (1987: 58) theory of politeness is premised on the idea that "a wilful fluent speaker of a natural language, further endowed with two special properties – rationality and face" will typically act in such a manner as to not threaten one's or other people's face. With the latter being defined as "the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself [or herself]" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 58–61) and associated with the way the term is commonly used metaphorically in phrases such as "to lose face", politeness is associated with conflict avoidance in this account. This is in line with the argument that "it will in general be to the mutual interest of two MPs [model persons] to maintain each other's face", something critiqued by some scholars (Schmidt 1980; Kasper 1990: 194) on the premise of the theory viewing communication as something "fundamentally dangerous and antagonistic". The argument that politeness is linked to conflict avoidance at least to a certain extent is not without any merit nevertheless, particularly if considering that impoliteness is an option that could be taken at any point during an exchange (Mills 2011) and also with face being viewed as something which is affective and associated with its own set of sensitivities (Goffman 1967; Brown and Levinson 1987; Spencer-Oatey 2000). In Brown and Levinson's model of politeness (1987), this general orientation towards demonstrating consideration for other speakers is realised through attending to one's or other interlocutor's face. This can take the form of linguistically displaying either greater emphasis on expression of familiarity, in line with people's desire to "be appreciated and approved of", or the drive towards an expression of deference, recognising other people's "basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 61). In the study of politeness observed in the context of healthcare, this attendance to face has been also noted. Politeness practices associated with the orientation towards either deference or familiarity has been observed, for example, in the contexts of nurse-patient (Crawford et al. 1998; Spiers 1998; Grainger 2002) and interprofessional interactions (Lambert 1995, 1996; Jameson 2003) as well as mediated healthcare talk (Adolphs, Atkins and Harvey 2007; Brown and Crawford 2009; Harrison and Barlow 2009). Healthcare professionals interacting in those settings were evidenced to be responsive to the situational factors affecting the orientation that they took. In the studies of Spiers (1998), Grainger (2002) and Brown and Crawford (2009), for example, the practitioners were shown to, on one hand, show deference when communicating bad

news to another interlocutor but also use humour, fostering familiarity, when engaging in problematic or embarrassing talk.

Another framework often used to study politeness in medical settings is Locher and Watts's (2005) relational work. The concept itself is defined as "the work people invest in negotiating their relationships in interaction" (Locher and Watts 2008: 78), with relational work being developed as an alternative model of politeness to the one presented by Brown and Levinson (1987). Building on Brown and Levinson's (1987) work, the model accounts for what is argued to be "the entire continuum [of] polite and appropriate and impolite and inappropriate behavior" that can be observed in talk (Locher and Watts 2005: 11). In healthcare communication research, Zayts and Kang (2009) and Zayts and Schnurr (2013) draw upon the work of Locher and Watts (2005), evidencing how relational work is discursively negotiated by interlocutors involved in an exchange. By examining interactions observed in the specific context of genetic counselling in Hong Kong, the authors argue, similarly to other studies of politeness in healthcare talk, that politeness practices are context-dependant to a great extent, being quintessentially pragmatic phenomena.

The politeness research that has been observed in the context of healthcare communication so far has already generated important insights into the person-orientated aspect of communication observed in healthcare settings. There is nevertheless much need for further research, with alternative approaches to and models of politeness – such as the discursive approach to politeness (for discussion, see Linguistic Politeness Research Group 2011) or rapport management (Spencer-Oatey 2000) – offering fruitful new perspectives on the issue. In this chapter, we will draw upon a modified version of Spencer-Oatey's (2000) framework (discussed in detail in the Analytical Framework section), investigating specific aspects of rapport management, namely the mitigation of requests and active listenership, and considering both verbal and non-verbal realisation of politeness phenomena. In doing so, the chapter aims to illustrate the potential of politeness research to test theories of best practice and also examine the extent to which the performance and evaluation of specific communicative practices is context-bound.

3. Data and methods

The data presented in the chapter is collected in the context of medical training carried out in a large teaching hospital in the UK. The training forms part of the preparation of trainee doctors for their summative exam for specialism in emergency medicine in the UK and Republic of Ireland – the Fellowship of the Royal College of Emergency Medicine (FRCEM) final exam. The trainee doctors prepare here specifically for the Objective Structured Clinical Examination (OSCE) element of the

examination, involving a completion of strictly-timed stations "where a standardized clinical task is performed under the observation of one or two examiners who score the performance on a structured marking sheet" (Newble 2004: 200). Preparatory exercises, such as the simulated trauma case examined in this chapter, are common practice in the run up to the FRCEM exam. They also provide trainee doctors with a crucial opportunity to practice the performance of leadership tasks, providing an insight into the development of the trainees' linguistic repertoires.

The data set presented in the chapter consists of seven video recordings of such trauma simulation as well as seven debrief sessions which occur directly after them. The trauma case presented in the recordings involves an unidentified patient being admitted to an ED by a paramedic after being found next to a crashed car. In the simulation, each trainee doctor is expected to perform leadership tasks in order to: (i) examine the patient; (ii) identify the type of trauma suffered by them – in the case of this scenario, internal bleeding; and then (iii) dispatch them to the appropriate department of the hospital – in the scenario, the operating theatre.

In each trauma simulation, the trainee manages a team of two healthcare professionals (Figure 1), a junior doctor and a nurse. Other healthcare professionals involved in the simulation include: a radiographer, a paramedic and a surgical consultant. With the exception of the role of the paramedic, all healthcare professionals' roles are acted out by experienced medical staff. The successful completion of the station is reliant on the successful management of the trainee doctor's medical team, requiring the trainee leading the team to request specific tasks to be performed by its members in a bid to achieve specific medical goals and complete the station within the allotted time.
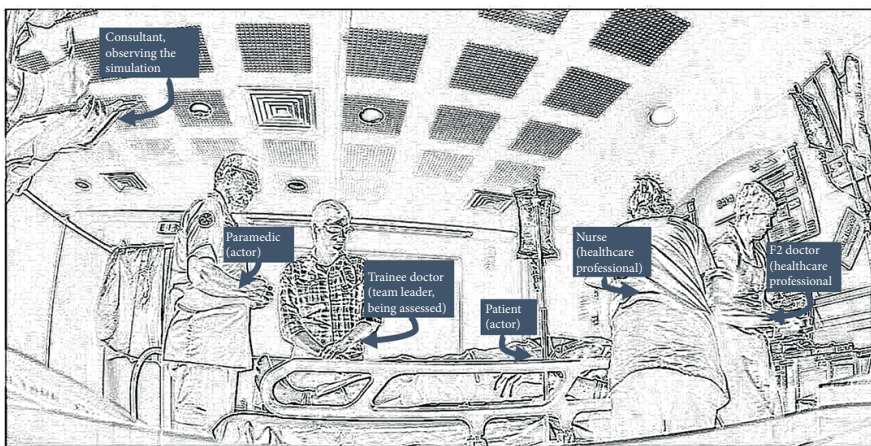

Figure 1. The main participants of a simulation (l-r): consultant observing the simulation; paramedic (actor); trainee doctor; patient (actor); nurse (healthcare professional) and F2 doctor (healthcare professional)

Once the 14-minute simulation is completed, actors and healthcare professionals involved in the simulation are asked to assess how well the trainee managed the team overall. Apart from providing their comments, they are also asked to score the candidate's leadership performance on the scale of 1 to 5, 5 representing the best score. The scores given to trainee doctors by other participants of the simulation are then used in the analysis and to group the participants into "high" and "good performers", and identify trainees whose leadership performance was assessed less favourably by members of their medical team. Out of the 7 simulations presented in this chapter, only one has received many recommendations for improvement and is evaluated less positively than simulations of other trainees, with one of its participants stating "I didn't really know what to be doing most of the time". The other trainee doctors are assessed either well or very well, with 3 trainee doctors being grouped into the "high performers" category and 3 trainees being assessed well. All of the "high performing" trainee doctors complete the station ahead of the allotted time, performing all of the key clinical tasks outlined in the marking sheet, whereas this can be observed only in one case in the "good performers" group. The trainee whose leadership is assessed less favourably is observed to complete only some of the clinical tasks specified in the simulation marking sheet. Table 1 below outlines each station completion time.

Table 1. Station completion times

	Candidate	Station completion time	All of the key clinical tasks performed (Yes/No)
High performers	Candidate A	13:50	Yes
	Candidate B	12:03	Yes
	Candidate C	10:58	Yes
Good performers	Candidate D	12:36	Yes
	Candidate E	14:00	No
	Candidate F	14:00	No
Trainee assessed less favourably	Candidate G	14:00	No

4. Analytical framework

In the chapter, the evaluation of trainees' leadership performance and also the time it takes to complete the station are matched up to the specific communicative means the trainees use when managing their team. This is to assess which communicative strategies are evaluated more positively and are associated with greater efficiency.

The analysis itself is divided into two parts: quantitative – where each feature under scrutiny is coded and quantified to make observations about the trainees' linguistic performances, and qualitative – where the observations made in relation to the data are explored in detail through discourse analytical means. Sections 4.1 and 4.2 therefore will introduce the two key features under scrutiny, that is requests for action and active listenership, outlining the means through which they were coded and how the specific coding schemes were selected and operationalised in the quantitative analysis. Section 4.3, on the other hand, will discuss the framework employed in the qualitative analysis.

4.1   Delegating tasks

The delegation of tasks is one of the key foci of the analysis due to its interpretation as a prototypical aspect of the performance of leadership (Mullany 2007; Holmes 2009; Schnurr 2009; Baxter 2010), with leadership being argued to be not only discursively performed (Fairhurst 2007) but also taking a multiplicity of forms (for discussion, see Fairclough 1989 and Dwyer 1993). The different formulations of requests for action suggest that, as argued by Holmes and Stubbe (2003: 40):

> [u]nderlying every interaction […] is the delicate balance between the pressure to get job done well and efficiently on the one hand and *affective* considerations of collegiality and concerns for other people's feelings, i.e. politeness, on the other hand.

Such balancing of more relational and transactional elements of interaction is something that that has been noted by linguists some time ago (McCarthy 1991; Coupland 2000; Holmes 2000), with the transactional aspect of such interaction encompassing "getting business done in the world" and with the relational aspect having "as its primary functions the lubrication of the social wheels" (McCarthy 1991: 136).

In order to establish how trainee doctors attend to such concerns in the process of direction-giving in the simulations that are analysed, the requests for action produced by the trainees are coded using a modified version of the CCSARP ("Cross-Cultural Study of Speech Act Realization Patterns") coding manual (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989). The coding scheme provides an outline of the different types of components of requests and the forms that they take (see Tables 2 and 3).

Head acts, which are listed in Table 2, for example, can realise a request independently. They can also be expressed with varying degrees of directness, with certain forms – also indirect, as it is the case here – being highly conventionalised (e.g. "Can you…?") and associated with requesting something from another interlocutor (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain 1984). While not always being more polite

Table 2. Types of head acts, defined as parts of speech acts which can realise them independently (based on Blum-Kulka et al., 1989)

	Strategy	Example
Direct	Mood derivable	"Get me an F2"
	Obligation statement	"We need to get someone to come down and put a drain in"
	Want statement	"Just want to get a chest x-ray"
Indirect	Suggestory formulae	"Let's make sure we've got the chest drain trolley"
	Query preparatory	"Can we put the trauma call in?"
	Hint	"You did give me a GAS but I don't think I actually did [see it]"

Table 3. Internal and external modification of head acts (based on Blum-Kulka et al., 1989)

	Lexical	Example
Internal modification	a. Hedging	"Could you **perhaps** help?"
	b. Understaters	"Linda, can you **just** let radiology know that we'll need an x-ray?"
	c. Subjectivisers	"John, can you get IV access **for me**?"
	d. Downtoners	"We should **probably** put in a drain on the right-hand side"
	e. Politeness markers	"Can we get a handover then, **please**?"
	f. Collective pronouns	"**We** need to activate major haemorrhage protocol"
	g. Time intensifiers	"Okay, so we need to transfuse him **straight away**"
External modification (supportive moves)	Preparator	"**Have we got a trauma team here?** Can we put a trauma call out?"
	Grounders	"So, **if they haven't arrived then**… yes, let's get him down so we can do a DPL"
	Disarmers	"I'm sorry… **you're busy** but can we get some fluids ready as well?"
	Promises of reward	"If we can get the chest drain in then **that would be fantastic**"
	Imposition downgraders	"I think we should probably put a binder on his pelvis guys **when we get a chance**"
	Appealer	"Set him up in here before we start. **Is that alright?**"

(for discussion, see Grainger and Mills 2016), the more indirect forms can demonstrate the speaker's orientation towards the mitigation of imposition of a certain request that they make (Fraser 1990). The (in)directness of a speech act, in turn, is linked to the explicitness with which its illocutionary force is expressed, with Searle (1975: 60) linking this closely to linguistic form (locution) and defining indirect speech acts as "cases in which one illocutionary act is performed indirectly by way of performing another".

Table 3 outlines the external and internal modification that can be made to a request in order to strengthen or mitigate its force. The internal modification can include, for example, lexical features in the form of hedges (e.g. "perhaps") or politeness markers (e.g. "please") that can further modify the strength of a request. External modification, finally, encompasses utterances that accompany the main requesting unit, the head act, and can include, for example, explanations as to why the request is made. Such instances of external modification can also act as means of mitigating or strengthening the force of a request.

In the study, the different types of requesting and modification strategies are identified in the data and then quantified. On the basis of such quantification, it is explored whether there is any link between how trainee doctors delegate tasks to their teams and how their leadership skills are assessed by those whom those tasks were delegated to. The description of the linguistic profiles of trainee doctors that is enabled through such analysis is then used to help shed light on the types of leadership practices which are afforded a prototypical status in the simulated setting presented here. In addition to exploring how specific components of the candidates' linguistic repertoires are associated with the enactment of leadership, the chapter also sheds light on the relative success or failure of these strategies on the goal-orientated aspects of communication in this trauma scenario, in which tasks are to be jointly achieved.

4.2   Active listenership

The enactment of leadership, and the management of rapport observed as part of it, does not only involve speaking nevertheless, but can also be associated with listening, often also visibly demonstrated by the use of markers of active listenership used by interlocutors. Defined as a "way of indicating the listener's positive attention to the speaker" (Coates 1986: 99), active listenership necessarily involves signalling attention to what is being said and, consequently, preoccupation with establishing or maintaining rapport (Knight 2011).

In the analysed data, two forms of active listenership are identified – verbal and non-verbal, with those being further translated into verbal backchannels, gestures, gaze, body movement and head nods (Knight and Adolphs 2008). With the exception of gestures, which – in the case of the data presented in this chapter – are produced more frequently by trainee doctors when giving instructions to their team, the different markers of active listenership (for overview, see Table 4) are identified and quantified in fragments of interaction where trainee doctors respond to other interlocutors' extended stretches of talk, usually observed in the context of handovers. Different forms of trainees' employment of active listenership is coded

and then compared, showing discrepancies in how many markers of active listenership are evoked per one second of other interlocutor's talk, or how frequently and for how long the trainee doctor orientates their body to the other interlocutor or makes eye contact with them. The annotation of markers of active listenership was carried out in ELAN. Similarly to the analysis of the use of requests for action, the examination of the presence of active listenership markers acts as a means of establishing how much orientation there is to rapport-building in each leadership performance and what consequences this has not only for its evaluation of leadership but also the efficiency of the performance of clinical tasks. As argued by Sarangi (2016: 3), "[a] team discussion, or even a dyadic interaction, will not be productive if no one adopts an active listener role, signalled through backchanneling cues, minimal responses or simply mutual gaze and posture orientations", highlighting its important role in ad hoc medical team talk.

Table 4. Types of markers of active listenership observed in the data (adapted version of Knight and Adolphs's (2008) coding scheme)

Marker of active listenership	Sub-type
1. Backchannel	Verbal (e.g. *mhm, yeah*)
	Non-verbal (headnod)
2. Eye gaze	
3. Body orientation	

4.3   Rapport management

In the qualitative analysis of the data presented in the chapter, apart from discussing the aforementioned linguistic forms of requests for action and markers of active listenership, their use is also analysed in conjunction with the examination of the broader management of rapport performed by each trainee doctor. "Rapport" itself is defined by Spencer-Oatey and Franklin (2009: 102) as "people's subjective perceptions of (dis)harmony, smoothness-turbulence and warmth-antagonism in interpersonal relations" while "rapport management" is defined as "the ways in which this (dis)harmony is (mis)managed". In Spencer-Oatey's (2000, 2007: 644) politeness-theoretical model, the concept of face, defined as "associated with positively evaluated attributes that claimant wants others to acknowledge […] and with negatively evaluated attributes that the claimant wants others NOT to ascribe to him/her", is central to the proposed model and also becomes dichotomised. Quality face, which is one of the two conceptualisations of face provided by Spencer-Oatey (2000: 14), is proposed to be "concerned with the value that we effectively claim

for ourselves in terms of […] personal qualities". Identity face, on the other hand, is primarily "concerned with the value that we effectively claim for ourselves in terms of social and group roles" (Spencer-Oatey 2000: 14). The model importantly departs from the primarily individualist face associated with, for example, Brown and Levinson's (1987) model, exploring aspects of face linked to individual, relational as well as social identities that a participant may evoke discursively in any interaction. Drawing on concepts adopted from social psychology, Spencer-Oatey (2009) acknowledges thus the importance of incorporating social perspectives in theorising the management of human relations. This becomes very useful when considering contexts such as the one analysed in the chapter, where not only individual but relational and social identities – as well as group membership – can become relevant at any point in interaction among groups of people working across a range of professions and also different levels within the institutional hierarchy. In the model, the different self-aspects are attributed with either quality face or identity face. Quality face is linked to the personal component in Spencer-Oatey's (2000) model while the social component is associated with identity face. In the light of Spencer-Oatey's (2009: 641) assertion that in certain situations "[a particular self-aspect] may be just one feature of a person's individual identity, yet in other situations it may be the feature that construes his/her collective identity", the interrelationship between specific self-aspects and either quality or identity face can become quite nuanced. For this reason, the non-dichotomised concept of face will be used here, drawing upon a conceptualisation of the notion provided by Goffman (1967: 5), with the concept of face being defined as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself [or herself]" and providing a catalyst for the management of rapport.

Another concept that is linked to face and that will be operationalised in the chapter is the notion of sociality rights (Spencer-Oatey 2000). Those are inevitably linked to a person's sense of social entitlements, stemming from the fact that face concerns positive evaluations of self-aspects and therefore being associated with its own set of sensitivities. As argued by Spencer-Oatey (2000), the social entitlements linked to face are often linked to issues surrounding consideration, fairness, and social inclusion and exclusion. Sociality rights are dichotomised into two corresponding aspects, equity and association rights (Spencer-Oatey 2000). While the former is concerned with our entitlement to personal consideration and being treated fairly, the latter is linked to our entitlement to association-dissociation.

The model and the adopted notion of face are then used in the analysis of specific instances of interaction between members of the ad hoc team to examine how rapport is (mis)managed by the specific candidates and to elaborate on the observations made in the quantitative analysis.

5.   Analysis

In this section of the chapter, the trainee doctors' performances of leadership – as realised through the employment of requests for action and active listenership – and the broader management of rapport are analysed vis-à-vis their relative success in the context of a trauma scenario, in which clinical tasks are to be efficiently jointly achieved. Particular attention is paid to examining the extent to which these strategies place emphasis on establishing rapport, elucidating the extent to which person-orientation aids the efficient attainment of clinical tasks in the specific context analysed. This way, the validity of association of particular communicative strategies with greater efficiency and clarity will be tested as well.

5.1   Delegation of tasks

When examining how different trainee doctors delegate tasks to their subordinates, a great discrepancy was identified between the high and good performers and the trainee whose leadership skills were assessed less favourably. It was evidenced that those who completed the station more quickly, receiving more favourable assessment of their leadership skills, delegated tasks to their team members relying more on mitigation and being indirect (Figures 2 and 3).

In Figure 2, it is highlighted that, while high performing trainees showed greater preference for the utilisation of indirectness – using it between 69% and 82% of the time – the trainee whose leadership skills were evaluated less favourably used it only in 44% of instances when requests for action were employed. Even more pronounced differences in the communicative performance of trainee doctors were highlighted in the analysis of their employment of supportive moves (Figure 3). It
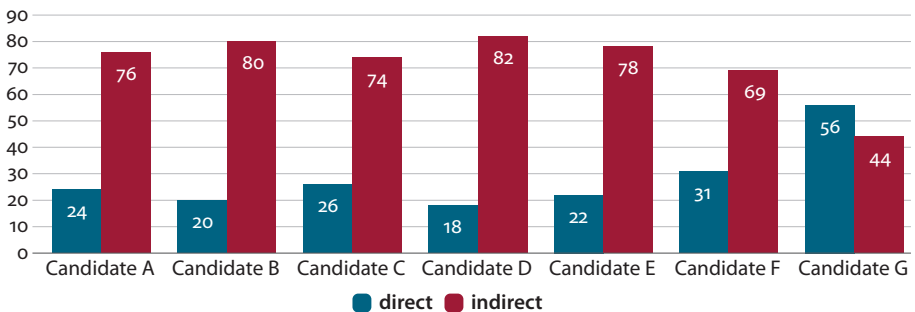

Figure 2. Percentage of direct versus indirect requests employed by each trainee doctor (candidates ordered by evaluation of their leadership – highest to lowest score)
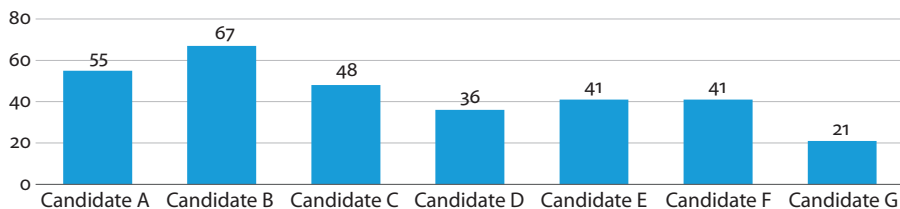
Figure 3. Percentage of instances when supportive moves (predominantly grounders) were used to modify requests by the trainees (candidates ordered by evaluation of their leadership – highest to lowest score)

was evidenced that the high performing trainees relied more frequently on supportive moves, and in particular explanations relating to why specific tasks were delegated to members of their team, producing more elaborate requests than it was observed in the case of Candidate G.

One of the most significant findings of the examination of the trainee doctors' delegation of tasks was the link found between the efficient attainment of clinical goals and the employment of indirect and often more elaborate requesting strategies. Despite the frequently lengthy and more indirect ways in which high performing trainee doctors asked others to perform specific workplace tasks, those leading the teams managed to also achieve them efficiently in the strictly-timed setting in which the trauma simulation was carried out. The discursive minimisation of power asymmetries observed in these cases also importantly challenged assumptions of efficiency and clarity in urgent settings being necessarily linked to being authoritative and direct. The analysis of data presented here suggested that flattening out hierarchies in emergency medical teams and communicating efficiently and effectively when completing joint actions are not necessarily incompatible and that rapport and particular types of indirect strategies can be performed successfully in a time-limited setting as well.

One such example of the employment of greater levels of indirectness and mitigation evoking positive evaluation of trainee doctor's leadership performance was observed in the case of the trauma simulation of Candidate B, as illustrated in the fragment of simulation presented in Extract 1. The extract presents an interaction occurring at the initial stages of a trauma case. The selection of an opening sequence of such interaction was motivated by aiming to illustrate how rapport was established between the trainee and other interactants early on in the simulation. As argued by Baxter (2015), the initial phases of professional exchanges also frequently provide a crucial insight into the emergence and negotiation of leadership as well, this also being the focus of the discussion presented here.

(1)   Context: Candidate B (Colin, "CAN") greets members of his team. He listens to what one of its members, Linda ("NRS"), has to tell him about the patient who is soon to arrive in the ED. He then starts delegating tasks to Linda and another member of the team, Ganesh (F2 junior doctor, "F2D"), in preparation for the arrival of the patient and the paramedic. Real names have been changed here for anonymity.

```
50  CAN:   hiya
51  F2D:   hi
52  NRS:   ⌈hi the:re ⌉
53  can:   ⌊hl guys   ⌋
54  NRS:   is it Colin
55  CAN:   it is↓ ⌈yeah ⌉
56  NRS:          ⌊Colin⌋ I'm Linda
57  (ges):   (Colin and Linda shake hands)
58  CAN:   ⌈hi Linda              ⌉
59  NRS:   ⌊I'm one of the nurses⌋
60  F2D:   I'm Ganesh F2 doctor
61  (ges):   (Colin and Ganesh shake hands)
62  CAN:   Ganesh excellent nice to meet you both ⌈so: ⌉
63  (ges): (Colin points at Linda)
64  NRS:                                          ⌊cool⌋
65  NRS:   I've just ⌈had ⌉
66  CAN:             ⌊erm ⌋
67  NRS:   a phone call e:rm
68  NRS:   so paramedics are bringing in abou- (.) man of about sixty
69  NRS:   they don't know how old he is and
70  NRS:   he was found next to a erm smashed car
71  NRS:   he's got a head injury ⌈he's got a low GCS BP ninety⌉
72  F2D:                          ⌊he's had a serious accident ⌋
73  NRS:   ninety over seventy
74  NRS:   the only other thing I know is he's gonna be here in two
            minutes↓
75  CAN:   great have we put a trauma call out↑
76  NRS:   no
77  CAN:   okay can we put the trauma call ⌈out please⌉
78  (ges):    (points in the direction of ⌊Linda)
79  NRS:                                   ⌊yeah    ⌋
[..]
132  CAN:   can we get erm a bear hugger- a warmer underneath*
133  NRS:   on the trolley↑ ⌈yeah                ⌉
134  CAN:                   ⌊It that's alright⌋ yeah (1.O) Fantastic
135  CAN:  make sure we've got the fluid warmer in case we need it as well
136  CAN:  Let's look at some tranexamic acid given his hypotension
137  CAN:  and a pelvic binder
138  F2D:  yeah we've got a pelvic binder
139  NRS:  pelvic binder got that ready there it is
140  F2D:  and I assume it's there?
141  NRS:  yeah yes:  (.) yeah tranexamic's ready (.) cool we're all set
142  CAN:  everyone happy with ⌈what their role is ⌉
143  F2D:                      ⌊yeah I'm ready yeah⌋
144  NRS:  yeah
145  F2D:  mhm
146  CAN:  super
```

The levels of indirect and mitigated requests which are produced by Colin, higher than it would have been the case with trainee doctors whose leadership skills were assessed less favourably, are in line with the patterns of production of requests of other well-evaluated trainee doctors. Extract 1 provides an illustration of how such requests are issued to other members of Colin's team. As observed in lines 132 and 134, the requesting strategies used by Candidate B include, for example, a query preparatory "can we get erm a bear hugger- a warmer underneath […] if that's alright". Later on, in line 136, the suggestory formulae, "let's look at some tranexamic acid given his hypotension", has the function of a request for action as well. The indirect nature of the uttered requests can be hypothesised to be linked to the interlocutor's attention to equity rights of other participants, so their entitlement to personal consideration and to not be unfairly imposed upon. The only instance of a direct request in this exchange is observed in line 135. In this particular instance, Colin says "make sure we've got the fluid warmer in case we need it as well" but – even when drawing upon such direct means of expressing his wish for a certain task to be performed – Colin employs a mitigation strategy, the grounder "in case we need it as well". The use of mitigation in this case is associated with justifying the reason for his request. This, again, can be interpreted as an attempt to attend to interlocutor's equity rights, with the participants not being "unduly imposed upon or unfairly ordered about" (Spencer-Oatey 2002: 541).

During the course of the interaction, the employment of more indirect and mitigated means of delegating tasks is accompanied also by the inclusion of positive evaluative phrases such as "excellent" and "nice" – demonstrating Candidate B's attention to the positive social values that other interlocutors may claim for themselves, informal terms of address (e.g. "guys" in line 53) and personal pronoun forms such as "we" – associated with participants' equity and association rights. It can be noted that the formulation of requests here works in tandem with other linguistic choices that point to the orientation towards the establishment of rapport.

Despite the use of these more elaborate and mitigated requesting strategies, high performing trainees complete the station ahead of others, highlighting a potential link between emphasis placed on rapport-building and the efficient achievement of workplace tasks. The attribution of leadership to trainees who draw upon these more elaborate, indirect and mitigated strategies highlights the value placed by those assessing simulations on power being exercised in less coercive ways, with the consideration of the cost-benefit and autonomy-imposition continua in how trainees interact with other healthcare professionals and with the greater employment of collaborative strategies being also the preferred option for the performance of leadership here.

In contrast with this more indirect and mitigated delegation of tasks is the production of requests for action of the least favourably assessed trainee, Candidate G (Extract 2).

(2)   Context: Candidate G (Norbert, "CAN") starts delegating tasks to members of his team ("NRS" and "F2D") in preparation for the arrival of the patient.

```
62  CAN:  okay so we need to put a trauma call out
63   (ges):  (gestures in the direction of a whiteboard)
64  NRS:  okay
65  CAN:  okay we ⌜need an airway- yeah ⌝
66  NRS:        ⌞I'll go and do that ⌟
67  CAN:  put the trauma call out first
68   (ges):  (follows Linda, initially has  his back towards Stuart)
69  CAN:  okay we organise our trolley (.)  okay
70   (ges):  (turns towards Stuart, gestures in his direction)
71  CAN:  are you erh happy once the patient's come in
72  NRS:  (speaking over the phone) hello trauma team to resus please
73  CAN:  to quickly assess the airway
74   (ges):  (points at himself)
75  CAN:  okay (.) and give feedback to me↗
76  NRS:  ⌜trauma call's out⌝
77  CAN:  ⌞okay↑          ⌟ (.) and sorry your name↗
78  NRS:  Linda
79  CAN:  Linda
```

Extract 2 provides a snapshot of interaction observed at a similar stage in the trauma simulation to Extract 1. Extract 2 nevertheless demonstrates a much greater reliance on putting forth one's wishes in more direct and unmitigated ways. Candidate G is less likely to express his wishes in more downgraded ways, relying instead on the employment of want statements (lines 62 and 64) and mood derivables (lines 67 and 69) – both of which are a frequent feature of this simulation overall. These are hypothesised nevertheless to place less emphasis on the equity rights of other interlocutors, demonstrating instead a greater orientation towards the transactional aspect of the interaction that unfolds. One instance of an indirect request produced by Candidate G is observed in line 71. Despite taking form similar to that often observed in more positively-evaluated candidates' simulations, the request is not met with any response, this being interpreted as a dispreferred response to the request. Candidate G also later enquires about Linda's name despite being introduced to her at the start of the simulation, potentially transgressing Linda's sociality rights. With this emphasis on more authoritative performance of leadership, the potential transgression of the team members' sociality rights and also instances of interruptions which are observed prior to the interaction, Candidate G is prevented from achieving clinical goals as efficiently and quickly as those whose leadership performance is assessed more positively. The analysis of his simulation demonstrates how the performance of authoritative leadership does not always result in the efficient attainment of workplace goals.

5.2   Active listenership

The discrepancies in how leadership is performed by different trainees is further evidenced in the trainee doctors' employment of active listenership. Particularly in the case of their responses to Linda's (the nurse's) handover, which occurs early on in the interaction and also provides a vital means of establishing rapport with a member of the team, it is the high performing trainees that employ the higher number of markers of active listenership per every second of Linda's talk (Table 4). In doing so, the trainee doctors demonstrate varying degrees of emphasis placed on either collaboration or authoritativeness and autonomy, highlighting different levels of orientation towards other interlocutors' sociality rights.

Table 5. Markers of active listenership employed by trainee doctors in response to Linda's handover

	Can A	Can B	Can C	Can D	Can E	Can F	Can G
No of markers	10	10	10	6	11	10	4
Length of the handover	11.5s	12s	11.5s	10s	15s	14.5s	9s
Markers per second	**0.87/s**	**0.83/s**	**0.87/s**	0.60/s	0.73/s	0.69/s	**0.44/s**

As illustrated in Table 4 above, those trainee doctors whose leadership is evaluated more positively employ markers of active listenership twice as frequently as Candidate G. Candidates A, B and C in particular index their attention to what is being said by Linda more visibly than those whose leadership is assessed less favourably. The use of eye contact and also verbal response tokens, both of which can be interpreted to be linked with attending to other interlocutors' association rights, is particularly increased in the case of high performing trainee doctors as contrasted with the employment of such active listenership markers by Candidate G. Extract 3 below illustrates the interaction between Candidate G and Linda early on in the simulation, and after the team members introduce themselves to one another.

(3)   Context: Candidate G (Norbert, "CAN") introduces himself to the team ("NRS" and "F2D") before starting to delegate tasks.

```
32 CAN:  hello and you are↑
33 NRS:  Linda
34 CAN:  Linda (.) and you are↑
35 F2D:  I'm Simon ⌈I'm the⌉ F2
36 CAN:            ⌊Simon ⌋
37       you are F2 ⌈Linda  you are      ⌉
38 (ges): (points in Linda's direction)
39 NRS:             ⌊are you the regis-⌋ I'm a nurse- ⌈staff nurse ⌉
40 CAN:                                               ⌊and you are=⌋
41       =the staff nurse
42 NRS:  nurse are you the reg in here today↑
```

```
43 CAN:  I am the reg here
44 NRS:  okay great have you heard about our red phone's coming in
45 CAN:  yes I have heard that erm (.) about this ⌜red come-      ⌝
46 NRS:                                          ⌞sixty year old=⌟
47       =chap ye:ah (.) maybe an RTC
48 CAN:  that's ⌜fine⌝
49 NRS:         ⌞head⌟ injury low GCS might need ⌜some A T L S      ⌝
50 CAN:                                          ⌞it looks like it's⌟
51       quite significant injury we need to organise our team
52 NRS:  ⌜okay ⌝
53 CAN:  ⌞okay↑⌟
```

In Extract 3, Candidate G is observed not only not to give Linda any eye contact
when she delivers the handover (lines 44–49) – something which is not observed
in any of the other simulations and is explicitly commented on by the participants
of the simulation during the debrief – but also interrupts Linda in lines 49–50,
cutting the handover short. This also results in Linda not providing him with all
of the information received by other trainees. Candidate G specifically does not
learn what is the patient's blood pressure or how much time there is left before the
patient arrives. Extract 1 in lines 71–74 provides an illustration of this informa-
tion being conveyed to a different trainee. Candidate G's minimal employment of
markers of active listenership, with limited use of verbal markers and headnods,
contributes to his authoritative performance of leadership, which – in the context
of the studied trauma simulation – is not closely associated with efficiency with
which the station is completed.

6.   Conclusions

With the aim of the chapter being the elucidation of the relationship between
leadership, rapport-building and clinical performance, the findings of the analy-
sis of situated behaviour observed in the context of an ad hoc medical team pre-
sented here index a close relationship between the three. Rapport-building and
goal-interaction in particular were evidenced to be closely linked. The analysis of
data presented in the chapter revealed that – even despite the high-pressure nature
of the context – using indirect and mitigated forms of requests and employing
more markers of active listenership can accompany the trainee's relative success.
In the analysis presented here, this is evidenced by both the positive evaluation of
trainees' leadership practices and the station completion times. Despite drawing
upon often longer and more time-consuming verbal and non-verbal means, the
high performing trainees – who simultaneously often closely attended to the other
interlocutors' sociality rights – were also evidenced to complete the station ahead
of other trainees. Despite using these more elaborate strategies, the trainees did

not necessarily observe them having a detrimental effect on the team's efficiency but, in fact, observed them coinciding with its increase. The linguistic findings presented here suggested that the use of certain types of indirectness and other rapport-building strategies might be much more efficient than previously thought. This provides a means of challenging some of the claims put forward both in the pragmatics (Brown and Levinson 1987) and medical communication literature (Apker et al. 2005; Orasanu and Fischer 2008). That in itself provides an important finding and also challenges claims about communicative behaviour displayed in urgent settings as well.

Given the evidence of the distinct nature of simulations in comparison to real-life interactions observed in healthcare settings (Atkins 2019), further research is needed to establish whether the observations made in the simulation context presented here map onto real life practice as well. The fact that the evaluations of leadership performances of each of the trainee doctors are provided by experienced healthcare professionals suggests that the observations made here can be hypothesised to be predictive at least to a certain extent in relation to the types of leadership enactments – and, as part of them, rapport management – that are assessed more positively also in ad hoc team interactions that are not simulated.

With the practices that are more likely to be attributed to the prototypical enactment of leadership in the analysed data being context-specific, another important issue that needs further exploration here is the extent to which the type of pragmatic competence expected of the candidates in the simulation examined in the study puts certain trainees at a disadvantage. In the case of the findings of research presented in the chapter, many leadership performance strategies evaluated positively, and also associated with the wider management of rapport, can be associated with normative ideas about British English politeness, and more specifically British English politeness tied to a specific social class (for discussion, see Mills 2017). In the context of the observed study, candidates who do well are all native speakers of British English. The candidate who is evaluated less favourably is not. Information about the trainees' social class background was not elicited in the study but the initial observations made in relation to the data instigate further exploration of the extent to which normative ideas about what constitutes effective leadership in this context are influenced by who worked in the UK emergency medicine traditionally and what influence this has on expectations about trainees' pragmatic competence.

While the chapter clearly highlights that effective leadership can involve an increased level of rapport building strategies – those also involving mitigation and indirectness – without negatively affecting efficiency or clarity of what is being said, some of the strategies tied to more positive evaluation of leadership are, as discussed above, context-specific. A tentative recommendation that can be drawn from this small-scale study then is the need for the integration of pragmatics into

communication skills training of both future and current healthcare profession-als, with all healthcare professionals developing a pragmatic awareness (see also Roberts 1998) allowing them to develop flexibility in how they communicate and recognising different types of pragmatic competence that healthcare professionals may have. There needs to be also a recognition of the increasing heterogenisation of both clinical teams as well as patients more generally, with politeness research in this setting being able to contribute to developing a more nuanced understanding of the range of the different practices employed by healthcare professionals in that sphere.

Transcription conventions

ges:	Gesture, described in () brackets
PPP:	Pause indicated as a turn
(0.8)	Pause timed to tenth of a second
(.)	Pause of less than (0.2) seconds
·hhh	Inhalation
er::m	Extended word/sound
bi-	Unfinished word/sound
↑	Rising intonation
↓	Falling intonation
→	Level intonation
??	Unsure of transcription
xxx	Inaudible sound
+≈	Speech latched to previous turn
⌈ ⌉ ⌊ ⌋	Half brackets indicate overlapping speech, for example:

```
F2D: I'm Simon ⌈I'm the⌉ F2
CAN:           ⌊Simon  ⌋
```

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CHAPTER 4

Take care of yourself

Negotiating moral and professional face in stroke rehabilitation

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Keywords: stroke rehabilitation, professional face, personal face,
hope work, moral order, stroke patient, facework, medical, institutional role;
occupational therapy

1. Introduction

Politeness as facework can provide a useful lens through which to analyse the interactions that take place in medical institutions. As Heritage and Clayman (2010) observe, it is talk itself that "instantiates" the institutional ethos as "sequences of talk … are aligned with, and embody, some of the basic imperatives of the institutions in which they are found." (Heritage and Clayman 2010: 32). Recent theoretical developments in discursive politeness and interpersonal pragmatics (Haugh et al. 2013) have shown a politeness analysis to be highly relevant to showing how professional and institutional roles and relationships are constructed and reproduced in therapeutic encounters. This is not least because politeness concerns not only the moral order *of* interaction (Goffman 1983) but also the moral order *in* interaction (Heritage and Lindstrom 1998). That is to say, there is a moral order "constructed of institutionalised rights and obligations" as well as "the moral worlds evoked and made actionable in talk." (Heritage and Lindstrom 1998: 397). It is therefore appropriate and timely that politeness theory, broadly defined as facework and relational work (Locher and Watts 2005), should be applied to the study of health care interactions.

It is the purpose of this chapter to discuss the ways in which the ideology and morality of modern health care are played out in the day-to-day practice of stroke rehabilitation and is concerned with the way institutional roles and identities are managed through talk between patient and health professional in this specific

context. I take the Goffmanian view that face, defined as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact" (Goffman 1967: 5), and facework is necessarily involved in all social interaction. Such a framework can be instructive in analysing relationship and identity management in any situation. However, face management in the medical context is subject to particular institutional and professional influences; the interactional stance of the professionals and the patient is affected by the approach to care taken. In stroke care in particular, the emphasis for recovery is on the effort and motivation of the patient; the patient has a moral responsibility to make efforts to become well (Michailakis and Schirmer 2010). These moral issues, as well as professional identity, are rehearsed and managed in interaction between health professionals and patients (Bergmann 1998). As part of my analysis, I will invoke the notion of "professional face" that has been noted in other studies of workplace politeness (see Grainger 1990; Orthaber and Marquez-Reiter 2011; Jagodzinski and Archer 2018) and that somewhat extends Goffman's (1967) and Brown and Levinson's (1978/1987) idea of personal face. Professional face can be conceived of as that in which the speaker takes on the values of the organisational or institutional role that they are representing. Since this chapter deals with interactions between professional and non-professionals (i.e. patients), I will also be taking into account the institutional definition of the patient role in this context.

The data I focus on for the chapter is from a series of conversations about progress in recovery that took place between a stroke patient, a doctor and one of her occupational therapists (OT hereafter). I reveal the processes and mechanisms whereby an underlying ethos is negotiated between individuals in real time and real situations with a view to "gain[ing] access to the actual practices in which morality comes to life" (Jolanki 2004: 486). In the analysis, I look at the negotiation of professional and patient face wants in the specific institutional context of rehabilitative health care and discuss the ways in which OT and patient each manage their professional and institutional faces. In particular, I will discuss the impact of "hope work" (Perakyla 1991) on interactional management. Instilling hope and optimism in the patient is part of the central philosophy of stroke rehabilitation (Becker and Kaufman 1995; Hafsteinsdottir and Grypdonck 1997) and the interactional strategy of "hope work" has been identified as a characteristic of the discourse of health professionals who work in therapeutic capacity with patients with long-term illnesses. Perakyla (1991: 417) defines it as "an interactional process whereby the medical identities of the patient and the staff are explicated and specified in terms of the hopefulness of the situation". Hope work, he asserts, is an important part of the professional identity of those working with seriously ill patients. However, other scholars ask whether the professional goals of hope work can sometimes be foregrounded at the expense of enabling the patient to voice fears and concerns

about their illness. Wiles et al. (1998), for example, argue that over-optimism in those caring for stroke patients can give false hope. This is one of the issues addressed in this chapter. In the interactions analysed below, we see how the patient and health professionals collaborate interactionally to construct the treatment regime as worthwhile, and the patient as morally worthy of such treatment. All three participants engage in hope work and we will see how the OT in particular seeks to maintain this as a moral "line" (Goffman 1959), even when the patient orients to what is arguably a more realistic projection of her future abilities.

2.   Face, politeness and morality in health care discourse

Bergmann (1998) notes that many professions are engaged on a daily basis with moral issues:

> whenever respect and approval …for an individual are communicated, a moral discourse takes place …. Morality is constructed in and through social interaction, and the analysis of morality has to focus, accordingly, on the intricacies of everyday discourse.
> (Bergmann 1998: 286)

Health care settings, in particular, are often prime sites where morality is "made actionable in talk" (Heritage and Lindstrom 1998: 397). Furthermore, morality is subject to the goals and requirements of the community in question (Eelen 2001). In health care contexts, appropriately moral behaviour is constrained by the medical ethos and the institutional requirements at play. In interactions between health care providers and patients, the interlocutors will orient to institutional identity needs such as the maintenance of medical professional face and the face needs of the "good" patient (Parsons 1951). In contemporary Western medicine these institutional identities are, in turn, set within an ideology of neoliberalism. According to Harvey (2005), neoliberalism is "a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating the individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterised by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade." (Harvey 2005: 2). The marketisation of society is believed to have an impact on all human behaviour, involving, among other things, a cultural move towards individualisation (Block 2014) and the "responsibilisation" of the individual for her/his own wellbeing (Sarangi and Roberts 1999; Gwyn 2002). In the sphere of medicine, recovery from illness therefore becomes very much a moral matter. In connection with this, Jolanki (2004) coined the term "healthism" in which "failure to recover or to resist the adverse effects of illnesses may be attributed to either lack of motivation or a defective will." (Pollock 1993, in Jolanki 2004: 484).

Studies into the sociology of interaction (Goffman 1959), politeness (e.g. Brown and Levinson 1978, 1987; Terkourafi 2011) and the discourse of health and illness (Sarangi 2016; Heritage and Lindstrom 1998; Bergmann 1998) teach us that moral norms are regularly negotiated between social actors as part of their orientation to face needs. Thus, talking about health becomes a question of the presentation of one's self as a responsible member of society.

For patients, this seems to involve both legitimizing the need for care as well as demonstrating that one is a worthy patient. Heritage and Clayman's (2010) account of the way patients talk about their ailments with doctors confirms that patients are concerned to present their problems as "legitimate" areas for medical attention. Jolanki (2004), also found that elderly people's health care talk consists partly of explaining and justifying their health care choices such that they present themselves as being worthy of respect and approval. The specific interactional resources invoked include appealing to an outside opinion (getting a witness to "testify"), "balancing" good with bad (e.g. being careful vs. being lazy) in order to prove one is morally accountable and rational, rhetorically conceding to the interviewer and comparing the current "self" with a previous version (Jolanki 2004: 493–496). These behaviours all have a moral orientation to do with establishing responsibility (Sarangi 2016).

Similarly, in the work of Coupland and Coupland (1999), such moral account-ability on the part of elderly patients can be found in the form of using age as a face-saving rationale for their illness. That is, implicitly, they cannot be held ac-countable for their condition as they cannot help being old. In this setting, however (a geriatric out-patients clinic), doctors explicitly espouse ideologies of self-care and anti-ageism and so find themselves in the position of attempting to refute such self-disenfranchising statements whilst not damaging the patient's face by contradicting them. Such interactional tensions also appear in my data wherein the patient's own evaluation of her condition is at odds with the professional ethos.

For their part, doctors are increasingly encouraged to listen to patient narra-tives and to afford credibility to lay perspectives on health care. Sarangi (2001) notes that some patients present themselves as "play doctors", diagnosing themselves and recruiting into their talk "relevant medical labels" and "medical reasoning" (Sarangi 2001: 4). This can lead to a need to balance the medical and moral discourses that can exist alongside one another in interaction (Maseide 2003). In Heritage and Lindstrom's (1998) data on new mothers' interactions with health visitors, health visitors walk a tricky interactional line between "expert" and "friend", but their professional stance is maintained by subordinating moral evaluation (of mothering skills) to the discourse of practical and technical reasoning.

This type of scenario, then, is potentially a far cry from the "asymmetrical medical encounter" previously described by Mishler (1984) as patients appear to consult the doctor, not as an expert, but as a second opinion. As Cheek (1997: 6)

observes, it is not a question of who has power and who is powerless, but about which viewpoint is "afforded main frame and why". Some doctors may welcome the resourceful, well-informed patient, but there is evidence to suggest that many regard this type of patient as demanding, costly and time-consuming (Shaw and Baker 2004).

Studies that micro-analyse interactions with the allied health professions are relatively rare (Spiers 1998; Mullany 2009; Harvey and Koteyo 2013) but those that do find the application of politeness theory useful. In my own previous work, I have found the judicious application of concepts from Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) politeness framework to be enlightening for the analysis of nurse-nurse, nurse-patient and occupational therapist talk. For example, Grainger et al. (1990) show how nurses walk a fine interactional line between responding sympathetically to patient talk about troubles and their need to complete the physical task at hand; Grainger (2004) discusses the way in which verbal play between patients and nurses during care routines can orient simultaneously to interpersonal positive face needs whilst also constructing and maintaining institutional identities. Defibaugh (2014: 69) also makes use of the idea of institutional identity in nursing talk. In a study of nurse practitioner's use of indirectness to hospital patients she says: "using indirectness… aids in the construction of the nurse practitioner identity, by conforming to "nurse speak". Her status as a competent nurse practitioner is constructed, in part, by her use of indirectness." Zayts and Kang (2009), on the other hand, find that institutional goals can sometimes present interactional tension for health care providers. Applying the notion of "politic" behaviour (from Locher and Watts 2005) to genetic counselling encounters, they show that different norms of relationship management/interaction are negotiated depending on the professional and institutional goals of the speakers. In the Hong Kong context, they argue, the need for clarity of information is in tension with the professional ethos of non-directiveness (i.e. allowing the patient to make up their own mind about genetic testing).

It is clear from the literature, then, that institutional norms and identities are inextricably linked with the management of interaction in health care encounters. In the following section I outline the specific ideology of care that is reflected and constructed in conversations with stroke patients.

3. The institutional ethos of stroke rehabilitation

Stroke is an illness that most commonly affects older people, and as with many afflictions of old age, there is no cure, although significant improvements can be made after the initial stroke event. The extent of these improvements are, however, notoriously difficult to predict in any one patient and this uncertain trajectory

of the illness leads to difficulties in communicating the prognosis to the patient. Becker and Kaufman (1995) report that this uncertainty tends to be managed by professionals by remaining optimistic about recovery. This, it is argued, helps the patient to remain motivated to participate in therapy. Such emphasis on motivation can be explained in part as a way that the patient can demonstrate their personal competence as a worthy patient, even in the face of physical incompetence (Parry 2004). Rehabilitation therapy (involving occupational therapy, physiotherapy and speech therapy) is effectively the only treatment for stroke. There are no drugs or technological procedures which can help patients regain use of bodily functions (Becker and Kaufman 1995). The reality is that neurological function may or may not recover spontaneously and that rehabilitation therapy can only maximise these functions or teach patients how to substitute for lost functions. Wiles et al. (1998) claim that the effectiveness of much stroke rehabilitation is unproven and yet, patients commonly believe there is a direct link between participation in rehabilitation programmes and full recovery (Wiles et al. 1998; Becker and Hoffman 1995). Parry (2004) claims that patients and therapists tend to collude in perpetuating this belief by avoiding the topic of physical incompetence. Instead, physiotherapists and occupational therapists tend to focus on functional recovery (rather than a return to the pre-stroke condition). This may have the desired effect of maintaining hope and optimism, but can also contribute to false optimism which Grainger et al. (2005) have shown may have to be dealt with unexpectedly by therapists on other occasions, such as when discussing discharge from hospital.

The lack of any medical treatment and the reliance on rehabilitation as the only treatment places stroke care within the neoliberal conception of health care (Osborne 1997), discussed above, in which the patient takes increased responsibility for getting and remaining well. Maclean and Pound (2000) argue that contemporary stroke care has echoes of Parson's (1951) notion of the "good patient". Motivation is viewed as "within" the personality of the individual patient and effectively puts the responsibility for recovery onto her/him. Becker and Kaufman explain that the moral component in stroke rehabilitation is very much foregrounded:

> A characteristic of rehabilitation is that the patient must carry out the therapeutic work. He or she must want to recover. This perspective, requiring involvement of the patient in his or her own treatment and care, places the onus for recovery first and foremost on the patient…the importance ascribed to patient motivation takes the pressure off providers to cure patients and transforms rehabilitation from a professional to a moral domain.   (Becker and Kaufman 1995: 169)

As such, when the "trait" of motivation is not manifested and recovery is incomplete, the patient, rather than the health professional, can be held accountable (Maclean and Pound 2000). While this approach to treatment may have benefits in terms of

giving the patient more control over their care, it can also lead to ambiguity as to where expertise lies in the patient-therapist relationship (Gwyn 2002). In stroke care, to some extent this is managed through the joint setting of therapeutic goals. However, Parry (2004) argues that collaborative goal-setting in physiotherapy sessions with stroke patients is interactionally delicate partly because patients do not have the expertise to judge their own therapeutic requirements and partly because patients do not want to assume too much knowledge for fear of de-legitimizing the need for professional help. It is precisely this management of the therapeutic relationship, in the context of a self-help and optimistic ethos of care, that is the focus of the analysis below.

4.   Data context and analytical approach

The interactions I analyse here are part of a set of ethnographic data gathered in a stroke rehabilitation hospital ward in the UK in 2002. The whole data set consists of four hours' worth of video recordings of interactions between two right-hemisphere stroke patients and various health professionals in the multidisciplinary team (specifically, occupational therapists, the registrar and the social worker). The interactional data were supplemented with field notes (researcher observations of the context) and audio-recorded interviews with patients. Informed written consent was obtained from each participant and the project was approved by the U.K. National Health Service ethics board of the relevant health care authority.

For the purposes of this paper I focus on conversations between the patient known as "Angela" (pseudonym), one of her occupational therapists and one of her doctors. The conversations take place on different occasions over the space of a few days. Angela is relatively young to have suffered a stroke (late 40s) which left her paralysed on the left side of her body. She has been in hospital for approximately 3 months and has recovered some movement in her left side. She can walk unaided but still with some difficulty. Earlier in her treatment she went through a period of depression and despondency, however, at the time of recording, she is very co-operative with rehabilitation therapy and highly motivated to recover. Hence, she is well liked by the medical staff who find her rewarding to work with. In Parson's (1951) terms she is a "good" patient because she takes responsibility for her own recovery and is motivated to do so.

The definition and application of "politeness" in this chapter may be thought of as in the second order (Eelen 2001) sense of facework. In keeping with the third wave (Grainger 2011) of politeness research, it combines notions from traditional pragmatics with a constructivist approach, sometimes employing relevant concepts from conversation analysis. Thus, the analytical methodology employed here can

be described as "interpersonal pragmatics" (Haugh et al. 2013) or, more recently, as integrative pragmatics (Haugh and Culpeper 2018) since it integrates discursive approaches to politeness with more traditional pragmatic ones.

A number of discourse phenomena are commented on in the interactions and these analytical concepts are taken from conversation analysis (concerning structure and sequence of turns), pragmatics (concerning speech acts and "take up"), politeness theory (concerning "face" management) and interactional sociolinguistics (concerning expressions of authority and solidarity). Such a combination of discourse analytic approaches from across the disciplines provides a healthy cross-fertilisation of techniques, resulting in a rich and "thick" description (Sarangi and Roberts 1999) of the institutional discourse.

5. Data analysis

5.1 The doctor and the good patient

Patient-doctor interactions that take place during ward rounds in a hospital differ from those in a GPs consulting room in many respects. One of the main differences is that the patient has not sought out the doctor by making an appointment and may well even be unaware that s/he will see the doctor that day. Thus, the presentation and management of medical problems will necessarily take a different structure from that described in much of the doctor-patient literature. As Heritage and Clayman argue, "the norms organising social interaction…are usually mandated by institutional imperatives" (Heritage and Clayman 2010: 133). In this case, additional factors concern the usual treatment of stroke patients, whose recovery is largely assisted by physiotherapists and occupational therapists. The goals and expectations of bedside conversations between doctors and stroke patients have a tendency, then, to be ambiguous in terms of expected outcomes. This ambiguity is observable in the extract I analyse here.

In this interaction between Angela and the doctor (in this case a middle-ranking hospital doctor) we see how Angela is positioned as a highly motivated, and hence "good" patient. We see how this also involves Angela being the "expert" on her own health, and the doctor's role, as constructed in his interaction with the patient, is thus somewhat ambiguous: being somewhere between that of a medical authority and that of a friend. In particular, the way in which Angela's medical problems are presented and responded to are discursively negotiated in a way that reflects the professional and patient roles within the realm of stroke rehabilitation.

(1)   Context: In this situation, Angela has just received some physiotherapy to her foot and is sitting in her room when the doctors arrive on their ward rounds. Two doctors walk through the door (a junior doctor and a more senior colleague). Only the senior doctor speaks to the patient.

```
Key:    D = Doctor, P = Patient (Angela)
1 D     (as he is walking in the room) hello
2 P     (mildly surprised) oh (.) afternoon
3 D     haven't seen you for a bit
4 P     no (.) ((certainly not)) I've seen you (.) around
5 D     I keep missing you I'll come in here and you're burning off in the
6       other direction going to rehab
                            [     ]
7 P                          yes  ((I know)) (.) ((that's right))
8 D     glad I caught you (.) (intake of breath) yeh erm basically all the
        therapists
9       keep saying very nice things about you
10 P      ((oh do they))
           [      ]
11 D     um (.) that you're doing everything they are expecting you to do
12       and there's still more you will be able to do eventually
                                        [                            ]
13 P                                     yes I've just had some just now
14       because I'm (.) my foot keeps swelling (.) so I'm (motions with
         hand)
         (2.0)
15 D     right
16 P     hobbling (.) I'm not (.) walking like that
                        [    ]
18 D               need
19 P     (indicates a walking motion with her hands)
20 D     need to keep moving it then (nods emphatically)
21 P     oh ((yes)) I can move it but it's (.) always going over to the side
22 D     (looking down at P's foot) (sympathetically) yeh
23 P     and it's heavy
24 D     lots and lots and lots of practice (1.0) but yeh erm (.) it's
         nice to have a patient who (laughing) the therapists like
         working on
25       because they think they're getting places
```

The first turns in this conversation consist of phatic communion and an informal style. This understates the professional relationship and defines the encounter as friendly and casual. "Hello", "haven't seen you for a bit", "I've seen you around" and "glad I caught you" are the kind of thing friends might say to one another. At lines 5 and 6, the doctor accounts for the lack of previous contact between them as a positive thing. By using an energy metaphor: "you're burning off in the other direction", it is implied that she has an energetic approach to rehabilitation which, in this context, is a positive moral assessment, since being highly motivated in rehabilitation constructs the patient as a "good" non- malingering patient. In other

words, it orients to the patients' institutional positive face needs: the need to be approved of as a good patient (Parsons 1951).

The doctor then goes on to discuss the patient's progress in explicitly moral terms. He comments that "all the therapists keep saying very nice things about you" (line 9) and "it's nice to have a patient who the therapists like working on" (lines 24–25) which, on the surface, could be taken as personal positive politeness (i.e. expressing liking and approval of the patient as a person). This bears out Parson's observations that the sick role involves showing a commitment to getting well, which in turn involves cooperation with the medical staff. Thus, even though there is unlikely to be an expectation of a complete return to wellness in this case, the doctor still orients to the patient's role in the process towards wellness. However, notice that, at line 11, the doctor couches the patient's progress and cooperation with the rehabilitation regime in terms of "doing everything they are expecting" which simultaneously constructs the patient's role in recovery as active but under the authority and guidance of the medics. Thus, at this point, he positions himself in more of an expert role in which he is giving an assessment ("there's still more you will be able to do").

For her part, Angela agrees with the doctor's assessment of her as actively engaged in rehabilitation ("yes, I've just had some now") and her response orients to his professional identity and introduces a "medical" topic at line 14 with "my foot keeps swelling". This self-assessment is indicative of taking the "line" (Goffman 1959) of an expert on herself, although, since she mentions an unresolved problem ("it's always going over to the side") this conversational move can also function as a request for advice. However, since the doctor has not obviously come to speak to her in this capacity, there has to be some negotiation of the trouble and some ambiguity as to its status in the interaction: is she asking for advice or treatment? According to Heritage and Clayman (2010: 133) "one of the things that may be put to the test during problem presentation is the patient's own moral character." Thus, by soliciting "technically competent help" (Heritage and Clayman 2010: 119) in a troubles resistant (Jefferson 1988) or "stoic" (Maynard 2003) way, Angela continues to present herself as a worthy patient line 20.

At lines 20 and 24 we see that the doctor's take-up of this move is equally ambiguous: he does indeed orient to these as requests for advice, when he says "need to keep moving it then (line 20) and "lots and lots and lots of practice" (line 24). This is effectively a recommendation to continue with the physiotherapy, rather than offering a diagnosis or any additional treatment. Furthermore, his next move is phatic talk towards closing the conversation (Maynard and Hudak 2008): at lines 24–25, there is a pause, followed by a return to his opening initial topic of how well she is doing: "it's nice to have a patient who the therapists like working on".

5.2   The good patient and the occupational therapist

In this next extract we see how the institutional moral order that is associated with stroke rehabilitation is "made actionable" (Heritage and Lindstrom 1998), in part, by facework. In other words, the ethos of self-help, motivation and optimism that underpins stroke treatment is constructed, reinforced and managed through facework as the interaction unfolds.

> (2)   Context: As one of her therapy goals, Angela has just made lunch for her two
>   sons in the OT kitchen. The following interaction takes place while the sons are
>   eating (in the kitchen). Angela and the OT have a discussion about A's progress
>   while they watch the sons eat.

```
1 P     I don't know if it's strength or confidence I don't
2       think it's confidence because (1.0) I think maybe
3       it's balance and strength
        [                         ]
4 OT       (nods)
5 P     ((I've got to)) (.) do it because I'm not shy of doing it (.)
        (pats leg)
                 [  ]
6 OT            mm
7 P     because the thing it's actually ((building that foot))
                                         [                 ]
8 OT                                     it it
9       definitely tires after a long (.) after you've been walking around
10      a bit
11 P    but I'm not I'm not putting any stress on my er
12 OT   no
13 P    back now by (.) tensing up (.) which I used to do
                                    [     ]

14 OT                              you're doing ec you're doing
15      extremely well with your walking I mean when we walked
16      down (.) your walking was very very good
17 P    well the nurses have been taking me in fact it got to
                                                  [ ]
18 OT                                             mm
19 P    the stage where (.) they'd say what do you want (.)
20      ((I was going to say)) toilet and they didn't ask
21      ((or)) offer me a chair they just went (sticks elbow out to
        demonstrate nurse offering an arm for support)
```

> (at this point they are briefly interrupted by another OT who enters the room
> to see if it is free. She leaves and Angela carries on)

```
22 P    so I mean you and Sharon ((convinced me)) that I could
23      do it because I convinced myself I couldn't (laughs)
                        [     ]
24 OT                   mm
```

```
25 OT   but I think it's a mixture of confidence strength (.) and
                                                    [   ]
26 P                                                 mm it (.) yeh
27      because I wa- I was going to
        [     ]
28      and wait until this one's strong enough I thought
                                          [       ]
29 OT                                    Mm
30 P    what if it's going to take months I can't wait that long
31 OT   it's better to keep trying
32 P    yes
33 OT   definitely
```

At the outset, this conversation is framed in terms of both morality and technical medical knowledge (Heritage and Lindstrom 1998), and these themes are sustained throughout the extract. At line one the patient contrasts physical recovery with state of mind ("strength or confidence") as an explanation for her good progress. At the same time, the patient presents herself as an "expert" on herself. Her assertions express opinion, self-reflexivity and self-analysis ("I don't think its confidence"). She attributes her recent success in rehabilitation to both physical and moral virtues: "I think maybe it's balance and strength" (lines 2–3); "I'm not shy of doing it" (line 5); "I'm not putting any stress on my back now" (line 11). Thus, both her physical and moral attributes are brought to bear on presenting herself as that of a "good" patient. The OT similarly gives her assessment in terms of a mixture of physical and moral strength; she gives a technical assessment of Angela's performance through the objectivisation of her body ("it definitely tires") as well as giving a face-enhancing praise of Angela as a person ("you're doing extremely well…your walking was very very good").

The moral strand of this interaction necessitates some facework. Overtly presenting oneself as "morally good" risks promoting one's own positive face at the expense of the addressee's face needs (Brown and Levinson 1987: 66). In this case, Angela invokes a comparison with past performance and attributes her current motivated self to the efforts of the OTs: "you and Sharon convinced me I could do it because I convinced myself I couldn't" (lines 22–23). Thus, by enhancing the therapists' professional face wants she also positions herself as a worthy (motivated) person without boasting.

Similarly, Angela's strategy of comparing previous thoughts ("I was going to wait until this one's strong enough") with current ones ("I can't wait that long") mitigates the potential for face loss. Furthermore, these utterances reflect a view that effort in rehabilitation can supersede natural recovery to which both patient and OT seem to subscribe. At line 31 the OT agrees that "it's better to keep trying" and at lines 32 and 33 they confirm their absolute alignment with one another: "yes", "definitely"

Thus, in the extract we see how OT and patient manage a collaborative relationship in which the moral order of interaction (Goffman 1983) helps to maintain the institutional moral order. They both take part in a face-oriented and expert (technical) discourse on the patient's progress. They are aligned with one another on both the construction of the patient as highly motivated as well as on the construction of motivation and effort as the keys to recovery.

5.3   The good patient in question

This patient has not always been as optimistic about her ability to recover as Extract 1 and 2 suggest. It emerges that she has been distressed by something the social worker wrote in support of her housing application, putting a negative slant on her process of recovery and, from Angela's perspective at least, reporting things about her recovery which militate against an optimistic outlook. Angela, the patient, at this stage has been in hospital almost 3 months. She is getting ready for discharge soon but is anxious about the housing situation she will return to. She is worried that the social worker, who is attempting to get her re-housed, is not dealing with her case effectively.

(3)   Context: The OT has just entered P's room and tells her that she will be having a bath and some therapy to her right arm after lunch. She then introduces the topic of a letter written by P's social worker to the housing office.

```
1 P   yes well (.) it said I wasn't responding to therapy
2     because I couldn't concentrate but then the reason
3     then was because I was upset because I didn't have
                        [   ] [   ]
4 OT                    yeh    yeh
5 P   anyone to help me
              [   ]
6 OT           sure
7 P   and and I do now
              [   ]
8 OT           and (.) what we're trying to do at the
9     moment Angela is re-contact your social worker
         [   ]
10 P     mm
11 OT well (.) we wh-what we said is that you you y- (.)
12    initially you responded very well
         [        ]
13 P    yeh   mmhm
14 OT but when you got very (.) upset and anxious
15    and had all those things on your mind (.) then
         [   ]                [   ]
16 P  oh yes            yes I did yes mm
```

```
17 OT y-your therapy (3.0) sort of (.) your improvements
18    (.) slowed down (.) quite a lot and you s-because
                  [     ]
19 P          yes
20 OT you y- y- you seemed as if you were very (.)
21    pre-occupied by what was on your mind
                [     ]
22 P            that's how I felt I
23    don't think she put that across very well in the letter
24 OT yeh
25 P  I think she put it across
                 [   ]
26 OT             but but now you're feeling
27    better about yourself (.) you you appear to feel
                              [   ]
28 P                          well
29 OT better about yourself
30 P  you've expressed
                  [   ]
31 OT              and are more focussed and can
                                  [   ]
32 P                              yes
33 OT concentrate better (.) you're improving in leaps and
34    bounds with your therapy
35 P  well you've just told me the impression I got from
36    you at the time (.) she did not put that in the
                 [   ]
37 OT           yeh
38 P  letter at all
            [   ]
39 OT      right
```

The social worker's assessment and Angela's lack of progress is framed in moral terms. It is attributable to her state of mind ("I wasn't responding to therapy because I couldn't concentrate") and a rationale is found in terms of her emotional state and lack of support ("I didn't have anyone to help me"). This chimes with Jolanki's (2004) assertion that health talk is about explaining and justifying one's behaviour so that you can present yourself as a "worthy" person (Jolanki 2004: 488). Initially, the OT aligns with the patient, providing minimal responses of agreement. She continues then by re-orienting the professional perspective to be more optimistic than that presented by the patient; that is, in response to Angela's doubts about her progress, she engages in hope work (Perakyla 1991). In line with the conventional wisdom on the treatment of stroke (Becker and Kaufman 1995), the OT's discourse is one of optimism and moral support. Thus, like Heritage and Lindstrom's (1998) study on health visitors and mothers, OTs working in stroke rehabilitation arguably adopt the role of both expert (giving advice and direction) and befriender (sharing experiences and affiliating).

At lines 11–12 the OT takes up the moral stance; her utterance orients to the assumption that non-response to recovery is a moral matter. It pays attention to Angela's positive face needs and can be heard as praise ("you responded very well"). She also mirrors -and thus aligns with- Angela's rationalisation that failure to respond was down to state of mind ("you got very upset and anxious and had all those things on your mind"). This can be seen as a mitigating or face-saving strategy which orients to Angela's (positive) face needs (Brown and Levinson 1987). In this case it is the need to be seen as a "good patient". She then explicitly links recovery with attitude and improved morale: "but now you're feeling better about yourself… and are more focussed and can concentrate better (.) you're improving in leaps and bounds with your therapy".

This link between therapy and state of mind is underscored further in the extract below where the element of hope for further improvement is introduced.

5.4   Doing hope work

```
    (4)
 1 OT   so (2.0) just tell me again cos I don't want you to get
 2      the negative end of the stick I want you to get the
 3      positive end of the stick (1.0) what what (.)what have I
 4      just (.) told you
 5 P    well that I've improved quite a lot (.) and (.)
                              [     ]
 6 OT                            yes
 7 P    that (.) if I was more positive from what you've said
 8      (.) that I'd probably respond even better to therapy
 9 OT   yeh (.) and what abou=
10 P    =I've been delighted that (.) there's a chance
11 OT   yeh
12 P    I mean (.) I really really didn't think stroke
13      patients could get (1.0) even (.) to my stage
14      (laughs)
15 OT   smiles and nods) oh they they can they can get even
16      better than you as well
17 P    mm cos I'm
18 OT   you're gonna improve even more
19 P    been stressing myself out worrying about the children
20      which I don't think I should
21 OT   that doesn't (.) that doesn't help matters Angela I
22      mean I know (1.0) you can't help worrying about your
23      children (1.0) but the worries and anxieties that you
24      have
25 P    (begins to cry) yeh
26 OT   they do affect your therapy
27 P    (looking down and crying) well you can tell it's
28    affecting my children as well as me
29 OT   (softly) yeh
```

```
30  P    and I was worried (.) about the fact (.) that in
31       actually I really was beginning to think that because
32       of her letter that you thought I couldn't get better
33       (1.0) but now I realise that you've got a lot of hope
34       in me (.) and I've got faith in you ((3 syllables ))
35  OT   (laughing) we wouldn't be bothering with you Angela
36       if we didn't feel ((that))
         [                  ]
37  P        (laughs)
38       well I've always had faith in you
39  OT   you've had faith in you or faith in us?
40  P    (crying) faith in you
41  OT   well we've always had faith in you
42  P    (crying) occupational and physio very much
43  OT   alright?
44  P    yes
45  OT   you'll make me cry in a minute
```

The patient presents herself at line 5 as a "good patient" by claiming to have a positive state of mind saying "I've improved quite a lot" and "I've been delighted that there's a chance". The utterance "if I was more positive…I'd probably respond even better to therapy" simultaneously expresses the view that she is morally responsible for her own recovery and introduces an element of hope for future improvements. She promotes her own moral, "good patient" face by comparing her former hopeless attitude with her current one: "I really didn't think stroke patients could get even to my stage" (lines 12–13). The OT takes up the optimistic theme and states with certainty that "they can get even better than that" and "you're gonna improve even more". Angela's next utterance relieves her of accountability for any previous failure to improve (and thereby is face-saving), but simultaneously acknowledges her moral responsibility to maintain a positive attitude: "I'm been stressing myself out worrying about the children which I don't think I should". The OT gently confirms this perspective at line 21: "that doesn't help matters Angela" and "the worries and anxieties that you have they do affect your therapy", which is a potential threat to her face in the role of "good patient". However, she mitigates it with "I know you can't help worrying", explicitly removing some of the responsibility from the patient. In this way, a shared perspective is constructed where Angela is a good and responsible patient whose failures are excusable.

As Angela becomes visibly upset, the interaction takes on a more charged atmosphere. At lines 33–34 Angela invokes the almost religious virtues of faith and hope, as reasons to be optimistic about recovery. This is a highly moral discourse in which both patient and health professional express their belief in the other. Therapist and patient align closely with one another as they construct P's recovery as a joint enterprise in which they are both equally involved. That they are on the same footing is evidenced by the joint laughter at lines 35 and 37, and the almost identical

utterances from Angela: "I've always had faith in you" and the OT "we've always had faith in you". Notice, however, that the OT maintains a professional, rather than personal face, with the use of "we". Angela reflects this back when she tearfully says "occupational and physio very much". Thus, both OT and patient attribute the moral qualities of hope and faith to the professional roles of physiotherapy and occupational therapy. It is constructed as a professional, not a personal quality.

In the next extract from the interaction (a few moments later) patient and therapist alignment (Goffman 1981) shifts, as the patient reveals her innermost fears about recovery. She displays a perspective (Maynard 1992) which is not completely in line with the professional ideology of optimism. It is interesting to see how this is responded to by the OT and I suggest that perhaps the professional ethos of optimism is maintained at the expense of supporting the patient in her realistic assessment of her situation.

5.5   Hope work threatened

```
   (5)
 1 OT what matters now is what we do from now onwards isn't it?
 2 P  yes (.) well the best thing to do is concentrate on
 3    physical abilities I think (.) because they're not
                              [    ]
 4 OT                        yeh
 5 P  going to be very good even (1.0) with recovery if
 6    you see what I mean
 7 OT who says?
 8 P  (thinks about it) (1.0) well compared to a normal person
 9    it shouldn't it doesn't bother me actually being disabled
10    (1.0) I don't know why it's it's just not go- it's just the
11    idea of going back there that (.) really disables me
12 OT (1.0) this course that I was on over the weekend Angela
13    that I was telling you about
         [   ]
14 P    oh yes yeh
15 OT they were telling me (.) right (.) that (.) people
16    who've had a stroke can make recovery up to two years
17    (.) post event
          [     ]
18 P  (nodding) that's what the doctor told me (.) the week
19    I had it (.) soon as I was sitting up (1.0)
20    after he told me that (.) yes
        [  ]
21 OT     so  what is it now? it's been
22 P  three months
23 OT three months? four months?
24 P  he said you will be out of here within 3 to 4 month which
25    may sound a long time to you and I thought it didn't but
26    (nodding) it does now (.) now I'm going through it yes
```

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27 OT but your recovery can still continue
28 P  Yes
29 OT two years after you've had that stroke
30 P   (nods slightly)
31 OT so what in what? 2004 (.) you'll be coming to the
32    end of your recovery
            [   ]
33 P        Mmhm
34 OT that is when you can say (1.0) I'm gonna be disabled or
35    (.) whatever
          [   ]
36 P      Yes
37 OT for the rest of my life (.) you might not be
38 P  yeh
39 OT you might not be disabled
40 P  (1.0) mmhm
41 OT alright? (.) but what is it (.) even now Angela at this
42    point in time what is it (.) what can't you do now
43 P  I want to be able to hold my baby (meaning grandchild)
      (The OT then demonstrates how P might manage to hold a baby in
      her good arm.
      They then go through Angela's list of recovery goals, e.g. "bake
      a cake".)
```

The OT's utterance at line 1 (what matters now…") is very much in line with the institutional ethos hitherto discussed, whereby recovery is presented as a joint activity that looks to the future. Initially Angela is aligned with this view and she presents herself as knowledgeable ("the best thing to do…", line 2) but then she says something which, deviates from the professional line of hope: "they're not going to be very good even with recovery" (lines 3 and 5). Even though Angela says "it doesn't bother me actually", the OT challenges P's perspective that she will be permanently disabled by invoking her professional knowledge: "they were telling me that people who've had a stroke can make recovery up to two years post event" (lines 15–16) and later, "that is when you can say I'm gonna be disabled". Thus, when the institutional line is deviated from, the OT challenges, contradicts and directs the patient, all of which are face-threatening in terms of interpersonal politeness. However, the institutional moral order is re-instantiated via the interaction in which the OT now foregrounds her professional expertise, and authority. In response, the patient re-aligns herself with this point of view, first through confirming "that's what the doctor told me" (line 18) but then with only minimal agreements at lines 28, 30, 33, 36 and 38. The slight pause and then minimal response "mmhm" at line 40 could be interpreted as a sign of only partial alignment and possibly as a withheld disagreement. The OT then demonstrates how a baby might be held in one arm and then goes through Angela's list of recovery goals, such as baking a cake. Interestingly, even though this is said in an encouraging manner, it also somewhat confirms Angela's perspective that her recovery will consist of learning to manage,

rather than being back to "normal", as she acknowledged in line 8. Nevertheless, Angela's mention of being disabled seemed to threaten the OT's professional face and motivated her to contradict the patient's assessment of her future abilities.

6.   Conclusion

In the encounters studied in this paper, there is clear evidence of the orientation to the moral order of stroke rehabilitation. In particular, we find that facework is oriented to both personal and professional face; that is to the negotiation of both an institutional expert/authoritative role as well as a "friendly", more solidary one. I have also shown how the ethos of optimism and self-help for stroke care is enacted through the talk of the medical professionals as well as the patient, all of whom seem at pains to reinforce the professional construct of the highly motivated and expert "good" patient.At the same time, the role of the medical professionals is often constructed as that of "friend", or "friendly expert". In particular, the OT engages in "hope work" which is closely allied to the rehabilitation ethos and is necessary for the projection of a professional image. In the interactions discussed here, the dominance of these institutional faces is brought into relief when the patient momentarily departs from the seemingly required optimism to discuss her fears and expectations of recovery. Even though the patient expresses what may be realistic projections of limited mobility, the OT risks misalignment, and thus personal face threat, with the patient in order to re-establish the discourse of hope.

Key to transcription conventions
(adapted from Jefferson 1984)

(.)	pause of less than one second
(1.0)	length of pause in seconds
(laughs)	non-verbal activity
((3 syllables))	unclear speech
[ ]	overlapping speech
underlining	emphasis
:	extra long syllable
=	contiguous utterances

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CHAPTER 5

Politeness and relational work in novel digital contexts of healthcare communication

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1.   Introduction

This paper focuses on one context of professional communication that is rapidly becoming common place in the delivery of healthcare services: mobile health and medical apps. More specifically, the paper examines how the users of these apps (medical professionals and lay public) negotiate norms of appropriate interactional behaviour in this novel context of communication, and the relational work that they engage into in this process of negotiation of norms (Locher and Watts 2005, 2008). Locher et al. (2015) maintain that these norms serve as a backdrop against which the app users make judgements about the (im)politeness of the interactions in the analysed context.

While the provision of distant healthcare services (e.g. using a desktop phone or a computer), also known as tele-medicine (Cartwright 2000), has existed for decades, the extension of these services to smartphones has dramatically increased the number of potential users to literally everyone who owns a mobile device. There is a vast body of conversation and discourse analytic research on communication using various distant devices (e.g. Baker et al. 2005; Drew and Chilton 2000; Hutchby 2001); many of these studies have been conducted in medical contexts, and some recent studies have specifically focused on the topic of (im)politeness in distant modes of health communication (for an overview of the latter, see Mullany 2009; Locher and Schnurr 2017). While drawing on some of these previous studies in this paper, we also note that the context of mobile health and medical apps has received scant attention to date. Though we share the general sentiment in the current

discourse literature about the shift of analytic inquiry "from medium-related to user-related patterns of language use" (Androutsopolous 2006: 421), in this paper we demonstrate that the specific medium of app communication, as well as other social and contextual factors, have a significant impact on the language use in the emergent app-mediated environment (see Herring 2004, 2007 on the impact of a medium of communication and other social and contextual factors), including the relational work that app users engage into in the negotiation of norms of appropriate interactional behaviour. App communication, therefore, as a specific context of professional communication deserves special analytic attention.

Broadly speaking, apps refer to software applications that have been developed to run on a computer or a smartphone to accomplish a specific purpose (Ventola 2014). In a publication on Google marketing platform "Think with Google", Greenwood (2011) describes smartphones as "the most personal computers". The development of various apps and the mobile web have dramatically diversified the functionality of smartphones that are no longer used as pure communication devices but are able to perform just as many, if not more, of the functions of a computer. In previous discourse-oriented studies on digital communication, the terms computer mediated communication (hereafter, CMC), Computer-mediated Discourse (CMD) and Computer Mediated Discourse Analysis (CMDA) have been commonly used. To reflect on the developments and diversity in digital technologies, Graham and Hardaker (2017) suggest using a more accurate term of digital communication (DC), or digitally-mediated communication (DMC). This is the term that we adopt in this paper with reference to our data corpus gathered from a health app.

Generally speaking, the health and medical apps may target healthcare professionals or lay public (patients, caregivers, general population), or both groups. Apps for healthcare professionals may be used for a broad range of purposes, such as information and time management, health record maintenance and access, reference to professional information sources (e.g. drug reference, clinical literature) and information gathering, remote patient management, medical education and training (Ventola 2014; see also Mosa et al. 2012; Payne et al. 2012). Apps developed for lay public may be used for patient education and disease self-management (Mosa et al. 2012), which is particularly important, for example, in the case of non-communicable diseases.[1] Medical literature highlights some obvious advantages of apps for patients, such as cost effective provision of healthcare services, quick access to expert opinion, and provision of services to remote areas, or areas

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1.   Non-communicable diseases refer to chronic diseases, typically of long duration and caused by genetic, physiological, environmental and behavioural factors. Examples are cardiovascular conditions, cancer, diabetes (World Health Organization 2018)

with limited healthcare resources, among others. Concerns about the use of apps include erroneous data input, the risk of the breach of patient privacy, lack of standardised guidelines on the use of apps, and potentially inefficient communication with patients (Mosa et al. 2012), the latter is often attributed to the non-face-to-face mode of communication, and lack of paralinguistic and extra-linguistic cues.

Early discourse studies on CMC echoed these concerns in the medical literature about the impact of the distant mode on social and interpersonal aspects of communication. More recent studies of CMC, however, have provided ample examples that negotiation and maintenance of social and interpersonal relationships are central to CMC (for an overview see Locher et al. 2015; Bolander and Locher 2014). To investigate the social and the interpersonal aspects of communication, the theoretical framework of relational work (originally proposed by Watts 1992, and further developed by Locher and Watts 2005 and Watts 2005) is often applied. As we will demonstrate it in this paper, this framework is particularly amenable to investigating novel contexts of communication, such as the analysed mobile health and medical apps, as it allows capturing a broad range of interlocutors' verbal behaviour and accounting for the impact of context on that behaviour (see Schnurr and Zayts 2017). Relational work is defined as the ""work" individuals invest in negotiating relationships with others" (Locher and Watts 2005: 10), and it is captured in a continuum representing verbal behaviour ranging from negatively marked impolite non-politic/inappropriate on the left side of the continuum to negatively marked non-politic/inappropriate over-polite behaviour on the right side of the continuum. In his earlier work Watts describes politic behaviour as "socio-culturally determined behaviour directed towards the goal of establishing and/or maintaining in a state of equilibrium the personal relationships between the individuals in a social group, whether open or closed, during the ongoing process of interaction" (Watts 1989: 135). Locher and Watts (2005: 11) maintain that most of the interactions that people engage in are unmarked and go unnoticed by interlocutors, that is they do not fall on either end of the continuum. These unmarked interactions are what the authors refer to as unmarked non-polite politic/appropriate behaviour and positively marked polite politic/ appropriate behaviour.

Accounting for the "socio-culturally determined behaviour" is another strength of the chosen framework of relational work as it also caters for the data outside of the mainstream English-dominant contexts (e.g. see Zayts and Kang 2009). Our focus in this paper is on a much under-researched context of healthcare communication in Mainland China. China's healthcare system is largely public and notoriously overburdened; among issues it is facing is discrepancy in the service availability and quality between large cities and rural areas, rapidly aging population and declining birth rate, multiple scandals with counterfeit drugs and other health-related products. Although some healthcare services are also available through the private sector

(see Luo et al. 2019), mobile health and medical apps carry the potential to address many of the burning issues, as they offer easily accessible healthcare information and services free of charge to all smartphone users (for systematic overview of health and medical apps in China see Hsu et al. 2016). A closer scrutiny of interactional behaviour of app users, that is how healthcare information and services are *actually* delivered, may thus contribute to a better understanding of what this novel mode of healthcare services delivery may offer to its users.

In what follows, we first provide background information about the specific app that we examine in this paper, drawing on Herring's (2007) taxonomy of CMC and other relevant studies of CMC. The analysis that follows focuses on the use of humour as a relational strategy in health app communication. We adopt Mullany's (2004: 21) definition of humour as "instances where participants signal amusement to one another, based on the analyst's assessment of paralinguistic, prosodic and discoursal clues", and differentiate between intentional or unintentional uses of humour. Our analysis deals specifically with what we interpret as *intentional* and *strategic* humorous behaviour in health app communication. To conclude, we discuss our findings in relation to the theoretical perspectives on relational work in the novel context of healthcare services provision.

2.   The Health App

In this paper we focus on one mobile health and medical app that we hereafter refer to as the Health App. The Health App ranks third in China by its number of users (Hsu et al. 2016). It is developed specifically for the lay public's use (hereafter, the app users), and the articles are authored by medical professionals (hereafter, the authors). To introduce the App, we draw on Herring's (2007) 'faceted classification scheme' of CMC that describes *technological* (medium-related) and *situational* (social) aspects that impact language use in specific CMC contexts. The most relevant technological aspects that describe the App include: *synchronicity*, *message transmission*, *persistence of transcripts*, *size of message buffer*, *channels of communication*, *anonymity of messaging and message format*. The situational aspects in Herring's scheme include *participation structure*, *participant characteristics*, *purpose*, *topic or theme*, *tone*, *activity*, *norms* and *code*. The scheme provides a useful starting point for describing the technological characteristics of the Health App that stand it apart from other digital modes of communication. The scheme also provides a framework for analyzing the situational aspects that are more generic and applicable to the Health App as a whole, and more specific situational aspects related to the actual language use in the articles published within the Health App.

The analysed App can be described as *asynchronous* as it does not require that the authors of the articles and the app users are logged on to the App at the same time. As Herring (2007) notes, a(synchronicity) impacts structural complexity of discourse and its pragmatic and interactional features. A(synchronicity) also impacts how the participants engage in the negotiation of the norms of interactional behaviour and the relational work they undertake. On the one hand, asynchronicity of the Health App allows more time for the authors to consider the content, and in particular, the appropriateness of their messages. On the other hand, studies have suggested that asynchronicity also creates more room for the messages to be perceived as impolite, as the authors may not be able to explain or mitigate their original messages with the same promptness as in synchronous communication (see Graham 2007; Hardaker 2010).

The ability to mitigate a message takes on a different angle in the analysed App, as strictly speaking, it is a *one-way* communication platform. Unlike online advice columns examined in many previous studies where medical professionals respond to users' questions (e.g. Harvey et al. 2013; Locher and Hoffman 2006), the Health App offers unsolicited advice to the app users. Although the app users have an option to respond to such advice giving by leaving their comments to the article, the authors never follow up on the users' comments.

Nevertheless, the users' comments are important in the negotiation of interactional norms. The authors of the articles may not be responding to the users in the actual digital space, but they may potentially still be taking some cues from the readers' comments regarding how their messages are perceived. Previous research suggests that in goal-oriented spaces, like the analyzed App, interlocutors are highly conscious of their audience (Marwick and Boyd 2010). The messages and the relational work that the authors engage into are directed at an *imagined audience* (Marwick and Boyd 2010), who in the case of the Health App include mental conceptualizations of the app users by the authors. The relational work that the authors engage in thus centers on their perceptions of what that imagined audience would consider appropriate, politic and polite interactional behavior in the analyzed context. Importantly, the readers may engage in discussing the articles with other readers, and thus impact how the authors' messages are interpreted. In the data analysis that follows, a small set of the app users' comments will be taken into consideration.

Next, the App offers a *persistent* mode of communication, as the posts remain online indefinitely. Herring (2007: 15) maintains that the "[t]he overall greater persistence of CMD heightens metalinguistic awareness: it allows users to reflect on their communication – *and play with language* [our emphasis] – in ways that would be difficult in speech". The idea of "language play", or creative language use, is particularly relevant to the data that we analyse in this paper. The novelty of the

DMC of the Health App arguably allows the authors of these articles some creative flexibility as part of the process of negotiation of the norms of appropriate interactional behaviour. As we will show in our analysis the authors draw heavily on the creative use of humour in their articles. Another characteristic of the App, namely unlimited *size of message buffer* (that is "the number of characters in one message that the system allows" (Herring 2007: 15)) also facilitates creative language use, as it does not constrain the authors in terms of the grammatical, lexical or syntactic complexity of their messages.

The persistence of the messages calls for high quality of provided information. The content of the App is said to be peer-reviewed and vetted by a medical committee. The Health App is presented as providing 可信赖的医疗健康信息和服务 ('trustworthy medical health information and service'). The quality of provided information is also validated through the *non-anonymity* of the authors of the App articles. Among its *participants* who contribute to the App content are two million professionals across a range of medical fields (that include pediatrics, obstetrics and gynecology, dermatology, gastroenterology, neurology, mental health, cardiology, plastic surgery, among others). All authors are identified by their real names, areas of expertise and affiliated institutions. Previous research suggests that anonymity has a "liberating effect" on how participants express themselves (Graham and Hardaker 2017: 789). Non-anonymity then creates greater accountability and puts certain constraints on the content of the messages. In the context of professional health communication providing identifying information contributes to establishing the authenticity of the interactions with a real, not an imagined doctor, even if these interactions are digitally mediated.

Finally, the presentation of all medical information on the App follows a recognizable *format* in terms of the outlook of the articles. The App draws on multimodal *channels of communication*. In addition to textual information, it contains various visuals (e.g. graphic medical information, video clips, etc.) which facilitate the comprehension of complex medical information and enhance users' engagement with the articles.

3.   Data and method

This paper is part of an ongoing large-scale study of digital health communication in Mainland China. The total number of articles from the Health App that we have examined is 100. The articles are on average around 1800 words in length. All articles are available in the open access online and on a smart phone app, and have been downloaded over the period of six months (January to May 2018). While the ethical use of open access online data for sociolinguistic research remains a debated issue

(for a systematic review see Bolander and Locher 2014), some of the ethical considerations could be extended to the use of the app data. Since obtaining first-degree informed consent was not feasible in our study due to the size of the project and the online nature of the data, we followed ethical decision making in anonymizing all identifying information in the analyzed data, including the name of the Health App, and the participants' names and identifying information (for further details on informed consent for online data, see https://aoir.org/reports/ethics3.pdf).

To begin the analysis, we have conducted broad thematic mapping of the overall data corpus along the so-called focal and analytic themes (Roberts and Sarangi 2005). The mapping was undertaken by a native Chinese speaking team member and verified by another team member independently. Focal themes refer to broad issues of relevance to a specific professional practice (e.g. medical information and advice giving, reassurance, decision-making); analytic themes refer to analytical concepts which provide the theoretical basis for the subsequent discourse analysis of how meaning is constructed and negotiated in a particular interactional encounter (e.g. humour, repetition). Thematic discourse analysis involves aligning focal and analytic themes.

In our data, the focal theme of advice giving has been identified based on the thematic mapping of the data. The advice concerns the following aspects: (1) self-management of non-communicable diseases; (2) management of common infectious diseases, and (3) health-related cultural practices. In line with our interest in socio-culturally determined behaviours and relational work we chose the latter theme for closer scrutiny in this paper.

We have selected one representative post in terms of the discourse and rhetorical devices that the authors typically employ in the Health App. The article is dedicated to the health practices of the Chinese tradition of postpartum recovery for new mothers. In Chinese these practices are referred to as 坐月子 ('*yuezi*', literally 'sitting out a month'), and they revolve around resting and following certain dietary requirements (for example, to consume plentiful eggs, poultry, fish, meats but to avoid fruit, vegetables and milk), typically for a period of one month. The postpartum practices in modern China are influenced by two major discourses. On the one hand, there is an indigenous discourse of 'sitting out a month' that is firmly embedded in centuries long Chinese culture. While there is ample medical evidence that following this practice rigorously may in fact have a detrimental physical and emotional effect on the new mothers' and their infants' health (e.g. Lee and Brann 2015; Mao et al. 2016), the tradition is still very popular, with "*yuezi centres*" being established even outside of China to cater for the migrant Chinese population (e.g. Ji and Bates 2017). As evidenced by emerging research from China, the discourse of 'sitting out a month' is increasingly challenged by the neoliberal practices in China. In particular, many new mothers are under immense socioeconomic pressure to

return to work early; work migration practices mean that extended family members (who would traditionally provide support to a new mother) often live far away; and the state welfare support infrastructure (e.g. paid maternity leave, state crèches) have also undergone unfavorable changes (Gong and Jackson 2012). All these factors taken together mean that the new mothers often can no longer afford to "sit out a month". In addition, many scientific and popular sources, including the Health App that we examine here, have embarked on heavy criticisms of the traditional practice as medically and scientifically unreliable.

There is another important relational aspect of 'sitting out a month', that arguably makes this practice particularly interesting for analysis from the viewpoint of relational work. Cultural beliefs, such as the beliefs that shape the analysed practice, reflect and enhance social relationships and family ties. Previous studies have pointed out that the practice of 'sitting out a month' strengthens intra-family relations, particularly between the female members (Cheung 1997) who are typically involved in helping a new mother to recover after the childbirth. It follows then that not following and criticizing the practice may potentially disrupt social relationships among family members, and, therefore, interlocutors could be expected to engage in extensive relational work to mitigate these potential disruptions.

In the following, we will analyse five examples in detail of one recurrent analytic theme, namely the use of humour and the contextual relational work it achieves in negotiating the face-threatening acts of advice-giving in the selected post about postpartum recovery. The examples were selected from the data corpus to demonstrate a range of linguistic mechanisms underlying the use of humour in the data.

4.   Data analysis

While there is a lot to say about each of the examples that we examine in this section, our main focus is on the various uses of humour as a recurrent relational strategy in the App. There is abundant research on the interactional functions of humour in different contexts (e.g. Mulkay 1988; Norrick 1993; Glenn and Holt 2013, among others). One common theme of these studies is the multiple functions of humour that go beyond just making people laugh. Hay (2000), for example in a statistical study of the use of humour by New Zealand men and women, suggests a broad taxonomy of solidarity-based, power-based and psychological functions of humour. The first category, solidarity-based humour, includes strategies aimed at creating solidarity and consensus (e.g. sharing, highlighting similarities); the second category covers strategies that are used to create and maintain power (e.g. fostering conflict, controlling); and the third category includes defending and coping strategies (e.g. defending one's weakness before anyone else notices it). While

Hay's focus is primarily on gender and conversational humour, her observation that "every attempt at humor is an attempt to both express solidarity with the audience and construct a position of respect and status within the group" (Hay 2000: 716) is very applicable to our corpus of App interactions, as the analysis in this section will demonstrate. In another study of the role of humour in workplace interactions, Holmes (2000: 159) underlines the idea of multifunctionality of humour: it not only produces positive effects in interaction, but also '"licences" more negative interpersonal communicative intent'. In the contexts of health communication, drawing on posts from an online health advice column, Locher (2006: 118) suggests three main functions of humour in relational work: humour-bonding, humour-criticizing, and humour-hedging. In her analysis, she demonstrates how professional health educators, with the help of humorous language, bond with advice-seeking readers through expressing sympathies, reassurance, hedging their criticisms, etc. Building on this body of work, we focus specifically on the diverse functions of humour in the novel digital context of health app communication and highlight some particularly "risky" dimensions of the use of humour by the authors in this context. As noted in the Introduction, we draw on Mullany's (2004: 21) definition of humour as "instances where participants signal amusement to one another, based on the analyst's assessment of paralinguistic, prosodic and discoursal clues" and focus specifically on those instances of humour that we interpret as *intentional* and *strategic* humorous behaviour on the part of the author of the article.

(1)   中国人怀孕坐月子里那些坑「娘」的禁忌
       The 'mother'-trapping taboos about pregnancy and sitting out a month in China

Example (1) is the title of the article. The trope 坑娘 'mother trapping' is coined from a more common collocation 坑爹 'father trapping'. The first character 坑 means "a pit", "a hole on the groun'" when it is used as a noun, and "trapping someone" when it is used as a verb. The second characters in 坑爹 'father trapping'(爹), and 'mother trapping' (娘) is a respectful and old-fashioned way of addressing one's father and mother respectively. The trope 'father trapping' first popularized by a Mandarin translation of a Japanese cartoon, it then became a slang word that spread to informal conversations, including among online and gaming communities. It can be used as an adjective or a verb with a derogative meaning with reference to male interlocutors, in particular activities/events that negatively affect the interlocutors. The title in Example (1) serves as a powerful thematisation device (Brown and Yule 1983) that suggests that the article will deal with detecting and unpacking the deceptions surrounding the practices of 'sitting out a month'. As mentioned earlier, criticizing long-standing cultural practices may be perceived by the app users as impolite, non-politic and inappropriate. Such criticism may also be seen as challenging the kinship relationships of the readers with their family members, and as such, they

threaten the interpersonal relationship between the author of the article and the readers. The author, therefore, engages into relational work right from the start of the article and draws on humorous internet slang to mitigate the criticism. More specifically, the humorous effect of the trope 坑娘 'mother trapping' is created through an association with the original collocation and the gender change due to practices perceived as more relevant to females than males. Noteworthy is that the allusion to "traps" or being talked into or trapped to believing untrue information or engaging in risky behavior is a very common strategy in the study corpus, in particular with reference to other information sources (e.g. online materials) and common beliefs about health and illness. By criticizing these other information sources and beliefs, the authors of the articles thereby position the Health App as a more trustworthy, reliable, scientifically and medically grounded source. In the analyzed example, relational work also involves referencing popular discourses of cartoons, informal conversations, gaming and internet communication that the app users would be well familiar with. This allows the authors to mitigate the didactic lecturing style of their articles and contributes to establishing rapport with the readers.

The examples that we analyze below come from the main body of the article that goes on to discuss the taboos associated with 'sitting out a month' in a similar humorous manner.

(2)   (1) 因此，坐月子，最早是记录在《礼记》上的，而不是什么医书。(2)《礼记》甚至规定了不同等级的人生了孩子，所遵守的礼仪都是不一样的。(3) 就是说：一平民村妇生了孩子，就没资格坐王公大臣夫人们的月子！[…] (4) 但是，从医学角度来看，很多月子里的所谓禁忌都可以用一句歌词来表达——「天空飘来五个字儿，那都不是事儿！」

(1) Therefore, the earliest record of 'sitting out a month' appeared in 'Book of Rites', instead of some kind of medical books. (2) 'The Book of Rites' actually designated different rites and rituals of sitting out a month for different social classes. (3) That is to say: a common female villager, after giving birth, is simply not entitled to sitting 'the month' of the noble women! […] (4) However, from a medical point of view, the many so-called taboos about 'month-sitting' can be characterized using one lyric line – 'five words flying by in the sky – it says, "that really does not matter!"'.

In Example (2) the author draws on historical discourse to discuss 'sitting out a month', namely "The Book of Rites", an early Chinese classic, where the practice is known to be first described. "The Book of Rites" dates back to 2000 BC and represents a collection of texts that describe various practices of the Zhou dynasty that served as the basis of the Confucian philosophy. On the one hand, the reference to the historical discourse, rather than medical sources, to clarify the misconceptions about "month-sitting" practices supports the author's argument that these practices

are not scientifically and medically grounded. On the other hand, by referencing a historical source, the author also establishes his epistemic stance of a well-rounded and knowledgeable person, someone who is well-versed not only in medicine but also other areas of knowledge. The author's knowledgeable stance is also conveyed in the paraphrase of the content of the 'Book' (see sentence (2)) that is offered in sentence (3) and that starts with 就是说, 'that is to say'. This metadiscursive explanation conveys the author's irony, as the practice only seems to apply to women of a certain social status, and women from lower classes are only 'entitled' to shortened or simplified practices. The humorous effect of the explanation is reinforced by another instance of creative and humorous language use, namely the syntactic change of the idiomatic expression 坐月子 'sitting out a month' to 坐王公大臣夫人们的月 'sitting the month of the noble women'. Sentence (4) represents yet another instance of humorous language use, namely a meme from a cheerful song 倍儿爽, 'on cloud nine', or 'feeling high' that a Chinese singer Da Zhang Wei performed in 2014. The title of the song is very colloquial and draws on the northern dialect of Mandarin. The song itself is a humorous rendition of other popular songs, including "Starship" by Nicki Minaj, Gangnam Style and Chinese rhymes. This reference to popular cultural discourse once again highlights the lay, unscientific, ungrounded basis of 'month-sitting'. The highly colloquial and humorous sentence from the song depicting five words flying by in the sky again represents a relational strategy that helps the author to intensify the criticism of 'sitting out a month' and to establish rapport with the readers. The references to more familiar lay discourses in this example (and in Example (1) discussed above) is part of the relational work by the author, as these references make the information more accessible and readable to the app users and bridge the gap between the medical expert position of the author and the non-medical lay position of the readers.

(3) 1. 忌洗头洗澡？
     2. 错！
     3. 正确的是：忌不洗头不洗澡！
     4. 月子里要出很多汗，医学上称之为：褥汗。(5) 这是因为要把怀孕时增加的血容量排出去。⑥所以注意个人卫生很重要，这话得反着说：应该忌不洗头洗澡。

     1. No washing hair or taking shower?
     2. Wrong!
     3. The correct way is: never no washing hair and no taking shower!
     4. In the first month after giving birth, women sweat a lot, in medical terms, it is referred to as 'puerperal perspiration'. (5) It is caused by the amount of blood the body has accumulated during pregnancy. (6) So it is very important in this period to take care of personal hygiene – that's why this (taboo) sentence gotta be reversed: never no washing hair and no taking shower.

In this example the humorous effect is created through a categorical use of language, for example, 错!, 'Wrong!' in sentence (2). As discussed earlier in the paper, criticisms warrant a fair amount of relational work to be done to mitigate them. The author, on the contrary, is very assertive. The salient use of exclamation marks contributes to this assertive effect. The author, as the medical expert, makes fun of the taboo that stipulates that women should not wash their hair and take a shower during the postpartum period. The humour is in the apparent contradiction of the cultural taboo to the medical (and the commonsensical general knowledge) about the importance of washing hair and taking a shower on a regular basis. The double negation in sentence (3), 忌不洗头不洗澡 'never no washing hair and no taking shower' is another example of the creative use of language. In Chinese the form 忌, 'forbidding', 'avoiding', 'never' is typically followed by positive grammatical forms, the use of the negative form 忌不, 'never', 'no' is unconventional and thus creates a humorous effect. Humor here, similar to Examples (1) and (2) above, is a relational strategy that is used to establish the rapport with the readers. The appeal to commonsensical knowledge positions the readers as sensible and knowledgeable, which is also part of the relational work.

In sentences (4)–(6) the author affirms his epistemic authority. More specifically, he draws on medical, scientifically grounded explanation, in which he uses medical jargon, 褥汗 'puerperal perspiration' (that is postpatrum sweating) to index his professional expertise. The epistemic authority gives the author the grounds to criticize the 'month-sitting' practices and give opposing, or "reversed" advice in sentence (6). The repetition of sentence (3) with a double negation in sentence (6), 应该忌不洗头洗澡, 'never no washing hair and taking shower' emphasizes and re-affirms the author's advice. Besides containing a grammatically unconventional form that we have discussed, the repetition itself is humorous (see Tannen 1987) and mitigates the author's authoritative tone.

(4)   1.   忌食生冷海鲜？
      2.   这条禁忌一出，就会有产妇问：苹果是不是要煮熟了才能吃？
      3.   要说起来，除了鸿门宴上的樊哙，谁会去吃生猪肉啊？
      4.   海鲜中含有很多优质蛋白，只要你不过敏，不拉肚子，吃点海鲜还有好处呢。
      5.   总的来说，月子里休息好，注意个人卫生，爱吃啥吃啥，把自己整舒服了比什么都强。

      1.   Don't eat cold, raw food and sea food?
      2.   Once this taboo is proposed, some pregnant woman will ask: is it true that apples can only be taken, cooked?
      3.   Think about it, except Fan Kuai at *Feast at Hong Gate*, who would even think of eating raw pork?

4. There are many kinds of high quality protein in seafood – as long as you are not allergic, do not suffer from diarrhea, it actually benefits you to eat seafood!

5. In conclusion, rest well, take care of personal hygiene, eat whatever you like, make yourself comfy trumps everything else.

In sentence (1) the author uses one of the postulates of 'month-sitting' in a question form to address the imagined audience (Marwick and Boyd 2010), that is the app users, and to engage them in an imagined dialogue. The reported speech in sentence (2) is a question from an imaginary group of "some pregnant women" which applies this postulate to a commonly consumed food, apples, and whether they should be cooked too. Since it is common knowledge that apples do not need to be cooked in order to be consumed, the author's sarcasm, and the ridicule of 'month-sitting' practice are obvious, the question from the imagined audience is funny in that it contradicts the commonsensical knowledge. The author's sarcasm, however, can be perceived as face-threatening, as it questions the epistemic knowledge of the audience, even if the statement only refers to "some", not all, of the members of the audience, and therefore, in what follows the author engages in relational work. More specifically, the author draws on another historical figure from the early Han Dynasty, Fan Kuai from around 200 BC, and the well-known historical event of the Feast or the Banquet at Hong Gate in ancient China. Allegedly, Fan Kuai ate raw pork at the Feast to demonstrate his courage to other participants of the Feast. By referencing the historical event, the author once again demonstrates his well-roundness and knowledge outside the medical field (as in Example (2) above). The author, however, offers a new reading of the well-known story, as Fan Kuai is presented not as a hero, but the only person who would do something so contradictory to commonsensical knowledge as eating raw pork. The character is thus presented as being eccentric, and the author's tone is sarcastic. The rhetorical question to the imagined audience in sentence (3) is an example of relational work on the part of the author, the scenario of eating raw pork is presented as hypothetical, unimaginable, unthinkable, and the app users are constructed as having more common sense and knowing better than consuming raw meat. The assertions that the author makes in the two concluding sentences convey his high epistemic certainty (Palmer 1986/2001). The change of register in sentence (4) marked by the use of medical and more formal jargon, for example, 优质蛋白 'high quality protein', 过敏 'allergic', 拉肚子 'diarrhea', serves to make the author's argument more authoritative. In sentence (6) there is a swift change of register to very colloquial. In particular, in the phrase 爱吃啥吃啥 'eat whatever you like' the author uses a vernacular form 啥 'what', which comes from the Northern Chinese dialect, instead of 什么 'what', a more standard term in Mandarin. This strong regional use

indexes vulgar spoken language. Similarly, 整 'make' carries the same connotations of the nonstandard vulgar language use. It stands to reason to say that such language use is not typical of professional communication, and as previous research demonstrates, it is also unusual in online advice columns. For example, in their analysis of an American Internet advice column, Locher and Hoffman (2006: 89) observe that the advice-giver, "Lucy", by large uses a "fairly unspectacular everyday language" that is accessible to the readers. They further note that by mixing formal and colloquial language the advice giver balances her professional identity and the needs of the target audience. In the analyzed context of app communication, this bold use of vulgar language may be utilized to attract the app users' attention, in a sense to "shock" them with the unexpectedness of such language use. It is a rhetorical strategy that intensifies the author's point about what women actually need to do postpartum instead of being "trapped" by these so-called taboos. While medical and more formal jargon creates an epistemic asymmetry between a more knowledgeable medical professional and the app users, colloquial, and in this case vulgar language use emphasizes the informal relationship between the author and the audience, and thus contributes to reinforcing the social relationship between them (Wajnryb 2005).

As mentioned earlier, the Health App presents one-way communication as the authors do not respond to the users' comments. The comments, however, are useful for our analytic purposes as they index that the authors "fairly spectacular" (in contrast to Locher and Hoffman's (2006: 89) data corpus) and bold use of humorous language has the intended effect on the app users. Our last example lists the users' comments to the post. One theme runs consistently among the various comments: the users have noticed the distinct language of these authors. It is observed that there are many positive lauding of their humor and creativity to the point that some readers even contribute new instances of humour as a response. While the users' responses to the articles are not the focus of this study, below we provide some brief representative examples to illustrate our point. Each article receives around 20–30 responses on average and most articles are responded to by the users.

(5)   User M:
      如既往地幽默。
      As always, so humorous!

      User Y:
      医生好可爱，感谢科普！
      The doctor is so cute – thanks for popularizing scientific knowledge!

      User S:
      亮点在最后，辛辣！
      The highlight was at the end, spicy and spot-on!

The metalinguistic comment by user M explicitly references the article as humorous. The time adverb suggests that the user recognizes the author's linguistic style, in particular the humorous tone of the articles, and that he is a regular user of the Health App. The second user Y uses characters 可爱 that can be translated as 'cute', 'lovely', 'likeable', and commends the author for popularizing science. The third user S comments on the concluding part of the article which he describes as 辛 'spicy' and 辣 'spot on'. Overall, the comments suggest that despite engaging in highly face-threatening activities of criticizing and being sarcastic about established cultural practices, and potentially disrupting established familial relationships, the relational work that the author undertakes, and the use of humor as a relational strategy mitigates the potential face-threats. The author's use of language is perceived by the app users as entertaining, humorous and, therefore, it is appropriate and politic.

5.   Discussion and conclusion

In this paper, we have examined one novel context of professional-patient communication in healthcare, namely health apps that provide medical information and advice on various health-related issues to lay app users. Using the example of one Health App from Mainland China, we have discussed how the app authors and users negotiate the norms of interactional behaviour, and the relational work that they engage into as part of the negotiation process in this emerging healthcare context of DMC. Our starting point in this paper was that the expansion of telemedicine to mobile devices has made these healthcare services accessible and available to literally every mobile phone user, which in 2018 accounted to 1.57 billion people in China (Statista 2019). From this viewpoint, this novel context of health communication carries a strong potential to address many of the issues of the overburdened healthcare systems. From professional communication viewpoint, the shift in the mode of professional-patient communication to DMC involves the re(negotiation) of what counts as (im)polite, (in)appropriate and (non)politic in this novel context.

    We have discussed that some technological characteristics of the analysed Health App, in particular, the persistence of a message and the size of a message buffer, allow the professionals be more creative with language use and to employ creative structural, interactional and pragmatic strategies to engage in relational work. We have identified one relational strategy that the professionals who publish articles within the Health App routinely draw on, namely the use of humour. Humour serves as a relational strategy to mitigate potentially face-threatening activities of medical advice- and information- giving, and of criticizing health-related

practices that are not medically and scientifically grounded. Using an example of the Chinese tradition of 坐月子 ('*yuezi*', 'sitting out a month') of one month' postpartum recovery for new mothers, we have noted that in the case of criticising this well-established cultural practice, the author also challenges the traditional kinship dynamics within a Chinese family unit, as typically female family members come together to support a new mother in her recovery process. Extensive relational work is thus required to (re)establish and/or maintain the "state of equilibrium [in] the personal relationships" (Watts 1989: 135) between the author and the readers for the interaction to achieve its goals of information- and advice-giving.

Our data shows very diverse uses of humour by the professionals. Humour draws on different linguistic mechanisms, such as lexical/ semantic modifications of a trope (Example (1)), grammatical/ non-conventional use of language (Example (3)) and syntactic modifications of idiomatic expressions (Example (2)). Other mechanisms of humour in the data include a range of discourse and rhetorical strategies (e.g. contradictions, rhetorical questions, sarcasm), mixing different registers and genres, intertextual references to, for example, popular cartoons, songs, historical sources. We maintain that such diversity of humorous language use is reflective of the ongoing process of the negotiation of norms of interactional behaviour in this novel context. Although identified by their real names and affiliations, the authors engage in bold and risky linguistic behaviour (e.g. by using vulgar language), that can potentially be perceived as anti-social. The brief responses from the app users, however, indicate, that the authors' behaviour is interpreted as humorous, entertaining and educational.

The choice of humour by medical professionals deserves a special note. In professional communication contexts, the use of language is intrinsically linked with participants' roles and identities. The conundrum of using humour by the medical professionals is that, on the one hand, it may be perceived as not taking patients' concerns or their professional responsibilities seriously, and as being impolite and inappropriate; on the other hand, it is an affiliative strategy that contributes to establishing rapport with patients. Arguably, in digitally-mediated spaces, and particularly on one-way communication platforms like the analysed Health App, humour is a particularly 'risky' strategy, as the authors are not able to explain or mitigate their messages (if perceived as impolite and inappropriate by the app users) with the same promptness as in synchronous and two-way communication media. The personal identifying information about the authors makes the authors more accountable for their messages, therefore, the authors take even greater risks by employing more unconventional and 'bolder' discourse strategies such as humour. As part of the identity work, the authors draw on medical jargon and medical descriptions to showcase their professional knowledge and expertise and to create trust and credibility; they also draw on historical references to construct themselves

as well-rounded and educated people. Referencing medical and historical, on the one hand, and popular discourses, on the other hand, are seemingly polar strategies, however, they are indicative of a complex relational work that the authors engage into to achieve their interactional goals successfully. Keeping the app users' attention and interest on a digital platform is particularly challenging as the app users are only 'a click away' from abandoning the app if they do not get engaged with it. In fact, a quick overview of mobile health apps in China (see Hsu et al. 2016) shows that this is an increasingly competitive market.

To conclude, with ever-advancing digital technologies, we can expect that professional communication will increasingly involve various new types of digital platforms. It is also certain that the shift in the modes of professional communication will involve the (re)negotiation of what counts as (im)polite and (in)appropriate behaviour in these novel contexts. This process will involve the negotiation of medium- and situationally appropriate norms, as well as language norms (Herring 2007). The emergence of new digital platforms of professional communication would certainly call for more analytic research in the area.

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Politeness in business and organisational contexts (including emails)

Managing rapport in team conflicts

Dealing with "the elephant in the room"

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1. Introduction

Workplaces are spaces in which interlocutors meet and form relationships with others. Often employees have little influence over the selection of people with whom they are required to collaborate. Who one interacts and relates with is thus often not a question of choice. Instead employees need to continue working together and continue their relationship for the sake of the task and the workplace environment, even if rapport is problematic and relationships are strained. This can be particularly challenging in project teams, which are characterised by work interdependence and often require a substantial amount of extended collaboration amongst all team members (Picazo et al. 2015).

How exactly rapport management and relational work are done in these strained relationships has been little explored, despite evidence that these are a widespread phenomenon: Omdahl and Harden Fritz (2006) for example report that out of their over 1000 participants, all had to deal with problematic relationships at work. Relational conflict is thus a part of everyday life and interlocutors are likely to spend a lot of resources on managing potentially conflicting positions harmoniously in talk.

This chapter explores the conflict management in a team of MBA students assembled by their course administrators. The team was tasked with collaborating on a number of projects over a span of eight months. Shortly after the team was formed, two areas of conflict emerged that harmed rapport and lowered affect in the team, yet team members had to continue working with each other nonetheless and somehow manage to work with and around these relational problems. How exactly they have managed these conflicts and tried to maintain rapport throughout is the focus of this chapter.

2.   Conflict in the workplace

One of the main advantages of diverse teams, according to Adler and Gundersen (2008), is their lower susceptibility to groupthink, or the "concurrence-seeking tendency of close-knit groups" as defined by Janis (1991: 238), which leads to inferior decision making. Diverse teams, in contrast, are not hampered by the inclination "to avoid creating any discordant arguments or schisms" (Janis 1991: 237) that supposedly will deter homogeneous teams from a realistic appraisal of alternatives. As this implies, typical challenges faced by diverse teams, such as different working styles and unfamiliar approaches, are effectively benefits (Spencer-Oatey and Dauber 2017). In this view, conflicts around these issues become not only necessary but desirable for successful task achievement and become institutionally ratified.

In the literature on organisational behaviour, conflict tends to be broken down into task conflict, process conflict and relational conflict (e.g. Jehn and Mannix 2001). For a long time task conflict was lauded as beneficial for performance, while process and relational conflict tended to be seen as harming goal achievement (Pelled 1996; Simons and Peterson 2000; Jehn 1995). This again supports the view that task conflict and disagreements seem to have become an intended and even desired part of a team's interactions, at least from an organisational or administrative viewpoint.

However, other research indicates that reality is far more complex, as task conflict and relational conflict tend to coincide, and suggests that any form of conflict is harmful to performance (De Dreu and Weingart 2003). What all authors seem to agree on, however, is that conflict is a normal occurrence in most workplaces and that, good or bad, employees somehow must deal with it.

While the organisational behaviour literature differentiates between conflict types, there is less clarity around defining it from an interpersonal perspective (Nelson 2001). Nguyen (2011), for example, provides the following definition of a conflict:

> A conflict arises when a current speaker A's ongoing talk is contested by a speaker B, and speaker A then produces a counter-oppositional turn toward speaker B (Coulter 1990; Gruber 1998, 2001; Hutchby 1996; Maynard 1985, 1986; Muntigl and Turnbull 1998; Norrick and Spitz 2008; Vuchinich 1987). A verbal conflict initiation thus has three minimal parts: (a) ongoing talk that contains an "arguable move," (b) initial opposition, and (c) counter-opposition (Maynard 1985).
>
> (Nguyen 2011: 1755)

Within this definition, a conflict seems to have become synonymous with a disagreement that interlocutor A does not immediately give in to. This, however seems to describe only one specific type of conflict, which, within workplaces, may

not necessarily constitute a conflict at all. Angouri (2012) reports that disagreements in workplace meetings are not necessarily dispreferred responses and are often unmarked – thus, it would be problematic to label them as "conflict". Similar findings are seen in the data set reported on here: Sometimes the harshest disagreements occur amongst team members who clearly identify each other as friends.

While there is some terminological confusion within the literature between disagreement and conflict and the various types of conflicts that could exist in a team (open or hidden conflicts; long-term versus momentary; conflicts featuring negative evaluations of the person involved, or remaining relatively matter-of-fact; and so forth), what seems to be clear at least is that open conflict is relatively rare in the workplace. Holmes and Marra (2004: 441) state in regards to their considerable dataset that "we can reliably report that head-on conflicts are vanishingly few". Instead the authors identified four different strategies in their dataset whereby potential conflicts were managed by leaders in meetings: Conflict avoidance; diversion; resolution through negotiation; and resolution by authority (Holmes and Marra 2004; see also Grimshaw 1990). The conflict examples given however all seem to pertain to purely task-related issues; whether these strategies are similar in more personal conflicts in teams seems less clear.

Given that the role disagreements and open conflict is less clear, in this study, conflict is first and foremost understood as a disruption in the relationship between interlocutors, which, while not unresolvable, affects their affective stances, and is often accompanied by negative emotions about and evaluations of the other person. Following the organisational behaviour categorisation, this would primarily be categorised as a relational conflict, although it is difficult to separate from task issues, as the data from this study illustrate.

3.   Conflict and rapport management

Understanding the relational work done in an ongoing conflict in an enduring relationship (Enfield 2013), requires exploration of how interlocutors "use language to shape and form relationships in situ" (Locher and Graham 2010: 1) and also how they do this against the backdrop of the history of their relationship (Kádár and Haugh 2013) and over time. Making sense of the management of strained relationships thus forces us to consider interpersonal emotions, interpersonal relations, evaluations and attitudes – as has been called for in the field of interpersonal pragmatics (Haugh, Kádár, and Mills 2013). We need to consider how these aspects affect the shifting, in-the-moment constructions of relationships, and how they are affected by them in turn. It thus seems insufficient to draw solely on interactional data as this only provides insights into the in-the-moment construction of

the relationship. Instead this requires the exploration of participants' accounts of emotions, evaluations and attitudes towards each other alongside an analysis of the ongoing, moment-by-moment flux in these relationships.

Interpersonal pragmatics already provides some insights into how the mismanagement of relationships can lead to diminished rapport. Spencer-Oatey (2008) considers the management of problematic relations in her rapport management framework. She suggests that face, interpersonal goals, and sociality rights and obligations form the three bases of rapport that need to be managed well in order to enhance or maintain rapport. Thus, a conflict between interlocutors is likely to be the result of the violation of one or more of these bases, that is of behaviour that has been perceived as either face-threatening, as violating sociality rights and obligations and/or as a violation or incompatibility of goals.

Within this framework, rapport in strained relationships is likely to be characterised by disharmony, less warmth and more turbulence than it would be in more positively managed relationships (Spencer-Oatey 2008). The data underpinning the rapport management framework stems from interviews in which members of different teams voiced their concerns about managing workplace relations. Spencer-Oatey did, however, not directly investigate the strategies team members used to manage these concerns in interactions. Thus, exactly how team members manage rapport and interactions in a situation where rapport is strained is under-explored. Yet the issue is likely to be a concern to employees and managers alike who have to deal with interpersonal conflicts in one way or another on a regular basis.

4.   The case

In order to address the identified research gap, I draw on a single case study of an MBA team collaborating with each other on four separate projects over a period of eight months. Of these four projects, three were undertaken for external clients for whom the team acted as consultants. Accordingly, while the team was embedded in an institution of Higher Education, the nature of the work and the age and prior experience of team members put them more in the context of a workplace than a student team.

Three sets of data were analysed for this study. Firstly, the teamwork was observed and audio recorded throughout, leading to over 100 hours of interactional data. Secondly, interviews were conducted with team members at the beginning and after the end of the teamwork to explore their initial expectations and impressions and their retrospective evaluations. In addition, some recordings or notes were taken from informal interviews after team meetings depending on participant

availability. Thirdly, a discussion between four of the team members (Jay, Bruno, Akshya and Bev – the "core group") who sat together after the final presentation to discuss and review the teamwork was also recorded. Ethical approval for the data collection was granted by the University and the course leadership and participants gave informed consent to their participation in the study. After data collection all identifying information was removed and names were anonymised.

Participant interviews and the four-way discussion mentioned above were fully transcribed and thematically coded. From the 100-hours plus of team interaction data collected, 25 hours were selected for transcription. The selection included one project in its entirety (amounting to 10 hours of data) to allow insights on the whole process from start to finish. The other 15 hours were selected to provide a good spread over time. Team meetings with all members present were prioritised, as were meetings (or parts of meetings) that consisted of team discussion (as opposed to those where the team split into smaller groups to solve specific problems). The selected meetings were transcribed and coded using MAXQDA and following different coding procedures.

Team members did not know each other prior to the teamwork and had no influence over the team composition. Instead, the team was assembled by course coordinators to reflect as much diversity as possible – a fact that was obvious to team members and one which was openly discussed. Table 1 provides a brief overview of the participants.

Table 1. Team member overview

Name	Age	Gender	Nationality	Professional background
Akshya	28	Female	Indian	Team leader in marketing office
Alden	29	Male	Chinese	Accountant, head of department in large accountancy firm
Bev	26	Female	Nigerian	Executive manager in oil and gas company
Bruno	39	Male	German/Italian	Sales manager, working from his home office
David	27	Male	British	Team leader in large oil and gas company
Jay	26	Male	Indian	Consultant for data solutions in large consultancy firm

While not the original focus of the study, conflict and dealing with it was brought up as a major topic and concern for all participants. Yet what came up in the interview and reflection data often appeared to be at odds with what was observed in the team meetings and vice versa, providing some very interesting insights into the everyday management of (hidden) conflicts in teamwork.

5.   The conflicts

Early on in the life of the team, members started to struggle with two separate conflicts, which continued throughout the ongoing teamwork. One of these conflicts surrounded Alden, a team member who was particularly quiet. All team members experienced this as problematic, but it led to particular tensions between Alden and David. David made his resulting negative evaluations of Alden explicit to the other team members, while the others pointed to Alden's behaviour being a problem but treated it as less of a personal conflict, entailing less severe negative evaluations of him as a person.

The second long-term conflict surrounded David and the rest of the team, as his way of doing teamwork and leadership were repeatedly perceived as too directive in style (Aritz and Walker 2014) and as "disrespectful". This led to tensions amongst all team members and David. This conflict was more salient in the team and had a greater impact than the first one as more team members were involved and David's negatively perceived interactional style was more present and harder to overlook than Alden's silence, which could often be more or less ignored. I will therefore focus more on this second conflict in this chapter. The participation challenges in the team have also been explored in depth elsewhere and we have pointed to a number of interactional features that have helped to silence and marginalise Alden in the team (Debray and Spencer-Oatey 2019).

6.   "The elephant in the room": Relational work in a conflict

In the interviews and the small group discussion all team members (with the exception of David himself) discussed having issues with David and reflected on their own role and the way the conflict was handled without being prompted by the interviewer. Bev, Akshya, Jay and Bruno were aware of each other's issues with David and seemed to regularly communicate about it with each other outside of team meetings; for this reason I will refer to them here as the "core group". Alden was also aware but seemingly to a lesser extent as he was less well integrated in their group, Nevertheless, he also had some of his own points of conflict with David, mostly due to David's rejection of him based on his perceived lack of participation.

Throughout the interviews and chats around the team meetings, participants also mentioned smaller conflicts and annoying incidents between other team members, but these were constructed in a different way than the more long-term relational problems that seemingly persisted between the team and David. One notable difference, apart from longevity and severity, between these smaller conflicts and the bigger one regarding David, was that only the conflict with David was perceived

or constructed to have a broader influence on the teamwork, while the others were constructed as ultimately irrelevant.

As with Holmes and Marra's (2004) findings that open or head-on conflicts were exceedingly rare in their data, these are similarly more or less absent here. Nonetheless, to the team members they were tangible in the team meetings: Jay for example stated: "there is always this elephant in the room" while Bev suggested that: "there was so much going on underneath the task and I feel that was playing a huge role in the task".

All members of the core group indicated independently of each other that David must be aware of the problems they had with him, even if they had never made them explicit. They reported that these problems had rather been implicitly communicated to him via team member evaluation forms and hints when face-to-face. David, on the other hand, discussed this very little in his interview and in contrast was very complimentary about his team members, which of course does not necessarily mean that he was unaware of their attitudes towards him.

6.1   Maintaining the conflict as invisible

Since there was an unspoken agreement not to discuss the conflict openly, team members instead spent considerable energy on relational work to contain it and on covering up the "elephant in the room". This was even more apparent in moments where the conflict became more tangible and threatened to surface in a team meeting. I will begin the analysis with some of these moments, to provide more evidence of the conflict.

Example (1) provides an insight into one of these instances where the conflict threatens to surface, as Akshya complains to David about a specific incident. While disagreements and even personal comments are not unheard of in the team, as we shall see below, when these involve David there is a threat of them not being contained to the incident at hand, but of revealing the larger underlying conflict. This requires the team members to manage rapport in sometimes unusual ways to prevent this from happening.

(1)   Context: Project 3, Meeting 3: The team is debating different ways of providing their client with an extended customer base, when Akshya makes a perceived previous rebuff explicit.

```
1225 David:    Yeah but it's something to think about (.) as is the
               financing/that's certainly a good point as well/ that
               will give them something/ that will help them sell a lot
               more
               (1.0)
1226 Akshya:  Financing ↑wha:t?↑
```

```
1227 David:    Like what Bruno said/ maybe we could look into it and
                see if they offer that as a service for a product
1228 Bruno:    Absolutely absolutely [I mean
1229 Akshya:                         [I said that some time back and
                you said "let's not get into financing"
1230 Bruno:    No but=
1231 David:        =YOU always bring up things that have been
                said and then you're like >>wuh-wuh-wuh-wuh<<
1232 Akshya:   YEAH!=
1233 Jay:          = I, I said that/ [You were wrong
1234 David:                          [But this is where we're now/
                this is where we're at now/ okay?
1235 Akshya:   All right (.) FINE
```

In line 1229 Akshya complains that David had made the same suggestion that he had dismissed earlier when she had brought it up, turning a task-focused discussion into a more personal issue. The tone of the whole discussion becomes quite tense, and both Akshya and David's voices convey annoyance and anger. David dismisses her comment in line 1231, following his own personal slight against her as somebody who "always brings up things" and imitates her by producing a jumble of tones that are clearly not characterising her favourably (line 1231). Both Akshya and David are threatening each other's face here and are characterising each other's behaviour in the team as problematic. Team members often complain about such utterances by David as "disrespectful" yet in this situation, instead of supporting Akshya and defending her against a perceived infringement of her face and interpersonal goals, both Bruno and Jay disaffiliate from Akshya and disagree with her comment, although Bruno gets cut off by David relatively quickly in line 1231.

This is surprising as in general Bruno and Jay reported having much better relationships with Akshya than with David, so either they fundamentally disagree with the content of what Akshya is saying, or with the fact that she has brought it up. In the interview however, Jay explicitly reports Akshya's complaint to be correct and that indeed David does sometimes disagree with her ideas just to make the same suggestions shortly later. While it cannot be established for certain whether this is the case in this specific instance, it seems puzzling that in the light of this he would nonetheless disagree so explicitly, as he does here in line 1233 ("You were wrong").

The pattern of disaffiliation by team members not directly involved in a particular instance of a conflict is however consistent in the data: Whenever somebody threatens the rapport, in particular in regard to David, other team members seem to disaffiliate even if they claim to agree with the criticism more generally. Akshya ends up begrudgingly backing down in line 1235 by stating "All right (.) FINE" although her tone makes it clear that it is not fine. This is another pattern in the data, where even the person initiating a more conflictual sequence with David engages in relational work to revert to the status quo.

The same tense tone and atmosphere as found in Example (1) characterised many of the teams' meetings, especially from the middle stages onwards, as even in task discussions an undercurrent of annoyance and tension about the conflict boiling over was tangible. This included a lot of negotiation, even in the more task-related discussions, that often seemed to be fuelled by these relational undercurrents more than by the content of what was being said. Example (2) below illustrates another one of these instances.

Team members themselves also pointed to the mood and the atmosphere in the room that they perceived to be created by the unspoken conflict with David.

Bev for example commented:

> Bev: I feel like/ the rest of us because we know/ we respect each other's opinions/ we allow each other/ we feel comfortable/ but once he is in the room there's this pressure to do something different

Bev's comments highlight the impact of the unresolved conflict in terms of additional pressure of adjusting one's behaviour. Jay mirrors a similar perception stating: "There was a lot of/ I would say passive-aggressiveness in the team". The tense interaction and the passive-aggressiveness seem to be a result of the team's unspoken agreement to contain the conflict and arguably also a result of the relational work done to contain it.

6.2   Managing rapport and task

In Example (1) we saw team members risk threatening rapport in their core group in order to maintain harmony with David. Similar compromises were also made in regards to the accomplishment of the task, which was sometimes derailed in order to contain the conflict.

(2)   Context: Project 2, Meeting 6: Akshya and David have been disagreeing on how to maximise resource utilization for their client. The debate has gone on for more than 50 turns and both have grown exceedingly exasperated. Bev, Jay, Bruno and Alden were in a parallel conversation at first but gradually started to listen and after a while to make comments and jokes about Akshya and David's discussion. The extract starts just at the end of their debate.

```
1311 David:    I CAN'T explain it any more clearly
1312 [loud laughter]
1313 Bev:      hh we knew that the both of you would never agree
1314 Bruno:    it was just a matter of time to be honest
1315 Bev:      we knew you wouldn't agree hh
1316 [laughter]
1317 David:    can anyone see my point of view? I don't understand
              hh
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1318 Bev:      it's oka:::y
1319 Akshya:   I/ I understand what he SAID/ I'm just <<SAYING
                SOMETHING ELSE>>
1320 Bev:      it's okay for both of you to just/ no you can't drive us
                in/ we've been doing this for all of 20
                years=
1321 Akshya:      =[okay
1322 Bev:          [we don't care what you think [let's move on=
1323 Akshya:                                     [okay
                =No I understood what you said I understand what
                you're saying
1324 Bev:      this is just one tiny thing in all our slides can we just
                move on
1325 Jay:      Yes! It's just one line
1326 Bruno:    Yes right/ oka:y
1327 David:    I think it's important
```

In this extract we see another incident where a debate between Akshya and David is ended by the other team members. In this case though the debate had been allowed to continue for a while, probably because it stayed mostly focused on the task, which is identifying which utilization method of a given resource is better. David's exasperated-sounding "I can't explain it any more clearly" is responded to with loud laughter, which for Bruno, Bev, Jay and Alden seems to mark the end of the debate. In line 1317, line 1319 and line 1323 David and Akshya try to continue the debate and win support for their views from their team members, who flatly refuse to pick a side (line 1320); instead they downplay the importance of the point of argument (lines 1322, 1324–1326) against the protests of David (line 1327). Throughout the interaction, team members use humour, stating while laughing "we knew you wouldn't agree hh" (line 1312–1315) and exaggeration "We've been doing this for all of 20 years" (line 1320), thus doing relational work that dispels the tension and frustration brought on by David and Akshya's debate. Eventually Bev explicitly states "no you can't drive us in", taking the right to speak for the rest of the team, thereby positioning them as a united front on this issue.

The argument in fact never gets resolved and the discussed aspect of resource utilization does not get included in their final report, despite the fact that it seemed quite central. Crucially, team members seem willing to even sacrifice their performance on occasion in order to maintain functional relationships in the team and a semblance of harmony and rapport.

The above example suggests that avoiding positionings and debates is an important aspect of the relational work done in the team. In general, however, it is difficult to pinpoint moments in the interactional data where the relational work consists of *not* doing something. On the other hand, during the individual interviews several team members commented on sometimes withholding counterarguments or avoiding debates, in some cases to the detriment of the task. Bruno for example reported:

> Bruno: But we were also unable to address the more intrinsic problem that this group has/ that is to dealing with a person it's sometimes quite difficult to deal with/ and so instead of addressing this problem and solving it in the beginning we accepted opinions or ideas without questioning them

In his extract, Bruno is referring to David while stating that they "accepted opinions and ideas without questioning them". This reaction seems to have been reserved mostly for David, as all other team members sometimes had very explicit task-focused disagreements. For instance, in Example (1), Jay tells Akshya very explicitly "no you were wrong", but explicit disagreements like this were considerably less common with regard to David. These more explicit disagreements seem only to be voiced between interlocutors where rapport is not already under threat.

Bev in her final interview stated that "I felt I was always walking around eggshells with David" – with this "walking around eggshells" signifying an intricate and complicated strategy of doing relational work, that in the end however did not save the relationship, but to the contrary seems to have condemned it further.

The idea that some forms of communication can be had with some team members but not with others was an important aspect of their relationships. In contrast to their dealing with David, team members repeatedly claimed in the interviews that they could be very honest with each other and give each other openly negative feedback. The fact that they perceived this not to be possible with David is one issue that threatened the relationship throughout.

In the discussion round after the end of their teamwork in which Bruno, Jay, Akshya and Bev were present, Bev stated about Akshya:

> When I felt/ Akshya you are just bashing his [David's] data collection method cause it's him/ you know/ I literally called her and said "Don't you think you're being biased? I think you are just bashing everything he does/ there is actually some good"/ and she said "No Bev look"/ but at least I like the honesty that I can tell her that (.) and when she is annoying me at least I can fricking tell her that she is annoying me hhhh

In this excerpt Bev covers two points that are relevant to the study at hand. Firstly, she makes the claim that some of Akshya's linguistic behaviour is guided by her dislike of David and not her concern for the task. Secondly, she lauds the importance of honest and open communication. Bev repeats and re-enacts the negative criticism she has given Akshya explicitly in front of Akshya and in front of several others thus enacting and proving the honesty she claims to exist between the two of them – which seems the exact opposite of the "walking around eggshells" she is doing around David. This extends to the team discussions in which Bruno, Jay, Bev and Akshya regularly voice strong disagreements with the others' opinions and are

sometimes almost blunt in their feedback with each other, such as in Bev's quote above. Yet being able to be this blunt seems to be indicative, and in fact constitutive, of their good relationships and thus reflects an important way in which relational work gets done in the meetings amongst the four core group members.

The incidents we have seen so far clearly indicate that team members did not perceive it possible to openly challenge or debate some of David's ideas – with the exception of Akshya, as we have seen in Example (1) and (2). At the same time, they are clearly complicit in constructing the relational problems by abstaining from critically debating his ideas: and while we could consider this as relational work in the sense that it maintains a functional work relationship, it seems at the same time to be rapport harming in the longer term.

6.3   Letting face threats slide

One further way in which relational work is done is by ignoring utterances from David that seem relationally problematic. Instead of calling out face-threatening behaviour and confronting David about it, the other team members tend to ignore it, while privately being upset about it and evaluating him negatively.

(3)   Context: Project 4, Meeting 2: The meeting is wrapping up, David is the task-master on this project and is confirming the schedule and work distribution with the team members.

```
1465 David:    Everyone understands that we need to have work on
               the table by the 11th February?
               (1.0)
1466 Bev:      Yeah we do
1467 David:    We can't just go like, "oh yes/ so I'm going to look
               into that"
1468 Bev:      "I think I wi::ll" (.) Yes okay.
1469 David:    If people haven't done it then they're letting the
               entire team down because we're really up against a
               schedule here/ so please make sure that stuff is done
               (2.0)
1470 Bev:      Against the schedule/ against the world/ against
               everything
1471 David:    Because I'm literally going to go fucking crazy if
               people don't get shit done
               (3.0)
1472 Bev:      Please let's be respectful of every other person's
               time/ so when we come here it's just to bam, bam,
               bam and get out/ God knows I hate long meetings
1473 David:    Look/ that was always going to be a long meeting
               there/ because we had to discuss some
               change=
1474 Bev:             =I know, I'm saying from now on
```

In this example, David directs his teammates repeatedly to get their work done (line 1465). David is the elected "taskmaster" of this project and has some extra rights in terms of work allocation and the obligation to ensure progress; however, his way of ensuring this are far outside the usual team communications. David was chosen by his team members as taskmaster (in itself a relational strategy to maintain a semblance of rapport in the team as team members stated that he would have otherwise been unbearable or just completely uninvolved), but they are still first and foremost an equal team. In addition, three other team members have been taskmaster before him, without resorting to explicit threats such as "I'm literally going to go fucking crazy" or shaming others by suggesting that "they are letting the entire team down" (both line 1469). By enacting hypothetical responses that team members who have not done their work might give (line 1467), David also implies that this sort of behaviour has occurred in the past, and has accordingly provided him with a repertoire of excuses he can draw on to enact them now.

That something is disrupted in this interaction can be detected by the relatively long silences following David's utterances throughout. In addition, only Bev responds to his comments, although all team members are present, and all of them seem to be addressed. Bev seems to pursue a number of different relational strategies in this interaction: In line 1466 she responds affirmatively to David's comments, yet without elaborating. She also uses exclusive "we", speaking for the entire rest of the team, thus absolving others from having to engage directly with David's face threatening behaviour. In line 1468 she then changes track affiliating with David, by voicing another hypothetical response, yet afterwards she produces another response with "yes okay" (line 1468) affirming understanding of David's statement, while also remaining quite curt and seemingly neutral. Finally, in line 1470 she picks up on David's phrase of being "up against a schedule" and produces so sweeping a negative assessment of all their situation "against the schedule, against the world, against everything", that it comes across as almost comical. At the same time, it affirms the problematic issues that they all face together, thus emphasising a common denominator in the team.

After David's most explicit and likely relationally problematic comment: "I'm literally going to go fucking crazy if people don't get shit done" in line 1471, she finally changes the topic and asks for shorter meetings from now on (their current meeting has gone on for about 2 hours), indicating her own unwillingness to spend excessive time with the team.

Bev's answers seem to be given somewhat reluctantly and mostly targeted at making this moment pass. She is clearly not interested in getting the others involved in the conversation or to motivate them to work harder, which seems to be David's goal. Instead her responses cover the silence the others are leaving and does relational work towards them, by taking on the evidently unpleasant duty of dealing

with David's demands, while also managing their relationship with David by not refusing to engage in an interaction with him.

Despite her strategic attempts to shut him up, he continues to increase the severity of his utterances until Bev finally changes the topic by voicing a relatively harsh criticism about long meetings herself, which could also be understood as an implicit criticism of David's chairing style, to which he responds by appeasing her. His appeasing response stands in even starker contrast to the team's responses to him, as that type of relational work is markedly absent in Bev's responses to his comments.

6.4   Rapport enhancing relational work

In stark contrast to the examples we have seen so far, team meetings however also feature interactions that seem very friendly and harmonious, in which team members construct very positive in-the-moment relationships, to the extent that one might never know anything was amiss. These very different constructions of the relationships regularly feature in the same meeting, showing just how shifting and fluid such constructions can be, as seen in Example (4).

(4)   Context: 2nd Project, 3rd Meeting: The team is planning a visit on a Friday evening to inspect their new client's work.

```
252 Bruno:   so Friday/ do you want to Friday/ is okay for you
             guys? because I mean we just said Friday evening
             that it/
             honestly I mean/ David is more/ I mean David and
             Bev you are more because you have your families
             [and so on
253 Alden:   [so we
             just/ we just visit on the Friday and have dinner?
254 Jay:     yeah probably visit/ maybe not even have dinner
255 Bev:     if you're there you might as well eat dinner
256 Bruno:   yeah I mean/ I personally would fully understand if
             you David would say/ "I can't" because you have
             commitments as well/ you=
257 Jay:                            =oh yeah [you have to go
258 David:                                   [I see what I
             can do probably I might be able to come if we go
             straight after class […]
```

During a meeting between Bruno and their new client, the client suggested that the team come on Friday night to see them at work. David normally travels home for the weekends to be with his family in another city and thus the team is aware that this is a potentially problematic time for him. While David himself critically comments on people being late or not coming to team meetings – which several team

members mention in the interviews as particularly annoying – Bruno repeatedly states that he would understand if David cannot make it to this meeting (line 252 and line 256), which Jay supports in line 257. So instead of getting shots in against David for potentially missing a meeting, Bruno and Jay show consideration and empathy towards David, enacting roles of good and understanding team members.

Example (4) stems from a meeting in the middle of the teamwork period where relationships have already become more problematic but are not yet as bad as they would become towards the end. Yet even towards the end team members continue to do rapport-enhancing work and to construct and enact very positive relationships. This is evident in Example (5), despite their interview comments indicating that participants had already given up on David and on any longer-term connection with him by this point.

(5)   Context: 4th Project, 3rd Meeting: David was telling his team mates about an unsuccessful job interview he had in the previous week.

```
1641 David:   But like, if you met the people there, they were like
              really dull
1642 Bev:     hhh next time you go for an interview, just=
1643 Akshya:                              =So that's
              a good thing you are not working for them then/
              imagine you [(xxx)
1644 David:             [Super dull
1645 Bev:     It is/ it probably is/ they are probably thinking
              "happy person in the office/ happy people in the
              office"
1646 David:   Some guy had like cuff links, that had bikes on
              them=
     Bev:         =hh[hh
     David:          [no, that's fine/ so I was like/ "oh, do you
              like cycling?" and he was like "mmhm"/ hhhhh he
              didn't want to discuss the fact that he/ I was like "oh,
              I like cycling" he was like "mmm"
1647 [laughter]
1648 Bev:     halfway through such interviews just walk/ stand up
              and then leave/ it's actually wise to do that
1649 David:   Okay, so I have Jay down for reports, and I have
              Akshya on questionnaires a::nd, yes, questionnaires
```

While team members probably knew that David had had a job interview, with his admission to having not been successful and going into some detail about it (before the extract shown), he nonetheless does some important rapport-enhancing work, since troubles talk and in particular self-disclosures have been found to be important rapport-enhancing strategies (Debray 2018). His team members react very supportively and there seems to be a complete absence of gloating, which one could have expected, given some of the comments we have encountered so far. In line 1643 Akshya is doing other-oriented facework by suggesting "it is a good

thing you are not working for them" while Bev shows support by joking about the employer in line 1645. David eventually moves the conversation from the trouble back to the division of the tasks, and the meeting progresses with no sign of tension or conflict in the team for quite a number of turns.

Of course, many other relational strategies can be found in the data, with humour and small talk playing a particularly important part. Team members remain receptive to David's jokes throughout and engage with much of his more social talk, while also continuously trying to deal professionally with the task aspects of their teamwork.

6.5   "We should have talked": Conflict as relational work

A further aspect of the conflict is the perception of the team members of their handling of the conflict. All team members express the idea that discussing it in the open may have been beneficial for the task and team relationships. Thus open conflict is seen as a potentially productive relational strategy that could have enhanced relationships rather than damaged them. In fact, the relational work team members engaged in, with its clear avoidance of any sort of confrontational talk, may in fact have been what really made the relationship to David impossible to salvage.

In the interviews Bruno, Bev, Jay and Akshya clearly stated they regretted their way of dealing with the situation and indicated that "arguing more", as Bev called it, may have been the better choice. Bev further emphasises the point when she states in the final interview:

> Bev: Because right now I kick myself/ like there are many times where I should have told him off and said my piece and said my mind/ maybe we would be in a different place/ maybe/ maybe this team would be in a different place/ it wouldn't feel so "thank God we're done in we're out of it [the team]"

Bev suggests that engaging in an open conflict (had she "told him off"/"said my piece") might have actually been the better solution relationally than the avoidance strategy they used, by hypothesising they might be "in a different (i.e. better) place" and less grateful to be "out of it".

Team members also expressed awareness that by never talking openly about it, they failed to give David any chance to change or improve, again reflecting a tendency to withdraw from the relationship.

While things played out differently in this team, team members nonetheless came to acknowledge that open conflict could be a viable or maybe even necessary route for relationship and rapport enhancement long term, which might be an interesting focus of subsequent research.

With their strategies of avoidance and covering up the relational conflict, team members were successful insofar as they managed to maintain functional working relationships to the extent that they could continue working together without major fallouts. However, this approach increasingly harmed their relationships in the long run. Unsurprisingly, after the teamwork was over, little effort was made by either David or the other team members to mutually stay in touch, while all the others did make some effort to remain in contact with each other.

7.   Discussion

The analysis reveals a number of interesting aspects both regarding the specific strategies used in dealing with a problematic team member, but also more broadly with regards to relationships and an analysis of relationships.

Most notably, the management of problematic relationships in the team under study differed significantly from the ways positive relationships among the core group were handled. The extracts analysed above provide an overview of the range of different strategies of relational work employed in the team's interactions. Table 2 provides a summary of these strategies.

Table 2. Rapport Management preferences for positive and problematic relationships in the team

Behaviours among core group members (Relationships reported as positive)	Behaviours towards David (Relationships reported as strained)
Preference for:	Preference for:
Explicit disagreements with others' ideas/suggestions	Accepting decisions without questioning
Arguing over tasks	Shifting topic away from controversial matters
Not backing down in an argument	Backing down quickly in an argument
No intervention when conflicting opinions are expressed	Intervention by other team members when conflicting opinions are expressed
Disaffiliation with colleagues threatening rapport in-the-moment	Affiliation with colleague (David) who is threatening rapport long-term
Giving negative feedback face-to-face	Withholding face-to-face feedback Ignoring problematic behaviour Showing extra consideration

The data showed that team members were much more willing to disagree, argue and provide negative feedback to interlocutors with whom they had positive relationships than with those with whom relationships were strained. Being able to honestly disagree was explicitly commented on as a positive relational feature and as such, often seems to be an enactment of intimacy, even if it is not always received positively. This finding raises further questions regarding the conceptualisation of disagreements-as-conflicts.

The study indicates that in general, more nuanced definitions and terminology are called for in order to describe, distinguish and analyse different types of conflicts in the workplace and understand their dynamics. As in Holmes and Marra's (2004) data, head-on conflict was absent despite there clearly being relational conflicts present during the team meetings that affected the interactions and the task. The way this team dealt with the conflict mirrors some of the strategies reported by Holmes and Marra (2004). In their data, conflict tended to be dealt with by conflict avoidance, diversion, resolution through negotiation, and resolution by authority. The context of this particular team, which is marked by the absence of clear authority, and the hidden and relational nature of the conflict affected the strategies used to deal with it. Instead of resolution through authority, we see a regular intervention by members of the core group, who are even willing to disaffiliate from each other. At the same time conflict prevention seems to be done by engaging in lots of positive rapport-enhancing interactions, despite the underlying problems. These included extra consideration of the personal circumstances, commiserating and displaying positive attitudes, ignoring face threats, withholding negative attitudes and intervening when other team members let these show.

Team members suggested that in dealing with David they had to be more careful as he might react negatively if they disagreed – and a lot of their relational strategies seemed to be targeted at avoiding a negative reaction at all costs, even to the detriment of their performance.

Thus, in the team here, team members worked continuously on maintaining their relationships to a certain extent, depending on the shifting in-the-moment construction of the relationships. While much of their relational work was targeted at just maintaining the functional work relationship, they sometimes also seemed to target the relationships in a more encompassing way, in that connections were constructed with "the person" and not just "the team member". This focus on maintaining functional relationships might of course be a product of the knowledge of team members that their teamwork had a clear end date, as is common to other project teams (Picazo et al. 2015). Thus, whether team members might make different interactional choices in their treatment of conflicts if the timeline was less clear or known to be of a longer term could be an interesting focus for future research.

In this context however, whenever team members were focused on the functional aspect of their relationships, they did relational work more in the form of

withdrawing and abstaining from criticism, while the strategies targeted at general relational improvement tended to feature much more positively connotated interactions, including humour and interpersonal support. Interestingly, however, it seems that some of the relational work the team engaged in that maintained the functional relationships, did at the same time harm the more personal ones, as the personal relationships were often characterised by a lack of engagement or by letting things pass, which eventually ended in harming rapport in the longer term.

While this has not been much discussed in politeness theory to this point, it thus seems that relational work can be done at different levels, especially in a workplace where interlocutors can choose how exactly they want to enact collegial relationships (i.e. closer or more distant and so forth). Doing 'being professional' seems to be an important strategy in managing relationships at somewhat more distance and the data set here offers many instances where team members seem to retreat to their professional roles in order to maintain functionality in the team, but also to distance themselves from face threats and mitigate potentially problematic situations.

The data also show that the in-the-moment construction of relationships differs quite considerably at various points in time. There are a number of moments across the teamwork in which the relationships between David and the rest of his team members seem to be very positive, featuring joint laughter and jointly constructed humour, a construction of equality, and face-enhancing and supportive behaviour (Example (5)). Team members even seem to go to extra lengths to ensure they show understanding and support (as in Example (4)), enacting not merely the role of *good team members* but arguably of *friends*.

At the same time, we have clearly seen interactions in which rapport and the flow of the interaction are seriously disrupted and relationships are constructed as unequal, unharmonious and distant. Interestingly, the interviews did not reflect these in-the-moment constructions in the same way. Most team members had evidently withdrawn from any personal relationships with David at some point during the teamwork and while one or two acknowledged that there also was a positive side to their relationship, negative assessments and evaluations predominated in the narration of their relationships.

From a methodological point of view, the study shows how important it is to analyse participants' accounts of the relationships as well as the interactional construction of the relationships at specific points in time. Being able to combine both enriches the analysis of each, but also raises questions about relationships and the construction thereof in general. Finally, it very clearly exposes the complexities involved in any human relationships that the field of interpersonal pragmatics (and any other field interested in relationships) needs to address both analytically and methodologically.

8.   Conclusion

This chapter has explored the relational work done in a team of MBA students that featured an underlying relational conflict. The longitudinal analysis of complementary data sets has produced several interesting findings.

Firstly, with regards to relationships, we have seen how varied the in-the-moment construction of relationships was. Participants were often found to construct very positive in-the-moment relationships, but the accounts they provided of these relationships, both retrospectively to the interviewer and also on an ongoing basis towards other members of their team outside of meetings, barely reflected this at all. At the same time their accounts provided a narrative of much more stable relational trajectories and relational evaluations that were often hard to trace in the interactional data.

Secondly, findings were generated regarding the relational work done. Relational work done by the core group towards the team member they struggled with tended to take one of two forms. On the one hand this relational work was characterised by withdrawal and avoidance, which included not reacting to face threats, not engaging in task debates in which opinions might differ and avoiding conflicts even at the cost of disaffiliating and disagreeing with a member of their core group. This meant that honest feedback and open disagreements were often reserved for team members with whom interlocutors had good relationships. While team members claimed to avoid open conflict to maintain functionality in the team, they nonetheless regularly sacrificed their performance for the appearance of a positive relationship.

On the other hand, team members engaged in relational work that was clearly targeted at enhancing rapport by increasing warmth, harmony and smoothness in the interactions. They did this through showing empathy and consideration, engaging in shared humour and emphasising equality amongst group members.

Thirdly, the avoidance of open conflict in the team did in fact lead to the relationship with David deteriorating beyond a point where it could have been salvaged. Team members seem to have gradually given up on him and the relationship, which ended completely with the teamwork. Participants themselves showed awareness that this might have been a mistake and acknowledged that actually arguing and open conflict could have provided an important relational strategy to enhance rapport in the team.

Overall however, it seems that a strong desire for (the appearance of) good rapport in interactions with David superseded their more lasting negative evaluations of him. Even after interlocutors had basically given up on the relationship, they still avoided conflict, and, when forced to interact, to do their best to construct good relationships, even if they would never have considered doing so outside of

these mandatory interactions. This shows just how important the issue of finding ways to positively deal with strained relationships during interactions seems to be to interlocutors. More research thus seems to be needed to explore how employees navigate these types of problematic relationships in workplaces and also to draw lessons from very successful teams.

This study also reveals some of the complexity of studying relationships and relational work and has implications for how these can be addressed methodologically. Without the interview data and some of the longitudinal observations, the interactional data could be interpreted quite differently.

Of course, this approach has several limitations nonetheless: The amount of data needed for an in-depth analysis of relationships in a team over time made it only possible to focus on a single case study; conflicts and disagreements might however be handled quite differently in different contexts. In addition, the analysis was conducted mostly on data from audio recordings, whereas video recordings and a multimodal analysis of team interactions would have likely enriched the findings reported.

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Intercultural (im)politeness

Influences on the way professional British Sign Language/English interpreters mediate im/polite language

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Keywords: interpreters, interpreting, signed language, familiarity, rapport management, influences, intercultural interaction, evaluations, latent networks, British Sign Language

1. Introduction

Cultural differences in the way people perceive (im)politeness are particularly pertinent to professional interpreters, whose work involves interaction between people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Interpreters therefore need to consider the potential for differences between sociopragmatic norms associated with each language, in order to gauge how best to reflect (im)politeness. While language and behaviour perceived as appropriate generally go un-noticed or are registered in "background consciousness" (O'Driscoll 1996: 1), utterances that are perceived to be impolite or inappropriate attract immediate attention (Kasper 1990; Ruhi 2008). Interpreters' mistakes may therefore significantly impact on interactional dynamics, potentially drawing unwanted attention towards the interpreter, the interpreting process, or to the originator of the utterance.

Study of interpreters provides a valuable insight into the way people evaluate (im)politeness, as interpreters are simultaneously both recipient and speaker but are neither the originator of the message nor the intended recipient. Exploring interpreters' considerations when reflecting (im)politeness can help illuminate some of the issues that are acknowledged to be hard to examine (Haugh 2013). Focusing on interpreters working between British Sign Language (BSL) and English, this chapter reports on a study designed to explore the influences on the way interpreters

reflect (im)politeness. Framing interpreting as *rapport management* (Spencer-Oatey 2002, 2005, 2008) helps illuminate the complex interaction between the multiple context-specific influences and the cultural considerations involved.

2.   Background

2.1   Liaison interpreting

> It has been the traditional and persistent view that interpreters should be transparent, invisible, passive, neutral, and detached.   (Mason and Ren 2012: 235)

The conceptualisation of the interpreter as a passive conduit (Mason and Ren 2012) is still evident in signed language interpreter training programmes (Allsop and Leeson 2002) and "embedded" in the expectations of those interpreters' clients (Leeson and Foley-Cave 2007: 63). However, conceptualising the interpreter as a neutral non-participant, contrasts sharply with the reality of interpreted interaction, and is out of synch with current interpreting research (Pöchhacker 2016).

There has been what is described as a *cultural* (Rudvin 2006) or *social turn* in interpreting studies (Pöchhacker 2008). The earlier post-positivist focus, predominantly on spoken-language conference interpreting, has evolved into adoption of a constructivist perspective. This shift manifests in studies that focus on active negotiation rather than "equivalence and norms" (Baker 2006: 33), and the dynamic relationship between context and text (House 2006). These studies illuminate the important role interpreters have in coordinating interaction as well as relaying information (Roy 1993; Wadensjö 1993; Sandrelli 2001). This is particularly the case in what is best described as *liaison* interpreting (Angermeyer 2005), which is the focus of this study. Liaison interpreting involves an interpreter working between two or more clients, or primary participants. The interpreting process is bi-directional, involving the interpreter relating messages between both languages involved and dealing with the different expectations of their monolingual clients (Angermeyer 2005). The utterances of one client, the *source message*, are interpreted into the *target message*, crafted by the interpreter for the recipient. To do this effectively interpreters employ a variety of strategies, or problem-solving techniques, which may be used consciously or unconsciously (Moser-Mercer 1997). The interpreter is actively involved in the interaction and requires a skillset that includes expertise in managing the dynamics of interpersonal interaction as well as the ability to transfer information from one language into another (Pöchhacker 2016).

Although spoken language interpreters usually relay information consecutively in liaison settings, signed language interpreters can use the affordance of

contrasting language modalities to interpret simultaneously (Grbic and Pöllabauer 2006; Pöchhacker 2016). While this may help the flow and speed of communication it presents an additional challenge to signed language interpreters and necessitates instantaneous decision-making that has to be balanced against interpreters' finite cognitive capacity (Gile 1995, 2008; Leeson 2005). The effort, or *cognitive load* (Gile 1995, 2008) experienced by an interpreter depends on a variety of factors relating to how language is being used and their familiarity with the context. For this reason, Russell (2005) notes that signed language interpreters will often switch between consecutive and simultaneous modes, particularly in more challenging contexts.

2.2   British Sign Language

British Sign Language is not, as many people assume, a visual form of English but is an indigenous language that has evolved naturally with a distinct grammatical structure and vocabulary (Sutton-Spence and Woll 1999). Like other signed languages it uses a visual and spatial modality which allows it to be produced very differently to spoken language, by exploiting the space in front of the torso and using the arms, hands, face and upper body. This enables multiple concepts to be produced simultaneously (Sutton-Spence and Woll 1999), with the non-manual components of signed language playing a particularly important role in relation to linguistic (im)politeness (Hoza 2007; Roush 2007; George 2011; Mapson 2014a).

Deaf[1] people who use signed language form linguistic minorities around the world. This includes the UK, where the dominant language is British English. The geographical co-existence of signed and spoken language results in regular language contact, which impacts on signed language use (Sutton-Spence and Woll 1999; Burns et al. 2001). However, deaf people do not necessarily share the same cultural norms associated with the English-speaking population. In addition to contrasts in language and language modality, there are other factors involved. Firstly, unlike other linguistic minorities BSL is rarely transmitted from parent to child; over 90% of deaf people are born into non-deaf (hearing) families (Mitchell and Karchmer 2004). An understanding of the politeness generally acquired through parental correction and modelling (Snow et al. 1990; Blum-Kulka 1997) is therefore disrupted by the lack of vertical transmission. Secondly, literacy levels of deaf signed language users are poor in comparison with the non-deaf population, making lip-reading problematic and hindering access to written information (Conrad 1979; Powers et al. 1998; Grimes and Cameron 2005).

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1.   Throughout this chapter the word deaf is used to refer to people who communicate using a signed language.

2.3   (Im)politeness and rapport

Similar to the *cultural turn* in interpreting studies, there has been a "discursive turn" in politeness research (Haugh 2013: 52), moving from a focus on politeness as the use of linguistic forms selected by a speaker (Brown and Levinson 1987), to an understanding that it resides in the perceptions of the recipient (Mills 2003; Locher and Watts 2005). The context in which linguistic forms are used, and the evaluations of the recipient are therefore integral to what might be considered polite or otherwise. Throughout this chapter I use the term (im)politeness as an umbrella term to encompass the entire polite/impolite continuum (Culpeper et al. 2010; Leech 2014) and to acknowledge that perceptions of one utterance may vary. An utterance may be evaluated differently in different situations, or by different people in the same situation (Kasper 1990; Haugh 2013). Haugh et al. (2013) develop this perspective by asserting that the evaluations made by individuals in an interaction are influenced by, and in turn influence, their participation in that interaction. Within interpreted interaction these influences and the process of evaluation become even more complex and multi-layered as messages are evaluated twice, once by the interpreter and again by the intended recipient.

Two concepts within the (im)politeness literature immediately resonate with the activity of interpreting. Firstly, the concept of social networks (Watts 2003) that draws on Bourdieu's (1977) *theory of practice.* Latent networks are social structures created in previous interactions, while emergent networks are dynamic relationships created by participants during an interaction. Watts (2003) notes that relevance theory (Sperber and Wilson 1986) can be used as a means of appreciating how an utterance might be perceived, with individuals discerning the potential construal they consider most likely to be intended. Interpreters may be challenged to discern their clients' motivation around (im)politeness depending on their familiarity with them. Thus, the concept of latent and emergent social networks forms a useful framework to explore interpreters' decision-making. The concepts have been related to the use of (im)politeness in American Sign Language (Roush 2007) and to BSL/English interpreting in medical settings (Schofield and Mapson 2014).

The second framework that resonates with interpreting is rapport management theory (Spencer-Oatey 2002, 2005, 2008), which Culpeper et al. (2010) describe as the most detailed framework for analysis of relationship negotiation. Rapport management is defined as "the management or mismanagement of relations between people" (Spencer-Oatey 2005: 96), something that is particularly pertinent to the work of interpreters. The theory draws on Goffman's (1967) concept of face as one of three inter-relating bases upon which people evaluate rapport, the others being interactional goals and societal rights and obligations. Spencer-Oatey (2005) suggests that interactional goals can be oriented towards tasks or relationships, so

that managing rapport can be either a means to an end, or the main goal of the interaction. Societal rights and obligations may concern issues such as turn-taking, and relate to the role a speaker occupies within an interaction, or be context-specific to the environment in which the interaction is taking place.

The range of people with whom interpreters work, and the variety of environments they work in, suggest rapport management is a useful concept to be applied within interpreting research. This is because the framework focuses on the dynamic nature of interaction and the process of relating. People can make use of a variety of inter-relating elements to establish rapport, which can include both linguistic and non-linguistic behaviours, participation or lack thereof, and discourse structure and content (Spencer-Oatey 2005, 2008). In contrast to Brown and Levinson's politeness theory (1987), contextual variables that influence interaction are not limited to power, social distance and imposition, but also include the number of people present, their interactional roles and the type of activity they are engaged in. Spencer-Oatey (2008) recognises both power and social distance to be more complex and nuanced than Brown and Levinson (1987) suggest, with further interacting influences involving role, the rights associated with that role, message content, length of acquaintance and frequency of contact.

Spencer-Oatey and Franklin (2009) outline how key competencies for managing rapport effectively can be exercised before or during an interaction. This suggests that prior knowledge and familiarity between interlocutors can facilitate management of rapport, as reflected in Watts' (2003) discussion of the affordance of latent networks, and the concept of "relational histories" (Kádár and Haugh 2013: 64).

In some contexts (im)politeness takes on conventionalised forms (Kadar and Haugh 2013) which can be adopted within specific communities of practice (Mills 2003). For example, in workplaces, small talk and humour are strategies used to promote rapport and address face sensitivities (Holmes and Stubbe 2003; Mullany 2004, 2006; House 2010; Spencer-Oatey 2013). This is particularly relevant to signed language interpreters as they frequently work with deaf employees within their workplaces (Dickinson 2014).

The way people evaluate (im)politeness can be either tacit or explicit (Eelen 2001), but few studies focus on these interpersonal evaluations (Kádár and Haugh 2013). These authors suggest that evaluations of (im)politeness are made in relation to the individual's scale of reference. This normative scale is shared with others from the same social group, resulting in the appropriate use of language generally going un-noticed (O'Driscoll 1996). However, in interpreted interactions problems can occur when the interpreter and their clients do not share the same frame of reference. Interpreters therefore comprise an interesting focus for study of the evaluative process.

2.4   Cross-cultural and intercultural research

The contrasting (im)politeness strategies adopted by different languages (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989) may present further challenge to interpreters. For example, languages may not share equivalents for politeness markers, such as the word "please" in English, or may use them very differently (Economidou-Kogetsidis 2005; Sato 2008; Ogiermann 2009). In some languages, such as British English, formulaic expressions for (im)politeness are common (House 1986; Pablos-Ortega 2010), but such phrases may lack equivalence in either form or function in others (Kasper 1990). The conventionalised phrases that play an important role within small talk can therefore become problematic in interpreter-mediated interaction where those conventions are not shared across languages (House 2010).

Conventionalised phrases are commonly associated with in/directness (Thomas 1983; Blum-Kulka 1987; House 2005; Ogiermann 2009), but studies indicate that different languages use in/directness for different purposes (Ruetenik 2013), and evaluate it in contrasting ways (Kasper 1990; Thomas 1995; Culpeper et al. 2010). Cultural contrast may also be evident in social indexing (Kasper 1990), with some cultures having expectations in the marking of differentiations of gender, age and social status (Matsumoto 1989; Pizziconi 2011).

Although studies indicate that face may be evaluated differently in Western and non-Western cultures (Ide 1989; Matsumoto 1989; Gu 1990; Nwoye 1992), there is a greater nuance to these differences than the Western/non-Western distinction allows (Culpeper et al. 2010). There can be a tendency for studies to reinforce inaccurate cultural stereotypes (Tanaka et al. 2008), failing to recognise subtle cultural differences (Aoki 2010) and intra-cultural variation (Hernandez-Flores 1999). This is evident in the association of a lack of indirectness with deaf culture in the USA (Mindess 2006), which is challenged by other studies that evidence how indirectness is conveyed through non-manual markers involving facial expression and the upper body (Ferreira Brito 1995; Roush 2007; Hoza 2007, 2008; George 2011; Mapson 2014a).

People might assume these cross-cultural contrasts to be resolved by the presence of an interpreter. However, pragmatic transfer, where first language (L1) norms leak into the use of a second or additional language (L2), is more likely to occur in unfamiliar contexts (Takahashi 2000). This is because bilinguals' linguistic competence may be context-specific (Grosjean 2014). Negative pragmatic transfer can impact particularly on rapport in situations where this is managed differently in L1 and L2, such as with the use of in/directness (Spencer-Oatey and Franklin 2009) or small talk (House 2010). These problems may be exacerbated if there is resistance to L2 sociopragmatic norms (Bardovi-Harlig 2001; Taguchi 2011) or a

lack of awareness of them (Blum-Kulka 1997); issues that have been related to those signed language interpreters for whom signed language is their L2 (Roush 2007, Mapson 2015a). This is potentially a significant issue given that BSL is the L2 of approximately 90% of BSL/English interpreters (Mapson 2014b).

2.5   Interpreting (im)politeness

Despite repeated criticism of the suitability of Brown and Levinson's politeness theory for cross-cultural study (Ide 1989; Gu 1990; Mills 2003; Spencer-Oatey 2008, Economidou-Kogetsidis 2010), it has been the foundation for much of the research into interpreting and (im)politeness (Berk-Seligson 1990; Hatim and Mason 1997; Mason and Stewart 2001; Hoza 1999; Savvalidou 2011). However, more recently this literature has been supplemented by other studies that are framed by discursive and rapport management approaches (Spencer-Oatey and Xing 2003; Major 2013; Schofield and Mapson 2014; Radanovic Felberg 2016), the growing literature on impoliteness and rudeness (Gallez 2015; Mankauskienė 2015; Magnifico and Defrancq 2016), gender (Mason 2008 and Magnifico and Defrancq 2016) and honorifics (Nakane 2008). A focus on linguistic equivalence has dominated many studies, with a common theme being the tendency for interpreters to omit both polite and impolite language. Research suggests that the time constraints under which interpreters operate impacts on interpreters' decision-making (Leeson 2005; Hale 2007) and may result in interpreters tending to prioritise the exchange of information rather than reflecting affect (Hoza 1999; Angermeyer 2005; Hale 2007; Dickinson 2014; Albl-Mikasa et al. 2015).

Legal studies observe the toning down of speech acts in the OJ Simpson trial (Mason and Stewart 2001), and the prevalence for down-toning when interpreting for the defendant rather than the judiciary (Gallez 2005). One example provided by Mason and Stewart (2001) is the different illocutionary force between "I believe" uttered by a witness, and the interpretation of "I think". Down-toning has also been observed in the interpretation of political speeches (Savvalidou 2011), including those of Nigel Farage at the European Parliament (Magnifico and Defrancq 2016). One way in which face-threatening acts (FTAs) are down-toned is through the addition of hedges, with evidence of the impact of these additions on legal proceedings (Berk-Seligson 1990; Hale 2004; Nakane 2008) and in healthcare interactions (Albl-Mikasa et al. 2015).

Another strategy interpreters use when dealing with FTAs is switching into use of third person (Murphy 2012; Cheung 2012; Radanovic Felberg 2016), a strategy that helps distance the interpreter from the source message (Bot and Wadensjö 2004; Angermeyer 2009, Van de Mieroop 2012), but which may be particularly

influenced by power differentials between clients (Cheung 2012, Van De Meiroop 2012). However, use of the third person can lend clarity to the interpretation, making it clear to everyone where the FTA originates (Angermeyer 2009; Murphy 2012).

Research also indicates that interpreters typically omit the elements of discourse that concern rapport, and instead prioritise exchange of information. Studies evidence the omission of hedges and significant discourse markers in court proceedings (Hale 2004) and as well as the omission of politeness markers in court proceedings (Mason 2008). The latter study identifies a potential influence of gender, with male interpreters making omissions more frequently when their cognitive capacity was challenged or when the witness they were interpreting for was male. Gender differences were also observed in a corpus study of EU Parliamentary debates in which male interpreters were more likely to mitigate FTAs than their female counterparts (Magnifico and Defrancq 2016).

Development of rapport is particularly important within interpreted healthcare interactions, so interpreters need to place the same value on this aspect of the interaction as do the clinicians (Major 2013; Schofield and Mapson 2014). However, research suggests that interpreters omit clinicians' deliberate use of rapport-building strategies (Albl-Mikasa et al. 2015). Similarly, navigating sociopragmatic contrasts around small talk when rapport-building in business and employment contexts can challenge interpreters (Spencer-Oatey and Xing 2003). Interpreters may lack the necessary underpinning knowledge and familiarity with those involved to understand and convey the highly contextualised humour involved (Bristoll 2009; Dickinson 2014).

Interpreting has been described as an inherently face-threatening activity (Monacelli 2009), in which behavioural norms can be disrupted by the interpreter (Janzen and Shaffer 2008). This may manifest in a more controlled turn-taking (Hoza 2001) and greater self-consciousness among the participants (Schofield and Mapson 2014). Alexieva (2000) suggests that interpreters' identity characteristics may additionally influence interactional dynamics. Gender is a key influence given the predominance of women in the profession (Pöchhacker 2016), with women comprising over 80% of the BSL/English interpreters in the UK (Mapson 2014b). Other studies suggest that interpreters' involvement in latent networks with their clients can reduce the negative impact of their presence (Major 2013; Schofield and Mapson 2014).

In summary, research suggests that interpreting (im)politeness is such a challenge to interpreters that the result may be a neutralising of language, reducing both FTAs and positive rapport-building strategies. Exploring the rationale behind interpreters' decisions around (im)politeness may therefore be a useful step in helping interpreters address these challenges.

3.   Method

3.1   Participants

Purposive selection of participants was informed by an earlier pilot study, which indicated the value of recruiting experienced practitioners. Therefore, the main study involved eight highly experienced BSL/English interpreters: all with a minimum of 10 years of professional experience, and seven having worked for more than 15 years. The researcher's identity as an interpreting practitioner assisted with the recruitment process and thus ensured that all participants knew one another and were comfortable interacting in their groups.

Two groups of participants were created: a group of interpreters for whom English was their first language (L1) and a group from deaf family backgrounds whose first language was BSL. This design was intended to facilitate identification of any issues that might emerge from their different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. In each group there was a balance of male and female interpreters, and each participant selected their own pseudonym for use in the research, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Participant groups

BSL as L1	English as L1
Henry	Angus
Jean	Emma
Maurice	Olly
Pippi	Vivienne

3.2   Data generation

Data were generated in three semi-structured discussions with each group. These took place over a six-month period. This method is commensurate with capturing the diversity of situations in which interpreters work, and recognised as useful for an exploratory study (Kasper 2008), identification of issues more difficult to observe (Bryman 2004) and for capturing the wide-ranging behaviours associated with (im)politeness (Mills 2003).

Each group discussion was scheduled at the participants' convenience and lasted approximately two hours. Sessions were video recorded to facilitate transcription of the group dynamics, and to capture use of gesture and BSL. Participants were aware that the subject of the research was (im)politeness and were given some prompt questions in advance. However, no further definition of (im)politeness was

provided, to avoid restricting their discussions. Participants were asked what they recognised as (im)politeness in BSL, comparison of their acquisition of knowledge in L1 and L2, and their experiences of dealing with (im)politeness in their work. Conversations were stimulated by viewing some short video clips of two deaf people making requests and apologies in BSL. These were based on some of the scenarios reported in Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) and Hoza (2007).

Following three discussions with each group, an initial analysis was conducted and fed back to all participants, some in a composite group, and others individually via Skype. These feedback sessions generated further data for analysis. In total, data comprised approximately 16 hours of discussion, equating to 120,035 words of transcription.

3.3   Analysis

Data were analysed thematically; a method noted as useful in exploratory (Braun and Clark 2006) and experience-focused research (King and Horrocks 2010). Each discussion session was transcribed and analysed prior to the next session, making the coding and analysis an iterative process. This supported triangulation of the data, both within and between the two participant groupings. Coding categorisations were either theory- or data-driven (Braun and Clark 2006) with some theory-driven codes based on earlier research on politeness features in BSL (Mapson 2014a). Initial coding included in vivo terms, those generated by participants (Charmaz 2006), where possible. This was facilitated by the insider knowledge provided by the researcher's dual identity as an interpreting professional. Analysis and reporting of the data has been mindful of issues around confidentiality, with names and other identifying details omitted and extracts selected carefully to preserve the anonymity of the participants and their clients.

Following the thematic network approach of Attride-Stirling (2001), and adopted by Spencer-Oatey (2013), mind-mapping software was used to create a visual representation of the connections between the thematic codes. Three global themes were identified from the analysis: recognition, influences and strategies. This chapter focusses predominantly on the second of these, as it is these influences that reveal how interpreters evaluate (im)politeness.

4. Results

Although the two groups of interpreters had very different experiences of learning, or acquiring, understanding about (im)politeness in their two working languages (see Mapson 2015 for details), there were no notable discrepancies between the two participant groups in relation to influences on their interpretation of (im)politeness. Analysis of participants' discussion around the interpretation of (im)politeness and the importance of rapport revealed seven main influences on interpreters' decision-making: the environment, consequence, sophistication, self-preservation, intention, visibility and the underpinning influence of familiarity. The diagrammatic model illustrated in Figure 1 shows six of the influences, surrounded by the underpinning influence of familiarity, which impacts on each of the other influences. The diagram reflects participants' comments, which highlight how these influences are dynamic, and intersect with one another, coalescing to form combinations specific to each interaction.

The seven influences were closely related to the strategies that the participants reported using to convey (im)politeness. These strategies could be categorised into
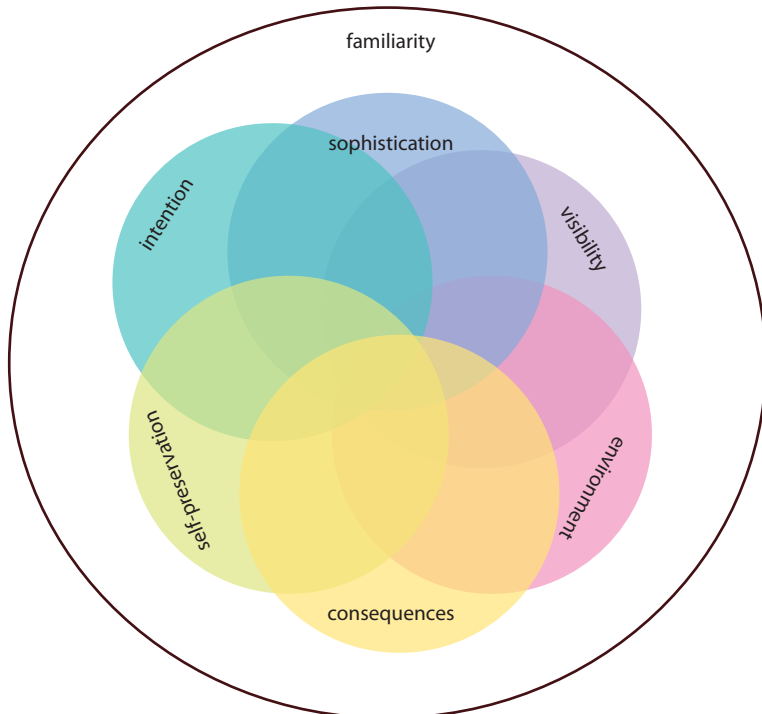
Figure 1. Influences on interpretation of (im)politeness

three types: reflecting, smoothing, and commenting. The most prevalent strategy reported was that of smoothing, which in turn could be distilled into four main techniques: adding, tempering, use of intonation, and switching into the use of third person. Each of the seven influences is now described in more detail,

4.1   The environment

The influence of the environment relates to the setting in which the interpreted interaction is taking place. There are always multiple options available to an interpreter when relaying one language into another, and data indicate that environmental norms and expectations inform interpreters' decision-making around (im)politeness. The great diversity of environments in which BSL interpreters work is reflected in the data, with participants describing incidents that took place in care homes, GP surgeries, hospitals, police stations, court, prison, job interviews, various employment settings, disciplinary meetings, social work, the media, and when interpreting remotely using online technology. They described how some situations, such as court, have very clear expectations around behaviour and language use. Work in the fast-paced environment of the media industry, and when working with trainee plumbers, were given as examples of situations where more directness could be anticipated. In other contexts, expectations around language use may be less explicit, but nonetheless present. Olly described how, in workplace contexts, there would always be "a policy at work around booking holiday" which would inform his interpretation of a request for annual leave. He reflected further that a request for time off next week would appear to be "at quite short notice" increasing the degree of imposition involved, thereby influencing his phrasing of the request. Participants recognised that their personal evaluations of (im)politeness might differ from those of the other people present, particularly in situations with which they were unfamiliar or uncomfortable. Data suggest this could result in reduced cultural adjustment around (im)politeness, and a focus on information exchange rather than affect.

4.2   Consequence

The potential consequences of an interaction also influence interpreters' decision-making. These influences manifest at both micro and macro levels. On a micro level there may be consequences from each turn taken in the interaction, for example, the way a question is asked or answered. At a macro level it is evident that the influences of consequence and environment intersect. Interpreters work in some situations that have explicit and serious consequences such as in child

protection cases and within the criminal justice system. This might, for example, reduce the cultural smoothing that interpreters reported undertaking frequently when reflecting (im)politeness. Pippi provides an example of this when reflecting on a colleague's work with a male client involved with the police and social services.

(1)   She reflects all of his vileness, because it is so important in what's happening in his life. Because if people didn't know how vile he was then they would make very different decisions about his family situation.   (Pippi)

In other circumstances the participants were motivated to ensure that deaf people are reflected in a positive way, to reduce the inequality that typically exists for this population. They used (im)politeness consciously to help address this. Olly connected this sensitivity with the dynamic nature of interpreting, commenting that he was conscious that deaf people "are inherently discriminated against" which informed his judgements, while acknowledging that other interpreters might "just adopt it" as their cause.

Effective interpreting therefore involves dynamic decision-making that is responsive to the moment to moment changes within an interaction. This is also visible within the interpretation of individual utterances where consequences at the micro level also inform interpreters' actions. For example, a request for annual leave would be interpreted in a way most likely to elicit a positive response, although exactly how this might be articulated would vary depending on the workplace and people involved.

4.3   Sophistication

Participants described the contrasting decisions they may make when working with clients with differing levels of sophistication, often in relation to their experience of engaging in interpreted interaction. Interpreters work with a range of deaf clients, some operating as professionals within their workplaces, and others with very low levels of educational achievement and perhaps little experience or understanding of interpreted interaction. Participants reflected on the way that some deaf clients may evaluate face differently from non-deaf people, or may not consider it at all because of a lack of familiarity with "the rules". However, participants were quick to point out the wide variation within the deaf community, and that lack of awareness of societal norms is not exclusive to deaf people.

Data indicate that deaf clients' very differing levels of appreciation of English-speaking sociopragmatic norms and appropriate choice of register, impact on the (im)politeness adjustments the interpreters make in their interpretations. Again, these adjustments are based on the interpreters' individual evaluations of

what would be deemed appropriate in the context, with actions taken to help the deaf client blend in with the expectations of the environment. For example, Olly indicated that, with his client group, his interpretation was based more on environmental expectations than the source BSL message and "if there's going to be politeness stuff I'm definitely adding it because of the context." Similar problematic experiences concerned expectations around turn-taking when interpreting with less sophisticated deaf clients. Angus recounted having to "get my plastering trowel out to smooth over the turn-taking" and perceiving the need to add politeness to mitigate for interruptions.

4.4   Intention

Participants described how they are influenced by what they perceive to be the intentions of the clients they are working with. The influence of intention is another that operates at both macro and micro levels. At a macro level, the intention, or goal, of an interaction frequently blends with the environment in which the interaction occurs. Participants mentioned legal and medical contexts as having clear interactional goals that facilitate their prediction of the motivations and intent of those involved.

Interpreters' evaluation of the intention of their clients is informed by their prior knowledge of them. Lack of prior knowledge can be partly compensated for when interpreters interact with their clients beforehand to find out what they want to achieve from the interaction. Maurice reflected on how "you can elicit information from the person", stating that "you can tune in to what their expectations are", and this is facilitated by interpreters' own rapport management with the clients. At a micro level, there is a close association with the influence of sophistication. Interpreters are constantly evaluating the intent behind each utterance they interpret. Participants discussed how contrasting sociopragmatic norms in English and BSL result in intention being conveyed very differently. Interpretations need to be informed by cultural appropriateness and may require considerable adjustment. Participants recognised that greater acknowledgement of a status differential is needed in British English than in BSL. When interpreting from BSL to English, Maurice talked about his overriding principle being to match what he considers a non-deaf person would say in the same situation. Emma described her motivation being "to bring those two people together to do what they need to do in the best possible way." This might include the need to "err on the side of caution" in a choice of interpretation until enough evidence of intentional impoliteness is acquired to think "no, that's bloody rude" and then opting to reflect that. However, participants

accepted that in some situations their evaluation of rudeness would be further influenced by the stress or emotion involved. In circumstances where stress rather than deliberate intention is involved, interpreters' tolerance of rudeness would be greater, as they appreciated how anxiety could lead individuals to become unintentionally face-threatening.

4.5   Self-preservation

Although interpreters are primarily concerned with the face needs of their clients, participants discussed how their own face needs sometimes influence their interpretation of (im)politeness. Their individual feelings and need for self-preservation cannot always be supressed, and they may want to disassociate themselves from what is happening. This might be motivated by the intended recipient potentially misunderstanding from whom the message originated, leading to interpreters hedging or moderating a contribution that could be considered rude or impolite.

> (2)   I think it's interesting, about that time when you feel you are being tarred with the same brush. How sophisticated is the hearing person's use of interpreters to understand that everything you're doing isn't you, to how much you think 'they might think it's me' so I'll hedge a bit or moderate it, and mediate. (Olly)

Mediation of rudeness might involve switching from the use of first person to third person to aid clarity for the hearing client.

> (3)   If someone was complimenting someone else you'd give that straight. It's only if they wanted to call you a turd or something, you know, I don't want to be associated with that. It's about self-protection. Well, it *is* about self-protection, isn't it?
> (Maurice)

A more direct interpretation of perceived rudeness is likely to draw unwanted attention towards the interpreter and the interpreting process, and therefore detract from the relationship and rapport between deaf and non-deaf clients. Therefore, the participants discussed the need for 'smoothing over', perhaps by using intonation and emphasis rather than shouting. They additionally highlighted the value of establishing their own positive rapport with all clients prior to the interpreted interaction, which could enhance clients' clarity about the likely originator of a rude remark.

4.6   Visibility

Data reflects how the extent to which clients can perceive their interlocutor's behaviours has significant influence on interpretation. On a macro level this relates to whether the clients can see one another. Although in face-to-face interactions this is generally the case, interpreters sometimes engage in remote online interpreting where clients typically cannot see one another. Participants described how this invisibility affords a greater degree of latitude in the way they mediate between the two languages. This latitude is necessary in order to make a telephone call work effectively for both parties; the needs of a caller relying on visual communication are very different from the telephone etiquette and expectations of a non-deaf telephone caller. For example, silence at the end of the line may signal that the connection has been lost for one caller, while the deaf person has sight of the interpreter on screen and knows the call is in progress. Interpreters talked about using (im)politeness deliberately to mediate between these differing expectations and to compensate for clients' inability to evaluate each other directly through visual cues.

> (4)   I think face-to-face the hearing people can see the demeanour of the deaf person and therefore, the imperative to be polite is perhaps less so, and what's important is the information […] but on the telephone it's slightly different because they can't necessarily judge that.   (Maurice)

Another macro-level influence is the degree to which interpreters' decisions are transparent to others. In part this relates to the size of the audience, but participants described how they felt their decision-making latitude was reduced when the audience includes English/BSL bilinguals, and particularly when they are fellow interpreters. This reduction in latitude in turn connects with visibility at the micro level, or how obvious the meaning of an utterance is to the other client/s. Participants indicated how this reduces their ability to smooth over the interaction when dealing with FTAs. Olly recalled one incident where the deaf person's contribution was "so far along the line of directness" that the interpreter's actions could "only pull it back to a certain point." In contrast Vivienne reflected on how she "smoothed the edges" when she perceived a client's rudeness during a meeting as "completely unnecessary". Her decision was influenced by the fact that "no one else had picked up" on the FTA in the source message, as well as the intersecting influences of consequence and environment.

4.7 Familiarity

The final influence, familiarity, is crucial as it underpins all other influences. Interpreters' familiarity with environment in which they are working, the sophistication of the people they are working with, clients' intentions within the interaction, the potential consequences, the degree of visibility of their actions and any impact this might have on them as individuals, provides interpreters with crucial knowledge to inform their decisions around interpreting (im)politeness. When this level of familiarity is lacking, data indicate that interpreters' decision-making is likely to be very different.

Participants described greater levels of familiarity, with both clients and context, as enhancing their ability to reflect their clients accurately and appropriately, as well as ability to monitor their output. The value of this knowledge became apparent when the participants were shown brief clips of requests and apologies in BSL and asked how they might interpret them. It was evident that identifying the subtleties of language use was intrinsically related to the need to know more about the individual, and to understand the context, and goals and relationships of those involved.

> (5) It gets quite hard to discern, I think, but particularly because they are only individual clips without context, without another person, without the before and after, without knowing people's status. I have to know those things, to know about how I would decide the level of requesting things.   (Olly)

Participants described how their familiarity with clients and context help them both to evaluate what needs to happen and to inform their decision-making.

> (6) There's so much that comes with that package, and that message that you're getting in that moment, that you know about because of previous appointments and how that person is with life in general, that enables you to make that really quick decision.   (Emma)

This in turn reduces the cognitive load on the interpreter.

> (7) I think it just makes our jobs easier [...] knowing that you're doing something that's absolutely right rather than thinking about it all the time, or making those judgements all the time. That's the biggest difference to me.   (Jean)

Data suggest that reducing the cognitive load on the interpreter frees up their capacity to focus on the relational work taking place between their clients, rather than focussing predominantly on the exchange of information.

5.   Discussion

As other studies have indicated, discussion about politeness and positive rapport can challenge research participants (Wolfson 1989; Blum-Kulka 1997). In this study too, participants frequently framed discussion of politeness and positive rapport within the context of what was deemed impolite. However, participants' comments also reveal much about the extent to which rapport management is an important remit for interpreters.

The model derived from the data in this study, and presented in Figure 1, dissects the influences on interpretation in more detail than is illustrated in the three bases of rapport management theory (Spencer-Oatey 2002, 2005, 2008). The study shows how the seven influences all impact on interpreters' evaluations and decision-making around managing rapport and the interpretation of (im)politeness. However, the relationship between these influences mirrors the interconnections between the three bases of rapport management (Spencer-Oatey 2002, 2005, 2008). Intersections between influences are exemplified in evaluations based around the environment, intention and consequence. Although Mason and Stewart (2001) note the reduction in latitude for interpreters' decision-making in environments such as the courtroom, where behavioural expectations are highly prescribed, participants in this study recognised that this was partly compensated by the fact that everyone's motivations in that context tend to be clear. Previous legal studies have illustrated how interpretation of (im)politeness can influence the outcomes of an interaction (Berk-Seligson 1990 and Nakane 2008). The present study provides an alternative perspective to this by evidencing that the likely consequences of an event influence the interpretation of (im)politeness, and thus that consequence and interpretation may be reciprocal influences on each other. The data additionally reinforce the earlier literature, observing interpreters as active participants within the interaction (Roy 1993; Wadensjö 1993), with the ability to affect the conduct and outcome of an interaction

Context has been discussed as influencing and being influenced by interpreters' decisions in general (Wadensjö 1998; Napier 2006, Nilsson 2011, Major and Napier 2012,), so it may be unsurprising that environmental influences extend to judgements around (im)politeness. The influence of the environment has obvious connections to two bases of rapport management theory, interactional goals and societal rights and obligations (Spencer-Oatey 2002, 2005, 2008). A micro-level example of environmental influence is the interpretation of the humour involved in small talk, which is potentially highly contextualised. Findings from this study resonate with earlier evidence of interpreters' omission of small talk (Bristoll 2009; Dickinson 2014) and a tendency to prioritise exchange of information (Angermeyer 2005; Hale 2007; Dickinson 2014; Albl-Mikasa et al. 2015). Data suggest this is

particularly problematic for interpreters who are less familiar with the setting and the participants. Interpreters' focus on rapport, and their ability to smooth communication, is greatly facilitated by their familiarity with the context and the people within it. Data indicating how interpreters value the depth of knowledge generated by familiarity complement other studies, which suggest that deaf and hearing clients also value the benefits of familiarity (Major 2013; Schofield and Mapson 2014; Mapson and Major forthcoming).

Data suggest that the rapport management base of societal rights and obligations (Spencer-Oatey 2002, 2005, 2008) may be evaluated differently within the deaf community, and this impacts on interpreters' decision-making when managing rapport between deaf and non-deaf clients. Interpreters related this to levels of sophistication, articulating the need to compensate for the lack of face-saving judgements made by their deaf clients. Their comments around the need to add politeness evidence further overlap between the influences of sophistication and environment. The English-speaking norms associated with specific situations such as courtroom etiquette, are not easily acquired by deaf people and may result in poor judgement in relation to the use of register. Discussion around this was frequently related to interpreting in workplaces, with interpreters aiming to help deaf employees blend in with the expectations of the setting. Participants indicated that status is less influential in BSL than in English, thus necessitating a degree of cultural filtration. This might entail making (im)politeness more, or less, explicit in an interpretation (Spencer-Oatey and Franklin 2009) and prioritising function over message form (House 1998). For example, when working from BSL into English, interpreters might elevate the formality and increase the indirectness of a request in order to elicit the desired response.

Evidence of interpreters distancing themselves from an undesirable source message through the use of third person is nothing new (Bot and Wadensjö 2004; Angermeyer 2009, Van de Mieroop 2012, Murphy 2012), but the further influence of language direction or power im/balance between clients (Cheung 2012; Van De Mieroop 2012) may be particularly pertinent when working with deaf clients. This study evidences how interpreters manage their own face needs as well as those of their clients and indicates that participants smooth and repackage (im)politeness to fit with their own personal norms of behaviour. These in turn may be influenced by factors such as age and gender (Alexieva 2000). When interpreters voice something that sounds odd coming from them as individuals, it is more likely to draw the negative attention attracted by unexpected utterances (Kasper 1990; Ruhi 2008). The influence of sophistication is pertinent here, as clients who are less familiar with interpreted interaction may associate an interpretation with the interpreter rather than the originator of the message. Interpreters' use of third person to distance themselves from the message therefore forms an astute strategy for minimising

their own intrusion in the interaction. By behaving in ways that help them blend in, and which others deem appropriate, interpreters can remain in the "background consciousness" (O'Driscoll 1996: 1) of the others present.

The influence of self-preservation, and its intersection with the influence of sophistication, both resonate with the face-sensitivities base of rapport management (Spencer-Oatey 2002, 2005, 2008). Data illustrate how interpreters are simultaneously managing their own rapport with clients and managing rapport between those clients. Participants' comments suggest that the boundaries between concerns for their own personal face overlap with their professional concern for the face sensitivities of their clients, and that these are being constantly negotiated by the interpreter throughout the interaction. Data suggest that some actions that might be perceived as egocentric self-preservation by interpreters could also serve to prevent or minimise interruption to the relationship and flow of communication between their clients. Face sensitivities may interact with the influence of visibility. Spencer-Oatey (2008: 36) recognises how face-management may be "number sensitive", relating to the size of the audience. This sensitivity is apparent in interpreters' discussion about the transparency of their decisions to others. For them, this concerns the number of witnesses, but more importantly the identity of those witnesses, potentially reducing the latitude of interpretation options available.

Unusual or unexpected utterances require greater cognitive attention (Ruhi 2008), but interpreters' processing capacity is limited (Gile 1995, 2008; Leeson 2005). Therefore, when this cognitive load is combined with the time constraint demanded in simultaneous interpretation, it may reduce interpreters' focus on rapport management, potentially resulting in the reduction of (im)politeness observed in other studies (Hatim and Mason 1997; Angermeyer 2005). The present study indicates how influence of familiarity is fundamental in underpinning interpreters' understanding of what is expected in a situation and the conventional forms of (im)politeness likely to be used. Familiarity may ultimately result in a reduced cognitive load for the clients too, as interpreted utterances are more likely to mesh with their expectations. However, the influence of familiarity is broader than the concept of latent networks (Watts 2003), or relational histories (Kádár and Haugh 2013), because it extends beyond previous relationships between interlocutors, to an understanding of the situation and the responsibilities of those within it. When interpreting (im)politeness, familiarity affords interpreters an understanding of what is contextually appropriate, which reduces the risk of negative pragmatic transfer highlighted by Takahashi (2000) and can be a protective factor, helping them to pre-empt problematic interaction or dialogue that could generate particular challenges for the interpreter. For example, it significantly enhances interpreters' ability to make sense of the rapport building small talk and humour used in workplace contexts (Holmes and Stubbe 2003; Mullany 2004, 2006; House 2010; Spencer-Oatey 2013).

6.   Conclusion

Interpreters' discussions about how they reflect (im)politeness provides insight into the complex evaluative processes and challenges involved in interpreter-mediated interaction, as well as revealing some of the hidden thought processes involved more generally in the evaluation of (im)politeness.

One notable issue with the data in this study is that participants were all experienced interpreting practitioners. Their level of experience is not reflective of the profession more generally, where the majority have under five years' post-registration experience (Mapson 2014b). Further study comparing the decision-making of novice and expert interpreters could therefore be valuable. It would also be useful to adopt a rapport management perspective to the examination of data generated in naturally occurring interpreted interaction. This would enable deeper exploration of how interpreters' evaluations are played out in their choice of language, and the way they shape the conversation.

The focus on interpretation as a dynamic process, rather than as a product, aligns with the conceptualisation of rapport management as being a process of relating rather than the resulting relationship (Spencer-Oatey 2013). Data indicate several dynamic and interacting influences on the way (im)politeness is interpreted that coalesce differently in each interpreted interaction, and which are motivated by more than a consideration for of face alone. Participants discussed how they smooth and repackage (im)politeness to fit with the expectations of those around them and the environment in which they are working. Even within a single interpreted interaction, none of the influences on interpreters' decision-making remains static. Interpreters' comments evidence their constant attention to changes in the interactional dynamics, making revisions and refinements to their strategies accordingly. The model presented in Figure 1 attempts to capture the nuanced influences on interpreted interaction in more detail than the three bases of rapport management theory (Spencer-Oatey 2002, 2005, 2008) allow.

Familiarity, which includes involvement in latent networks (Watts 2003), was found to be the underpinning influence on interpreters' evaluation of (im)politeness. However, the challenge that lack of familiarity presents to interpreters may also be relevant to people in general, resulting in what might be perceived as poor judgements around (im)politeness due to lack of familiarity with situational norms and expectations.

The data additionally dispel the historical perception of the interpreter as a conduit, by illuminating the complexity of interpreted interaction. Interpreters form their own relationships and understanding of clients, which then inform the way they reflect those clients in interaction. Their work involves both actively managing rapport between their clients and simultaneously manage their own face needs as professionals within the interaction.

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CHAPTER 8

Towards a folk pragmatics
of call centre service encounters

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1. Introduction: Folk pragmatics and stocks of interactional knowledge (SIKs)

The distinction into 'politeness1' (first-order politeness) and 'politeness2' (second-order politeness) research paradigms first introduced by Watts, Ide and Ehlich (1992) is now well established in (im)politeness research. At its most general, the former paradigm is oriented towards the lay language users' understandings and evaluations of (im)politeness, and the latter pertains to scientific, scholarly conceptualisations of the term (cf. Kienpointner and Stopfner 2017: 66). However, this distinction has proven difficult to maintain given that second-order researchers have incorporated lay understandings of (im)politeness phenomena into their models (Eelen 1999: 2). Interestingly for the present chapter, the interplay of 'lay' and 'professional' evaluations of (im)politeness could usefully be tapped into with the conceptual apparatus and methods advocated in the folk linguistics research paradigm (Niedzielski and Preston 2000) and, in particular, folk pragmatics as proposed by Preston and Niedzielski (2017). According to the authors, folk pragmatics is concerned with lay language users' "ideologies, attitudes, beliefs, and the like of ordinary people" (ibid: 2017: 209). Preston and Niedzielski (2017) refer to linguistic (im)politeness as one of the areas of potential interest to folk pragmatics. What defines the notion of folk pragmatics is the distinction between 'knowledge about' and 'knowledge to', and it is the latter that is of primary importance to folk pragmatics (Niedzielski and Preston 2009: 151). Within this perspective, the remit of folk pragmatics goes beyond what has traditionally been understood as metapragmatics. Not only do language users come up with labels and situated evaluations

of linguistic behaviour (including, but not limited to, (im)politeness), but they frequently offer more elaborately expressed understandings, conceptualisations, or quasi-theories relating to language use. These may in turn fruitfully inform and/or complement scholarly research.[1]

Inasmuch as the methods suggested by Preston and Niedzielski (2017) to examine lay language users' language-related linguistic theories appear worthwhile, the authors draw a sharp distinction between professional linguistic and folk understandings of language use, reminiscent of the division between Politeness1 or Politeness2 described above (cf. Eelen 2001: 30; Kádár and Haugh 2013: 41). Given the call centre context, the potential way out of seeing 'lay' and 'professional' linguistic insights in dichotomous terms is to conceptualise them as belonging to a common metalinguistic spectrum. This spectrum encapsulates the call centre language-related practices which are, to various degrees, informed by academic research and mainstream linguistic and psychological theories (see Section 3 below).

The usefulness and the legitimacy of the practices described above (or similar practices characterising other professional contexts) has only recently received due attention by members of academic community (cf. Blitvich et al. 2019; Forey and Lockwood 2010). Peräkylä and Vehvilƒinen (2003) made an attempt to rectify this state of affairs by introducing the term 'stocks of interactional knowledge' (henceforth SIKs) to describe "normative models, theories or quasi theories concerning professional-client interaction" in the context of psychotherapy. According to the authors (Peräkylä and Vehvilƒinen 2003: 727) "[t]hese models and theories can be found in professional texts, in training manuals and in written and spoken instructions delivered in the context of professional training and supervision". Most importantly, however, insights stemming from the analysis of those models, norms, and theories and their discursive operationalisation usefully served to inform linguistic or social research.[2]

One can draw parallels between these two professional contexts (i.e. psychotherapy and the call centre) in that, for both of them, linguistic interaction remains

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1. For example, Niedzielski and Preston (2009: 147) cite Plichta (2004), who "noted that folk comment on the nasal character of Northern, urban U.S. pronunciation was ignored by linguists on the basis of its unscientific character (e.g., Labov's comment in Hoenigswald 1966: 23–24). After a careful acoustic investigation of two vowels involved in the Northern Cities Chain Shift, how- ever, Plichta discovered that a nasal formant was, in fact, a feature that accompanied the repositioning of these vowels, a strong confirmation of the utility of folk comment even in matters of general and descriptive linguistics." It is the assumption taken in the present paper that similar reasoning can be applied to pragmatic phenomena.

2. Both Peräkylä and Vehvilƒinen (2003) and Clifton (2012) used Conversation Analysis as their analytic method.

the central element – as Cameron (2000a: 91) puts it, language is effectively the "job description". On top of this, call centres rely very heavily on written, codified norms. As Cameron (2000a: 107) states: "[…] printed handbooks, memos, prompt sheets, scripts and assessment checklists […] are, arguably, the best source of evidence about the linguistic and interpersonal norms which the call centre regime's designers are trying to promote." Those codification practices are very well-documented in the current linguistic call centre literature (e.g. Hultgren 2011; Hultgren 2017; Mugford 2018) together with examples of specific assessment scorecards (cf. Friginal 2008, 333–337). Following Peräkylä and Vehvilƒinen's (2003) argument, those materials and the assumptions underpinning them, especially those related to conflictive or face-sensitive (cf. Hansen and Marquez Reiter 2018) encounters, can be used to inform – and can also be informed by – aspects of (im)politeness theory. The specific methodology of achieving this goal is outlined below.

2.   Method

The research undertaken in the present paper is an extension of earlier call centre related research undertaken by Jagodziński (2013), Archer and Jagodziński (2015), and Jagodziński and Archer (2018). The extant research was based upon ethnographic fieldwork undertaken by Jagodziński (2013) as part of his PhD project in an outsourced airline call centre. Jagodziński's roles in the call centre Community of Practice (Lave and Wenger 1991) oscillated between that of a call centre practitioner[3] (i.e. member of the call centre quality team) and an (im)politeness researcher. Given the folk pragmatic slant of the present chapter, such a perspective offers a unique analytic advantage and guarantees an insider's look into the communicative norms which define the call centre CofP.[4] A triangulatory (Cicourel 1964)

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3.   For reasons of clarity throughout the present chapter, a distinction is made between a "call centre practitioner" and a "call centre agent". The former refers primarily to a member of the call centre CofP who actively contributes to the construction, negotiation, and implementation of call centre quality guidelines. Typically, this would cover professional roles occupied by team leaders, quality coaches, trainers, and middle-level managers. The latter label refers to front-line customer service employees who are responsible for day-to-day interaction with customers and whose job relies on following the quality guidelines rather than codifying them. However, they might at times be asked to provide feedback and comment on the effectiveness of particular strategies.

4.   Throughout the chapter, effort has been made to always explicitly signal which analytical perspective is adopted by the author; i.e., linguist vs call centre practitioner. It is assumed that a meaningful comparison of pragmatic and folk-pragmatic perspectives can only be achieved if the researcher is always conscious of separating the two identities and that the reader is always informed which perspective is adopted.

approach to data collection has been adopted, whereby the interactional data – in the form of transcribed authentic call centre service encounters – has been analysed alongside textual materials supported by ethnographic fieldnotes. Needless to say, as part of the Ph.D. procedure, both oral and written permission was granted to use the data for linguistic analysis.

The analysis has been done in two stages. Stage one follows Preston's and Niedzielski's (2017) call for research into folk pragmatics. This is done through a close examination of the available textual call centre materials in the form of in-house training manuals, quality guidelines, scripts, memos, training scripts supplemented by Jagodziński's (2013) ethnographic fieldnotes. The main objective here is to enable exposition and contribute to the denaturalisation (cf. Fairclough 1992) of the underlying beliefs, assumptions, and ideologies about the nature of language and communicative interaction constitutive of the analysed call centre CofP. This analysis is conducted on the premise that call centre practitioners share core beliefs and presuppositions about language and interaction which, in turn, (i) structure their metalinguistic talk as exhibited in the said materials, and (ii) directly influence the top-down interactional implementation of the guidelines by frontline customer service agents, who are then subject to rigorous quality checks.

The second analytical stage consists of a detailed analysis of fragments of authentic call centre interactions which allows for a close look at specific SIKs, in particular (i) their deployment by the call centre agents, (ii) their interactional negotiation, and (iii) their effectiveness in terms of bringing about the desired interactional effect as specified by the call centre guidelines. Such an approach will hopefully provide insight into how specific call centre SIKs are discursively operationalised and highlight the areas in which aspect (im)politeness theory can (i) constructively inform or be informed by specific SIKs, and (ii) (dis)prove call centre, folk-pragmatic assumptions about the nature of language and communicative interaction.

3. Call centre folk pragmatic theory

The heavy reliance on communication training (see Section 1) presupposes two important aspects of call centre agents' communicative performance. First, on becoming employees, not only do they need to learn about the technical side of the job itself, but also about the desirable ways of interacting with customers. Similarly, the idea of providing communication training presupposes that "proper" ways of communicating with customers over the telephone can be taught, learnt, verified, and quantified in the course of the internal quality assurance process. Generally

speaking, within call centre folk pragmatic theory, language use and communication skills are viewed in binary, mutually exclusive evaluative terms; i.e., as belonging to an 'untrained' (and therefore 'bad') category of communication or a 'trained' (and therefore 'good') category of communication. The latter is ultimately the only type of – or is, indeed, the ideal version of – customer service communication that frontline employees are expected to adopt.

The training manual analysed for the purpose of the present chapter is a compilation of various other materials. Those materials include populist training manuals (e.g. Harris 2000; Leland and Bailey 2006; Rogers 1986), academic (mostly social-psychological) monographs (e.g. Cialdini 2001), popular business literature like *Harvard Business Review,* and other materials infused with various training methodologies, often without specified authors or origins. An attempt has been made to present the contents of the materials as they appear in the original forms (supplemented by Jagodziński's field note observations).

The analysis[5] has revealed three major themes or pillars of the theory: (i) a transmission model of communication, (ii) linguistic accommodation, and (iii) interactional control. They form the folk-theoretical rationale behind specific interactional SIKs and "in-situ communicative strategies" (Clifton 2012: 283) deployed by call centre agents in their interactions with customers (please see Section 4.1 for examples and description of specific SIKs). This is not to say, however, that those three global assumptions form the basis of a coherent theory akin, for example, to Brown and Levinson (1987) or Leech (1983). On the contrary, some of the assumptions stand in direct opposition to each other. For example, the requirement of taking full interactional control of the conversation clearly constrains attempts at interactional accommodation. Similarly, the parcel-like conceptualisation of communicative interaction may preclude the interactional negotiation of meaning (cf. Thomas 1995) – or, in folk pragmatic terms, different interpretations of the same information by different types of customers. Those contradictory assumptions frequently contributed to agents' interactional confusion, as revealed by anecdotal evidence collected during Jagodziński's fieldwork. Below, I offer a detailed description of the three pillars of folk pragmatic call centre theory of communication. I specifically concentrate on local, situated understandings of the nature of (telephone) communication (as constructed in the manual), drawing parallels with scholarly (linguistic-pragmatic) theories and models throughout.

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5. Reasons of space prevent me from including longer fragments of the analysed manual. Emphasis has been placed on referring to specific SIKs which are quoted verbatim throughout the paper. The only part of the manual quoted in its entirety is the customer typology in Table 1 Section 3.1 below.

3.1   The three pillars

As part of their introductory customer service training course, the call centre agents are presented with a version of a 'transmission' model of communication which can be described as an adapted version of Shannon and Weaver's model (1949).[6] According to this model, the agent is portrayed as a sender of the message and the customer as the (passive) receiver of the message. Communication between the call centre agent and the client is based on coding and decoding 'packages' of information. Taylor (2001: 6) aptly characterises this model as treating meaning as "transmitted, or conveyed, through language, like signals through a telephone wire". The 'telephone wire' metaphor clearly emphasises the *iconic* (see below) relationship between this particular view of communication and the telephone-mediated nature of call centre interactions. During their training, agents are informed that the message may at times get distorted by so called 'noise', which may potentially negatively impact the 'content' of the message. Communication is presented as a 'two-way process' which takes place between the caller and the agent. However, it is the agent who is given priority and is mostly presented as the sender of the message. As taught during the training course, this model is heavily skewed towards the agent as the one who *communicates to* rather than *with* the caller (cf. Jagodziński and Archer 2018). According to the manual, there are four conditions[7] that enable the communication between the caller and the agent: (i) the message needs to be transmitted in a language that is understandable to both interlocutors; (ii) the message is carried by an effective medium; (iii) the transmission is free from distortion; and (iv) the message is successfully received. In other words, language is seen as a transparent medium of expression which can be 'externally' distorted or, alternatively, unsuccessfully communicated and delivered.

The second pillar of the call centre theory, i.e. linguistic accommodation, relies heavily on the concept of customer typology. Although never explicitly articulated or defined as such, the idea behind customer typology requires that agents adjust the way they communicate to a particular (identifiable) customer type. This identification is a prerequisite for providing personalised customer experience (Gentile et al. 2007). There are different typologies offered for different types of telephone calls (e.g. complaints call as opposed to regular inquiry type of calls). Reasons of space prevent me from presenting a full complainer type customer typology. However, the subsequent analysis of interactional data has been done taking into account all the textual materials available in the form of guidelines and typologies presented to the agents.

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6.   Explicit reference to this model was neither provided in the manual nor in the training.

7.   These are quoted verbatim from the manual.

In the case of potentially conflictive complaints, the ability to adjust to a particular type of customer is thought to be instrumental in limiting the likelihood of escalation of the current conflict ('handling objections'), and mitigating any pre-existing potential for conflict (i.e. "nipping the conflict in the bud"). It needs to be emphasised, however, that those potentially conflictive interactions tend to be referred to, internally, as "objection handling calls". This preference for the term "objection handling", as opposed to "conflictive", echoes the conceptualisation of the language as something that the *trained* agent can singlehandedly and completely control (see below for the description of interactional control). It also suggests a perception of conflict as something ultimately detrimental to customer experience. In the call centre folk pragmatic theory, no conceptual space is allowed for outright, open conflict. What is emphasised, instead, is the *agency* of the call centre operator who is always (without exceptions) expected to *handle the objections* successfully. In Table 1, below, I have included the customer typology contained in the analysed manual for 'regular' calls. The table includes SIKs to be deployed by the agents following the initial identification of the customer type. The SIKs are included under "Type of language" used.

Table 1. Customer typology for objection handling

Customer type	Description	Type of language used
The leader	born leader, respects hierarchy, discipline, resilient, brave	be decisive, do not hesitate
The self-confident type	ambitious, competitive, self-confident, has high self-esteem, competitive	suggest bespoke solutions to his/her issues
The careful	careful, perceptive, sensitive to critique	be consistent in the kind of language you use
The perfectionist	acts according to codes and rules, judgemental, stubborn, detailed and careful	use statistical, numerical data; be thorough in your description of procedures.; always confirm that you are listening
The dramatic type	emotional, egotistic, impatient, disorganised	don't say "calm down"; don't show emotions
The conformist type	values his/her freedom to be him/herself, believes in luck and wants to be absolutely independent	"I'm here to help you. I'll do it for you so that you don't have to do it"
The adventurer (risky type)	non-conformist, independent, extravert,	say: I will deal with your case immediately; don't use the word "procedure"

Notwithstanding the parallels with the linguistic-psychological theory of accommodation (cf. Giles 2016), the above typology is based on the "transfer of person characteristics to linguistic expression", i.e. the semiotic process of iconicity (Preston and Niedzielski 2017: 201). The agent is responsible for identifying these linguistic expressions in the course of the conversation using the category assigned to the customer (e.g. the conformist type). The phase (e.g. beginning, middle, end) of the conversation in which the identification should take place is never specified. It is simply assumed that the trained agent should know which kind of customer she/he is dealing with. Needless to say, this kind of accommodation, by definition, needs to be based on the *perceived* customer type rather than any objective, measurable qualities of the customers' interactive behaviour. For example, the customer classified as the *leader* type will be expected to use the type of language characterised as decisive. The *dramatic* type, in contrast, is said to typically use emotional (types of) language. From the perspective of folk-pragmatic theoretical coherence (or lack thereof), there are two important things to be noticed here. Firstly, the strategies agents are advised to use seem too general to operationalise successfully (e.g., the agent is left in the dark as to what it is exactly that he/she is supposed to say to the customer or what kind of language constitutes "emotional" or "decisive"). Secondly, for some customer types, the agent is required to mirror the customer's language (e.g. the perfectionist type), while in other cases the agent is required to do the exact opposite (e.g. withholding emotional language in the case of the *dramatic* type of customer). This echoes the linguistic convergence and divergence strategies described in Giles' (2016) theory of accommodation. Incidentally, the process of *iconicity* of customer types and their characteristic language features permeates the call centre quality assessment procedure, through which the agents' adherence to the guidelines are verified. For example, the agents who speak slowly are frequently assessed as being lazy. Similarly, agents who pause a lot or stay silent for prolonged periods of time are frequently evaluated as lacking confidence.

The third pillar of the call centre folk-pragmatic theory revolves around the notion of *control.* As signalled above, the assumption is that the call centre agent has to remain in charge of the conversation with the customer at all times. This control is supposed to be enacted and operationalised by deploying SIKs such as "showing assertiveness without overpowering the customer", "leading the conversation with closed questions", and "sticking to the topic of the conversations". The call centre agent is always required to control or to be able to *recover control* of the conversation should it be jeopardised or lost altogether. As signalled elsewhere (Jagodziński 2013), in the call centre manual and during the course of his/her training, the agent is conceptualised as always acting rationally and always being able to use the appropriate kind of interactional strategy, much like the Model Person from Brown

and Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness. The ultimate measure of the degree of interactional control the agent possesses is reflected in a successful completion of the transactional task at hand. Needless to say, the notion of interactional control is inevitably connected with the multifaceted (cf. Mugford 2018) power dynamic between the agent and the customer. The agent is faced with a demanding task of being in charge of the conversation. However, his/her interactional freedom is also constrained by the major tenet of customer experience ideology: the customer is always right. There seems to be an inherent contradiction within the call centre folk pragmatic theory as presented to the agents, in that the customer is always right, yet he/she should never be in control.

4.   A brief analysis of an interaction

This section constitutes Stage 2 of the analysis (see Section 2 above) focuses on the analysis of fragments of an authentic conflictive call centre interaction. This interaction has been chosen for analysis because it has been used as in-house "difficult customer" training material. Namely, it served to exemplify the particular customer type and ways of dealing with them. Given the folk pragmatic perspective adopted in this chapter, this interaction gives us a unique insight into: (i) the classification of this particular call as an "objection handling call"; (ii) the classification of the customer as a particular "perfectionist" type (see customer typology above) by the call centre CofP; and (iii) call centre recommended SIKs when dealing with the customer. This, in turn, will enable us to see how the recommended SIKs are (if at all) discursively operationalised by the agent and how they can inform or be informed by aspects of (im)politeness and pragmatics research in particular Grice's theory of implicature (1975), Brown and Levinson's (1987) model of politeness, Bousfield's (2008) framework for the analysis of (im)politeness, and Jagodziński's (2013) notion of professional/personal face. From a linguistic-pragmatic point of view, the analysed interaction can be characterised as face-sensitive (cf. Hansen and Reiter 2018), as the customer has engaged in face-threats and direct face attacks upon the agent. Also, the analysed interaction is not a one-off point of contact, but constitutes a follow up to issues already raised in previous calls with the representatives of the company.

4.1 Let me finish, it's quite complicated[8]

The analysed interaction is between the customer service agent and a customer who has been referred to internally and classified as the "perfectionist" type of customer (see Table 1 above). One of the defining features of this kind of customer, according to call centre customer typology, is his/her attention to detail. When dealing with such a customer the agent is required to use a "precise" kind of language and make sure that the agent is listening to every single aspect of the customer's issue. One of the comments the agent herself offered as characterising her interactional approach to this particular customer is that she consciously engaged in active listening, which she understood as deploying "confirmation noises", in an attempt to signal her active involvement and interest in the customer's query. This is evident in Excerpt 1 below.

(1) I was in the middle of making a booking
Context: The passenger experiences issues when making the booking. Due to the unusual behaviour of his internet browser he is unsure if his booking has gone through. He is worried that he might have fallen victim to a phishing attempt.

1. A: welcome to XXXXX my name is XXXXX how can I help you today
   P: I'm troubled
2. A:
   P: making a booking and now I'm a bit worried I was on the line to one of your
3. A: *yes*
   P: colleagues   because I was in the middle of making the booking <indistinct>
4. A:
   P: and that was last night actually which seems to have been quite successful because
5. A:
   P: we referred to it but this one first of all I reaches the phase where it said here are
6. A: *yes*
   P: your details already retained from previous bookings   but the address
7. A:
   P: was very strange because it has my house and street address correct and postcode
8. A:
   P: between London and the postcode there is a strange pair of words in another

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8. This interaction was previously analysed in Jagodziński (2013: 105–107). However, some aspects of the analysis have been revisited and corrected in line with the theoretical and methodological objectives of the present chapter.

9.   A: *umh*   *umh*
     P: language   and   ***let me finish it's quite complicated*** and <erm>
10. A:
     P: it looked to me like something Slavic <indistinct> so I phoned up your colleague
11. A: *uhm*
     P: your service   and first of all we confirmed that the booking we made last
12. A:
     P: night was in order

At the very beginning of the interaction, the passenger does not introduce him-
self, preferring, instead, to commence his interaction by signalling difficulties with
the booking process (line 2): *I'm troubled making a booking.* This apparent lack
of "interpersonal engagement" (i.e. not reciprocating the introduction) prompted
the agent to classify the customer as the "Perfectionist" type. For the agent, being
perfectionist entailed lack of interest in matters not directly connected with the
issue at hand. He also mentions having contacted the call centre previously, and
intimates his issue was not successfully solved at that: *I was on the line to one of your
colleagues.* The passenger then engages in a detailed explanation of the issue with his
Internet browser (lines 2–9). What is interesting to notice, here, is that the agent's
use[9] of acknowledgment tokens (internally referred to as 'confirmation noises') is
perfectly in line with what the call centre quality guidelines consistently advise such
agents to do when "actively listening" to their customers (see, e.g., lines 3, 6 and 9).
Yet, the frequency of their use and/or the interruption of this particular passenger's
narrative flow[10] appear to triggers a mild (two-part) face-attack from the passenger.
First, he signals – explicitly – his desire to finish, thereby suggesting that, from his
perspective, he understood the agent's *uhm* (at line 9 at least) to be an interruption:
that is, an attempt to take the conversational floor from him). By flouting Grice's
(1975) maxim of Quantity, he then immediately goes on to implicates the possi-
bility she might fail to recognise the full complexity of the issue he is attempting

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9.   Because of the fact that the recording of this particular interaction was used in the training,
the agent herself commented upon her linguistic choices in detail during and after the course of
Jagodziński's (2013) call centre fieldwork.

10. This could be usefully explained using Conversation Analytic terminological apparatus
whereby the agent's turn occurs at an illegitimate Transition Relevance Place. However, the
overarching folk pragmatic perspective adopted here, methodological consistency and reasons
of space prevent me from pursing this methodological avenue. Additionally, it is interesting to
note that within the call centre folk pragmatic theory of interaction, the kind of 'confirmation
noises' to be used by agents would not only be a function of the particular customer type, but
would also differ with respect to customer's nationality.

to explain were he not allowed to finish, given: *let me finish it's quite complicated* (line 9). The passenger's unmitigated face threat from line 9 does not prevent the agent from continuing with deploying the same acknowledgement token in line 11 and indeed throughout the rest of the interaction (not presented here for reasons of space). One possible reason I can offer, for this, is that the agent's initial recognition of the customer type, *perfectionist*, prevented her from responding to the demands of unfolding interaction. All this points to the fact that the agent's classification of the customer as the type who requires a specific pre-defined interactional accommodation proved counterproductive: instead of mitigating the already existing tension, it significantly contributed to exacerbating it.

In the same vein, see Excerpt 2 below, where the same agent is trying to glean the correct postcode from the same passenger.

(2)   Don't say that it doesn't help

13. A: could you please provide me with your home address starting from postcode
    P:

14. A: it's the postcode first bravo charlie one november
    P: *don't say that it doesn't help*

As before, the agent's attempt at accommodating to the passenger's interactional style in line 14 (i.e. using airline phonetic spelling characteristic of the airline industry) prompts the customer to issue an unmitigated directive thereby threatening the agent's face. The customer audibly raises his voice, moreover, thereby boosting the illocutionary force behind his face threat. The agent's preference for using the phonetic alphabet was revealed, during the course of Jagodziński's (2013) fieldwork, to be motivated by two needs:

i.   to accommodate to the type of the customer, which she had classified (by this point) as the "perfectionist" type, and
ii. to reduce any talk time by avoiding potential mistakes when articulating the postcode the traditional way.

As we found previously (see Excerpt 1, line 9), the passenger's response was to issue a mild face attack. What the two excerpts have in common is the fact that the agent followed call centre guidelines by attempting to operationalise the advised SIKs. In Excerpt 3 below the situation is reversed, in that the interactional difficulties are actually triggered by the same agent failing to follow the call centre guidelines.

(3)   I don't have the explanation for it

15. A: so I know how to delete the files on this particular browser that's probably the
     P:

16. A: technical issue and hopefully it won't happen again of course I will notify our
     P:

17. A: support team about this and **to be honest I don't have the explanation for it**
     P:

18. A: because it never happened before there were no strange sings in the middle
     P:

19. A: of address never
     P: yes you do understand that **this is precisely the fact that**

20. A:
     P: **that there is no explanation that worries me** that probably you know somebody

21. A:
     P: set up a fault site and I typed in bank details now into it **I'm really quite worried**

In line 17, above, the agent admits that she is not able to provide the calling passenger with an explanation of the issue he has experienced with his Internet browser by saying *to be honest I don't have the explanation for it*. This utterance is in stark contrast to what call centre agents are usually advised: namely, to always try and find solutions to the customer's query and always act as an expert who is fully in charge of the issue and in control of the conversation (cf. Section 3.1). The agent's unmitigated assertion is inconsistent, in turn, with her attempt at accommodating to the "perfectionist" category of customers who, supposedly, require meticulous explanations to their problems. The lack of explanation provided by the agent is immediately picked up by the passenger in line 19 in his utterance *this is precisely the fact that there is no explanation that worries me*. The customer implicates via the maxim of Quantity (Grice 1975) that it is the agent who should be in a position to explain what happened and suggest possible solutions. Such an interpretation is corroborated later on, too, when the customer openly blames the agent for causing him anxiety (see Excerpt 4 below).

It is clear from the interaction up until this point (and the rest of the interaction omitted here for reasons of space) that the caller fully expects the agent to solve the issue at hand. The agent's utterance in lines 19–20 above only corroborated the customer's expressed hypothesis about the nature of the browser issue (i.e. the worst case scenario being that somebody must have set up a fake website as a phishing attempt) and fed into his growing anxiety about the problem. This anxiety is manifested in the prosodic features of his speech, such as greater loudness and increased speech tempo. It has been revealed, post factum, by the agent that she was aware from the beginning of the interaction that the issue was outside her competence

and was caused by the customer's computer browser issue. She also knew that she was able to check in the call centre database if the transaction went through; however, instead of explaining that to the customer she focused on deploying call centre SIKs. In call centre folk pragmatic terms, she neither effectively managed to "nip the conflict in the bud", nor handled this particular customer's objections successfully (even though she partially recognised and accommodated to the customer's perceived 'type'). One may hypothesise that the potential for conflict, as exhibited by the face threats and direct face attacks deployed in the remainder of the interaction (see Excerpt 4 below), could have been disarmed by, paradoxically, consistently sticking to call centre SIKs, especially in the part of the interaction following the very first face attack in line 9 Excerpt 1. Excerpt 4 constitutes the last analysed fragment of the interaction in question in which the conflict culminates.

(4) I'm sorry for the inconvenience\

53. A:
    P: because if you your website the reassuring thing is that it isn't a fake website that's

54. A: *I'm sorry for the inconvenience* probably we
    P: fine but your website is not working

55. A: have technical issues
    P: *YOU KNOW IT PUT ME TO A LOT OF ANXIETY it put you to a lot of work*

56. A: I'm really sorry
    P: and we effectively draw on my bank twice it is quite a big error this and *if I didn't*

57. A: *you would notice* it probably because
    P: *press on that it wouldn't have been noticed*

58. A: you would see that the money was taken twice from your card
    P: *yeah but that*

59. A:
    P: *might be next week and it's partly because you're not sending e-mails with*

60. A:
    P: *confirmation*

The agent's apology in line 54 *I'm sorry for the inconvenience caused* has been issued even though the agent is still not sure if the company is actually to blame for the issue experienced by the customer. This points to the agent's interactional inconsistency in that in Excerpt 3 line 17 she admitted that she did not know what the issue was, yet here in line 53 she effectively apologised for the said issue (which was not company's fault). In line 55 the customer issues a direct face attack at the agent blaming her (albeit indirectly) for causing him anxiety *YOU KNOW IT PUT ME TO A LOT OF ANXIETY*. The second part of the customer utterance (line 55) *it*

put you to a lot of work is very interesting in that he points to the futility, if not to say stupidity, of the agent's behaviour. Specifically, by not addressing the perceived technical issue with the website, the agent has caused a lot of unnecessary work to herself and, by extension, to the company. This implies, through the maxim of Relation and Quantity (Grice 1975), that the company's conduct might not be the most intelligent. After all, the company's efforts should be focused on solving the customers' issues rather than engaging in creating more work for themselves. Later on, in lines 56 and 57 in the utterance *if I didn't press on that it wouldn't have been noticed*, the customer takes all the metaphorical credit for being perceptive enough and noticing the technical fault in time. Again, through the maxim of Quantity, the customer implicates negligence on the company's part. The agent's reaction in line 57 is very interesting in that she shifts the responsibility for noticing the fault to the customer – line 57, *you would notice* – which immediately functions as a trigger for yet another face attack deployed by the customer: *yeah but that might be next week and it's partly because you're not sending e-mails with confirmation* (lines 59–60). The customer clearly blames the agent for not sending confirmatory e-mails. Again, one may hypothesise that the token apology, advised by the call centre guidelines, might have been a better option here in terms of reducing the potential for conflict and further fuelling the conflict spiral.

5. Conclusion

As stated in the introduction to this chapter, the aims I set out to achieve were to:

i.   tease out call centre's language-related assumptions and denaturalise some of them;
ii. emphasise the dialectic perspective on aspects of (im)politeness research and call centre interactional quasi-theories (cf.Peräkylä and Vehvilƒinen 2003) to demonstrate how one can potentially inform the other; and
iii. show that the adopted methodological perspective might prove to be a fruitful avenue for examining institutional discourse in general. In this section I would like to revisit those aims in order to see to what degree (if at all) the presented analysis has helped to achieve them, to cricitally reflect about the chosen methodology, and to show potential directions for future research.

When it comes to contributing to the denaturalisation of the folk pragmatic assumptions behing language and communication in the examined call centre, three pillars of call centre theorising have been identified: the transmission model of communication, linguistic accommodation, and interactional control. The

overarching conclusion to be drawn here is that it is virtually impossible to talk about a coherent call centre theory of language. The call centre folk-pragmatic theory is more of an amalgam of approaches and a mixture of contradicting assumptions that underlie individual interactional strategies or SIKs. Inherent contradictions notwithstanding, it is clear that the division between 'lay' and 'professional' (Niedzielski and Preston 2007) is difficult to maintain in the call centre context. One of the contributing factors might be that people employed by call centre organisations come from a variety of professional backgrounds including, but not limited to, linguistic, pedagogical, psychological, and managerial. To say that those professionals are not capable of critical reflection about their professional practice seems unjustified, given the nuanced (although not entirely coherent) theorising.

Additionally, what transpires from the presented analysis is not only that call centre practioners do engage in metatheorising, but, primarily that it echoes (albeit to varying degrees) pragmatic theories of communication in general and (im)politeness research in particular. This stands in stark constract to some existing sudies (e.g. Cameron 2000a, 2000b; Cameron 2008) that tend to potray centre practioners as uniformely subscribing to customer experience ideology and call centre agents as uniformely subservient to their customers. In light of the analysed data and in line with Woydack (2019) such a vision of the entire call centre industry might be too one-dimensional. Studies such as Mugford's (2018), with its openly critical stance and emancipatory agenda, are therefore indispensable in exposing the imbalances of power and overt discrimination that undeniably takes places on the customer service lines. Hence, the folk-pragmatic perspective adopted in the present chapter might be seen as complementary, and perhaps more conducive to, finding points of convergence between scholarly research and call centre professional language and communication-related practices. Seen through this lens, call centre practioners are treated as 'interactional stakeholders', in that folk pragmatics tends to emphasise the nuance with which some aspects of the communication training are delivered (e.g. interactional convergence/divergence). It is perhaps worth noting at this point that some of the assumptions underlying the training (e.g. the transmission model of communication) were once, or arguably still are, part of the linguistic mainstream (although they are in need of critical revision). It is also believed that emphasising the metatheoretical aspect of call centre practioner's job may foster interprofessional dialogue with linguists. Ultimately, this has the potential to bring about changes in recruitment, training, and work conditions for customer service agents. Conceptualising call centers as environments subject to interactional regimes (Cameron 2000a: 107) might be tantamount to the proverbial "throwing of the baby with the bathwater", which I hope my analysis has helped to demonstrate.

On top of the folk-theoretic aspects of analysis (see stage 1 above), what the analysis of interactional data has revealed is the problematic link between the specific SIKs advised to the agent and their discursive realisation (cf. Clifton 2012). Call centre folk pragmatic theory, however sophisticated and reminiscent of the mainstream linguistic theories and approaches, will never provide agents with an answer to arguably the most pertinent question asked by the agents during Jagodziński's fieldwork: "So what is it that I need to say to the customer?" It is clear from the analysis that it is ultimately up to the agent to make the decision about what to say and when to say it, and that the advised SIKs are frequently in the way of the interactional "here and now". Caught between a rock and a hard place – between the need to adhere to call centre guidelines and the need to actively engage in meaning-negotiation – the agents frequently find themselves in an interactional cul-de-sac. As the analysis revealed, following the SIKs may either help to solve the conflict or contribute to exacerbating it. A possible way out of this conondrum is to allow the agents to participate more freely in the interaction and to utilise their own valuable pragmalinguistic resources. This, in turn, might bring better results in terms of customer experience, seen as something that is negotiated between the agent and the customer (cf. Jagodziński and Archer 2018).

It is also necessary to reflect about Jagodziński's, unique, role as a researcher and a member of the analysed call centre community of pracitce. On the one hand, as stated in the chapter, playing an active role in the daily functioning of the call centre provided a unique insight into how the customer service standards are negotiatied and made it possible to trace the origins and assumptions behind them. However, reflecting about them as an (im)politeness researcher proved difficult, especially during the analysis of the interaction. The main reason for the difficulty stems from the fact that there is always the risk of conflating analytical categories. For such an analysis to be a fruitful endeavour, one needs to make sure that the folk pragmatic and the linguistic reasearcher's perspectives are kept apart. We might counter argue, however, that there are moments when they need to come together, much like in viewing a stereoscopic photograph, to provide a complete "three-dimensional picture" of the analysed interaction. A folk pragmatic analysis requires a high level of analytical self-awareness and the constant to-ing and fro-ing between the two perspectives. The question as to whether the process has been effective and whether it is at all possible to consciously switch between the two perspectives remains open. For the purposes of the present chapter, though, it is believed that the affordances offered by Jagodziński's unique position as a researcher and a member of the call centre community of practice outweigh the methodological hurdles, not least because this position made it possible to enter an otherwise restricted research site (cf. Harrington 2018).

As a final remark, it needs to be emphasised that, to the best of Jagodziński's knowledge, this is the first chapter that explicitly adopts a folk-pragmatic perspective to the analysis of (im)politenss phenomena. This innovative pespective might be seen as a small contribution to overcoming what Haugh (2018) calls "sterile eclecticism" in (im)politeness research. This perspective conflates lay and professional perspectives on language, going beyond the constraints of a single analytical perspective or framework. It is believed that it offers an interesting aveanue for future research into institutional discourse in general. More studies are definitely needed to get a more complete picture of call centre linguistic practices, especially given the present chapter is based on a single call centre and its specific, local context.

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"I always use the word *please*"

The production and perception of English and Spanish workplace emails

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1. Introduction

In the history and literature of pragmatics, two paradigms can be found, which seem to be diametrically opposed to each other. On the one hand, we find the search for *universal principles* of language use in Austin (1975) and Searle's (1969) speech act theory, Grice's (1975) conversational maxims and the cooperative principle, and, finally, in Brown and Levinson's (1987 [1978]) *universals* of politeness or Leech's (1983) politeness principle and maxims. More recently, however, a growing number of researchers (e.g. Locher and Watts 2005; Mills 2003; Grainger 2013) highlight the context-sensitive and diverse nature of language use and therefore refrain from the assumption of universal patterns or principles. Against the common view that these two paradigms are mutually exclusive, the present study aims at an integrative approach by combining methods from both (see also Terkourafi 2008; Grainger 2013).

1.1 Motivation and objectives of study

The present paper will discuss the main findings of a comparative study of English and Spanish business emails. It therefore contributes to the research field of cross-cultural pragmatics (CCP), in particular, where the research that has been carried out to date reveals three major limitations.

Firstly, most studies in CCP, including those that compare English and Spanish, are based on data elicitation techniques such as role-plays or discourse completion tasks (DCTs) (Kasper 2000). It has been found, however, that these elicitation techniques do not produce data that are comparable to naturally occurring discourse, suggesting researchers should therefore focus on authentic language data (Lorenzo-Dus and Bou Franch 2013; Grainger 2013; Flöck 2016).

Secondly, apart from the lack of comparative studies that systematically investigate directives in naturally occurring discourse, CCP research has also revealed a dearth of studies that systematically account for the effects of both social and discourse contexts on language use. Despite an increasing awareness of the context-sensitivity of language, studies that systematically investigate the influence of contextual factors on linguistic choices are still rare (Holmes and Meyerhoff 1999; Márquez Reiter 2000; Vine 2009).

Finally, it has been argued time and time again that CCP and politeness research should not only focus on language production, but should also take into account the perception of linguistic strategies. Nevertheless, studies that systematically investigate language perception are still few and far between (Locher and Watts 2005; Spencer-Oatey 2000; Culpeper 2011).

This study addresses these gaps by analyzing English and Spanish email directives along four research dimensions. From a pragmalinguistic dimension, it investigates how directives are realized in British English (BE) and Peninsular Spanish (PS) business emails and what strategies can be identified. The cross-cultural dimension systematically compares the two data sets and statistically measures the differences between the BE and PS directive realizations. From a sociopragmatic perspective, the effects that the social and discourse context, namely the sex, social distance (SD) and power (P) between sender and addressee, relative imposition (RI) and purpose, have on the linguistic choices are measured.[1] Finally, from a perception dimension, I address the question of how the English and Spanish email writers perceive the directive strategies identified in terms of directness and politeness.

1.2   Previous findings on English and Spanish directives

Based on the findings of previous studies (Hofmann 2003; Díaz Pérez 2005; Márquez Reiter 1997) I expect to find a higher use of direct strategies and positive face orientation (closeness and solidarity) for the Spanish L1 users compared to a higher level of indirectness and negative politeness (autonomy and deference)

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1.   Although researchers in the social sciences are more interested in the much more complex phenomenon of gender rather than biological sex (Schneider 2012), I maintain that an analysis of sex differences is nevertheless useful as it facilitates comparison (see also Cheshire 2002).

for English L1 users. The authors of these studies found this tendency irrespective of the language variety. Furthermore, following Brown and Levinson (1987) and several scholars who found evidence for their theory, a positive correlation between the levels of SD and politeness and RI and politeness is assumed, as well as a positive correlation between power and politeness. Previous studies have accordingly found a negative correlation between these variables and the level of directness (Bargiela-Chiappini and Harris 1996; Brown and Levinson 1987; Jones 1992; King 2011; Pilegaard 1997; Waldvogel 2005; Yeung 1997).

In addition to that, I do not expect to find any significant influence of sex, following Jones (1992) and Waldvogel (2005), but a significant impact of purpose of interaction on the choice of strategies in accordance with Vine's (2009) analysis of spoken workplace directives.

2. Methodology

With regard to the methodology employed, the present study proposes a mix of qualitative and quantitative approaches. The answers to the first two research questions along the pragmalinguistic and cross-cultural dimension will thus be based on a qualitative categorization and a quantitative comparison of the BE and PS directive speech events. While this first step is a worthwhile endeavor in its own right, as it addresses the lack of systematic studies based on authentic data in CCP, studying the effects that certain socio-contextual factors have on the linguistic choices adds another dimension to the current state of research. The sociopragmatic research dimension will be approached qualitatively through the assessment of the contextual variables, and quantitatively by systematically measuring the effects of these variables. The insights gained from these analyses of the production data will be complemented by a mainly qualitative small-scale study into the perception of the directive head act strategies, i.e. "the part of the sequence which might serve to realize the act independently of other elements" (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989: 17). This last step aims at addressing the gap in CCP research by moving away from a purely production-based paradigm to including the perception of discourse strategies.

As I do not only focus on the properties of the illocutionary value, i.e. the directive speech act, but also on the interactional value, i.e. the sequential design including external modification strategies surrounding the directive proper, I apply a speech-event based analysis (Hymes 1972) instead of a speech-act based analysis in the present study. This coincides with Merrison et al.'s (2012: 1079) assumption that "the particular design of the sequential and componential structure of requests in situated contexts is used to accomplish both identity and relational work" (see also Ho 2010; Jensen 2009; Rogers and Lee-Wong 2003).

I will therefore code the email directives on three analytical levels: the head act level, modification level and sequencing level. On the head act level, I will differentiate between sentence types, perspective and strategy type, on the modification level between those strategies that downgrade the potential face threat and those that upgrade (or aggravate) the face threat. The sequencing level refers to the overall email structure and includes strategies such as greetings and closings, self-introduction and orientation moves that do not have an obvious downgrading or upgrading function.

In order to evaluate the significance of the results, I will analyze the frequency distribution of the strategies statistically. More specifically, the significance of the cross-cultural differences, the co-occurrence patterns between head acts and modifiers, as well as the effects of the contextual variables on the linguistic choices will be tested statistically. I will take into account the fact that natural language data are not fully independent data points by factoring in the writer as random effect (Manning 2007). I will therefore conduct general linear mixed model (GLMM) logistic regressions in R based on the lme4 package (Bates 2019) and consider the odds ratios as effect size (Field et al. 2012). Mixed models are an extension of regressions and follow the basic aim to predict categorical outcomes (here: head act and modification strategies) based on predictor variables (here: language, sex, SD, P, RI, purpose). The model selection will be based on the Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC) and a backward selection procedure, starting with the full model followed by a stepwise removal of the least significant variables (Field et al. 2012).

2.1   The email corpus

The email corpus consists of 600 emails, 300 of which were exchanged between 69 L1 users of BE and the other 300 between 72 PS L1 users, in the months between March and August 2011. The email writers were managers, business partners and employees of either a Spanish hotel resort or one of the closely cooperating British and Spanish travel agencies. The emails were collected approximately one year after their production so the participants did not know anything about the research purpose when the emails were written. This avoids any potential effects of the Observer's Paradox (Labov 1972), i.e. the risk of a decrease in the authenticity of the language data as a result of the subject knowing about the presence of the researcher (observer). While this seems to be self-explanatory for studies on email data, it is actually not, as some researchers embed their studies on email discourse into an experimental frame, e.g. by asking the participants to write an email directive to an unknown professor or by gathering emails through written DCTs (Duthler 2006; Woodfield and Economidou-Kogetsidis 2010). These emails can in my view not be treated as authentic language data.

The speech events of the email exchanges in the present study include task allocations, problem solving, price negotiations, operative and strategic purposes.

Before collecting the data, ethical issues were discussed with key people in each organization. A Memorandum of Understanding was agreed upon and signed by the hotel manager, sales manager and myself. It covered the protection of the organization's and people's identities, the storage of the data and how retrospectively informed consent would be gained. The manager sent around an email message notifying all staff and business partners about the research and that some archived emails would be used and anonymized to protect confidentiality. All subjects involved were given the opportunity to ask questions before providing their consent. It was agreed that names of people, companies, or marketing campaigns and other specific information about the location, prices, or dates that appear in the emails would not be published. I have therefore invented new names in the examples presented or removed specific pieces of information and replaced them with a general description of the information in square brackets (e.g. [amount €]).

The fact that I was part of the community of practice (CoP) myself as a participant observer for a period of six months allowed me to systematically investigate the impact of social variables, including more stable writer and addressee attributes such as sex, social distance and power relationships, and more situation-dependent variables such as the level of imposition of, for example a writer asking for a better price offer (high imposition) versus a writer asking for a confirmation of a room reservation (low imposition), and the purpose of interaction.

With regard to the variables social distance, power, and imposition, the assessment procedure consisted of both my own assessment, and insiders' (or emic) evaluations, more precisely the manager's and assistant manager's assessments.

2.2   The community of practice

During the last decade, many scholars in the field of sociolinguistics and politeness research have investigated language phenomena within a corporation or a workplace and explicitly conceptualized it as a CoP (Hössjer 2013; Holmes, Marra and Vine 2012; Saito 2011). These scholars refer to Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992), who introduced the concept of CoP to language and gender research and whose definition differs from Lave and Wenger's (1991) approach in the fact that it does not focus on the process of learning. The authors define a CoP as:

> An aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavor. Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations – in short, practices – emerge in the course of this mutual endeavor. As a social

> construct, a CoP is different from the traditional community, primarily because
> it is defined simultaneously by its membership and by the practice in which that
> membership engages. (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992: 464)

By describing a CoP as a social construct, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet emphasize the fact that it is a dynamic, rich and complex concept constructed in social practice and that it therefore offers more to researchers than concepts such as the speech community (cf. Labov 1972; Gumperz 1971; Preston 1989) or the social network (Milroy 1987; Lippi-Green 1989; Kerswill 1994). The main difference between a speech community and a CoP is that a speech community is based on shared norms and evaluations of norms and that membership may be defined externally, while a CoP is based on shared practices, and membership is internally constructed (Holmes and Meyerhoff 1999: 179). A social network does not require regular and mutually defining interaction as does a CoP but can be constituted of people who have limited or infrequent contact. The difference between the two concepts thus lies in the nature of the contact between their members (Holmes and Meyerhoff 1999: 179f.). A CoP furthermore differs from a nexus of practice (Scollon 2001) in that the latter focuses on the study of social actions that work at a lower level of social organization and usually concern random social encounters such as buying coffee at a coffee shop (see also Lane 2014).

Mills (2002) highlights the benefits the field of linguistic politeness can have from a CoP perspective and defines politeness in a CoP approach as follows:

> Politeness should be seen as a set of strategies or verbal habits which someone
> sets as a norm for themselves or which others judge as the norm for them, as well
> as being a socially constructed norm within particular communities of practice.
> (Mills 2002: 77)

The concept of CoP therefore offers a productive means of combining micro-level and macro-level analyses since the study of a CoP both involves a detailed micro-level ethnographic analysis of discourse in context as well as a description of the meaning and distinctiveness of the CoP in a wider context, thus a macro-level analysis. Studying a CoP therefore combines quantification with an ethnographic analysis that accounts for individuals' linguistic choices. In a similar vein, Holmes (1998: 325) explains that "the patterns, generalizations, and norms of speech usage which emerge from quantitative analyses provide a crucial framework which informs and illuminates the ways in which individual speakers use language". This mixed-method approach, which includes micro-level, qualitative and macro-level, quantitative analyses, has also been taken in the present study to reveal patterns of language use and to establish which exact contextual factors lead to the linguistic choices made by the members of the CoP under study.

The CoP under study consists of four different workplaces: a hotel resort based in Spain, two English travel agencies and one Spanish travel agency. The email writers can be considered as members of one CoP due to several reasons. Firstly, the three travel agencies have exclusivity contracts with the hotel resort, which means that they are the exclusive provider of guests for a specific number of rooms.

Also, the email writers consider each other as colleagues as they interact on a regular basis and work for one shared goal (or joint enterprise): namely filling the rooms and apartments with guests. They are therefore expected to develop a shared repertoire, which in sum are the three criteria (or dimensions) of a community of practice according to Wenger (1998), Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992).

The latter criterion is at the same time the overall motivation of the study, namely to find out how the English and Spanish members of the community of practice jointly negotiate a shared repertoire including norms of politeness.

2.3 The analysis of directive speech events

With regard to the identification procedure of directives, a holistic definition of directive speech events has been employed that conceptualizes them as linguistic actions which

- express the writer's desire for an addressee to perform a future non-verbal action (Searle 1969; Edmondson and House 1981; Holmes 1983),
- the writer and addressee may have unequal rights to produce depending on their social ranking of the workplace hierarchy (Waldvogel 2005),
- are socially constructed in situated contexts of a CoP (Mills 2002),
- can be identified by the researcher through reliance on the addressee's successful interpretation of the directive force, which is manifested in the uptake (Austin 1975; Grainger 2013).

In line with this definition, the identification procedure follows an objective function-to-form heuristic based on hearer uptake as a primary criterion. It therefore relies on a sequential, qualitative analysis as in Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson's (1974) Conversation Analysis. The procedure has been based on the three criteria: (1) whether a verbal uptake has been provided, (2) whether the addressee, the writer or contextual information have produced an explicit or implicit cue indicating the felicitous interpretation by the addressee, and (3) whether the directive was met with compliance or non-compliance (Figure 1; cf. Flöck 2016: 92; modified adoption).

A type (a) directive followed by non-compliance can be found in Example (1), a type (b) directive that is also followed by non-compliance in Example (2), a type
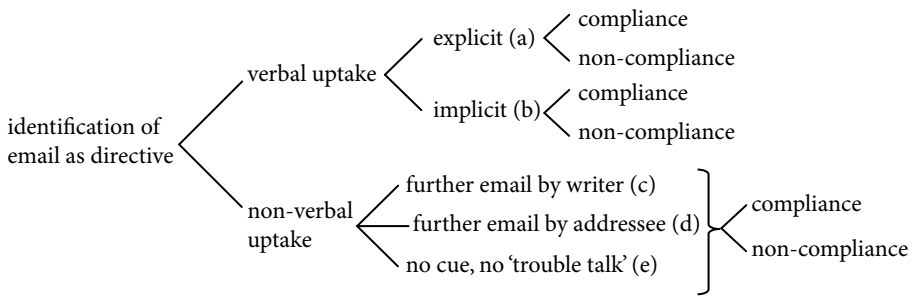
Figure 1. Identification heuristic for identifying directive speech events

(c) and type (d) directive that were both followed by compliance in Examples (3) and (4), and finally a type (e) directive in Example (5).

(1) *Good Afternoon Steve, I hope you are well. We have noticed that we have a few dates where we are oversold on our Inland view single rooms.* **Would it be acceptable for us to use twins for singles, that we have available within our allocation, to cover these over bookings?** *Many thanks, Theresa – Response: Dear Theresa, I can help with particular dates and allotments however* <u>we cannot give you the doubles for single use</u>. *Sorry for this but let me know the dates to see if I can help. Kind regards, Steve*

(2) *Dear Steve, We are now close to finalizing our team and will shortly be looking to pay a 30% deposit initially for 10 rooms (20 persons sharing) for 3 nights beginning Friday 20th May 2011 at [name] at [amount] Euros per person per night.* **Could you please let us have the amount required in Sterling** *and your account details including your IBAN number. Kind regards, Michael – Response: Dear Mr Michael, I am glad to hear that you will definitely be coming and have attached your Bank details for you. The total amount is [amount] and 30% would be [amount] obviously the final amount could vary according to the final number or room nights booked.* <u>If you could transfer the amount in Euros it would be a lot easier for us as the exchange rate changes continuously</u>. *As soon as we receive the deposit I shall confirm the amount received and your reservation. Kind regards, Steve*

(3) *En la discoteca del bar podríamos poner música y dejar las copas a […] euros si puede ser o sino si es posible hacer la fiesta en lugar que tenéis un poco apartado donde se pueden hacer actividades.* **Sino dime tú cómo se podría hacer,** *es para poder hacer algo por la noche. Ya me dirás. Muchas gracias. Un saludo, Juan –* <u>Pues mira que rápido se ha solucionado</u>, *me parece estupendo!!! Te adjunto el contrato de [---]. Muchas gracias. Un saludo, Juan*

('In the disco of the bar we could play some music and sell the drinks at […] euros if that is possible, or, if not, it may be possible to hold the party in the separate room you have where different types of activities can be done. **If not, you tell me**

how this could be done, it is to do something at night. Let me know. Thank you very much. Regards, Juan – <u>Now look how quickly this has been solved</u>, I think it is fantastic!!! I've attached the contract for [name]. Thank you very much. Regards, Juan')

(4) *Aquí os adjunto la información de referencia que nos habían solicitado algunos comerciales de empresas participantes. **Ruego se la hagáis llegar a TODAS las empresas que participaron.** Tenemos un informe completo de [name], en el cual aparecen también los resultados del marketing viral, acciones de RR.PP., estadísticas del online, etc. Si alguien necesitara alguna información adicional a la proporcionada, ruego me lo indiquéis. Los datos que ofrecemos, siguiendo las indicaciones de nuestro Conseller, son los facilitados por [name] en su informe. Gracias, José – Buenos días, <u>os adjunto información</u> referencia al Uk roadshow. también os agradeceríamos que nos hicieseis llegar vuestros comentarios sobre la acción promocional. Muchas gracias, Guillermo*

*'Here you find attached the reference information which some commercial managers of the participating companies have asked for. **I request you to pass it on to ALL the companies that participated.** We have a complete report of [name], which also contains the results of the viral marketing, PR campaigns, online statistics etc. If somebody needs further information in addition to the information provided, I request you to indicate this to me. The details we are offering, following the indications of our minister, are those facilitated by [name] in his report. Thanks, José – Good morning, <u>I'm sending you attached the information</u> regarding the Uk roadshow. We would also be grateful if you could forward us your comments about the promotional actions. Thank you very much, G.'*

(5) *Hi Steve, our Head of Yield has agreed to set the sales targets as 80% each month, so that we make sure that we maximize the sales for you outside the peak season. **I need you to contact the [name] office every week and look at the seats left to sell, and decide between you what empty rooms (if any) are likely to be left and put through to the Yield Manager a suggestion.** The yield manager will then confirm and action any hand back of rooms. I have input a new deposit of €[amount] to be repaid by deduction from Sept invoices, which Andrea has promised we should be able to get you before the end of April. Peter **please set up on the Perf [name] recovery report 50 Units only from Jun to Sept, import into Topics costing etc.** Thanks. Rebecca **can you please get Martin to load these room in TOS, and can you please make sure that Company B is blocked.** If there is anything wrong or that I have forgotten, please let me know. Tom*

In summary, all emails are included in the analysis for which either the interlocutors provide explicit or implicit evidence for the felicitous interpretation of the directive or in which any kind of challenging comment (or '*trouble talk*', cf. Flöck 2016: 106) regarding the writer's intention is absent.

2.4   Collection of perception data

As mentioned above, the study also aimed at investigating the email writers' perception of the directives in terms of politeness and directness and at gaining some insights into the overall email behavior at the community of practice. For this, I sent out an online questionnaire to the English and Spanish email writers (see Appendix for the English version of the questionnaire). The questionnaire contained ten tasks: two rating scales for politeness, six questions on general email use and behavior, and two rating scales for directness. The rating scales were based on two situations (directive for offer extension and email reply) and the directive head act strategy types that were identified in the production study. The participants were also given the possibility to comment on their ratings, which yielded some interesting metapragmatic insights.

Due to the very small sample of seven participants I treated the perception study as a pilot study that aims at supporting the interpretations of the production data analysis.

3.   Results

With regard to the pragmalinguistic dimension, I have found that the English and Spanish email writers choose from a wide variety of strategies to realize directive speech events. Two striking findings that I would like to highlight are that both the English and Spanish emails reveal an overly high number of modifiers and a strong orientation towards positive politeness, thus strategies that signal involvement, closeness and solidarity rather than independence, respect and deference, according to Brown and Levinson's (1987) definition.

Along the cross-cultural dimension, I have found that the English and Spanish email writers share the same set of strategies in that there is no strategy that only exists in one of the data sets. The frequency distribution of the strategies, however, reveals more differences than similarities between the two languages. Still, neither of the two languages can be ascribed a higher degree of directness.

And finally, with regard to the sociopragmatic dimension, the two main conclusions are that the choice of a particular directive strategy over another one depends on socio-contextual factors, and that politeness and clarity do not seem to be two opposing ends of the same continuum (i.e. more directness leads to less politeness and vice versa), but that they instead represent two independent dimensions.

3.1   Pragmalinguistic dimension

With regard to the first pragmalinguistic finding, Figure 2 shows the distribution of the number of downgraders, i.e. those modificiation strategies that mitigate the illocutionary force, per directive head act.
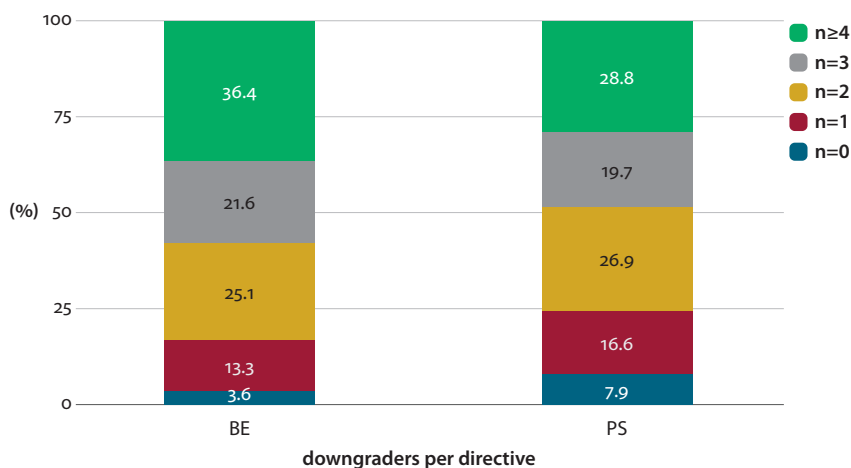
Figure 2. Number of downgraders per directive head act in BE and PS

The diagram shows that around 36% of the English and 29% of the Spanish email directives contain four or more downgraders, and that the number of directives that contain no downgrader at all is very low in both data sets (4% and 8% respectively). It can therefore be concluded that directives are predominantly perceived as face-threatening, as otherwise, the writers would not feel the need to employ such a high number of downgraders.

The most frequently used downgraders in both data sets are *thanking moves* as in Example (6), *pre-grounders* in BE as in Example (7), *post-grounders* in PS as in Example (8), *politeness markers* as in Example (9), *sweeteners* as in Example (10), *conditional* constructions in BE as in Example (11), and (optional) *subjunctive* constructions in the PS data set as in Example (12).

(6) *(thanking move)* Please confirm that the original email is correct. **Thank you**

(7) *(pre-grounder)* **I have a good friend who wants to invite her daughter for her birthday to the [hotel] on [date], 1 night**. Pls [sic] confirm availability and a good price pls [sic], spa included?

(8) *(post-grounder)* Os paso esta petición de la que he tomado nota y que quizás queráis contestar vosotros **ya que son clientes alemanes** ('I forward this request to you that I have taken note of and that perhaps you want to answer **as they are German clients**')

(9)   *(politeness marker)* **Please** let me know cost and availability [name]

(10)   *(sweetener)* **I hope you are well**, […] Please could you contact them

(11)   *(conditional)* **If you could be so kind** as to give them a bottle of cava to celebrate their birthday then I would greatly appreciate this gesture

(12)   *(subjunctive)* Agradecería **si lo pudiera pasar** a quien corresponda ('I would be grateful if you [V] could forward it to whom it may concern')

The email writers, however, do not only downgrade the potential face threat, but may also upgrade (or *aggravate*) the illocutionary force, as presented in Figure 3.
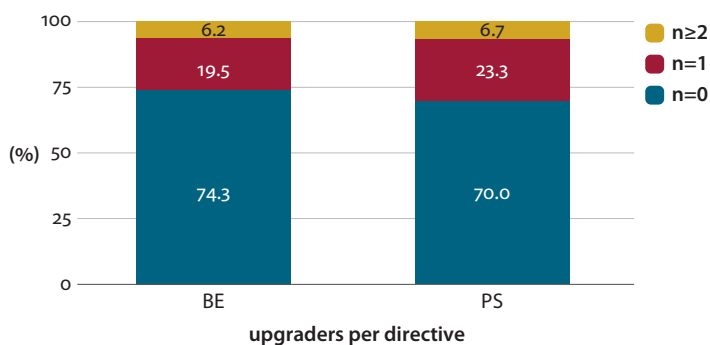
Figure 3. Number of upgraders per directive head act in BE and PS

The diagram shows that around 26% of the English and 30% of the Spanish directives contain at least one upgrader. Among the most frequently used upgraders, *time intensifiers* as in Example (13), *(sentence-external) emphasis on urgency* as in Example (14) and *intensifiers* as in Example (15) can be found in both data sets.

(13)   *(time intensifier)* Espero noticias vuestras **a la mayor brevedad posible** ('I expect to hear back from you **as soon as possible**')

(14)   *(emphasis on urgency)* I look forward to a positive response from you, **please advise by tomorrow Thursday [date] at the latest**

(15)   *(intensifier)* Necesitare **al menos** 4 habitaciones twin del cupo total ('I need **at least** 4 twin rooms of the total quota')

There is unfortunately no other study on workplace directives that quantifies the number of upgraders but, compared to previous studies that are set in a non-institutional context, the upgrader-per-head-act ratio (of 0.3:1 in BE and 0.4:1 in PS) found in the present study has been the highest so far. This highlights the fact that the business context often demands urgency and task efficiency (Vine 2004; Bargiela-Chiappini and Harris 1996).

With regard to the distinction of positive vs. negative face orientation, i.e. strategies that are oriented towards the positive face wants by signaling closeness and involvement vs. strategies that address the negative face wants by expressing deference and independence (Brown and Levinson 1987; Scollon and Scollon 2005), Figure 4 shows that the great majority of English and Spanish downgraders consists of positive politeness strategies.
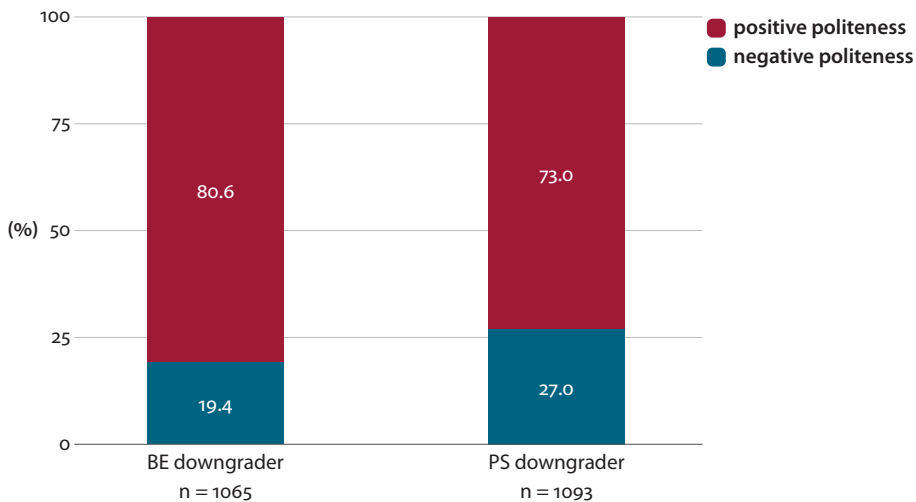
Figure 4. Distribution of positive and negative politeness strategies in BE and PS

The finding that the percentage of positive politeness strategies is even higher for the English data set (at around 81% compared to 73% in PS) challenges the view that the English-speaking culture attaches higher importance to negative face while Spanish speakers show greater concern for positive face needs (Hofmann 2003; Díaz Pérez 2005; Márquez Reiter 1997). Instead, it highlights the need for contextualizing such findings. Some researchers, including Cameron (2007) and Fairclough (1995), described a general trend towards positive politeness and informality in the UK and in the corporate world. However, to validate this development more studies are needed.

3.2 Cross-cultural dimension

With regard to the cross-cultural differences, both the English and Spanish writers make use of strategies that are commonly perceived as direct. The findings challenge the common view that Spanish speakers reveal a higher use of directness than English speakers. In fact, some of the statistically significant results may even

indicate a higher use of directness by the English writers due to, for example, the higher use of the second person perspective and the imperative strategy by the BE email writers, as shown in the following graphs.
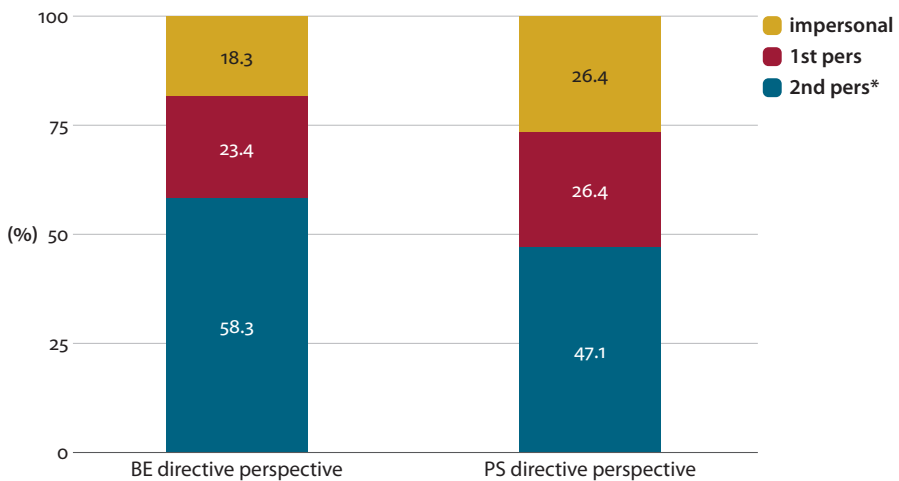
Figure 5. Directive perspective in BE and PS head acts (*$p < 0.05$)

Figure 5 shows that the English email writers are significantly more likely than the Spanish writers to choose the second person (or addressee) perspective, which is considered the most direct directive perspective (see Example (16)).

(16)   *(second person perspective)* Please could **you** confirm a room

Also, the English email writers are significantly more likely than the Spanish writers to employ the *mood derivable* strategy (i.e. imperative, see Example (17)), as can be seen in Figure 6.

(17)   *(mood derivable)* Please **let** me have prices

However, I want to refrain from concluding that the English participants reveal a higher directness than the Spanish, as the Spanish writers instead make use of other strategies that are commonly perceived as direct, such as the *performative* (as in Example (18)) and the *locution derivable* strategies (through the use of modal verbs of obligation, such as 'tener que' or 'deber de', see Example (19)).

(18)   *(performative)* **Ruego** me digas que habéis decidido. ('I ask you to tell me what you have decided')

(19)   *(locution derivable)* **Tienes que** crear la tecla. ('You have to create the keyboard')
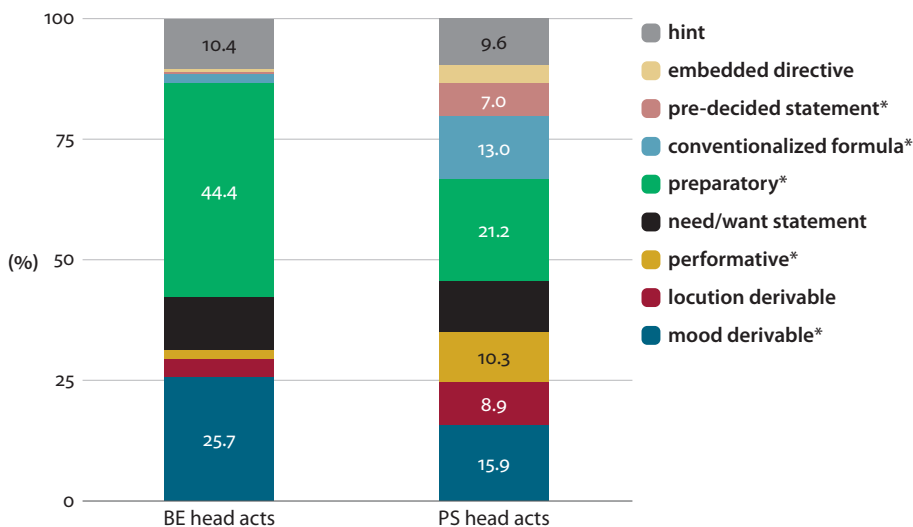
Figure 6. Distribution of head act strategy types in BE and PS (*$p < 0.05$)

Also, as shown in Figure 3 above, the Spanish writers reveal a slightly higher use of upgraders (as in Example (20)).

(20) *(intensifier)* Os agradeceré que cuando autoricéis a poner (exponer) cualquier información hacia el Personal en algún lugar y tenga que ver con las cosas afines a Nuestro Dpto. (Calidad) antes, y **SIEMPRE** antes, nos las enseñéis a [name] y a mi. ('I will be grateful if, when you communicate any kind of information to the personnel at some place and it concerns anything related to our department [Quality], you first, and **ALWAYS** first, show them to [name] and me.')

3.3 Sociopragmatic dimension

The analysis of the impact of the social variables on directive use has shown that language alone cannot account for the differences found but that addressee sex, social distance, imposition, power, and purpose of interaction significantly influence the choices made by the email writers. Writer sex is the only variable that has not yielded any statistically significant results.

In the following, I would like to briefly present some of the effects that I have found for social distance, and that have led me to the conclusion that politeness and directness are not conflicting (or mutually exclusive) values.

Figure 7 shows that email writers who have not met the addressee in person are more likely to choose the most direct sentence type (imperative) than those with
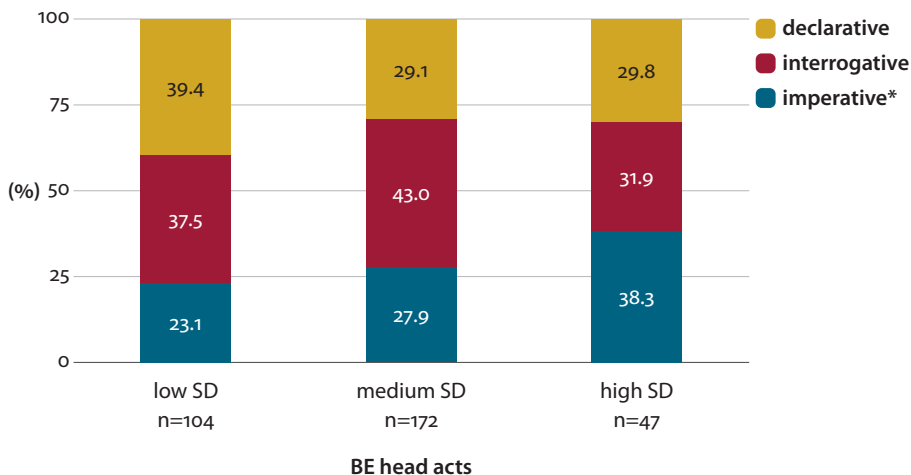
Figure 7. Effect of social distance on sentence type choice in BE (*$p < 0.05$)

a medium or low social distance. This result is statistically significant also when combining both data sets. This goes against previous findings that have revealed a positive correlation between the level of social distance and the level of indirectness (Brown and Levinson 1987; Waldvogel 2005; Márquez Reiter 2002). It therefore seems to be the case that the email writers of the present study opt for pragmatic clarity when they do not know the addressee, as they cannot expect them to be able to read between the lines.

The illocutionary force is, however, very likely to be downgraded, as shown in Figure 8.
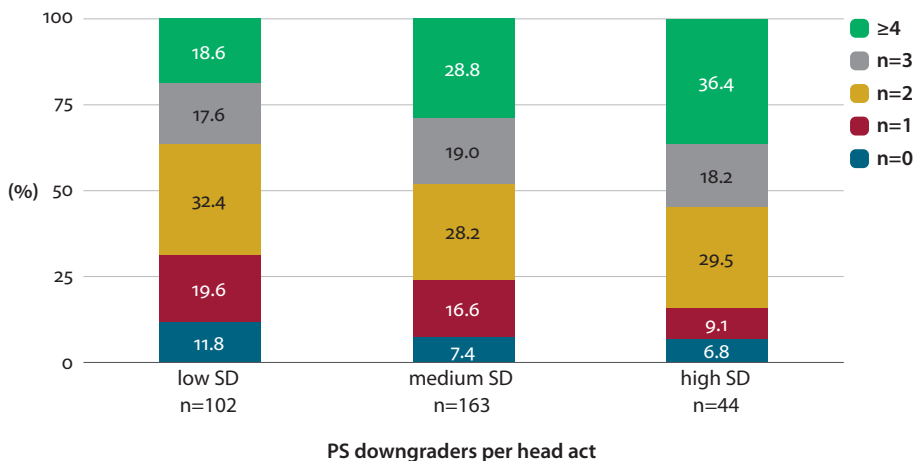
Figure 8. Effect of social distance on use of downgraders in PS

More specifically, a significant effect of social distance on the use of the downgraders *positive repercussion* (as in Example (21)), *appreciation* (as in Example (22)) and *specification* (as in Example (23)) can be found. The results indicate that these strategies are more likely to be employed in high social distance situations than in medium or low social distance situations, which is in line with Brown and Levinson (1987).

(21) *(positive repercussion)* Cuando puedas, por favor, intestes desviar el del Tenis [number] que ahora esta desviado al [hotel], al del Infodesk […] **Sería perfecto y definitivo este cambio** ('When you can, please try to redirect the [number] from Tennis which is now redirected to the [hotel], to the one of the Infodesk […] **This change would be perfect and definite**')

(22) *(appreciation)* if you have accommodation available in the hotel looking over the sea we would **really appreciate**

(23) *(specification)* Agradecería saber con quién me puedo reunir con el fin de mirar dichos números y poder llevar dicha información; **Me gustaría poder reunirme con alguien que lo pueda centralizar y lo derive al resto de establecimientos** ('I would like to know who I can meet in order to look into the said numbers and to discuss the information; **I would like to be able to meet someone who can centralize it and divert the rest to the installations**')

There is also an increase in the use of upgraders when the social distance between sender and addressee is high, as can be seen in Figure 9.
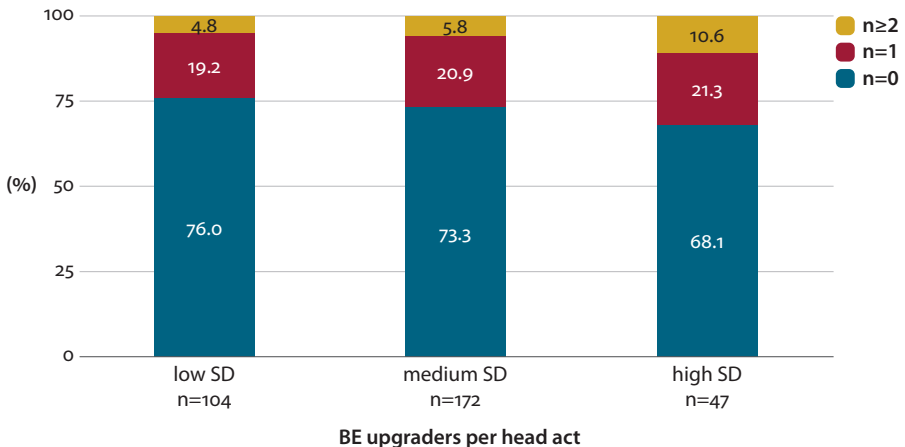
Figure 9. Effect of social distance on the use of upgraders in BE

More precisely, I have found a significant effect of social distance on the use of the upgrader *emphasis on urgency*. I therefore argue that in certain contexts, email writers appear to compose their directives as clear and polite at the same time as possible. This finding is further supported by a mismatch between the rating scales for directness and politeness in the perception study.

3.4 Perception dimension

While the analysis of the production data has provided illuminating results in its own right, I have attempted to complement the preceding findings by insights into the perception of the directive strategies. The fourth research dimension has thus been approached by means of an online survey, which has included politeness and directness ratings scales as well as questions on the participants' general email usage and behavior.

The main findings from the survey were that

– there is cross-cultural, situational and individual variation as to what is perceived as in/direct or im/polite;
– certain direct strategies (such as the mood derivable *Answer me this one* and the locution derivable *You need to extend the offer*; see Appendix) appear to be evaluated as impolite irrespective of the context (if they are used baldly);
– there is no linear relationship between indirectness and politeness, as
– certain direct strategies (performative and need/want statement) are likely to be evaluated as polite;
– certain indirect strategies (hints and pre-decided statements) are likely to be evaluated as impolite;
– the use of *please* in BE email directives represents expected, unmarked behavior rather than being a politeness marker.[2]

The analysis of the politeness and directness ratings shows that there is a high degree of cross-cultural and individual variation. Nevertheless, a number of patterns can be observed, some of which are in line with previous findings (cf. Blum-Kulka 1987). I have, for instance, found that the mood derivable and locution derivable are evaluated as impolite irrespective of the situation and context. The evaluation of the indirect hint and pre-decided statement categories as rather impolite, and the perception of the direct performative and need/want statement strategies as quite polite indicate that there is no linear relationship between indirectness and

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2. Please see Freytag (2019) for a more detailed presentation of the preception study.

politeness. The perception study has furthermore elicited metapragmatic comments (Examples (24) and (25)), which point out the inappropriateness of the absence of *please* in the BE strategies provided.

(24) *'please' on the end of all of these would make all the difference. If I got 'I need an answer please' I would be ok about it – but just 'I need an answer' would annoy me.*

(25) *I always use the word 'please'*

These two remarks highlight the impact that the use of *please* may have on the perception of a directive as polite or impolite. The fact that the participant states that s/he would 'always' use *please* indicates that the use of *please* is highly conventionalized in English business emails and provides support for Locher and Watts' (2005) claim that certain strategies may not be considered as either polite or impolite, but instead as politic, i.e. expected and unmarked behavior. The analysis of the perception data has furthermore shown that, in certain contexts (such as conflictive situations), email is likely to be perceived as a lean medium due to its lack of prosodic and non-verbal features. The participants' answers to the questions on their general usage of email, however, provide support for the observation made in the production data, i.e. that email represents a medium very frequently used for a wide range of purposes, including both work-related as well as relational talk.

4. Conclusion

In summary, the analysis of the production data has revealed that the BE and PS email writers employ a shared set of head act and modification strategies for the realization of directives. They do, however, use the strategies at different frequency levels. The results found in the present study challenge previous findings that have predicted a higher degree of indirectness and a greater orientation toward negative politeness for the English speakers compared to Spanish speakers. Instead, the present analysis has shown a relatively high level of directness in both the BE and the PS email directives, compensated for by a frequent use of downgrading strategies that mainly appeal to the positive face wants of the addressee. The email writers are, however, also likely to upgrade the level of directness in certain situations. The choice of a particular strategy depends on the discourse context, as the socio-contextual variables addressee sex, social distance, imposition, power, and purpose have all been found to significantly impact on the use of directive head act, modification and sequencing strategies. Finally, the analysis of the perception data has provided some evidence for the assumption that there is no linear

relationship between indirectness and politeness, and has also revealed that there is cross-cultural and situational variation as to what is perceived as im/polite and in/direct. Also, the workplace context appears to legitimate the use of direct strategies, which may be evaluated as impolite in other contexts. The finding that in the workplace context, politeness concerns may be overridden by effectiveness concerns is further supported by a metapragmatic comment (Example (26)).

> (26)   *I see that the rude ones are the direct ones quite often…….[sic] but most importantly, which get the right response…..?*

In order to find out whether the patterns found in the present study can be generalized for English and Spanish directives in business emails, more studies are needed that compare English and Spanish naturally-occurring directives, take into account the use of upgraders, compare the realization of workplace directives between different channels of communication, and that take a CoP approach to the study of politeness in the business context, which allows for an in-depth micro- and macro-level analysis of the contextual complexities of language use.

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Appendix

English online survey

Thank you for participating in my survey. Your answers will be kept confidential for research use only. The survey is part of my PhD thesis on email use and behavior in English and Spanish workplaces. If you are interested in the results of the survey, please let me know at vera.stephanie.freytag@uni-oldenburg.de and I am happy to send you an overview of my findings.

Q1. Please rate the following email requests in terms of politeness.

Email here refers to the sending and receiving of electronic messages related to your work. Please add any comments (underneath the questions) that come to your mind as you work through the questionnaire.

Context: A travel agent sends an email to the sales manager of a hotel to ask for an extension of an offer. Sender and addressee are equal business partners and know each other from previous meetings.

	most impolite						most polite		
Extend the offer.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
You need to extend the offer.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
I request an extension of the offer.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Can I ask you to extend the offer?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
I need you to extend the offer.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
I need an extension of the offer.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Can you extend the offer?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Awaiting an extension of the offer.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
The scheduled time for the offer is too short.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
We will discuss an extension of the offer.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
I'm sending you the offer to look over and think about an extension.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Comment:

Q2. Please rate the following email requests in terms of politeness.

Context: A colleague of your team has sent you an email a while ago and is still waiting for a reply. Therefore, your colleague sends you another email (with the previous email attached) as a reminder.

	most impolite						most polite		
Answer me this one.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
You need to answer me this one.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
I ask you to answer me this one.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Can I ask you to answer me this one.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
I want you to answer me this one.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
I need an answer.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Can you answer me this one?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Await to hear from you.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
You didn't answer me this one?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Comment:

Please answer the following questions.

Q3. How much time approximately did you spend on email communication (reading, respond-ing, writing) during your most recent day at work?

- ○ more than 2 hours
- ○ 1–2 hours
- ○ 30 minutes to 1 hour
- ○ 1–30 minutes
- ○ no time at all

Q4. What work purposes do you use email for?

	infrequently			frequently	
passing on information	1	2	3	4	5
requesting a piece of information	1	2	3	4	5
giving instructions	1	2	3	4	5
resolving conflicts	1	2	3	4	5
collaborating on documents	1	2	3	4	5
making a complaint	1	2	3	4	5
offering feedback	1	2	3	4	5
requesting somebody to do something	1	2	3	4	5
thanking	1	2	3	4	5
seeking an opinion	1	2	3	4	5
scheduling a meeting	1	2	3	4	5
replying to previous message	1	2	3	4	5

Comment:

Q5. What are the three most important purposes for which you use email?

Q6. Are there any work purposes for which you would not use email?

- ○ yes
- ○ no

Comment:

Q7. Did you do any of the following activities related to work during your most recent day at work?

attend a meeting	yes	no
talk to someone in person	yes	no
speak on the telephone	yes	no
read and write an email	yes	no
write a letter, fax, memo, written note	yes	no

Q8. Of the affirmative answers, which one did you do the most of?

○ attend a meeting
○ talk to someone in person
○ telephone
○ email
○ letter, fax, memo, written note

Q9. Please rate the following email requests in terms of directness.

Context: A travel agent sends an email to the sales manager of a hotel to ask for an extension of an offer. Sender and addressee are equal business partners and know each other from previous meetings.

	most indirect						most direct		
Extend the offer.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
You need to extend the offer.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
I request an extension of the offer.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Can I ask you to extend the offer?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
I need you to extend the offer.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
I need an extension of the offer.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Can you extend the offer?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Awaiting an extension of the offer.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
The scheduled time for the offer is too short.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
We will discuss an extension of the offer.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
I'm sending you the offer to look over and think about an extension.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Comment:

Q10. Please rate the following email requests in terms of directness.

Context: A colleague of your team has sent you an email a while ago and is still waiting for a reply. Therefore, your colleague sends you another email (with the previous email attached) as a reminder.

	most indirect						most direct		
Answer me this one.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
You need to answer me this one.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
I ask you to answer me this one.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Can I ask you to answer me this one.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
I want you to answer me this one.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
I need an answer.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Can you answer me this one?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Await to hear from you.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
You didn't answer me this one?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Comment:

"Music for your breakfast" relational work in a sole trader's intercultural business emails

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1. Introduction

This chapter responds to a gap in the literature examining relational features of the language of CMC (computer-mediated communication); namely, longitudinal relationship development in business-to-consumer emails. While many studies investigate some aspect of relational work in email, whether it be the usage of CMC cues and informal language (Cho 2010; De Felice and Garretson 2018; Skovholt et al., 2014; Whalen et al., 2009); identity construction (e.g., Gordon and Luke 2012); or 'structural' politeness such as openings and closings (Marsden and Kádár 2017; McKeown and Zhang 2015) very few investigate long-term relational development (although see, Incelli 2013; Zummo 2018b). Additionally, while those extant studies often focus on business emails, investigations into business-to-consumer mails have seen relatively fewer articles (but see: Gimenez 2000), than those concerning business-to-business (e.g., Incelli 2013; Zummo 2018b, 2018a) or business-internal (e.g., Cho 2010; Kankaanranta 2006; Skovholt et al., 2014) communication.

Business-to-consumer studies tend to focus on short-term marketing goals and consumer relationships from the perspective of improving mass-market or automated emails (e.g., Huang and Shyu 2009), rarely looking into the very important area of long-term relationship building – especially in the context of repeated dyadic or small group interactions. The unique context of the 'sole trader', to the best of the author's knowledge, has also been completely unexplored in terms of the way these individuals use email to build client relations. That is what this chapter aims to start exploring.

In terms of this exploration, what will be the focus is relational work (Goffman 1971; Locher and Watts 2005, 2008) investigated from two perspectives: (1) in terms of *what* is being written or transmitted, which I will describe in terms of self-disclosure (Bargh et al., 2002; Cheung et al., 2015; Coupland et al., 1988; Goffman 1971; Gordon and Luke 2012; Jiang et al., 2013); reciprocity (Coupland et al., 1988; Jiang et al., 2013; Price and Arnould 1999) and expressions of sameness/homophily (Hafner-Burton et al., 2009; McPherson et al., 2001). (2) In terms of *how* this information is being transmitted, i.e. altered by the use of CMC cues (features such as emoticons, repeated punctuation, lexical surrogates etc.) (Cho 2010; Liebman and Gergle 2016; Skovholt et al., 2014), or augmented by the inclusion of multimedia (Walther et al., 2001).

The data under study come from a corpus of 1072 emails between a sole-trader and her international academic clients who use her proofreading and transcription services. One method of self-disclosure and identity construction that is explored in this paper, is the sharing of personal, non-work-related photos, videos and music, which occurs in only 7 of the emails in the dataset. This particular relational work occurs in the dataset only when 50–100 emails have been sent between the dyad; I hypothesise that this may signal a relationship that has moved beyond purely business.

The full dataset has been studied in my PhD (Marsden 2019), in which I note that while some clients engage in frequent relational work that is "positively marked", others adopt a "politic" style (Locher and Watts 2005, 2008). In this way the participants maintained a functioning business relationship. For several clients, especially those with shorter-lived interactions (generally those who wrote fewer than 15 emails) this kind of interaction was the norm. Their discourse was entirely task-orientated for the majority of their emails. Of course, even clients who engaged in frequent relational talk often sent such emails, the difference being, taken as an entire relational history, their interactions contained the features on which this chapter's analysis will focus.

All this is to say, while for some clients, business and high levels of self-disclosure and affective writing can occur side-by-side, for others this is not the case – or does not become the case as the relationship is not sustained for sufficient time. Before moving on to the data description and analysis, I will quickly review the literature on self-disclosure and relational work, then CMC cues and multimedia, the core concepts used in the analysis.

2.   Self-disclosure and relational work

The evolution of a relationship with an email partner would not be possible without self-disclosure, and much work has been done to investigate the nature and level of self-disclosure in CMC (see e.g., Jiang et al., 2013; Manago et al., 2012; Walther 2007; Yum and Hara 2006). This is the crucial lynchpin of the process of relational work (Locher, 2006, 2013; Locher and Watts 2005, 2008) that is aimed at making a deeper, longer-lasting and more intimate connection with someone:

> Duration of interaction affects self-disclosure. In general, as relationships develop, partners communicate less superficial and more deeply personal topics, incrementally penetrate one another's public identities to reach their core identities, and become intimate   (Yum and Hara 2006, p. 135)

Without knowing what is going on in someone's life, their likes and dislikes, aims and ambitions, it is impossible to express sympathy, empathy, or commonalities, in a precise and meaningful way that is tailored to the recipient and their exact circumstances. As Goffman (1971, p. 191) asks of familiar relationships, "To what degree are the private interests and concerns of one… treated by the other as his concerns also, thereby creating a source of appeal and support for the first should the need arise?". This concern for the other, combined with familiarity and confidentiality gives one "the license to penetrate another's informational preserve" (Goffman 1971, p. 192), leading to greater self-disclosure.

Reciprocal self-disclosure is not only used in the realm of friend and family discourse, it is also used in business to build rapport, both in face-to-face interactions (Coupland et al., 1988; Gremler and Gwinner 2008; Price and Arnould 1999; Spencer-Oatey and Xing 2003), and in CMC (Cheung et al., 2015; Huang and Shyu 2009; Jiang et al., 2013; Yum and Hara 2006). Price and Arnould note that "reciprocal self-disclosure…can contribute positively to commercial exchange satisfaction" (1999, p. 38). While Huang and Shyu state "a company can build loyal customers only through building good relationships, which in turn enhance perceived service quality, leading to high loyalty" (2009, p. 598) – and this loyalty is important for customer retention and referrals (see e.g., Law 2008).

Of course, it is not enough for one party to make a self-disclosure to build an affective relationship, there must be reciprocity, and relationships are strengthened even more when the interactants are able to demonstrate elements of sameness (also known as homophily) (Burt 2001; McPherson et al., 2001), or even to transmit information in similar ways, e.g., by both using similar CMC cues, which could be unconscious mimetic behaviour (Donald 2013; Marsden and Kádár 2017) or communication accommodation (Dragojevic et al., 2016; Giles 2016). Dragojevic et al. (2016, p. 44) note how "When interactants share a positive interpersonal history,

they are more likely to adopt an interpersonal orientation and converge toward one another", and this expression of similarity then breeds connection (McPherson et al., 2001, p. 415).

This is not to say that the foregone conclusion of self-disclosure is positive relational work. Where there is a negative relational history, a miscommunication, or either the disclosure itself, or the response to it are deemed inappropriate or insincere the relationship may be damaged (Coupland et al., 1988, p. 241; Jiang et al., 2013, p. 128). However, the email corpus used for this study shows overwhelmingly positive interactional outcomes even after potential trouble sources (see Marsden 2019, pp. 62–64 for a possible explanation of this).

When considering relational work specifically in business emails, few studies have used longitudinal real-world data (with the exceptions of Incelli 2013; Zummo 2018b). By presenting written data showing such relational development, evidence can move from being anecdotal – or evidenced only by an interaction over a short period – to being concrete, and patterns can begin to be teased out. It is only possible to get a real idea of, for example, how long two people must be in contact before they start making self-disclosures, by using real-world written (or other recorded) evidence.

3.   CMC cues and media sharing

CMC cues comprise a range of features that writers can add to text to compensate for features lacking in text, such as tone, loudness, facial expression, pronunciation, affect etc., (Crystal 2006, p. 37; Herring et al., 2013, p. 7). Although different authors list different items under the categorisation of CMC cues, broadly, they usually include: letter repetition 'coooool'; repeated punctuation '!!!' (Cho 2010; Crystal 2006; Herring et al., 2013); all capitals 'HELLO'; emoticons ':D' (Crystal 2006; Liebman and Gergle 2016); lexical surrogates 'hahah' (Vandergriff 2013; Whalen et al., 2009). Regarding why writers choose to use them, Crystal notes that emoticons or 'smileys' are used for disambiguation and rapport (2006, p. 41). Liebman and Gergle (2016), and Vandergriff (2013) also indicate that CMC cues are used to develop relationships (positively or negatively) (Liebman and Gergle 2016, p. 570; Vandergriff 2013, p. 2), while Whalen et al. (2009, p. 267) state that "discourse markers" segment, emphasise, clarify or add an affective component to writing.

It is clear from the above, that CMC cues are an important part of relational work online, as Stanley (2015, p. 244) notes "the digital form produces many simulacra of presence aspects; these include the use of emoticons, personalised sign-offs, accompanying photographs or other adornments." Of course, photographs (especially when not of the writer themselves) are not always about presence, and the

same can be said for the sharing of music, video, humorous gifs etc. One role of these artefacts is to show "precise cultural tastes", hobbies and likes (Zhao et al., 2008, p. 1825). This is a specific method of self-disclosure also present in my dataset. While plenty of articles focus on the effects of multimedia sharing in social media and in chatrooms in terms of relational closeness (Vaterlaus et al., 2016; Walther et al., 2001; Zhao et al., 2008) i.e. mediums primarily used for relational, rather than business communication, to the best of the author's knowledge, no such study has mentioned multimedia sharing in the context of business email, where it is perhaps less expected. These sharings are linked to identity construction, as Zhao et al. (2008: 1825) note, "Facebook users engage in enumerative cultural self-description when they simply list a set of cultural preferences that they think define them."

4. Email data

The data used by this chapter are a corpus of 1072 anonymised business-to-consumer emails, sent between the chapter author (henceforth, 'Liz', when mentioned in the context of the data) and her clients, while Liz was operating a proofreading and transcription service, for students and academics, between 2011 and 2014. Though Liz had many British clients, the emails used here are exclusively from her international client base, all of whom are studying or working at a UK university.[1]

In this chapter, 6 examples are analysed,[2] specifically focussing on the relational work. The scope of this chapter does not allow for the analysis of all the kinds of personal disclosure and relational work present in the dataset, therefore, I have included all instances from the dataset which contain relational media sharing (Examples (1),(2) and (3)). Additionally, three examples (Examples (1),(2) and (4)) represent significantly long exchanges of 20+ emails where one can see topics emerge and get built into the dyad's relational history by being referred back to over time. The time periods covered, and email conversation lengths for the three 'long exchange' examples are respectively 72 emails over 4 months; 21 emails over 1 month; 79 emails over 18 months, allowing the reader a small insight into how business relationships can develop over differing periods of time. Another feature

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1. The email conversations all start with a first-contact email where Liz and the client are introduced (either by the client themselves, or an intermediary). This is important to note, as all relationships start from the same baseline of both parties not having communicated before.

2. Emails presented have been anonymised and identifying information has been removed in accordance with ethics procedures. Information appearing in square brackets has been altered to protect the participants.

represented within Examples (1), (2), (5) and (6) is the writer expressing their approval and liking of someone closely connected to their recipient. This is a way of expressing approval of the recipient and similarity to them (i.e. indicating approval and liking of the same things). Additionally, all six examples contain CMC cues.

5.   Analysis

When considering business email, relational work is interesting. Disclosures about troubles, wants, holidays, culture, etc. all contribute to the historical relationship between sender and recipient, and this relational historicity can allow for the development of personal convention, and even ritual, if patterns are repeated (Kádár and Bax 2013; Marsden and Kádár 2017). The relationship between business talk and relational talk is complex and the boundary is often fuzzy. For example, if a disclosure is related in some way to the business at hand, e.g., talking about a holiday because it has a direct result on deadline scheduling (see, Zummo 2018b), it can be difficult to classify parts of writing as purely relational or purely business.

The dataset used is analysed extensively in Marsden (2019) in which it is clear that different writers have different relational styles; some are politic and business-oriented, making few self-disclosures and using few CMC cues (Marsden 2019, p. 232) while others engage in frequent positively marked relational work (Locher, 2006), to maintain a functional business relationship. It may be the case that for some clients, it makes no sense to see relational talk as separate from business talk; rather, relational work should be seen as a supplementary and supportive action. This is important in business as increased self-disclosure can lead to increased liking (Bargh et al., 2002) and increased liking has been shown to lead to increased trust and credibility (Law 2008); social inclusion (Kádár and Haugh 2013, p. 94); and loyalty and generosity (Leider et al., 2007; Shao et al., 2014). These are all useful for businesses wanting to obtain referrals from existing customers, and to retain client loyalty. Additionally, in the case of small businesses and sole traders, where as few as one individual from the business has contact with a customer, this can lead to a genuine friendship that outlives the need to do business.[3]

Relational development between sole trader and client (when this does occur) can be seen by qualitatively analysing the language used in their email communications. Examining the language of sole traders is relevant to an increasing number of people: "those who work on their own, with a partner but no employees… now [account] for 4.0 million workers in 2016 compared with 2.4 million in 2001." (Yuen et al., 2018 [UK statistics]). Under such circumstances (i.e. a business having no

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3.   Anecdotally, my mum and I, as sole traders in different industries, have both experienced this.

employees), it is clear why such a disclosure as: *"This is honestly the busiest summer for proofreading I've ever had – my work usually goes dead around this time!"* by the sole trader might be pertinent. This 'busyness' could mean the sole trader completes work more slowly, or is unable to take on new commissions without a long waiting time. Additionally, in the dataset used, the clients themselves have deadlines (as academics and students, these could be publishing deadlines, submission deadlines, etc.), and have others such as supervisors, tutors and publishing companies who are involved in their work and may impact the aforementioned deadlines. Under these circumstances, it is equally clear why such a disclosure as: *"I'm just waiting for my supervisor's feedback and then I'll get back in touch with you"* from a client could influence the business and make deadlines for both parties uncertain. Such complex relationships may also exist where a business is acting as an intermediary between a customer and a contractor or supplier (see Zummo 2018b). In both scenarios, the two parties are not able to talk directly to each other (e.g. Liz and the client's supervisor, or a customer and a supplier), although in the first example, it is the client who acts as the intermediary, and in the latter, it is the business.

However, there are also cases where participants engage in sharing personal information for purely relational purposes which seem to have little to do with the business at hand, other than generally improving the relationship. This forming of a closer bond may lead to favourable treatment in the future. Nevertheless, the initial bond is generally formed through work-relevant disclosures, such as those mentioned above, and it is only later that participants begin socialising for socialisation's sake, as can be seen especially in Example (1) and Example (4).

5.1   Media and cultural sharing

The intercultural data presented a unique opportunity to investigate a form of media sharing which I describe as 'cultural sharing', which will be the first subject tackled here. Zhao et al. (2008) describe a similar practice on Facebook:

> in the Facebook account there is a self-description section where users can tell viewers about their personal interests and hobbies, including their favorite activities, quotes, movies, music, books, and TV-shows. Most Facebook users provided highly elaborated lists of such preferences signaling precise cultural tastes
>
> (Zhao et al., 2008, p. 1825)

The major differences in my data are: (1) The media shared can be curated for the individual recipient, (2) the clients and Liz are from different cultures, so the significance and meaning of books, TV shows, music etc. may need to be explained. Unlike the Facebook users above, who are "defining what cultural niche they are part of" (Zhao et al., 2008, p. 1826) and can afford to 'show' without 'telling' due

to shared knowledge of these artefacts, the clients must disambiguate cultural artefacts by presenting them to the email partner *and* explaining their significance. These cultural sharings do not stand in isolation but are surrounded by other relational work.

There are only a small number of examples in the dataset, and those that exist are always between Liz and a client with whom she has exchanged over 90 emails. By this stage, the working relationship and relational historicity are well-established. The interactants may also have an idea of their email partner's interests. For example, Supaksorn (a Southeast Asian client) and Liz, engage in non-reciprocal cultural sharing, with Supaksorn sending Liz artefacts from her Southeast Asian background, after Liz has expressed an interest in "Eastern culture". The timeline of events is shown below, with the number of the email in sequence listed, followed by the date and an explanation of the email content, or a quote from the email (italicised).[4] Not all the email text could be presented due to space constraints.[5] (N.B. the first email sent between Liz and Supaksorn was on 07/09/12):

(1) (36) 14/01/13 – Liz: *"I have to say I am REALLY enjoying reading your thesis, as a linguist and one who has long been fascinated by Eastern culture, it is steadily increasing my yearning to travel and experience these wonderful cultures for myself."*

(37) 14/01/13 – Supaksorn: *"I am glad that you like my thesis […]*
Hope to welcome you in [Southeast Asia] after my graduation.
I hold a teaching position in a university in the middle part of [the south of my home country].
Maybe, you are interested in teaching English there by 1 year contract in the future.
First and foremost, please help me get the PhD :))"

(56) 25/02/13 – Liz returns completed work, describing the changes she has made. In the email postscript Liz asks: *"I was talking to my grandfather (who writes and marks TEFL papers) about your thesis, as he is very interested in language and he said he'd really love to read it I of course would not send it to him without your permission and I was wondering how you would feel about him reading it."*

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4.   Email text is original with no modifications made to spelling, grammar, spacing, punctuation or line breaks. The only edits are elisions, indicated by […]. The names of clients have been anonymised and identifying details omitted – content is described in square brackets where possible.

5.   I would however be happy to send the full anonymised data to those who wish to request it. Please email lizmarsden@hotmail.co.uk

(57)   25/02/13 – Supaksorn agrees to Liz's grandfather reading her thesis, then makes a disclosure about her thesis (Mike, mentioned, is her supervisor): *"Actually, my thesis is not very academic. For me, it is my point of view about the data I have.*
It is like you have some ingredients in the kitchen, you have to cook something to serve yr customers(Mike + Examiners).
I don't claim it is always true for every case.
[…]
I believe about work and happiness (F rule: fun, friends, finance, fame, and future).
After I graduate, I plan to work in fictions/travel articles (hopefully, bestsellers in Southeast Asia),
but I will also teach at the univ for my job security.
Anyway, tell yr grandpapa, feel free to correct and comment my thesis. His ideas are welcomed.
Also, I wish to host you for a dinner or lunch when we meet for the payment."

(58)   26/02/13 – Liz tells Supaksorn more about her Grandpa and his influence on her language love: *"my Grandpa was a teacher, he used to teach music […] but always had a deep interest in language […] He certainly fueled my passion for language at a young age"* she also expresses a desire to travel more, as Supaksorn has, and accepts Supaksorn's lunch invitation.

(64)   17/03/13 – Supaksorn sends links to two YouTube videos, with the following explanation: *"The story about a Japanese soldier and a Thai girl during the Second World War, from a historical novel, คู่กรรม, to TV series. In that time, Japan came and used Thailand as the military base, but the Thai girl and her father worked for Alliance; they saved a British key hostage. The marriage was arranged to avoid suspicion by the Japanese army in Thailand. Anyway, it is true love across cultures between the soldier and the girl(finally loved with the enemy) in the wartime.; the Japanese guy died at the end.*
Then you can imagine about behaviours and cultures in our zone.
Just for fun and experiencing the differences, my friends in the research room really like this story."

(65)   19/03/13 – Liz thanks Supaksorn, saying she will watch the film soon.

(103)   28/04/13 – After Supaksorn's hand-in, Liz and Supaksorn arrange to go to dinner.

(106)   02/05/13 – Liz emails: *"I really enjoyed dinner with you this evening, it was lovely to get to know you properly – I have informed [partner's name] that we have to honeymoon in [Southeast Asia]!"*

(107)   03/05/13 – Supaksorn sends 5 mp3 music files with the following explanation: *"The attachment is [Southeast Asian] music for your breakfast. I translated the song titles. "The Coming Dawn" is the simple melody composed by the present [leader of my country] when he was a young guy."* The other four songs were titled 'Song from the Moon', 'Dancing Flowers', 'Bats are eating bananas' and 'Song from the tree'. The songs were sent with a list of other work and social items including an open invitation to visit Supaksorn's home country and her offer to *"prepare a special, meaningful, cultural + food touring schedule and transport facilities"*

By presenting the data in this way, omitting emails primarily considering business, and focussing on personal and cultural disclosure, one can see how the relationship progresses relationally over time. Past references by Liz to her likes are taken up by Supaksorn who uses this as an opportunity to inform Liz about her culture through film and music. Although Liz does not engage in reciprocal sharing (unlike Example (2), below), expressing approval of Supaksorn's culture and country does effective relational work.

To present another cultural exchange before analysing both examples in detail, below is a conversation between Liz and Alice, another Southeast Asian client (not from the same country as Supaksorn). Again, dates and email numbers in sequence are presented (N.B. the first email sent between Liz and Alice was on 20/10/14):

(2)   (36–46)   25/11/14–09/12/14 – these emails contain multiple jokes from Alice about the difficulty of her chapters (e.g. *"This chapter is very "dry", so your patience is required (although I lost mine several times)"*, *"Many thanks for your effort in trying to comprehend Chapter 4!"*, *"I hope this chapter won't be "disastrous" for your reading"*), reassurances from Liz, and also praise from Liz about Alice's writing ability (e.g. *"I'm sure this chapter won't bore me to tears!"*, *"Your writing as always though, was superb."*, *"Thanks for sending me the next chapter, as it begins with the word 'abracadabra' and a reference to Harry Potter I think I'm going to enjoy this one!"*).

Additionally, Alice is invited by Liz in email 37 to *"Please feel free to call me 'Liz' if you wish :)"* (up until this point, Alice's emails were always addressed to *"Dear Ms Marsden"*). Alice takes up this offer in the following email and all those sent thereafter.

(47)   16/12/14 – Liz queries the project timeline and notes she will take several days off over Christmas

(48) 16/12/14 – Alice notes she is working hard to trim 8000 words from a chapter, finishing with *"Please enjoy yourself first while I write. Another year without Christmas /New Year celebrations for me."*

(49) 16/12/14 – Liz: *"I'm sorry, you're not the only PhD student I know who is working very hard over Christmas :(I wish you could have some time off to celebrate too.*
I understand about cutting down, trimming nearly 30% of your chapter sounds almost impossible, but I'm sure you will manage in the end."

(50) 17/12/14 – Alice: *"Thank you, Liz! ^_^"*

(52) 30/12/14 – Along with talk about work, Alice sends a photo of her door decoration *"P.S. The photo shows my door decoration. It's Japanese."* [note the email date]

(53) 31/12/14 – Liz responds: *"Your door decoration is beautiful, do the different parts have symbolic meanings? I have attached in return a picture of the lovely candle house decorations made by my mum, she did a really lovely job decorating this year."*

(54) 31/12/14 – Alice responds: *"Thank you very much!!! Your Mum's an artist!!! The picture you sent is a real Christmas card !!!*
I wish you and family a very wonderful new year!!!"

(55) 31/12/14 – In an email with no business content at all, Liz writes: *"I'm sure it must be time to say "Happy 2015" to you, though I still have 7 hours to go here in the UK!*
You don't know how right you are about my Mum, [details about job and education] she certainly has a lot of artistic flair :) (I took the photo though, so I feel I can claim some credit ☺ !!)
Have a wonderful 2015 and I hope you've had a really great night"

(56) 01/01/15 – Alice again praises Liz's picture, then sends the following: *"I guessed it because the decor looked like a professional display. :)*
I forgot to answer one of your questions on the symbolism of the stork on my home decor. You can find the answer in the following link: http://www.whats-your-sign.com/symbolic-meaning-of-the-stork.html The stork's flying direction is "upward" so that means "progress". The flowers (cherry blossoms) symbolize beauty, freshness and happiness, etc."

Example (1) and Example (2) contain many features that constitute relational work. The sending of pictures, videos, and music all help the recipient to build a more detailed picture of who they are interacting with, and all may be indicative of greater trust on the part of the sender. To give someone an intimate look into your culture and personal taste is to allow them into one of your "circles of self", as Goffman explains, "An important component of familiarity is confidentiality, namely, exercise

of the license to penetrate another's informational preserve, especially in regard to secret information about self" (1971, p. 192). These sharings of media constitute the above, as does Liz's telling Supaksorn about her grandfather being a source of inspiration to her, and Alice telling Liz her worries about the readability of her thesis and her lack of a Christmas break. A person's interests and "secret information about self" form an important part of relational work, as they give the recipient something they can refer back to in future conversations in order to show care and attention toward their conversational partner. Additionally, they start to construct a nuanced picture of the interactants – without such an image it is impossible to discover possible sources of comparison, thus enabling a closer bond to form around a shared characteristic. However, an important point to consider regarding homophily/sameness is that:

> While homophily is an important mechanism in creating ties, the mere existence of common characteristics does not always spur ties. For people, as for most types of actors, sharing one particular trait or characteristic, such as height, race, or gender, does not automatically prompt a network tie or positive interaction. Instead, arguments about homophily and ties must be carefully grounded in theories of interaction.   (Hafner-Burton et al., 2009, p. 581)

For example, the fact that Alice and Supaksorn are female is not enough to create a bond between them and Liz. What creates the bond is that over time they discover more points of similarity, for example, they are all academics, they share an interest in Southeast Asian cultures, Liz and Supaksorn share an interest in travel, whereas, Liz and Alice share an interest in design and decoration. These are elements of self-disclosure which form the groundwork of getting to know one another, without which a connection can never become a true friendship (Yum and Hara 2006, p. 134).[6]

The cultural sharing of film, music and decoration gives Liz an insight into the cultures of her clients. Supaksorn with her film clip presents a brief history lesson on Japanese/Thai/British historical relations, and with her music titles implies a possible love of the natural world among people from her country. It is important to note that all these 'insights' are open to interpretation, and represent Supaksorn's personal view of what is important in her culture, and what she has chosen to disclose and foreground. Equally, my interpretation of what was intended to be salient in her writing (as there are no post-event participant interviews) unavoidably

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6. It should be noted that at the time of starting to write this chapter (June 2018) I had recently been chatting with Supaksorn on Facebook about her holiday. Yet, I had not done any paid work for her since April 2015. We have formed a lasting connection with infrequent but friendly communication.

influences this analysis. Nevertheless, what is important here is not whether these traits reflect the Southeast Asian public as a whole, but what insights Liz could gain into Supaksorn as an individual that could be used in later relational work.

The same is true of her exchange with Alice. There is no indication of whether it is typical for someone from Alice's Southeast Asian country to have a Japanese decoration, or whether this is Alice's personal taste, the same can be said of Liz's 'candle decorations'; no indication is given of whether this is a typical 'British Christmas decoration' or something personal. Again, what is important, is insight into the interlocutor's "circles of the self" (Goffman 1971, p. 192). Like Supaksorn's video, which she explains shows *"behaviours and cultures in our zone"*, Alice explains the symbolism of her decor *"The stork's flying direction is "upward" so that means "progress". The flowers (cherry blossoms) symbolize beauty, freshness and happiness, etc."*. In this way, both Alice and Supaksorn seek to educate Liz about things with which she may be unfamiliar. Liz on the other hand does not attempt to educate her recipients on her culture. This is likely because as both are studying at an English university (although Alice is doing so remotely) it is reasonable to assume that they have both been encultured into British cultural norms, and explaining certain aspects of these could therefore possibly be understood as inappropriate or patronising. Additionally, Liz here is respecting her clients' expertise by asking them for cultural insight, as both of their PhDs are on aspects of Southeast Asian culture and communication. Liz therefore, keeps her disclosures more personal, e.g. talking about family.

Like Liz's picture sharing, there is another such instance of media sharing in the dataset that is personal rather than cultural, between Victoria, an East Asian client, and Liz (N.B. the first email sent between Liz and Victoria was on 03/01/14):

(3) (51) 28/05/14 – Victoria tells Liz she is on vacation abroad and will answer a question Liz asked in her previous email upon her return.

(52) 28/05/14 – Liz thanks Victoria and adds *"have a fantastic holiday :)"*.

(53) 30/05/14 – Victoria answers Liz's question.

(54) 30/05/14 – Liz thanks her and then writes *"I hope you enjoyed your travels – where were you visiting? (you don't have to tell me, I'm just curious!)"*.

(55) 30/05/14 – Victoria replies *"I am so sorry to forgot telling your my travels. I just came back from Italy. I visited Milan, Venice, Florence and Rome. The whole travels took me 9 days. By the way, i shared some pics with you. Italy is really beautiful."* She attaches 12 holiday photos to this email, with 6 in a following email (56) with no text.

Liz in email (54) is clearly doing relational work – Liz asks about the holiday in order to show interest in Victoria and her life, but adds the parenthetical comment to ensure that Victoria gives Liz "the license to penetrate" her "informational preserve" (Goffman 1971, p. 192). If such closeness is not desired, Liz gives Victoria the option to withhold that personal information. However, Victoria decides to send Liz photos. Although the photos contained no images of Victoria herself, or any travelling companions, these photos still gave much insight into her travels and the sights she had seen. This sharing of photos was an intimate gesture that invited Liz to share in a small aspect of Victoria's holiday experience. Had Liz also been on holiday recently, this may have prompted reciprocal sharing (as in Example (2)) and allowed for the claiming of common ground.

In fact, Liz forgot to thank Victoria for the photos and only did so months later when she realised her error. This may well have seriously damaged the relationship in terms of establishing greater intimacy, though this cannot be known for sure, as there is no post-event interview data, and Victoria's next email was three months later asking Liz for more proofreading work. This later email was friendly, making the following wellness inquiry *"How is going? Wish you enjoy your day and life."* and making no mention of the photos. It could be that Victoria had forgotten Liz's lack of response, was choosing to ignore it for the sake of the business relationship, or was genuinely not offended. It is impossible to know for sure.

5.2   Reciprocal self-disclosure

Another example from the dataset that does not involve the transference of media, like those above, but does involve reciprocal self-disclosure, is between Liz and Central European client Zétény. This data will be presented first, then reciprocity in all four examples will be analysed. (N.B. the first email sent between Liz and Zétény was on 29/03/12).

(4)   (15)   04/07/12 – Zétény had previously asked for help with anglicising some translations, when Liz disclosed: *"I realise translation is really tricky; I used to come out with some very weird ungrammatical stuff when I studied German A level!"*

(16)   05/07/12 – Zétény responds with agreement: *"I agree, translation is a difficult thing to do."* and praise of her proofreading work *"I should also note that I have now revised the paper and found your comments VERY useful"*. Noting *"I hope I will have a chance to working with you on different projects like this one."*

(17)   05/07/12 – Liz responds: *"I'm glad you found my comments helpful and I would, of course, be very happy to work with you again."*

(33) 09/11/12 – Zétény apologises for a delay in sending work.

(34) 09/11/12 – Liz responds: *"Actually, it has been very helpful for me that you have not sent me anything in the last few weeks as I have had a sudden influx of work which has been taking up all my spare time, including a massive PhD thesis with approximately the same hand-in date as yours. I will do my absolute best to get all your chapters back to you on time, I'm actually thinking of taking some time off from my cafe job in order to get all this proofreading done!"*

(35) 09/11/12 – Zétény responds: *"Many thanks!!!"*

(49) 03/12/12 – Zétény voices concerns around the timeline for finishing the project.

(50) 03/12/12 – Liz replies: *"I must admit I'm also concerned, but I think it will get done. I will be working solely on your chapters for this entire week"*

(51) 03/12/12 – Zétény responds: *"Frankly, I would be very grateful if you could send me Chapter 3, 4 by next Monday, and Chapter 1 and 7 by Wednesday or Thursday. This project is of great importance to me, so I would need your help in this matter."*

(52) 03/12/12 – Liz replies: *"I appreciate how passionately you feel for your work, I really do, but I have to give you equal priority to my other client who understandably feels just as strongly about his PhD […] I haven't yet received Chapter 7 from you or Chapter 1 so if you could get these to me as soon as possible it would be appreciated"*

(71) 14/12/12 – Zétény notes: *"I have now submitted my manuscript. Please let me say thanks for all your work, it was a pleasure to work with you."*

(87) 03/12/13 – after a five month gap in contact following project completion, Liz thanks Zétény for referring her to a publishing company as a proofreader, which he had done without her knowledge: *"I'd just like to say a really heartfelt thank you for giving such complimentary feedback about me to the staff at [publishing company]"*.

(90) 21/01/14 – alongside accepting another piece of work from Zétény, Liz states: *"I hope you're well and that you had a good Christmas and New Year"*

(91) 21/01/14 – alongside business talk, Zétény responds: *"thanks for asking, I had a great Christmas, spent with the wider family in [Central Europe]. I hope you also had great Christmas"*

(92) 22/01/14 – Liz responds: *"Thanks for the reciprocal wishes – I also had a great Christmas in the south of the UK, splitting the time between my family and my partner's (there was a lot of driving, but the good company more than made up for it).*

> *Looking forward to reading your manuscript – I can't tell you what a joy it is to read something linguistics-based – the majority of theses I am proofreading at the moment seem to be economics or business-focused and they are very dry."*

(93) 22/01/14 – Zétény responds: *"Going to the South must have been fun – I am heading to Brighton in a few weeks time, and I really look forward to it!*
Please find the draft paper attached. Similarly to previous occasions when we collaborated, I did my level best to polish the style, which will hopefully decrease your work a bit […]
Well, I am glad that I can send you something "refreshing" then after the economics and business-stuff!! (:"

Like Example (3), Example (4) also contains a sequence with the potential to damage the relationship. Emails (49)–(52) show a potential source of relational trouble; having been previously pleased with Liz's work, Zétény worries she will not finish in time, and strongly indicates his attachment to the project *"This project is of great importance to me"*, while Liz attempts to reassure him whilst at the same time emphasising her need to be fair to both clients. This could have been a relational tipping point had Liz failed to deliver, as Zétény could have felt betrayed. However, on this occasion Liz manages to complete the work, leading to Zétény's submission and following praise in email (71). These trouble sources can be a source of positive relational work; in an ideal scenario the dyad works together to overcome the difficulty, thus collaborating, spending time together and showing their commitment to a positive outcome thus investing in their shared relationship (Locher and Watts 2005, p. 11).

Like Examples (1), (2), and (3), Example (4) contains a significant amount of personal disclosure. In email (90), what could be interpreted as a rote polite inquiry after a national holiday, is taken by Zétény as an excuse for self-disclosure. This move into discussing family, which is taken up by both participants, is indicative of the commitment and trust they have been building over their extended collaboration, which has by this point been ongoing for a year and 9 months. Example (1) similarly contains a personal disclosure from Supaksorn, when in email (57) she discloses her personal life philosophy *"I believe about work and happiness (F rule: fun, friends, finance, fame, and future)"*, after Liz has revealed her life-long *"passion for language"*. This leads to several later discussions about Liz's and Supaksorn's future wants and aspirations, thus showing how an earlier disclosure can be a building-block for a later discussion.

Similarly to the discussion of Examples (1) and (2) (and (5) and (6) below), Zétény's mention of wishing to visit the southern UK shows approval of something connected to the conversational partner, and it shows how one aspect of similarity,

such as a mutual interest, can result in a chain of related disclosures, or further reference in later emails. Liz's approval and interest in Zétény's work, and Zétény's attempt to reduce Liz's workload by "*polish[ing] the style*" are also indicative of mutual concern and liking, similarly to Alice voicing concerns about the quality of her writing, and how much work Liz will have to do to correct it in Example (2): (36–46).

   Showing approval of those connected to the email partner is also an important way of showing approval of them, their likes, and those they are proud of (as well as paying direct compliments as seen in Example (1): (36) and (106); Example (2): (36–46) and (53); and Example (4): (92)). In both Examples (1) and (2), Supaksorn and Alice show approval of those to whom Liz is connected, e.g. "*tell yr grandpapa, feel free to correct and comment my thesis. His ideas are welcomed.*" Example (2): (57), "*Your Mum's an artist!!! The picture you sent is a real Christmas card !!!*" Example (2): (54). Liz also uses this technique in her interactions with Zétény and a West Asian client, Avin (N.B. the first email sent between Liz and Avin was on 24/07/13):

(5) (37) 24/11/14 – Liz is editing an interview she transcribed between Avin and the author she is analysing for her thesis and comments: "*I'm honestly really enjoying reading the [novelist surname] interview again, he's a really interesting man. I must get around to reading some of his books (what would you recommend starting with?)*"

   (38) 24/11/14 – Avin replies: "*Ohh I am happy to hear that you enjoyed working on the interview.*
      All of his novels are fantastic but I recommend his last novel [TITLE] which is really thought provoking."

(6) (129) 13/08/14 – Liz has been editing Zétény's East Asian wife's MA thesis, and informs him: "*I have just sent back Miyako's dissertation – I finished more quickly than I thought I would. She is a stunningly good writer and the subject was so interesting, it really was a pleasure to read.*"

   (130) 19/08/14 – Zétény replies: "*Million thanks! This will help Miyako a lot, and I feel happy that you like her work.*"

By analysing these compliments of the reader's friends/family in context, one can see the effectiveness of this tactic by considering the recipient's reply. In each instance, expressions of happiness and often further disclosures and elaborations follow the compliment. In Examples (2), (5), and (6) the writer expresses enjoyment of something that the reader also likes, but that they have not produced themselves. This reinforces the perception of homophily between them, and has the potential to lead to those connected exploring shared likes and interests outside of the business relationship. For example, if Liz read and enjoyed the novel that Avin recommended, this may become something they could discuss together simply for the joy of it, and through such a discussion, discover other shared interests.

Overall, the relational work between the interactants in all examples is undertaken through several processes:

1. showing homophily a.k.a. 'sameness'/'similarity', this helps to establish an in-group mentality and establishes more "types of relationships" between the two people (McPherson et al., 2001, p. 418) e.g. enjoying the same music or food, having similar aspirations, loving travel, etc. Making reciprocal moves can do positive relational work – not only by indicating sameness, but also by showing approval of the interactional partner. This discovery of shared experiences and values can not only improve liking of the conversational partner (Yum and Hara 2006, p. 143) but in the context of business can also impact a customer's willingness to give referrals (Law 2008, p. 674).

2. spending *time* on the interaction engaged in phatic conversation which is not business related (Spencer-Oatey and Xing 2003, p. 11). This builds relational historicity (Kádár and Haugh 2013, p. 254) and provides a sympathetic environment for more self-disclosure, "phatic talk simultaneously performs three social and communicative roles: it helps establish and maintain social connections together with opening up to others and recognising them as potential communication partners" (Maíz-Arévalo 2017, p. 433).

3. building trust. Scanlan and Zisselberger state that there is "no specific tool is trust-building" but it "develops in multiple, context-dependent manners" (2015, p. 68). I largely agree, but one tool that can be used, especially in business, is adhering to one's expected role e.g. acting considerately, adhering to agreed deadlines, sending work as specified (e.g. not work which is unexpectedly long, or due sooner than stated). This can be especially seen in Example (4): (49)–(52).

5.3   CMC cues

An aspect of email communication forming part of relational work that can be seen in all six examples is CMC cues. An obvious feature of Alice's writing in Example (2): (54) "*Thank you very much!!! Your Mum's an artist!!!*" and Zétény's in Example (4): (35) *"Many thanks!!!"*, is the use of multiple exclamation marks, generally described in the literature as a marker of positive emotion and emphasis (Filik et al., 2016; Teh et al., 2015; Vandergriff 2013; Whalen et al., 2009). The sentences Alice punctuates with exclamation marks are a thanking (as in Zétény's usage), two compliments and a well-wishing, all of which have positive sentiments. Teh et al. (2015, p. 7) found that generally, with positive statements (except those which could be interpreted as insincere or sarcastic) the more exclamation marks the statement had, the more positively interpreted it was. Therefore, Alice and Zétény's repeated

exclamation marks, as opposed to single ones, serve to make their statements more emphatic. Examples (5) and (6) show a lexical surrogate *"ohh"* Example (5): (38), and an exclamatory thanking *"Million thanks!"* Example (6): (130) which serve to intensify the expression of pleasure.

Examples (2), (3) and (4) contain emoticons, which serve to show approval of statements and reinforce their positivity and sincerity in the case of *"the decor looked like a professional display. :)"*, Example (2): (56); *"she certainly has a lot of artistic flair :)"*, Example (2): (55); *"have a fantastic holiday :)"*, Example (3): (52); and *"I am glad that I can send you something "refreshing" then after the economics and business-stuff!! (:"*, Example (4): (93). In *"please help me get the PhD :))"*, Example (1): (37), the request is softened; the smiley face may also indicate a feeling of positivity about the business relationship. The phrasing also implies that the PhD is a collaborative project – and collaboration is also a powerful relational tool: "the 'smiley face' emoticon is an essential element of relational work at the workplace, part of a workplace culture that functions as a positive politeness strategy for creating a collaborative work environment" (Darics 2010, p. 140, cited in: Vandergriff 2013, p. 2). In *"I'm sorry, you're not the only PhD student I know who is working very hard over Christmas :(I wish you could have some time off to celebrate too."* Example (2): (49) the sad emoticon emphasises Liz's sympathy, which is responded to positively using a reciprocal emoticon in (50) *"Thank you, Liz! ^_^"*.

The tongue-out emoji on the other hand clearly signals a joking or non-serious statement *"(I took the photo though, so I feel I can claim some credit 😊 !!)"* Example (2): (55). This is further emphasised by the use of parentheses, which are often used in the data to indicate humorous asides, and the double exclamation mark, which makes the statement more emphatic and perhaps indicates an elevated or excited tone. Joking and humour bring participants closer (Laub Coser 1960), while showing approval and agreement strengthen homophily by showing that interactants have shared values.

Emoticons/emoji/smilies are by far the most investigated of the CMC cues, therefore it is actually possible to compare the usage in my dataset with other email datasets. This is not possible for other cues, which have generally not been analysed in isolation, and statistics have not, in many cases, been presented to account for their frequency of usage. This is an area worthy of more investigation, especially in business data where perhaps their usage is less expected. In the dataset as a whole, there are 115 emoji and emoticons in 108 out of 1072 emails, i.e. 10%. It is hard to say whether this is an unusually high percentage, but when compared with Skovholt et al.'s (2014) workplace email data, it is at the higher end. They investigated three companies, hypothesising that the high incidence of emoticon usage by "Telecom" employees was due to the emails being collected from a close-knit work group. They also stated that "differences in professional, corporate, industry and even national/

linguistic cultures" (Skovholt et al., 2014p. 794) may have influenced the large percentage differences they observed in emoticon usage between the three companies. Interestingly, despite differences in "national/linguistic cultures" in my dataset 7/19 of the clients, from varying cultures, e.g. Central Europe, East Asia and South Asia etc., used emoticons in one or more of their emails, although usage did vary from client to client to a high degree, from 4.8% up to 55% of emails containing (one or more) emoticons.

6.   Concluding remarks

This kind of email personalisation and relational work has the potential for much more in-depth usage by sole traders and small companies where deeper personal relationships can exist. This is especially true when the trader is involved in a significantly long project, such as proofreading a PhD thesis, designing a house or garden, planning a wedding, etc., these long projects provide more chances for both troubles and successes to be used as disclosure opportunities. This can be seen in Examples (1), (2), and (3) where self-disclosures build over time between Liz and Supaksorn, Alice, and Zétény.

The client's emotional involvement in the project may also play a significant role in the emotional depth of their relationship with the trader. In my dataset, it is made clear on many occasions how invested clients are in their work *"please help me get the PhD :))"* Example (2): (37); *"Another year without Christmas /New Year celebrations for me."* Example (2): (48), "*This project is of great importance to me*" Example (4): (51). In many such important personal or academic projects, there may only be one or two service providers involved, and thus it may become more of a collaboration, which might be a favourable environment for closer ties to develop. The importance of collaboration for both closeness and longevity of a relationship can be clearly seen in Example (4): (16) and (17), in which Liz and Zétény express a desire to work together again. Additionally, in such a personal project, a successful completion of all or part of the project is likely to be seen as a cause for celebration, which might be an opportunity to engage in more socialisation. As Supaksorn states in email (103) after Liz notes the work is *"All done!"*: *"Yeah, we should celebrate"*.

The area of small business and sole trader business-to-client communication requires significant academic attention; as a growing area of business, it would be valuable to know how communication with clients at this scale and level of involvement is being managed. This may provide useful insights for sole traders themselves, especially those who might be struggling to retain customers and garner word-of-mouth referrals (Law 2008). Additionally, successful methods used by sole traders could be utilised or adapted by larger businesses, for example, by

assigning clients to be served by specific workers in order to build rapport, which already typically happens in face-to-face industries where personal attention is required, e.g. food service, housing sales and lettings, GP surgeries, beauty etc. Only once trust has been established in the business relationship through "demonstrated competence" can relational work begin to be done for its own sake (Price and Arnould 1999, p. 49). Therefore, evidence of the trader's ability to help and do their job as expected may be needed,[7] before allowing them into further circles of one's self (Goffman 1971, p. 192).

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7. Indeed, by the point at which the examples occur, four of the five clients used in the examples had explicitly shown their satisfaction at Liz's work: *"Thanks for your work. It is so amazing. You help me a lot."* (Victoria, email 15), *"Thanks you very much. I like yr edits as well."* (Supaksorn, email 15), *"I have now read your corrections, and I am really happy with everything."* (Zétény, email 14), *"I will revise my Chapt 1 accordingly to your editing. Thank you very much!!!"* (Alice, email 18).

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Politeness in legal and security contexts

Judicial questioning

How context shapes facework strategies

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1. Introduction

When questioning is analyzed in courtroom settings, studies tend to focus upon attorneys' questioning practices in criminal trials (e.g., Drew 1992; Grisci and Portecorvo 2004; Woodbury 1984). In such trials, judges do little question-asking; their contributions are primarily short refereeing assertions. In less commonly analyzed legal settings, however, judges become key communicative players and do considerable question-asking. Through the ways a judge formulates questions in question-rich genres, judges enact themselves as polite or rude, (dis)respectful of others, (in)competent, (not)fair-minded, and so on. In this chapter, I describe the facework accomplished through judges' questions for both judges themselves and the parties addressed in two different judicial activities: oral argument in appellate court and small claims civil trials. Through making visible the differences, as well as similarities, in judges' question-asking practices, my aim is twofold. First, I seek to present a portrait of courtroom facework, including usual (im)/politeness moves, in these two judge-focused speech genres. Second, I use these portraits to reflect about how best to conceptualize and use "context" in research on face and politeness. The chapter begins by reviewing past research on facework, politeness, and identity as it bears on questioning in courtrooms. Then I turn to the two judicial activities that are the focus of this chapter: appellate judge questioning during oral argument and judge questioning during small claims hearings. For each questioning site, I provide background on the court activity, note the data on which claims are being developed or already have been, and identify and illustrate facework features of judges' questioning. Oral argument in appellate courts has been the focus of a past

project (e.g., Tracy 2011a, 2011b, 2016; Tracy and Parks 2012) and judges' discourse in small claims court is the focus of a current one (Tracy and Caron 2017; Tracy and Hodge 2018, 2019; Tracy and Craig 2019). I draw on data from these projects to develop claims about the facework implications of questioning. The chapter concludes by formulating how future politeness theorizing should attend to context.

2.   Past research on questioning and facework in courtrooms

Heritage (2002: 1427) defined a question as "a form of social action, designed to seek information and accomplished in a turn at talk by means of interrogative syntax." This is a useful starting definition but, as is widely recognized, questioning can be done without using an interrogative form, as seen in declarative statements about another's actions (e.g., "You opened the door without looking out," said by an attorney to a witness), and interrogatively formatted utterances need not be seeking information, as occurs when a speaker uses rhetorical questions as engagement devices (Pascual 2006) or an interrogatively formatted utterance is taken to be an assertion for which disagreement rather than an answer becomes the relevant next response (Sidnell 2010). It is also the case – quite important for understanding courtroom facework – that while information-requesting may be the focal act, stances toward issues and others, as well as identity-relevant personas for speakers and the spoken-to are being built through questioning. As Mills (1940: 904) long ago commented, "The avowal and imputation of motives is concomitant with the speech form known as the 'question.'"

Question-asking has been investigated in most professional settings (for reviews see Ehrlich and Freed 2010; Ilie 2015; Tracy and Robles 2009), including business meetings (Ford 2010) classrooms (Margutti 2010), broadcast interviews (Clayman 2010), therapy (Bartesaghi 2009), doctor-patient exchanges (Heritage 2010), service encounters (Hultgreen and Cameron 2010), telephone helplines (Hepburn and Potter 2010), and police interrogations (Oxburgh, Myklebust, and Grant 2010). Not surprisingly, the courtroom has been a particularly important place for studying questioning as much more than simple information-gathering is occurring. Questions, Bousfield (2008: 244) noted, "have the *potential* to be one of the most effectively utilized linguistic devices for both the construction of and issuing of impoliteness."

Impoliteness (which I would argue is better labeled rudeness or face attack) is, in fact, the institutional goal of attorneys during cross-examination of witnesses (Lakoff 1989; Penman 1987, 1990). Questions use grammatical forms such as nominalizations, agentless constructions, and passivation to hide or promote blame (Aldridge and Luchjenbroers 2007). They also draw heavily upon terms that have

negative semantic prosody – i.e., strongly negative sentiment that functions across contexts (Archer 2017) – to accuse or implicate the spoken to person as morally reprehensible. To be sure, through using formal address and ample numbers of please and thank yous, attorneys do interactional work to frame what they are doing as *not* gratuitous attack. The end result of their discourse, though, is to accomplish what Johnson and Clifford (2011) call polite incivility and Harris (2011) drawing on Tracy (2008), identifies as reasonable hostility. Much of what attorneys do during cross-examination straddles the line between being intentional face attack and attack that is merely incidental to the legitimate doing of their work (Archer 2011, 2017). But regardless of its packaging, much face attack goes on during cross-examination.

Goffman (1955) defined face as the image that a person wants to be seen as publicly possessing, asserting that it is dependent on what others, as well as self, do in interactional moments. Politeness theory as developed by Brown and Levinson (1978) grounded itself in face. In the years since the original formulation of their theory, subsequent research and theorization saw the concepts of face and politeness becoming increasingly differentiated. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to trace positions and arguments regarding these key ideas (see Culpeper, Haugh, and Kadar 2017; and especially O'Driscoll 2017). Suffice it to say, the understandings that inform my analysis of courtroom questioning are as follows (Tracy and Robles 2013):

1. In institutional contexts, people talk and act in ways that attend to supporting their desired identities as good people in general and as competent inhabitants of their institutional roles. The communicative work they do is best described as *identity-work*.

2. Institutional roles often possess partly contradictory goals and values that makes the doing of identity-work challenging. In addition, one institutional actor's desired identity may depend on being able to show another actor in that situation to have problematic identities (e.g., untruthful, lazy, unreasonable).

3. Identity-work is two-sided. Each communicative move both presents self as a certain kind of person and frames the addressed other as a particular kind of person. Identity-work happens whenever one person talks with another.

4. *Facework* is a subset of identity-work. It refers to communicative actions that support, maintain, challenge, or attack self and an interlocutor's wants to be seen as competent, and likable, as well as his or her desire to be free from imposition from the conversational other (i.e., Brown and Levinson's notions of positive and negative face as elaborated by Lim and Bowers (1991)). Facework is always occurring, but there may be other aspects of identity also relevant in any exchange.

5. *Politeness moves* are a subset of facework. They are communicative actions that a speaker takes to support the positive and negative face wants of the interlocutor.

In contrast to attorneys whose job definition officially includes attacking the face of witnesses in the courtroom, no such definition is part of judges' roles. Judges are expected to be neutral, fair, procedurally just (Rottman and Tyler 2014). But as is true in just about all professional roles, one facet of the judge role may find itself in tension with another, therein leading a judge to engage in face-attack. As judges question defendants making guilty pleas (Philips 1998), decide what bail a defendant should pay (Grainger 2018), or assess jurors during voir dire (Shuy 1995), judges may engage in moves that are attacking of others.

In the following sections, I consider the two judge roles that have been given little attention but which involve significant question-asking: oral argument in appellate courts (see Section 3) and small claims hearings (see Section 4).

3.   Appellate judge questioning during oral argument

In addition to trial courts, there are appellate courts that interpret whether the law has been followed, and, when the law is complicated and has competing principles, precedents, or statutes, which piece of the law should be privileged. It is state supreme courts for state law and the US Supreme Court for federal law that have the responsibility to make decisions in the most difficult cases. There are several activity types (Levinson 1992) that comprise Supreme Court decision-making. Some of them involve judges reading prepared texts or discussing among themselves in private. The sole public activity is the questioning that judges do of appealing and responding attorneys on whatever legal issues a court has ruled can be debated. This questioning activity, which is referred to as oral argument, occurs for a restricted amount of time, usually about an hour,[1] and involves five to nine judges asking each attorney representing a party difficult legal questions. The goal of oral argument is to aid judges in figuring out how to vote and determining what each judge's rationale for a vote should be (Johnson 2004).

My analysis of appellate judge questioning focused on the eight state supreme courts between 2005 and 2011 that heard arguments about whether same-sex partners should be allowed to marry. Oral argument in these cases lasted from

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1.   Thirty minutes per side is the most typical amount designated for supreme court oral argument. Complicated cases that have multiple parties arguing on sides, however, may be given more time.

one to three-and-a-half hours and included a total of 1184 questioning turns (see Tracy 2016 for details). Judges varied in how many questions they asked. Of the 50 judges, eight asked no questions, and one judge asked 76 questions. There was no pre-specified order among judges in question-asking; rather judges asked questions as they had them, locally managing any occasion where two judges spoke at once, with a small tendency if one of the speakers was the chief justice to let him or her take the floor. Justices' questioning practices during oral argument, described in detail elsewhere (Tracy 2011a, 2016; Tracy and Parks 2012), exhibit the following identity-facework-politeness features.

(1) *The interactional style routinely used by judges and attorneys is one of minimal politeness and the face enacted is that of impersonal professionalism*[2]

Oral argument is an activity that has little in common with ordinary conversation or even other institutional activities where argument and disagreement are common, as for instance occurs in academic discussion (Tracy 1997). From the moment that the judges enter the courtroom, a room in which everyone else is already present and standing, to the concluding moment when the Chief Justice announces that the final attorney's time is up, the occasion is a highly formal one. Address forms are polite with titles and last names used (e.g., Justice LaVecchia, Chief Justice George, your Honor, and Counselor, Mr. Buckel, Ms. Sommer), but other than that, the kinds of positive or negative politeness tokens that Brown and Levinson (1978) found to be present in face-threatening conversational exchanges are absent.

Consider Excerpt 1, an exchange between two judges in the New Jersey Supreme Court and the attorney (MrB) representing the gay plaintiffs who were appealing a lower court's ruling that had upheld restricting marriage to opposite-sex couples. This exchange occurred about 15 minutes into the roughly 30 minutes allocated to this attorney. MrB has been arguing that the existing marriage law violates constitutionally guaranteed civil rights for gay parties and the law could be fixed by simply changing the pronouns indicating who could marry. Of note, judges' questioning turns, typically argumentatively elaborated, could end with an interrogative, as does Judge-TA in turns 3 and 7. A questioning turn also could be one where the question remained unstated (Turn 1), implied by the oral argument situation itself which requires attorneys to respond to judges' concerns and arguments.

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2. For analysis of a deviant case in which the judges and an attorney used positive and negative politeness devices in their exchange, see Tracy (2011a).

Excerpt 1. (Justices JL and TA questioning plaintiff's attorney, MrB
(*Lewis v. Harris,* 2006))[3]

```
T1 J-JL:   That trivializes the state's argument though Mr. Buckel. I
           mean this is not just changing pronouns in the statute. It's
           changing historical understanding of what marriage has- has
           been in the laws of New Jersey. Since the MT decision written
           by Justice Handler when he was then a judge. I- everyone
           understood that's exactly how New Jersey's laws have been
           operating.
T2 MrB:    Well this court has confronted such historical exclusions
           of similar magnitude. And I would- I would take the
           court back to the Grady case when the court examined what
           mentally incapacitated individuals had been through over
           the years in terms of the preclusion of their exercise of
           liberty with regard to the decision to sterilize. Simil-
           in the Saunders case the court was examining whether or
           not unmarried individuals share the liberty interests of
           married individuals in terms of matters of sexual intimacy.
           And the court made very clear that the examination is as to
           the liberty interests shared by all. That the nature of the
           inquiry must look at individuals across the board, all human
           individuals across the board
T3 J-TA:   I- I- I- thought what Justice LaVecchia was suggesting is the
           state is- is basically arguing that issues of great social
           moment, that will bring about tremendous transformation in
           our social economic and political system, is- is best left to
           the elective branches of government. What do you have to say
           about that?
T4 MrB:    Wel[l
T5 J-TA:      [Thats what the state's going to argue when it gets up to
           the lectern.
T6 MrB:    When it comes to issues such as that Your Honor that is
           precisely when if the question is a constitutional one that
           the court must step in. Because that is what implicates our
           American system of government I think more than anything
           else in- in many ways [The court
T7 J-TA:                          [the state the state's going to argue
           that seven people or four people on this court shouldn't make
           the choice for eight and a half million people particularly
           where the legislature has made great s- s- strides towards
           trying to equalize the lives of- of gay people. What do you
           have to say?
```

In a study of airline call centers, Archer and Jagodzinski (2015) introduce the notion of *professional face* – distinguishing it from Spencer-Oatey's (2002) more general notion of social face – to refer to airline agents' connection to the goals of the airline they represent. A person's professional face, then, leads him or her to speak in ways that uphold the institutionally valued style of communicating. Rather obviously,

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3.   Italics indicate parts of the excerpt that are the focus of commentary.

what will be a communicator's professional face wants will depend on the aims a particular institution most privileges.

In oral argument, judges and attorneys enact a minimally polite, legally professional face by using several discourse techniques. Most important is what judges and attorneys *do not do* that is common in sites of intimate, workplace, and public meeting disagreement. In oral argument, disagreements are carried out in an unadorned way. Praise and complimenting are absent; neither answers nor questions are praised as "good." Nor were aspersions cast nor fault implied for parties saying certain things. In addition, discourse moves added to soften disagreement were rare. There were few modal forms of uncertainty (*I guess*, *I think*), downtowners (*just*, *possibly*) or hedges (*sort of*).

In addition, interruption of attorneys by judges – see Turns 4–5 and 6–7 – were common, occurring in 30% of judge questions, and went unmentioned. This lack of explicit marking of interruptions contrasts with other communication practices such as presidential debate (Tracy and Robles 2013, Chapter 6) and quarrels between intimates (Hutchby 2008). Telling someone that "I'm not finished yet" or "you're interrupting me" labels conduct as rude and inappropriate. Attorneys rarely interrupted, and never verbally marked judges' interruptions. Judges also rarely apologized for interruptions. These patterns reflect the power relationship in court, but the patterns also enact a very particular type of face. As I concluded elsewhere (Tracy 2011a: 129):

> Face is undoubtedly important to participants, but the "positive value" that is wanted is neither personal nor more than minimally status-recognizing. Oral argument participants are inquisitors about (the judges) or spokesperson for (the attorneys) an issue in "the law." The face that they work to claim is the ability to be impersonal and professional.

(2) *Judges (and attorneys) do identity-work to enact judges as Supreme Court Justices doing oral argument*

Besides the obvious difference in address forms (Justice more often than Judge), there are three additional ways the courtroom questioning and responding enact judges as *Supreme Court* judges. First is the extensive use of argument meta-language. Justices, as well as attorneys, regularly package their talk as "claims," "evidence for," "the argument," "the issue is," and describe verbal actions as "conceding," "assuming" and "arguing." Across the eight cases, 29 percent of judge turns included argument meta-language (see Turns 1, 3, 5 and 7, terms are italicized). In other activities where disputing is common, such as public meetings, speakers use far less argument metalanguage and speak personally (e.g., "you are bigoted," vs "what you say is bigoted").

Second, although it has long been recognized that at least some of the time appeals in supreme courts are shaped by political sentiments (Segal and Spaeth 2002), in questioning and responding, judges and attorneys do significant discursive work to show that the law is shaping what they say. Through frequent references to past cases and statutes (see turns 1 and 2), both parties enact judges as supreme court judges responsible for making a legal decision in a situation that has competing principles.

Finally, through the use of "tough questioning," supreme court judges enact themselves as this highest level of judge, a judge deciding a societally and legally controversial issue where political and judicial philosophies shape how judges decide. Tough questioning is a descriptor of question sequences rather than a feature of individual questions. In this situation where attorneys on both sides have equal amounts of time, tough questioning refers to which side a judge (a) asks more questions as well as lengthier, more complex ones, (b) pursues through longer connected strings of questions, and (c) begins the questions more frequently with disagreement tokens and interruptions. These features are common in oral argument, but judges vary regarding which side (attorney) they question more forcefully (Tracy and Park 2012; Tracy 2016). In essence, judges – as is true with people everywhere – question persons they see expressing unreasonable positions more vigorously than those whose opinions they find reasonable. In sum, judges' questioning style shows a person doing oral argument and engaging with the law in the way supreme court judges are supposed to, while also in quite subtle ways, showing a judge's political leaning that presumably led governors and presidents to appoint the person.

4. Small claims court judge questioning

Small claims courts came into being in the United States in the early years of the 20th century; their purpose being to "provide citizens from all walks of life with quick, uncomplicated, inexpensive, and just resolution of smaller civil disputes" (Ruhnka and Weller 1978: xi).

Substantively small claims disputes involve matters of one party failing to pay rent or return a security deposit, perceived failure to perform a service adequately or pay for a service as promised, and perceived failure to adequately compensate for a damage. In most cases attorneys are not present and litigants speak for themselves. The small claims trials that are part of this research project come from 12 judges in 55 cases from several US states.[4] Half of the cases come from two courts in Colorado (CO) and the other half from courts in New Jersey (NJ), Washington

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4. The small claims cases from Colorado all came from 2015. Cases from other courts were from 2010–2015.

(WA), and Michigan (MI). Audiotapes were secured from the courts, transcripts created of each trial, and simple coding of the data was carried out (e.g., Who won? Was there a counter-suit?).

Small claims hearings are relatively short trials. In our corpus, the shortest one was 12 minutes and the longest was 176 minutes, with the average length being 45 minutes. A small claims dispute needs to be formulated by the initiating party, i.e. the plaintiff, as a claim about a restricted amount of money, usually no more than five to eight thousand. While the focal claim is about money, this claim is often intertwined with charges of the other party's irresponsibility and immorality.

In our dataset of 55 cases, 15% of the cases involved countersuits. An example of a countersuit would be a landlord, who was a defendant being sued for failure to return the tenant's security deposit, countersuing the tenant for additional damages to a rental property that the landlord maintained had occurred but for which the tenant had not been charged.

One feature of small claims court that distinguishes it from other criminal and civil courts, is its variability; judges have considerable freedom to determine how to proceed (Ruhnka and Weller 1978). That is, there is not a standard script for the communicative steps to be followed. This means that how often judges question and the purposes of their questioning varies significantly from judge to judge. One important difference among small claims judges concerns whether the occasion is set up as an inquisitorial event where the judge asks questions to figure out how to decide or if the occasion is set up as an adversarial mini-trial where litigants decide what to say, roughly following the practices of a trial (presentation of evidence, questioning of own and other's witnesses) (Tracy and Caron 2017). Judges who framed small claims as an inquisitorial event took less time than their brethren who treated small claims as a mini-trial.

To provide a beginning sense of judges' style diversity, I selected three judges from the 12 who used markedly different courtroom styles. Judge A used a strongly mini-trial format; whereas Judge C employed a strongly inquisitorial format. Also included is Judge B, whose style is best described as a hybrid of the two. Table 1 presents an overview of four cases in each judge's court. The first column indicates the trial length, with the average of the judge's four trials followed by the range. In the second and third columns are the total number of questioning turns followed by the number of question turns per 1000 words. The last two columns provide an indication of the frequency of two kinds of questions. Judges' questions could be substantive or procedural. Substantive questions inquired about background or issues bearing on the matter being disputed. Examples of substantive questions are illustrated in Excerpt 2; a judge in a small claims court in Colorado is questioning a plaintiff about a dispute with a friend about money owed following damages to a car that they had jointly purchased.

Excerpt 2. Small Claims Court Judge to Plaintiff[5]

```
Judge:  Mr. D when was this vehicle purchased?
Mr. D:  Uh last year, towards the end of March.
Judge:  Did Mr. G. approach you, or the two of you were in a
        conversation, tell me about what discussion you had
        surrounding this payment.
… [183-word utterance from Mr. D]
Judge: Where is the vehicle now?
… [25-word utterance from Mr. D]
Judge:  Since it came to be in your possession in February, over the
        course of the last two months, how much have you driven it?
```

Procedural questions, in contrast, related to the conduct of the trial; Excerpt 3 provides examples of them.[6]

Excerpt 3. Procedural Questions

   a. Ms. C, these are the rules we'll use for today's proceedings. Do you understand?
   b. And Mr. H. you filed a counter claim in the amount of $2000. Is that correct?
   c. Do you all have exhibits for each other?
   d. Do you solemnly swear and affirm under penalty of law that the testimony you give will be the whole truth and nothing but the truth?
   e. Do you wish to have your wife or anybody else testify or Mr. L. testify?

As can be seen in inspecting Table 1, these three small claims judges varied markedly in how often they questioned and if their questions focused on the matters that were being disputed. This difference in both frequency and use of questions affected the face- and identity-work the judges did.

(1) *Judges who ask many substantive questions tended to do more face-threat/attack of litigants than judges who ask primarily procedural questions.*

In contrast to oral argument in which the judges deal with other legal professionals, judges in small claims court are addressing ordinary people with little legal knowledge. That small claims courts are dealing with legal novices is cued by the

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5. Questions come for Colorado court (case 5, Judge SI) involving a dispute about money to make car repair.

6. A questioning turn was defined as a judge utterance to which a response was given. Although most turns were single questions, a turn could include more than one question. If a turn could be interpreted as a directive, it was coded as a directive if there was no verbal response (e.g., "would you come close to the mike?" Followed by no hearable response) and it was coded as a question if it elicited an answer. The distinction between substantive and procedural questions was generally straightforward. The main time where the distinction was difficult, was when a judge asked a question about an exhibit. Some of these questions seemed related to the argument the litigant was making versus checking to see if the litigant was adequately prepared. If a question seemed interpretable as both procedural and substantive, it was coded as substantive.

Table 1. Judges' Differing Questioning Profiles

	Trial Length Total Word Ct	Total Qs	Qs per 1000 words	Subst. Qs per 1000 words	Percent of Subst. Qs
Judge A (average)	12,742	72	5.59	1.67	28%
(low – high)	11,323–13,834	54–111	4.55–8.02	1.06–3.33	22–41%
Judge B (average)	7,527	60	8.26	5.35	59%
(low – high)	5,674–9,498	46–82	5.18–10.58	2.95–6.45	57–65%
Judge C (average)	6,208	102	16.57	13.62	82%
(low-high)	3,588–8,298	67–148	14.63–18.67	10.43–16.99	69–95%

presence of procedural questions among all judges. Procedural questions guide or check that the party knows what to do. Such questions inscribe the question-asker as knowledgeable and the other as not. Procedural questions rarely occurred in oral argument; both parties knew how to proceed. By and large procedural questions in small claims courts were information-focused and were not face-threatening.

One exception, seen primarily in a single court, was when judges queried participants regarding their preparation of evidence. In this court, litigants were instructed prior to coming to court to bring three copies of each piece of evidence and label the pieces with letters or numbers. Not uncommonly, though, litigants did not attend to the written instructions and showed up with a stack of unorganized papers. Consider one case.

Excerpt 4. (Colorado, J=Judge-HA, KH is plaintiff, GS = defendant)

```
1 J:   How many exhibits are you gonna present?
2 KH:  I- um I have three sheets of paper, uh three copies.
3 J:   That's it for your exhibits?
4 KH:  Yeah.
5 J:   Okay, if you'll give him copies of whatever they are and me also?
6 KH:  Okay. Those two-
7 GS:  Excuse me, ma'am. I know they make copies down there, I only had
       brought a copy of things just to supply only to you.
8 J:   So nobody read the case management order for small claims court
       trial. With regard to the exhibits, which says, you hafta bring
       a copy for each side, and a copy for the court. Your exhibits
       hafta be marked with letters, yours hafta be marked with
       numbers. You haven't done that?
…5 turns omitted….
9 J:   We're gonna run outta time, we're not gonna end up doing this
       trial today.
10 KH: I'll label those exhibit-
11 J:  I don't know why we give people orders if they won't read 'em.
       we try to make it as clear as possible.
```

Failing to attend to instructions is common in institutional sites where people are expected to have done preparation before arriving (e.g., classrooms, professionals' offices). A professional can minimize the lapse, as would occur if a judge said, "No problem. My assistant will make copies for us" or "just let me see what you have" – versions of comments some judges did make. Or, as we see the judge doing in Excerpt 4 (Turns 8 and 11), use extreme case formulations ("Nobody read…"), reprimands ("You haven't done that?") and complaints ("I don't know why we give people orders if they won't read 'em") to upgrade the seriousness of the failure and threaten the other's positive face in consequence. Barring a few issues, such as evidence preparation, however, procedural questions carried limited potential for face-threat.

This was not the case with substantive questions. Although substantive questions could be informationally focused with little face threat, as illustrated in Excerpt 2, their content tended to involve exploring reasons why a person did (or did not do) a particular action in activities where there are culturally-shared notions of reasonable ways to proceed. Questions as to why a plaintiff is asking for several hundred dollars for a new watch when a store only broke the man's watch band or why a person waited two years to bring a suit for unsatisfactory quality of an installed countertop imply the unreasonableness of a person's actions and, as such, are threats to positive face, almost always, and negative face, some of the time.

Excerpt 5 concerns a dispute between two women who were neighbors. The plaintiff was asking for $3000. Exactly why she was claiming her neighbor owed her money was not initially clear. She began her testimony by telling a story about how her neighbor grabbed her by the throat when she entered a neighborhood convenience store. Her story had many embedded complaints implying or directly stating the unreasonableness of her neighbor, which the judge had asked about. At the beginning of Excerpt 5, the judge asks questions that work to connect the disagreement/fight between the two women – what the plaintiff describes as "herself being assaulted" – to the plaintiff's monetary claim. In multiple ways the judge's questions convey skepticism of the woman's monetary claim. Turn 8 is formulated as a candidate answer (Pomerantz 1988) that suggests the woman's seizures are due to a pre-existing medical condition; turns 16, 18, 20 and 22 cumulatively challenge that the hospital bills, incurred the night after the altercation at the convenience store, may have been the result of the "grabbing."

Excerpt 5. (Michigan, J= Judge, MC= Plaintiff)

```
1 MC:   And then I went and set my pop down on the counter. And when I
        turned around she grabbed me by my throat.
2 J:    Right. Did you- you never went to the hospital?
3 MC:   Later on that evening when I started having a seizure yes.
4 J:    Okay. Um.
5.MC:   I have all of the reports right here.
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 6 J:    Okay. As to the seizure right?
 7 MC:   Yes.
 8 J:    Don't you have a medical condition though that results in you
         having seizures?
 9 MC:   Yes. Yes.
10J:     Which is?
11MC:    Epilepsy.
12 J:    You're suing for $3000, right?
13MC:    Yes.
14J:     Wh- why do you think you're entitled ((cough)) to $3000?
15MC:    The hospital bill was 2240.59 plus $403 plus $245. I have
         $133.80 in lost wages, which totals $3021.39. $88 in court
         costs, and there was a $5 report that I had to get, so it all
         totals uh $3114.39 and I can only ask for 3000.
16J:     Most of that though is for hospital bills right?
17MC:    Yes sir.
18J:     Now when di- when you- for you going to the hospital later that
         night?
19MC:    Yes sir.
20J:     But that was because of the seizure, wasn't it?
21MC:    Yes sir.
22J:     So why do you think she should have to pay for the hospital
         bills that you got for going to the hospital because of a
         seizure that you had?
23MC:    Um because the seizure was the result of the head trauma.
24 J:    How do you know?
```

In asking a sequence of questions about the unfolding of the dispute and the reasoning behind the claim, the judge is indicating that what the woman is saying does not fully make sense. As with tough questioning in oral argument, extended pursuit of an issue suggests an assessment that the respondent is not adequately reasonable. Such questioning sequences not only limit the litigant's freedom to act, and hence the person's negative face but enact a skeptical stance by the judge of the litigant and, by definition, are a threat to a litigant's positive face. Skepticism of what a person is saying is likely to be experienced by the target as disrespect. With no legal clothing to mask challenges of reasonableness, questions about the substance of a dispute rather easily become face attacks regarding the reasonableness of the person. For judges who opt to enact small claims as an inquisitorial event, the increased potential for face-threat can be seen as a byproduct of the situation design they have selected.

(2) *The interactional style used by small claims judges has more conventional politeness tokens, than what is seen in appellate judges' talk.*

Small claims judges tended to use the politeness terms *please* and *thank you* when asking for information or directing action. To be sure, judges varied in how often they used these tokens, as seen in Excerpt 6, but along with formal address (Mr/Ms/Mrs + last name) forms, these tokens were regularly present.

Excerpt 6. (Two Colorado Judges)

a. *Thank* you, *please* be seated Ms. O, If you'd *please* c- make your way up to the witness stand, and bring any exhibits upon which you intend to reply. You may have a seat. Would you *please* begin by stating your full legal name?

b. And Mr. B, if you *please* raise your right hand. Do you swear or affirm under penalty…

Although not as frequent as *pleases* and *thank-yous*, apologies were present and given by judges for errors and unintended irritations that are possibilities in many institutional exchanges. One judge addressed a mother and son who had the same last name as Mr. and Mrs. When the man indicated that they were not married but were mother and son, this judge apologized for making an assumption. On another occasion this same judge apologized for not checking if the plaintiff wanted to question the defendant before moving to the next step of the trial. Some judges also apologized when they started late (see Excerpt 7) or had to stop and continue the trial another day because of competing commitments.

Excerpt 7. (New Jersey Judge)

Okay, first of all gentlemen let me say I'm *sorry* we got to you so late. Today was incredibly busy. So I *apologize* you had to wait so long.

In sum, small claims judges used a politeness style similar to other professionals who interact with lay parties to direct them and request information. A legal speaker with a fellow legal speaker can put aside politeness moves that are a needed part of legal-lay exchanges. In small claims, in contrast, the absence of these tokens frame a judge as rude.

(3) *Small claims judges do identity-work to establish self as either a spokesperson for the law or as its embodiment.*

This identity difference among small claims judges is made visible in decision announcements but is also cued by the judge's questioning style.

Judges did identity-work to position themselves in relation to the law. Unlike supreme court judges whose talk rather uniformly enacted them as interpreters of the law whose interpreting was shaped by a subtle political leaning, small claim court judges' talk created two different relationships with the law. One relationship was for a judge to position self as the spokesperson for the law. Drawing on Goffman's (1979) notion of footing, what these judges did was to talk in ways that established that the decision they were making was dictated by the law. Judges spoke as animators and authors of the words but not as the principal speaker determining the message. Judges accomplished this spokesperson-for-the-law identity by (a) referring to their decision as "what the court finds," (b) by offering elaborate

explanations of what they were deciding and (c) identifying relevant legal statutes and principles as reasons (Tracy and Craig 2017).

Consider a case that involved a plaintiff suing his employers for failing to pay him his wages. In a short segment from the announcement of the decision, the judge offers a lengthy explanation, including in his prose reference to the legal decision criterion ("preponderance of evidence"), a usual procedural practice (using a specific rather than general statute), and citation of a statute and its relevant section.

Excerpt 8. (Colorado Judge)

> Mr. H has not established by *preponderance of the evidence* that Ms. B in her individual capacity would have any liability. So with respect to the action against Ms. B as defendant number two, that action is dismissed at this time. But that doesn't change the fact that Ms. B is still here as an owner operator of the company, which is defendant number one. The relevant statute in my mind is 184105 [124 more words] And *the general preference in the law is that you use a more specific statute when either a specific statute or a more general statute applies*. And *84105 subsection C*, excuse me, 1C as in Charlie is dead on point for this factual scenario. So I am going to use 184105 1C in order to do the analysis in this case.

The judge who announced his decision in this way was Judge A (see Table 1) who framed small claims hearings as mini-trials; this judge asked relatively few questions overall and used mostly procedural questions. In essence, what Judge A does is speak in ways that underscore himself as the person refereeing a trial between adversaries, and who in the end weighs in to announce the law's conclusion.

In contrast, Judge C (see Table 1) who asked many questions of litigants, most of which were substantive, used far less legal framing and more ordinary speech. Excerpt 9 involved a suit where a man, who was an acquaintance of a woman, helped her move her belongings to a new apartment. The woman had paid the man a small amount of money for helping her move. She claimed that he and the other helper left the delivered boxes in a chaotic state that required much more work on her part than it should have. She was suing to get back what she had paid him. A dispute had erupted during the hearing between the plaintiff and defendant about what date the pictures of "the mess," which the plaintiff used as evidence, had been taken. Consider the judge's decision announcement.

Excerpt 9. (Washington Judge)

> Okay. Alright. Well the defendant Mr. D. indicated he didn't expect payment. He did it out of the goodness- out of his heart. Therefore based on the mess I'm seeing in these pictures and the um sworn statements and the letter February 24th and February um 28th um I'm making a finding that the plaintiff um will get her money back for a move not well done of 90 dollars, 14 dollar filing fee.

Judge C's remark using the disagreement token "well" near its start, is followed by the formulation that the defendant had helped out of the goodness of his heart. The judge's comment is hard to hear as anything other than skepticism of the man's claimed motives given he had accepted payment. In addition, as a first reason for her upcoming decision, the judge style shifts (Scotton 1985) to the most informal of registers to describe the state of boxes as "a mess." To be sure the judge does link her rationale, albeit very generally – "sworn statements and the letter" – to more legal criteria. But the mention of these other criteria has an afterthought quality that demotes the importance for the decision. In Judge C's announcement of her decisions, by virtue of the relative *absence* of legal terms and her use of the first person, alongside her colloquial language, there is little sense of the law requiring her to make a decision a certain way. Rather, similar to Judge Judy, in the American television show of the same name, Judge C offers her common-sense reasoning and implicitly treats her announcement as self-evidently "the law" (van der Houwen 2015).

I have suggested that the number and kind of questions a small claims judge asks goes with a tendency for judges to establish an identity that either embodies the law or that is acting as its spokesperson. This connection between question style and relationship to the law existed for these two judges and seems to apply for the other ten judges. Judges who ask a lot of substantive questions are setting themselves up to announce the decision once they have the information they want; their questions cue what has been important in the decision making so they can simply announce what they are concluding. Judges who set the occasion up as a trial and ask relatively few substantive questions, on the other hand, need to do conversational work to tie what litigants said to what they are concluding. Nonetheless, given the small number of judges examined, this claim needs to be marked as a tentative one.

5. Using "context" in future research on face and politeness

Books (van Dijk 2008), edited volumes (Auer and di Luzio 1992; Duranti and Goodwin 1992; Owen 1997), and special issues (Tracy 1998) have been devoted to theorizing "context." Similar to Haugh's (2018) characterization of the state of (im) politeness theorizing, there are differing research frames and definitions, some of which compete with each other. In contrast to (im)politeness theorizing, though, context is almost always used as the backgrounded term that is used to explain why talk, generally, and politeness practices more specifically occur as they do. Leeds-Hurwitz (1997: 319) put it this way: Context "refers to everything that must be taken into account in order to understand the meaning of particular words or behaviors for the participants."

In my own research, I have been primarily interested in understanding communicative practices (for overviews see Craig and Tracy 1995, 2014). My research aims to address how particular practices work, the problems participants encounter in them, and the discourse moves that reveal and manage problems, with an end goal of contributing ideas to help participants reflect about and improve their practice. My central focus has *not* been on politeness-face theorizing; rather, face and politeness concepts have functioned as useful sensitizing tools for describing the goals, problems, and discourse strategies of practices such as questioning in supreme court oral argument or small claims hearings. When one switches the focus and foregrounds politeness theorizing as the research aim, communicative practices get reframed as contexts for politeness. These two foci – (1) politeness/face concepts as tools to understand specific communicative practices and (2) taking account of context differences to ably theorize politeness and face – are obviously connected. Both deserve doing. But it is important to keep clear which aim is focal. Consider the conclusions one would draw with each focus.

5.1   Politeness/face concepts as sensitizing tools

Given my research commitments, seeing identity/face/politeness as sensitizing tools has been the frame this study has adopted. These concepts have helped illuminate some similarities and quite a few differences in how judges question in these two practices. On the similarity front, as Lakoff (1989) long ago noted, American courtrooms use formality and distance in ways that exist virtually nowhere else in American society. This formality-distance applies with regard to forms of address in both practices, as well as to ritualized cues of respect, such as participants standing when a judge enters the courtroom.

In both practices, pursuit of an issue through a string of questions was frequently used. A difference, though, was the potential this activity had for threatening face. In oral argument, attorneys did not take offense to being pursued across multiple turns. In small claims, pursuit was more likely to lead to litigants exhibiting defensiveness and other signs that they felt disrespected. The same discursive move of a judge was interpreted as normal conduct in one situation and as threatening in another.

Another difference this study makes apparent is that some judge practices have a relatively uniform politeness-face code, as was the case in supreme court oral argument, whereas other judge questioning practices include significant differences in the face and identity moves a judge employs, as was the case in small claims courts.

5.2   How context shapes politeness theorizing

This study of politeness in two contexts gives additional support to discursive approaches to politeness (e.g., Mills 2011; Watts 2003) which have argued for politeness being defined by how listeners/targets in situations respond to speech moves of key others, and for the importance of context in understanding what (im)politeness means. At the same time the similarity in address forms selected and what they are used to do, also support the view that there are some relatively context-spanning politeness practices.

A small contribution this study of politeness in two legal contexts offers is to identify a discourse strategy that is politeness-implicative but which has received little attention: pursuit of a topic through a sequence of questions. Culpeper and Terkourafi (2017) have argued for the importance of detaching politeness theorizing from the unit of speech acts. This study suggests one concrete sequence activity where doing so matters.

Another insight underscored by this study, as well as the rest of this volume, is that when we think of context shaping politeness, we need to give serious attention to *institutional context*. An important, but not always recognized, aspect of context is the institution in which an exchange occurs and the very particular activity that is being done. The default in politeness theorizing has been informal exchanges between friends and acquaintances. Certainly, ordinary conversation deserves attention, but it should not be privileged at the expense of institutional exchanges. Institutional exchanges are unique and as basic to social life as are informal conversations. If we want to theorize how people give attention to relational, face, and respect wants, we need to look carefully at the many institutional activities where people seek services and work as professionals.

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CHAPTER 12

Keeping airports safe
The value of small talk

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1. Introduction

As Forest (2008: 97) notes, "there have literally been thousands of attacks and plots against aviation targets worldwide" during the past 35 years – with "criminals, terrorists and, in some cases, [even] naval warships" targeting passenger airlines in particular. Forest (ibid: 98) provides "at least three…rationales…for" the specific "targeting" of "commercial aviation" in this way: namely, the certainty of both "media coverage" and "economic impact" if an attack succeeds, in combination with "the vulnerable nature of aviation targets" worldwide. The aviation industry's recognition that "airplanes (as well as airports) are inherently soft targets" (ibid: 102) means that they are constantly looking for new ways to help them keep airplanes and airports as secure as possible. By way of illustration, as well as enhancing established screening procedures (such as border controls) in airports across the world, they have also introduced additional "security layers" on flights, which include "reinforced cockpit doors, armed pilots, [and] more air marshals" (ibid: 117). The primary role of an Air Marshal (AM), for instance, is to protect the cockpit and prevent an aircraft from becoming a weapon of destruction (Karber 2002) affecting not only the passengers and crew on board but – perhaps more importantly – a densely populated land target: as in the case of the Twin Towers in the 9/11 incident. Like Behavioural Detection Officers (BDOs) operating in the airport itself, AMs are also frequently tasked with airport-based surveillance. This might involve reporting instances of suspicious behaviour, which cannot be accounted for by a person's emerging baseline behaviour and/or the context (Lansley et al. 2016), upwards to the relevant security personnel (Price and Forrest 2012: 160).

AMs and BDOs have various methods available to them, when deciding whether to take immediate action or report someone/a group upwards, including engaging the individual(s) in interaction (as a checking move). Because of their undercover status, their interaction with such individuals cannot be an official *chat-down* (Price and Forrest 2012: 248) akin to a verbal pat-down. Instead, AMs and BDOs must rely on more subtle ways of extracting information, akin to *small talk*. As this chapter will reveal (see especially Section 4), chat-downs tend to be transactional in the main: that is to say, officials at border controls ask questions designed to establish a person's (true) identity, nationality, travel history, travel plans, etc., as a means of establishing the validity of their travel documents. Such protocols may begin, nonetheless, with a greeting that, for most, is akin to small talk. An article on chat-downs in the online program, NPR, mentions "Hi, how are you?" as a typical (American) greeting for a Transportation Security Administration (TSA) officer, for example (Smith 2011). The main contention of this chapter is that the type of small talk that AMs and BDOs engage in as part of their interactions with a person of interest (henceforth POI), within aviation contexts, is (by necessity) much more covert than such chat-downs allow. Yet, it still enables them to do key work for their organization as a means of helping to keep airports (as well as airplanes) safe.

It should be noted that small talk is widely acknowledged to be "a commonly used and highly effective intelligence-gathering technique" in military and security circles, because of allowing for the extraction of "targeted information from a person in a manner that does not disclose the true intent of the conversation" (NCIS 2013). The idea that small talk can be transactionally as well as interpersonally (or relationally) motivated has been largely ignored within linguistics, however: the collection of papers in Coupland ([2000] 2014) probably come closest to adopting such a view. This is in spite of facework-related studies, which have focused upon how small talk can be used by intimates, work colleagues and strangers alike (Laver 1975; Brown and Levinson 1987; Tracy 1990; Scollon and Scollon 1994: 135; Holmes 1998, 2000; Tzanne 2000: 193); albeit to engage in rapport building/management, overcome miscommunication, etc. This paper will address this gap by focusing on the types of facework AMs and BDOs might engage in when using small talk to lubricate their interactions with strangers in the airport. For safety, security and data protection reasons, the examples of *relational-as-transactional talk* (cf. McCarthy 2014) discussed in the chapter are taken from publically available (YouTube) sources. They include five fictionalised interactions that represent the kinds of small talk non-native speakers of English are encouraged to engage in when in an aviation setting. As will become clear, although such interactions do not have any explicit link(s) to aviation security, they provide insights into the types of topic – as well as the combination of methods – an AM or BDO might draw on

to initiate and develop an engagement with another or others subtly (in place of a more overt and authoritative chat-down).

We identify the types of topics drawn upon in the five fictionalised (English-language-learning) interactions in Section 3, after outlining some of the most pertinent characteristics of small talk in Section 2. In Section 4, we go on to explore, first, (transcripts of mediated) real-life interactions, in English, involving border control personnel and passengers, taken from the UK television series *UK Border Force*. The first series aired in 2008, and the second, in 2009, and followed officers at three sites: London Heathrow Airport, Dover and Calais. We then compare excerpts from the official interviews with the fictionalised interactions (discussed in Section 3), as a means of highlighting the most pertinent differences between passengers involved in official interviews and chat-downs (cf. Price and Forrest 2012: 248) and passengers engaged in small talk with strangers. This is followed by a discussion of the behavioural detection programme that has been developed to train (European) AMs and BDOs (see Section 5), as well as some of the elicitation techniques used by them, and their seeming similarities with (as well as differences from) social engineering practices (see Section 6). The latter, for example, equate to surreptitiously manipulating people "into giving out information, or performing an action" (Mann 2012: 11), but in such a way that they believe they have been involved in an "apparently normal and innocent conversation" (Hadnagy 2011: 56). Undercover AMs and BDOs interact with passengers in a similar way. Their aim, however, is to extract information via which to in/validate them as a POI worthy of further investigation (as opposed to gleaning information from passengers that might benefit the AM/BDO personally/financially, etc.). One argument for using a more covert approach (like this) in airport settings is that genuine passengers will not experience the stress levels associated with the formal interviewing process (unless the AM/BDO signals the need for others to formally interview them). This view is supported by research contending that unsuspecting people can be motivated to *voluntarily* communicate information via a variety of elicitation techniques (see, e.g., Duncan 2008). We will go on to show that several of these elicitation techniques have obvious connections with the extant facework research, due to advocating the use of criticism, feigned disbelief, flattery, naiveté and sympathy. By *facework*, we mean the (communicative) actions interlocutors engage in to make what they are doing consistent with *face* (Goffman 1967: 5). *Face*, here, includes the attributes they want others to acknowledge about them, associate with them and/or ascribe to them, as well as those they do not (because of being too affectively sensitive, for example), following Spencer-Oatey (2007: 644). Although facework can be undertaken un-/semi-consciously by interlocutors, it can also be tactical in certain circumstances and, hence, akin to *impression management*: namely, X managing their behaviour in order to influence the perceptions of another (Goffman 1959: 17, 22). An interlocutor might combine an apology to a stranger

with excuse-making, evaluations, disclaimers, justifications or the like (Tedeshi and Melburg 1984). Alternatively, they might engage a stranger via ingratiation: drawing upon, for example, compliments. It is because people are not equally adept at engaging in small talk with strangers that Sections 6 and 7, especially, highlight how linguistic training in engagement – including training in the use of different elicitation techniques – has been helping (European) BDOs and AMs garner useful information from passengers.

2.   The (linguistic) characteristics of small talk

Within the extant linguistic literature, small talk is nearly always distinguished from talk that is deemed to be "transactional", "instrumental", "goal oriented" or "means-end rational" (Maynard and Hudak 2008: 662). Indeed, Holmes (2000: 37–43) has gone as far as to situate these types of talk at the opposite end to small talk on a communicative continuum. This does not mean that small talk cannot occur in, for example, a work-related discourse. On the contrary, it is often deemed to *oil* "the social wheels" of such discourse (Holmes 2000: 57). This is in line with Malinowski's (1923: 312) argument that the object of such talk is *phatic*: namely, an exchange of words, which is "almost…an end in itself". It is almost – but not quite – an end in itself, given its potential function in helping interlocutors to begin interacting, thereby defusing potential hostilities caused by uncomfortable silences, and/or helping them to reach a consensus of some sort.[1] According to Holmes (2000: 48), such functions equate to "doing collegiality" and "paying attention to…face needs" (especially in English-speaking contexts). Maynard and Hudak (2008: 663) concur, adding that, although small talk is "not necessary to the instrumental task itself", participants will nonetheless recognise it as achieving "prosocial" actions for them and others. By way of illustration, Maynard and Hudak (2008: 661) show how small talk often provides patients and doctors with an opportunity to (albeit temporarily) "ignore, mask, or efface" the more taxing transactional aspects of some exchanges. A number of researchers have gone on to explore the use of small talk within a variety of other work-related settings too. Collectively, they argue that small talk serves several important purposes, including supporting and promoting instrumental goals (see, e.g., Ragan 2000), developing – and maintaining – sociable relationships (see, e.g., McCarthy 2000; McKenzie 2010) and (re-)inforcing particular organisational cultures (Mirivel and Tracy 2005). Whilst such work concedes that small talk is therefore "far from pointless" (McCarthy 2000: 97), it seems to be recognised, nonetheless, as a site in which the context for enabling

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1.   Laver (1975) describes these as *initiatory*, *propitiatory* and *exploratory* functions respectively.

"the social practices of informing" is enacted and then negotiated (McKenzie 2010: 18). Much of this work also focuses on small talk involving familiars, with the result that small talk with strangers is still relatively under-researched. This may be because early work in this regard assumed that strangers were expected (and, hence, assumed) to refrain from speaking to each other (Saville-Troike 1985): in part, for fear of rejection. Yet, recent experimental psychological studies have highlighted contrary evidence to this. Epley and Schroeder (2014) found that interactions with strangers can bring unanticipated benefits, including positive boosts in mood and feelings of belonging. They thus argue that being overly anxious about conversing with strangers is misplaced and that, on the contrary, people (including those in commuting situations) are more than willing to talk, to the point of being flattered to receive attention from others (see also Sandstrom and Dunn 2014).

3. Engaging with others in airport settings: Some fictional illustrations

As noted in the Introduction, this section provides an overview of the types of topic that feature as part of small talk in a predominantly English-speaking aviation setting (based upon the advice given to non-native English speakers online) and, thus, that can be aped by AMs and BDOs when seeking to covertly glean information from POIs (see Section 5). For example, there are numerous videos aimed at non-native English speakers available on YouTube. Although the bulk of these concentrate upon the more formal types of interaction they might encounter at the check-in, going through customs, etc., a small number – like (1) to (5), below – also focus on small talk between strangers. In (1), Jessica and Matt begin to converse following an announcement that their flight has been delayed (note that the animation depicts Matt as being quite a bit younger than Jessica):

(1) Small talk at the airport

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Jessica:   Are you kidding me! Urrgghh! I can't believe I'm on another
           delayed flight. This is the second time this week!
Matt:      Yeah, that's a pain. Sorry about that.
Jessica:   Well, it's not your fault of course, but thanks. Anyway, my
           name's Jessica. What's yours?
Matt:      I'm Matt. Good to meet you. Where are you headed?
Jessica:   Well, I'm actually on a business trip. Of course, you know
           I'm heading to Sydney, but then after that I'm going to
           Brisbane.
Matt:      Brisbane? Nice! It's a great town. I went to school there.
Jessica:   Really? You went to school there? Wow! What did you study?
Matt:      Well, I was a double major in computer science and linguistics.
Jessica:   Computer science and linguistics, oh my gosh! You must be a
           total Brainiac! Do you have any idea what you might want to
           do?
```

```
Matt:       Yes, I want to make computers speak like humans.
Jessica:    Oh I see, so do you mean things like automatic teller
            machines that talk to people when they're doing basic
            transactions, and stuff like that?
Matt:       Yeah. That's part of it. But also for people who are
            disabled and can't speak.
Jessica:    Outstanding! I think it's amazing what technology can do
            for people who are disabled, or got into an accident, or
            something like this. That's great! Well, it looks like our
            flight is ready to go.
Matt:       Yes, I see. Well, it has been good talking with you. Have a
            safe trip.
Jessica:    Thank you. Yes, you too. Bye!
```

<div align="right">(ESL Helpers Inc, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Umar4jLYC-0.
Published 16/02/2015. Accessed 19/02/2018)</div>

Although the interaction is obviously fictitious, it nonetheless introduces how interlocutors might exchange names with one another as an early initiating move. This is true to life in at least two ways. First, that a greeting will normally prompt a greeting in return in most cultures. Second, that greeting-greeting exchanges involving (first) names are generally understood to be "a positive signal of informality" that can put strangers at their "communicative ease" (Archer et al. 2019: 465). It is worth noting, however, that some cultural groups may find first names overly familiar and even impolite (Bargiela et al. 2002) – especially if they speak a language where, for example, a T/V distinction is important. As such, first names will probably prove to be the most effective when used in culturally appropriate ways.

The sharing of first names is not the only (or even the first) initiating move in evidence here, of course. Indeed, this particular extract demonstrates how complaints, as well as enquiries in respect to destination, can be used as initiating moves. Although complaints are recognised to be inherently face threatening by Brown and Levinson (1987), Jessica's grumbling seems to trigger the opposite for her and Matt: namely, mutual face-enhancement work. Notice, for example, that Matt is not the intended target of the complaint (Dersley and Wooton 2000). Rather, the complaint is a means by which Jessica can openly acknowledge her hitherto privately experienced personal trouble (Drew and Holt 1988: 399) with an understanding other – given Matt is on the same flight – thereby inviting a (reciprocal) response from him. In that response, Matt acknowledges and then apologises for Jessica's plight, following which Jessica makes clear what they both know: the blame actually lies elsewhere. Having established a shared mutual reality, they then go on to briefly discuss Matt's career plans, allowing Jessica to signal – via further face enhancement – how impressed she is by Matt's academic history and choice of career. See, for example, her use of the adjectives, "outstanding", "amazing" and "great", and her description of Matt as "a total Brainiac".

(2) and (3), below, also make use of self-disclosure as a follow up to the exchanging of first names. In the case of (2), Mark and Sam talk about their destination, after learning that they are on the same flight (note that both actors are close in age, on this occasion). In the case of (3), Paula engages Angie in small talk when she notices the book she is reading "looks interesting". In both instances, there is evidence (once again) of mutual face enhancement. For example, Sam is able to show off his knowledge of Las Vegas at the same time as expressing approval of Mark's choice of hotel in (2), and attends, thereby, to both his own and Mark's positive face "wants" (to be deemed useful and be approved of respectively):

(2)   Talking to a co-passenger

```
Mark:   Hey! I'm Mark. Are you on Continental 21?
Sam:    Yup! Going to Las Vegas. I'm Sam by the way.
Mark:   First time going there?
Sam:    Nah! My uncle lives there. So I fly there quite often.
        Anything you want to know about Vegas?
Mark:   Well…this is my first time. I don't really know much about the
        place.
Sam:    Oh, don't worry. You're going to love it. No matter what your
        preferences are, Vegas has something for you.
Mark:   That's good to hear! I'm staying at the Bellagio. Any good
        places around that area?
Sam:    Are you kidding me! It's a hub of entertainment. It's
        surrounded by luxurious hotels, huge casinos, delicious food
        and just about everything else you need.
Mark:   Oh! Then I guess I made the right choice.
Sam:    Sure did!
```
(Twominute English, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RjRjjwVF9RA.
Published 8/08/2013. Accessed 19/02/2018)

In (3), Paula's attention to Angie's negative and positive face "wants" (Brown and Levinson 1987) is evident from the outset.

(3)   Which book are you reading?

```
Paula:  Excuse me. I'm sorry I just couldn't help noticing that the
        book you're reading is really colourful. It looks interesting.
        I'm Paula by the way.
Angie:  Hi Paula. I'm Angie. Well, it's a book for children. Do you
        like reading children's stories?
Paula:  I think I read this one as a kid. It has stories of Brer
        Rabbit, doesn't it?
Angie:  Yes, it does. It's by Enid Blyton.
Paula:  Oh, I love Enid Blyton! I've been reading her stories since I
        was five.
Angie:  Me too. Where are you flying to?
Paula:  Quincy, California. What about you?
Angie:  My goodness! I'm going there too!
```
(Twominute English, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RjRjjwVF9RA.
Published 8/08/2013. Accessed 19/02/2018)

The politeness marker, "excuse me", and, apology for interrupting Angie ("I'm sorry") attend to Angie's "want" to act freely (without interruption), for example, whilst her interest in Angie's reading material draws upon the positive politeness feature of complimenting: hence adjectives such as "colourful" and "interesting". Paula then goes on to provide her first name, and it prompts Angie, in return, to provide a greeting followed by first name and further information about the reading material, as well as to ask a question of Paula that is designed to show reciprocal interest in her (thus attending to Paula's positive face "wants"). As they continue their interaction, each learns that they share not only an interest in Enid Blyton – who they display mutual approval of – but a final destination (Quincy).

Like (1), Extracts (2) and (3) are true to life in ways that would benefit AMs and BDOs seeking to glean information, covertly, from POIs. For example, the revealing or sharing of personal information about oneself, in such ways, is believed to promote liking and positive affect (Collins and Miller 1994; Strong and Aron 2006). It can thus lead to mutually progressive and reciprocal self-disclosure (Aaron et al. 1997). Self-disclosure is believed, in turn, to be an effective strategy for eliciting emotional support, especially when the need for such support is made explicit in some way (Jourard 1959). Consider (4), involving two passengers. As the plane they are on nears the end of its journey, the male passenger notices that the female next to him "look[s] terrified". He goes on to signal concern for her, explicitly, by asking if "Everything [is] "alright". When she self-discloses her fear "of planes", he comes up with a way to distract her (but with her agreement, thus revealing his sensitivity to her negative as well as positive face "wants"):

(4)   Checking all's ok

```
Male:    Hey, you look terrified. Everything alright?
Female:  I'm just afraid of planes. Besides that, everything is fine.
Male:    Oh! Take a deep breath. Let's talk and you can take your mind
         off the plane.
Female:  Well, I guess I can try that.
Male:    So this is my first time in Las Vegas. I'm staying at the
         Bellagio. How do I get there?
Female:  Well you need to take a cab. Just get off on terminal 3 and
         you will find a lot of them in that area.
Male:    Ok. No other options?
Female:  You could rent a car. Some rental companies have their stands
         around the airport. It might be cheaper.
Male:    Great. I'll do that I guess. By the way, we're already on the
         ground. I guess it did work out.
Female:  Seriously? Thanks.
```
<div align="right">(Twominute English, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RjRjjwVF9RA.
Published 8/08/2013. Accessed 19/02/2018)</div>

Notice how the diversionary tactic enables the male passenger to glean information from the female regarding the best form of transport to get to his hotel – something she could only know if she had been to the airport previously. (4) thus provides a useful example of how small talk can be used to check (albeit surreptitiously) the accuracy of someone's alleged knowledge.

(5), below, presents a contrasting scenario, as a means of also showing how strangers are often prepared to help others who display their lack of experience when it comes to X or lack of knowledge about X. In this case, the male passenger engages with the female passenger at the airport when he notices that she seems confused:

(5)   First time at the airport

```
Male:    Hey! Are you alright? You look confused.
Female:  I'm never been at an airport in my life. So I don't really
         know where to go first.
Male:    Well, for starters, where are you going?
Female:  I'm going to Las Vegas, on Continental Flight 21.
Male:    Ok, let me see. First you need to check in at your airline's
         counter.
Female:  Yeah, I already did that. I got my boarding pass and checked
         my luggage.
Male:    Well then you need to go through the security check.
Female:  Alright. Anything after that?
Male:    Nothing much. Just go to your gate and wait for the boarding
         call.
Female:  Oh! That was easy. Thanks a lot [laughs].
```

<div align="right">(Twominute English, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RjRjjwVF9RA.
Published 8/08/2013. Accessed 19/02/2018)</div>

Naiveté – i.e., suspending one's ego in order to give an impression of lacking experience of/knowledge about X (Nolan 1999) – is believed to be a very effective elicitation strategy when the participants involved are meeting for the first time, and the meeting is positively – rather than negatively – framed (McKay et al. 2009), as here. Things we might note about the facework in this case include it being limited to showing concern and providing help (on the part of the male) and thanking (on the part of the female). Of all the extracts, (5) is thus the most transactional, with only one example of a positively oriented face-enhancing evaluation ("That was easy"). As Section 4 will confirm, however, (5) is still less officious than interactions that involve border security personnel.

4.   The different types of "small talk" in airport settings

As the Knowledge and Information Management Unit made clear in their response to a 2015 request for information falling within the (2000) Freedom of Information Act, officials at border controls can ask "questions…that allow them to establish the authenticity" and hence validity of a person's "travel documents".[2] As noted in the Introduction, this includes asking questions via which to establish that person's true identity, nationality, travel history, work, etc. As (6) reveals, such chat-downs tend to be transactional, discursively speaking. This particular official was careful, nonetheless, to put the passenger at his ease, by engaging in a level of rapport work (even though intelligence suggested he may have applied for two passports using the same information, but different identities – one UK based, the other Jamaican).

(6)   You've had a long journey

```
Official:   yes sir [passenger comes forward] hello sir how are you
            today
Passenger: good
Official:   where do you live in the UK sir?
Passenger: in Bristol
Official:   ok sir I just need to have a quick look at your passport ok
Passenger: ok (.) I've been going through it for the past three days
Official:   oh have you oh ok won't take a minute
Passenger: no problem
Official:   alright
Passenger: that's the same I went through in Miami
Official:   oh did you oh dear it's not your lucky travel then is it
            [….] you've been there on holiday
Passenger: was in Trinidad first [Barbados (.)
Official:                         [Trinidad first and then Barbados
            you've had a long journey then haven't you
            […] did you have a nice time [laughs]
Passenger:                                        [xxxx]
Official:   so what I'd ask you to do please just for a moment can you
            just take a seat down there for me please and we'll be back
            with you as soon as possible alright
```

(UK Border Force (S01E04), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zx8GNMIgjjE.
Published 18/01/2012. Accessed 03/08/2018)

The official inquired as to the passenger's health/wellbeing, for example, thereby engaging in positive politeness: that is, she paid attention to his "want" or desire to be valued (Brown and Levinson 1987). She also sympathized with him on two occasions. First, when the passenger self-disclosed he had "been going through" such checks for "the past three days" and she responded "oh have you", before

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2.   https://www.whatdotheyknow.com/request/252614/response/621493/attach/3/33431%20
Richardson.pdf?cookie_passthrough=1

stating she would attend to this as quickly as possible, thereby engaging in negative politeness work, with the aim of signalling her awareness of his "want" or desire for autonomy (Brown and Levinson 1987). Second, when she commented that it was not his "lucky travel" day. Interspersed throughout, however, were questions designed to ascertain where the passenger lived in the UK and his reason for travelling (i.e., characteristics of a chat-down). The passenger was then (politely) asked to take a seat, by the official, thus impacting on his negative face (i.e., his desire to be unimpeded in his actions).

In order to appreciate the differences between diverse types of small talk (and chat-downs), let's compare the features outlined above with those outlined in Section 3. Notice, for example, that there appeared to be a greater emphasis upon the participants discovering extraneous information about each other in Extracts (1) through (5) for no other reason than having a genuine (albeit passing) interest in the other. They exchanged greetings, shared names with the other, mutually self-disclosed additional personal information to the other – and sometimes used that information to establish a shared (but temporary) mutual reality between them. (6) does not display this sense of small talk as "an end in itself" (cf. Malinowski 1923: 312). There was no name sharing by either of them, for instance, and the passenger, only, was expected to share (or, more appropriately, confirm) their current place of residence. We might thus understand this type of rapport work as a communicative veneer serving two interrelated purposes: (i) masking the more taxing transactional aspects of what is nonetheless an official exchange (as it unfolded), and (ii) an attempt to defuse the potential for hostility (Maynard and Hudak 2008: 661). Notice that, although the official paid "attention to" the passenger's "face needs" (Holmes 2000: 48) via small talk, in (6), the passenger did not reciprocate by inquiring as to the official's health/wellbeing. Indeed, we arguably see evidence of resistance from him, even at this early stage. His answers tended to be short, for example, and when he initiated a topic himself, using self-disclosure, it functioned as a kind of indirect criticism of being (continually) held up by such processes. This criticism was different to the complaint noted in (1), as the official was arguably the intended target of a level of face aggravation rather than face enhancement in this case. The official offered no apology for the passenger's plight, however (as Matt had done with respect to Jessica).

Other airport settings where small talk features – albeit at the start – are investigative interviews undertaken by security personnel (and sometimes, the police). One purpose of the (albeit limited) small talk, in such cases, is (to attempt) to establish the interviewee's baseline: that is, their "natural, truthful, behaviour at the beginning of [the] interview" (Inbau et al. 2013: 140, cited in Ewens et al. 2014: 245) as much as is possible, given the time limitations, context, etc. This is based on the (research-validated) belief that people who are exposed to truthful baseline

behaviour, when they first meet a stranger, are better at discriminating truths from lies (see, e.g., O'Sullivan et al. 1988). There is a need for caution here, of course. It would be problematic to mislabel first behaviours as honest when they are deceptive, for example, as this could lead to errors when assessing subsequent behaviours. This is especially the case if the baseline detection method is used unthinkingly to determine any/all change(s) in behaviour from an interviewee's baseline as set via the small talk exchange(s) just prior to or at the beginning of the interview proper. A related caveat we might note is that rapport work involving the same person can exhibit differences, whether someone has something to hide or not (see Ewens et al. 2014). An apparent behavioural change might be to do with the interviewee having assessed the "appropriate" level of formality (Vrij 2008) differently to the interviewer, for example. Alternatively, an interviewee might be more nervous at the outset than the interviewer had anticipated – or might change their behaviour, later, (whether or not they are being deceptive) when they find themselves:

–   Accused of wrongdoing (rather than being left unchallenged) (Vrij 2006).
–   Asked about a topic they find embarrassing rather than neutral, or find engaging and thus care about (Kleinke 1986; Davis and Hadiks 1995; Matarazzo et al. 1970).
–   Questioned by a different interviewer (Vrij and Winkel 1991).

The passenger in (6), for example, went on to have his luggage checked by a second official, a custom's officer, in his and the initial border control official's presence. Whilst the search was taking place, the passenger exhibited a greater level of anxiety, including fidgeting and turning away from his luggage. When the custom's officer found that he had more alcohol than the allowance allows, the following interaction ensued:

(7)   Over the allowance

```
2nd Official:   you are one litre over your allowance but because
                you've been delayed here as a gesture of good will I'm
                gonna let you take it
Passenger:      thank you
2nd Official:   my pleasure sir (.) alright
Passenger:      what next
1st official:   ok you'll follow me back upstairs sir
```

<div align="right">(UK Border Force (S01E04), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zx8GNMIgjjE. Published 18/01/2012. Accessed 03/08/2018)</div>

The second official's "gesture of good will", relating to keeping the prohibited litre of alcohol, equates to remedial facework on his part. The face-enhancing gesture was verbally acknowledged by the passenger through the speech act of thanking. However, the passenger's body language prior to asking "what next", his voice

quality when asking the question, and the gesture accompanying it, alluded to his annoyance/anxiety at being further delayed. This particular case is interesting as the passenger was later body searched and then x-rayed, and found to be concealing 96 packages of cocaine (in his intestines). As this was not known, at this time, however, the officers needed to keep in mind that innocent as well as "guilty… people are likely to exhibit different behaviours during" (Ewens et al. 2014: 245) what, in essence, are distinct activity types (Levinson 1992). In addition, major airports tend to be,

> […] stressful environments at the best of times. Missed connections, flight delays and cancellations, missing luggage, tiredness, sleep deprivation, crowded environments, long queues and so on all have impacts. Indeed, for many (if not most) being stressed and anxious is an entirely routine experience at a busy airport
>
> (Silke 2010: 9)

As we have argued in previous work, it is for such reasons AMs, BDOs and other airport personnel must "avoid simplistic hypotheses such as someone with mal-intent looking a certain way, or conversely, signs of stress, nervousness or anxiety automatically equating to mal-intent on the part of an individual" (Archer et al. 2019: 459). We argue, in addition, that they themselves can trigger nervous behaviours (as well as resistance rather than cooperation), due to "the way in which they have approached a particular passenger" (ibid.). We have therefore participated in the development of a programme for Behaviour Detection with senior operational staff from an international airport and related intelligence/security agencies (Lansley et al. 2017). The programme initially trained AMs to better identify and investigate inconsistencies in a POI's behaviour, before being expanded to include additional airport and security agency personnel and is outlined, briefly, in Section 5 below.

5.   EIA behavioural detection programme

The EIA behavioural detection programme for AMs and BDOs adopts a two-step process. First, participants learn how to identify a POI both (i) from a distance, using a cluster of behaviours outlined in our Observe, Target, Engage, Respond (OTER) system, and (ii) as they move closer to them, using our Six Channel Analysis in Real-time (SCAnR) system. This involves noting relevant facial, gestural and body movements and (if close enough) voice and verbal content. By way of illustration, SCAnR familiarises trainees with the features captured under 27 research-corroborated criteria (Archer and Lansley 2015). Depending on the POI, clusters of such features might include "inconsistencies or anomalies in" respect to

"facial expressions" (Archer et al. 2019: 459). They might be held too long and/or not match the spoken message, for instance. A POI might also display an increased use "of potential distancing language", "as indicated by pronoun usage (such as fewer or more of the self-references "I", "me" and "my" depending on context), qualifiers, minimisers and other epistemic modality markers" (ibid: 460). Their voice might also trail off, "in ways that suggest a lack of commitment on" their part (ibid: 460). There might be evidence, in addition, "of (muscle) tension in the [POI's] body" and/or "changes in [their] skin colour", "breathing rate", etc. (ibid: 460). None of these features would be a "point of interest" (henceforth PIn) for the AM or BDO in isolation. Indeed, trainees of the SCAnR system are advised to respond "only to clusters of three PIns" involving at least two communication channels; and only when such behavioural clusters cannot be accounted for by (i.e., discounted because of) "the *Account* being given by an individual, that individual's apparent/emerging *Baseline* and/or the…*Context*" (ibid: 461).

As noted in Archer et al. (ibid: 462), "PIns based upon behavioural observation" remain "*points of interest*" only unless they can be validated (by some sort of additional investigation). The second step of the training process is thus focussed on coaching trainees in the use of (covert) elicitation techniques, via which to in/validate their hypotheses respecting an individual's behaviour(s). It is worth noting that our approach to elicitation in airport settings differs in several ways from another well-known system developed (by Ormerod and Dando 2014) for uniformed staff: the Controlled Cognitive Engagement (CCE) system. The use of empirically validated, multi-channel cues does not feature in CCE, for example; instead, interviewers are trained to focus upon any behavioural change resulting from cognitive load. CCE is usually undertaken by authorised airport personnel moreover, and is thus akin to a semi-formal interview; albeit one that involves "a short phase of rapport-building followed by cycles of information-gathering and veracity-testing" using non-scripted/unanticipated questions (ibid: 78).[3] Because of their undercover status, plain-clothed BDOs and AMs do not have the necessary visible authority required for – and thus are best avoiding – such overt chat-down protocols. It is also advisable to keep any engagements to a minimum – for example, a few minutes in duration – in order to prevent such POIs from becoming (overly) suspicious (see Section 7). We therefore train them (and other airport and security personnel working in high-stake environments) to use a combination of methods by which to initiate and develop an engagement subtly. Our system makes use of "ice breaker" topics, for example, but according to various time periods:

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3.   According to the CCE creators, the use of unanticipated questions helps "to raise the cognitive load faced by deceptive passengers" (ibid: 78), whilst the rapport aspect helps to keep legitimate passengers' cognitive load to a minimum.

the distant-to-immediate past, present and imminent-to-longer-term future. This flexible time component was factored into our approach as accounts derived from remembering/recalling a genuinely-lived experience can differ significantly in content and quality from fabricated or fictitious accounts (Undeutsch 1967). The topics – **F**amily/friends, **O**ccupation/skills, **R**ecreation, **C**urrent events, **E**ducation/ qualifications, **D**reams/plans (known by the mnemonic, FORCED) – are designed to be easy to engage with, as part of small talk. They are thus in line with the types of conversation evidenced in the YouTube examples relating to non-native speakers of a language in aviation settings (hence our discussion of them in Section 3). They are in line, too, with the types of interaction native (English) speakers are likely to engage in, according to the different self-help books we have consulted. By way of illustration, Lerner et al. (2002) quote different people's ways of engaging in small talk with strangers in the airport in their *Vault Guide to Schmoozing*. Typical examples reported, by them, include "talk[ing] about the flight" they are "waiting for", asking "where they're going" and noticing, so as to be able to "make some comment" on, what they are reading (ibid: 135–6).

When used well, FORCED "ice breaker" topics can help AMs and BDOs (i) initiate a level of rapport (cf. Section 3), (ii) begin assessing (so as to establish) a POI's baseline behaviour (cf. above), and also (iii) glean useful information covertly (cf. Sections 3 and 7). Participants, within our system, are encouraged, further, to make use of the full range of elicitations, from hints through to commands (rather than relying primarily on unanticipated questions, as with CCE). We have thus identified mnemonics such as "PERFECT" for them, to alert them to/remind them of specific elicitation techniques: namely, making *Provocative statements*, *Encouraging complaining,* using *Repetition,* engaging in *Flattery,* using *Erroneous statements/naiveté*, *Criticizing* and *Testing perceived/reported reality* (including by feigning disbelief).[4] In Section 6, following, we compare some of these techniques with the techniques used by social engineers.

6. Comparing social engineering techniques with alternative covert elicitation techniques based on small talk

We are including a (brief) section on social engineering techniques, in this chapter, as a social engineer shares something in common with undercover AMs and BDOS. Simply put, each uses elicitation techniques that encourage their targets to volunteer information to them or to perform an action on their behalf without them having

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4.   This aspect of the training draws upon the Defence Department's (2014) "Elicitation – Would you recognise it?" publication, as well as the work of Nolan (1999), Dreek (2011), and others.

to disclose their ultimate motivation for wanting that information/action. In the case of a social engineer, however, this is to enable him or her to (surreptitiously) manipulate people for their own gain. As Mann (2012: 13) notes, human vulnerabilities "are not as easy to secure as a web server" or other IT systems, and thus tend to be the biggest vulnerability for most organisations. Consider (8), taken from a YouTube clip demonstrating some "simple social engineering" techniques (as part of a DEFCON Hacker Convention).

(8)   Playing the "damsel in distress"

```
<baby crying in background, and throughout>
"mom":  hi I'm actually- I'm so sorry can you hear me ok I- my baby
        I'm sorry <laughs> my <laughs> er my husband's like we're
        about to apply for a loan and we just had a baby and he's like
        get this done by today so I'm so sorry I can't er erm call you
        back <laughs> I'm trying to log into our account for user's
        information and I can't remember what email address we used to
        log on to the account and the baby's crying and can (h.) can
        you help me [..]
"mom":  awesome
"mom":  if I needed to add our older daughter on our account so she
        could call in and make changes how would I need to go about
        doing that [..]
"mom":  you would have to send me a secure pin through a text message
        [..]
"mom":  yeah well the thing is that I don't think I'll be able to
        receive a text message if I'm on the phone [..]
"mom":  oh I'm not on there either [..]
"mom":  so I thought when we got married he added me to the account
        [..]
"mom":  5127 [..]
"mom":  wait I'm sorry so there's no password on my account right now
        can I set that up [..]
"mom":  thank you so much for your help today
"mom":  I'll get her fed after this <laughs> all right thank you
```

(This is how hackers hack you using simple social engineering.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lc7scxvKQOo.
Published 1/05/2016. Accessed 20/08/2018)

As the professional hacker (Jessica Clark) explains to her interviewer at the beginning of the clip, this social engineering attack is an example of vishing: using the phone to extract information or data points that can be used in a later attack. The eleven turns (above) capture Jessica's side of an interaction with her interviewer's mobile phone provider. Jessica adopts the role of a harassed "mom" and wife of the interviewer. To add to her credibility, she uses the interviewer's actual mobile number (so that it appears as if she is calling from his mobile) and plays an audio of a crying baby for the duration of the call. Notice that she is very apologetic with respect to the crying baby initially, but also mixes her apologies

with laughter – especially at the point she requests help from the agent. This is in line with Franzini's (2012: 16, 17) suggestion that humour can be helpful "in many everyday settings, including settings that can be delicate or sensitive in some way", as when "requesting help from a stranger" (cf. Section 3). Notice, in addition, that the laughter, apologies and request for help coincide with verbal evidence of anxiety – including false starts, "so" emphasizer prior to *sorry*, and an audible sigh – all of which are designed to feign embarrassment, exasperation and/or exhaustion on Jessica's part. Intermingled in this exchange are key "self-disclosures", which (as previously noted) can be an especially effective strategy for eliciting emotional support when the need for such support is made explicit in some way (Jourard 1959). Jessica emphasises that she cannot remember what email address was used to log onto the account, cannot call back (but without explaining why) and does not think she will be able to receive a text message. The latter two serve to add to the urgency of the agent acting now, as does Jessica's hint that her husband is somewhat demanding, using reported speech in combination with a different voice quality: "and he's like *get this done by today*". It is enough to win the agent's sympathy. S/he not only provides Jessica with the requested email information, but also allows her to change the pin and password for the account (thereby blocking the interviewer from using it).

Although the above is designed to demonstrate how easy it can be to glean information from others surreptitiously, this exchange is both more overtly transactional and emotionally manipulative than the exchanges AMs and BDOs will tend to have with passengers. Indeed, the aim is that AMs and BDOs will extract information with which to in/validate passengers as a POI but in such a way that genuine passengers, in particular, believe they have been involved in nothing more than an "apparently normal and innocent conversation" (Hadnagy 2011: 56) akin to small talk. As highlighted in the Introduction, one argument for using a covert approach such as this is that genuine passengers will not experience the stress levels associated with the formal interviewing process (unless the AM/BDO signals the need for others to formally interview them). As Duncan (2008) and others have noted, unsuspecting people can be motivated to *voluntarily* communicate information via a variety of elicitation techniques. Some of these techniques, moreover, have obvious connections with extant facework and impression management research, due to advocating the use of criticism, feigned disbelief, flattery, naiveté and sympathy. By way of illustration, elicitation types – such as engaging in flattery, encouraging complaining, feigning naiveté, expressing sympathy and signalling a mutual interest – all make use of positive face (Brown and Levinson 1987). That is to say, they are designed to appeal (albeit in different ways) to the potential POI's want to be approved of, to be liked and/or to be deemed useful. Hadnagy (2011: 67) suggests that "subtle flattery can coax a person into a conversation that might not have taken

place" otherwise, for example. Extract (3), when Paula signals her interest in Angie's reading material, provides the closest example to this. For each learns they share both their love of Enid Blyton and a final destination. As not everyone is adept at using (or receiving) flattery, when meeting strangers for the first time, naiveté can be an especially good opener in an airport context. In this case, an AM or BDO has the option of implicitly signalling a need of some sort of (or may even ask explicitly for) help from the potential POI. Extract (5) provides one such example in that the female passenger admits, first, to having "never been at an airport" and then to not "really know[ing] where to go first". This prompts the male passenger to help the female passenger, by explaining the process (i.e., check in, security check, gate). (1) provides us with examples of the two remaining elicitation types to make use of positive face: encouraging complaining and expressing sympathy. As previously noted, encouraging complaining in order to establish a shared mutual reality can lead to mutual face-maintenance and/or face enhancement: as it does in the case of Jessica and Matt, both of whom shared the experience of having their flight delayed. Matt's expression of sympathy – in the form of an apology – seemed to be important, in turn, in prompting the longer exchange between them, as it gave Jessica the opportunity to clarify it was not his fault, and then to exchange names with Matt, before asking him about his career plans.

Elicitation techniques such as using provocative or even purposefully errone-ous statements, feigning disbelief and engaging in criticism each have the potential to threaten (instead of appealing to) an individual's positive face or to threaten the AM's or BDO's own face: but deliberately so, so as to bring about a response from that individual. This is in line with the belief that most people seem to want "to prove they are correct", when challenged, and/or feel compelled to "correct wrong statements when they hear them" (Hadnagy 2011: 69). Using false statements can be especially useful in some contexts, as they provide users with a way of testing how knowledgeable X is (respecting Y). In an airport context, this may relate to particular places they claim to have visited previously. Consider, once again, the (fictional) interaction between Jessica and Matt in (1). Rather than asking about his studies, an AM or BDO, in this case, might test Matt's knowledge of Brisbane by stating false things about the town (cf. also (5) and especially (6)). Provocative statements, in contrast, can serve to identify a common other, which the AM or BDO can share with the POI. This is evident, once again, in (1). Indeed, it was Jessica's complaint over the second delay in a week that prompted her and Matt to develop (an albeit temporary) shared mutual reality. The above techniques also subsume others, such as appealing to X's ego, expressing mutual interest, volunteer-ing information, and assuming knowledge: some of which also feature in Section 3. We might note, for example, that volunteering information relies on the Principle of Reciprocity (Cialdini 1993). That is, the idea that people feel beholden to repay

another's (especially positive) actions towards them in some way. Whilst there are numerous examples of information being volunteered and self-disclosures being reciprocated in the (fictionalised) interactions between strangers, the second official's attempt at developing reciprocity was not as effective (see (7)). His "gesture" of overlooking the passenger's excess of alcohol (by one litre), given he had experienced delays, was met by a "thank you" only. When the second official responded to the thanks with "my pleasure sir", moreover, the passenger seemed more interested in determining "what next" than acknowledging the second official's ongoing positive facework. These short responses probably allude to his anger/anxiety at being (repeatedly) held up: anxiety as well as anger as he was concealing cocaine (which had not been discovered at this point).

7. Small talk as a phatic veil for transactional work: Some closing observations

In Archer et al. (2019: 466), we demonstrated how "AMs, BDOs and other airport personnel" benefit from having "access to linguistic insights as well as behavioural insights in their field of work". We focussed, in particular, on how they can use different elicitation techniques to probe (as a means of in/validating) behavioural observations and linguistic clues in real time – whilst avoiding any semblance of "being unduly intrusive (especially when follow-up engagements appear to be unnecessary)" (ibid: 466–467). The latter is important, of course, as plain-clothed AMs and BDOs do not have the visible authority to carry out semi-formal interviews with passengers. Archer et al. (2019) also demonstrate the (facework) consequences for both undercover officers and those they opt to interact with when things do not go as planned. This chapter has extended this line of work further, by exploring the benefits that small talk affords undercover officers in airport contexts: in essence, providing them with a "veil" under which to in/validate behavioural observations, such that "to most passengers, they…appear to be engaging in simple, light, airy conversation" only (ibid.:467). The main contention of this chapter – that small talk provides AMs and BDOs with an opportunity to glean useful information from POIs but in such a way that genuine passengers feel they are engaging in no more than pleasantries and/or mutually-agreed helping behaviours (as outlined in Section 6) – has theoretical implications for our understanding of small talk, in turn. Simply put, we have sought to explain that, contra Malinowski (1923), McKenzie (2010) and others (see Section 2), small talk can serve a specific instrumental (or transactional) function in its own right: especially in contexts where that function is camouflaged within its stereotypically phatic veil. We have also discussed some of the benefits for genuine passengers, when small talk is used in this

way by undercover AMs and BDOs. When small talk appears to be undertaken – as it is in (1)–(5) – for no other reason than having a genuine (albeit passing) interest in the other, for example, the passengers' stress levels are likely to be lower (unless the AM/BDO signals the need for others to formally interview them). When the small talk appears to be "an end in itself" only (cf. Malinowski 1923: 312), genuine passengers also display more reciprocation and less resistance. These latter observations are based on Sections 3–5, where we outline so that we might contrast Extracts (1)–(5) with (6). That is, the passenger only sharing their current place of residence in the latter, but without name sharing, compared with (1)–(5), where greetings are exchanged, names are shared and mutually self-disclosed additional personal information is volunteered, as well as being used, on occasion, to establish shared (temporary) mutual realities. The observations have also been validated by an airport-based study we conducted in a European international airport that confirmed it is possible to use low risk but often very hard to detect elicitation techniques to gather specific information during what amount to very brief engagements with passengers (Lansley et al. 2016). Participants involved in this particular study received 36 hours of training in behavioural detection and elicitation spread over four days, before being expected to operate undercover as a passenger (with a partner). Although their levels of English varied from conversational to fluent, each pair had to engage passengers nominated by the research team, for no more than 25 minutes, in order to obtain information such as: the passengers' names, nationalities, destinations, mobile phone numbers and PIN, whether they had carried prohibited items through airports in the past and/or were carrying them now. They were also asked to make use of FORCED topics, one covering the past, and one the future. As explained in Section 5, these topics are designed to be easy to engage with, as part of small talk, as well as being typical for aviation contexts (this, in turn, explains the overlap with the type of advice given to (non-)native (English) speakers who are seeking to improve their interactions in such settings, for which see Section 3). Each required piece of information carried points, weighted to the degree of difficulty expected in obtaining them.

Nineteen records of engagements were returned and scored. Cumulatively, the participants achieved an average elicitation score of 26.4 out of 50 during these engagements. They were also found to have elicited most or all of the information they were required to, from those they interacted with, within an interaction window of between 4 and 25 minutes (giving an average of 9 minutes, 43 seconds per interaction). Importantly, their successfulness in achieving (what the team regarded to be) quality information correlated at a high level (0.89)[5] with the types

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5.   Using Spearman's Coefficient of Rank Order Correlation.

of elicitation probe used.[6] Some of the information the participants derived was obtained covertly: several AMs managed to elicit the PIN for a mobile device when the passengers unlocked them to look for things, for example. Most of the information was extracted subtly, however, during what appeared to be normal "small talk" for such contexts (Department of Defence 2014). No participant was overtly rejected by a passenger, for example, or suspected of being security staff (as far as we could tell). Participants were informed at the beginning of the exercise that red-team members may also be engaging in covert activities designed to test the effectiveness of airport surveillance,[7] and that they should therefore refer any individuals they suspected of being red-team members to the research team.[8] By the end of the exercise, they had successfully identified/referred four red-team members as well as a fifth person, who was later found to be a foreign agent working undercover and thus lying about his identity, job role and travel plans (by the security staff on duty). We are aware that this type of training raises a number of important *ethical* issues, some of which are discussed in detail in a report produced by Reding et al. (2014) for RAND Europe (and thus will not be repeated here). Suffice it to say, airports have been aware of a growing terrorist threat since the 1960s (Ravich 2007). Indeed, AMs and BDOs were introduced (from the 1960s onwards and following 9/11 respectively) in response to such threats (see also Section 1). The RAND report is amongst several to highlight "the time-sensitive nature of some counterterrorism situations", and thus the importance of having robust "[me]thods of reviewing decision making" that allow all security personnel to act effectively and efficiently (Reding et al. ibid: 46). We believe our training adds to the robustness of such decision-making, by providing systems via which AMs and BDOs can, first, evidence points of interest that have been empirically grounded by previous deception detection studies and, then, in/validate them using interactions akin to small talk (before reporting POIs upwards, where/when necessary). We have been

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6.   The participants drew on closed questions and open questions most frequently (38% and 29% of the time respectively), the majority of these occurring once an initial engagement was under way. This was also true of complex or leading questions, which accounted for a mere 5% of the total elicitations used. In contrast, declarative-based elicitations and requests each accounted for 14% of the total elicitations used, and tended to occur most frequently at the beginning of the interactions.

7.   The red-team members, in this case, were secret service security personnel. They were instructed to gather intelligence information relating to the landside Departures areas, and to get unauthorized objects through security (but did not pass through security on the day of the exercise, even though they were equipped with travel documents, including Boarding Cards).

8.   Relevant agencies were aware of the exercise. A code word was also established for members of the red-team, in case any were engaged by agencies outside of the airport-based exercise.

unable to share actual interactions involving the participants in our 2016 study. However, when participants interacted with passengers with nothing to hide, those interactions were akin to the kind of (friendly) chat that passengers regularly engage in in airport contexts (cf. Sections 3 and 6). These instances of small talk thus had the added benefit of providing a positive (face-enhancing) experience for the passengers involved. The participants, in turn, learned techniques that they can use in their roles as AMs and BDOs, in order to help their industry keep airports safe.

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CHAPTER 13

The value of facework in crisis negotiation

With a focus on barricade situations

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1. Introduction

As Archer and Todd (in press) note,

> Modern crisis negotiation involves a law enforcement official communicating with subjects who are threatening violence to themselves and/or others. Such subjects may pose a suicide risk, be engaging in some form of domestic or work-place violence, be part of a hostage or barricade situation (cf. criminals who are attempting to escape following a botched robbery) and/or be seeking to commit a terror-related act.

Although each of the aforementioned types represents a different discoursal context, current negotiation training has tended to teach generic influencing skills based on psychological models and principles (Archer and Todd ibid.). The author has been working with (UK) crisis negotiation trainers to address this, by developing training that (i) is particularly sensitive to changing contexts, and (ii) draws on linguistic theories and principles in addition to psychological ones (see also Section 1.1). In line with this new focus, this chapter explores a barricade incident that occurred in Columbus, USA, in 2016 (see Section 1.2 for details). The focus on a barricade incident is deliberate; allowing the author to build on – by offering an alternative analysis to – that provided by Archer et al. (2018), in respect to a second (now infamous) barricade incident involving 20-year old Grant Sattaur and an unnamed negotiator (on December 26 2007). The two-hour negotiation took place when Grant was home alone, at the family residence, and known to be depressed. The 20-year old had been incarcerated at some point in his past, and had recently separated from, on-off girlfriend, Crystal. As the full two-hour negotiation

has not been made publically available, to date, Archer et al. (ibid.) focused on the four-minute discussion between Grant and the unnamed negotiator prior to Grant taking his own life. Based on that analysis, the authors concluded that the 20-year old and his unnamed negotiator were "operating out of conflicting reality paradigms" (ibid.:182) by this point; and that these incompatible "perceptions of reality" (ibid.:186) were especially evident in their face(work).

Following Goffman (1967: 5), Archer et al. (2018) liken "face" to a *behavioural mask* or *line* an interlocutor might claim based upon what s/he believes others are assuming about him or her. They liken "facework", in turn, to the actions interlocutors engage in, and occasionally negotiate over, in order to make what they are doing consistent with that developing line or preferred behavioural mask. By way of illustration, the unnamed negotiator repeatedly focussed upon Grant's shortcomings in their last four minutes together. He likened him to a stubborn coward who was not "enough of a man to come outside", thereby undermining his *want* of approval (cf. Brown and Levinson 1987). He also undermined "Grant's *want* to have freedom of action" by repeatedly ordering him to "keep his mouth shut/ shut up", to "man up" and "take care of [his] problems" (Archer et al. 2018: 190, my italics; see also Brown and Levinson 1987). The authors argue that the latter, in particular, was indicative of the negotiator's perspective "that "real" men behave rationally, rather than being unable to cope due to being rejected by a girlfriend", as Grant had been, and "struggling with depression", in consequence (Archer et al. 2018: 189). The negotiator did not amend his reality paradigm, even after Grant "exhibited communicative behaviours indicative of shame – in particular decreased responsiveness" (ibid: 195). He was therefore unable to move Grant toward a safer frame of mind. Grant fatally shot himself, as the negotiator was trying to get him to re-engage in conversation.

As the authors note, it is highly likely that the unnamed negotiator was attempting to provoke reparative moves indicative of a change in behaviour during their exchange: simply put, he needed Grant to surrender the firearm he was known to be in possession of and then come outside. His strategy failed, in part, because there was too much "dispraise of the other" (Leech 1983: 232) when the negotiator should have been focussing upon evaluating Grant's *actions* (cf. Tangney 1996: 743). Insult and personal criticism will tend to fuel "conflict by heightening identity damage" (Jones 2006: 29) for most interlocutors in most contexts. When such evaluations provoke shame in a subject-in-crisis (such as Grant), the option of suicide can all too easily become more favourable to them than their living through a traumatic event (Lester 1997: 360; Hammer 2007: 101; Archer et al. 2018: 188, 195).

1.1 Towards a linguistic toolkit of influencing strategies

Currently, police negotiation training in the UK draws on (without explaining the theory behind) fixed models that presuppose influence, such as the behavioural stairway (Vecchi et al. 2005) or the Cylindrical Model of Communication (Taylor 2002). Given the communication-based nature of negotiation (Putnam and Roloff 1992: 1), there is a growing belief, nonetheless, that it would be more advantageous for police negotiation training to be based on the notion of a linguistic toolkit of influencing strategies (from which police negotiators can draw). Face(work) and reality paradigms have already been shown to be useful pragmatic concepts for such a toolkit (Archer et al. 2018), and will be drawn upon again – and in the case of reality paradigms, expanded upon – in this chapter (see especially Section 4).

It should be noted that a working concept of face(work) is exploited within the extant (North American) crisis negotiation literature too. It tends to be discussed as a face *frame*, however, alongside other frames to do with *attunement*, *emotional distress* or making *substantive demands* (Hammer 2007: 72). Simply put, North American negotiators are encouraged to identify as a means of attending to:

–   A face frame when the subject is concerned predominantly with how s/he is being perceived.
–   An attunement frame when their predominant concern appears to be trust issues.
–   An emotional distress frame when the subject is experiencing noticeable (especially negative) emotions.
–   A substantive frame when s/he appears to be concerned predominantly with bargaining and problem-solving.

By making face into a frame, in this way, there is a danger that (North American) negotiators will focus on face issues only when a subject seems to be preoccupied with his or her self-image and reputation (e.g., how s/he is being perceived by the negotiator and/or others: cf. Hammer 2007). Conversely, face is likely not to be considered or, if it is, to be deemed to be less crucial if a subject is found to be operating out of an emotional distress frame (i.e., seems focused upon negative emotions like anger, fear or sadness) or an attunement frame (i.e., seems concerned about their relationship with/the extent to which they feel they can trust others). An overarching objective of this chapter, therefore, is to demonstrate that facework is pivotal at each stage of a crisis negotiation – regardless of the predominant frame of the subject.

1.2   The dataset

As noted in Section 1, this chapter focuses, primarily, on the barricade incident involving 22-year-old Jeremy Davis and a police negotiator named Sgt. Rich Weiner, from the Columbus Police Department, Ohio (USA). Henceforth, they will be referred to using their first names – Jeremy and Rich – in line with how they opted to refer to each other during the barricade (but see also Section 2). The incident was triggered by Jeremy, on 31 July 2016, when he took control of – and refused to exit – a stationary Columbus police vehicle, following a traffic violation. It later transpired that Jeremy (a heroin addict) had violated his parole by taking drugs and was afraid he would be returned to prison in consequence. The police were fearful too. First, because the subject had access to a firearm. Second, because of the potential for such incidents to escalate: be it, by causing injury to others or by leading to *suicide by cop* (Lyndsay and Lester 2004), that is, a subject deliberately behaving in a threatening manner with the aim of provoking a lethal response from the attending officers. As will become clear, Rich was able to persuade Jeremy to end his barricade – without injury to himself or others – after a 78-minute interaction with him: a recording of which is available from YouTube.[1] This chapter explores eight extracts (of differing lengths) from their 78-minute interaction, as a means of demonstrating the negotiator's need for "mental flexibility" (Ting-Toomey and Oetzel 2001: 178) during the negotiation. In this case, for example, Rich was able to:

i.   signal a sensitivity to the personal and situational factors that were shaping the interaction as it unfolded (see especially Sections 3–4);
ii.   respond to Jeremy's emotional distress appropriately (see Sections 3–5); and
iii. ultimately persuade Jeremy to reappraise his circumstances (see Section 6 and also Hammer 2007: 103).

With respect to outcome, this barricade incident stands in stark contrast to the Grant Sattaur barricade incident highlighted in Section 1 (having ended very differently). The two incidents nonetheless share some important similarities that are worth outlining here. Both subjects, Grant and Jeremy, (a) were in their early twenties at the time of the crisis intervention, (b) were treated as barricade subjects in possession of a firearm, and (c) interacted with their negotiator for over an hour. In order to demonstrate why the outcome was so different, the sections that follow will prioritise instances where, in contrast to Grant's negotiator, Rich:

1.   Recognised Jeremy's "interpersonal self-worth issues" (Ting-Toomey 1998: 188), and reacted accordingly.

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1.   See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fkmJG7hKgeI

2. Made use of "face-honoring [i.e., face-enhancing] messages" as a means of initiating "conflict de-escalation" (Hammer 2007: 92).

3. Combined empathy with (re)interpretation, as a means of (a) validating Jeremy's feelings whilst nonetheless questioning any dysfunctional reactions/ beliefs Jeremy seemed to have, and (b) guiding him (thereby) towards a safer frame of mind, whilst avoiding colluding (Pain 2009).

4. Was successful in getting Jeremy "to think about" his "experiences in a new kind of way" (Voutilainen 2012: 236–7, 242).

I begin by analysing the negotiator's opening interaction with Jeremy (see Section 2). This is deliberate for three reasons. First, as noted above, the initial interaction between Grant Sattaur and his unnamed negotiator is not publically available (as yet) and therefore could not be explored by Archer et al. (2018). Having access to a barricade negotiation (from its onset to its completion) makes possible a sequential analysis in respect to how, for example, face needs might change over time, beginning with the initial contact between subject and negotiator. Second, crisis-negotiation researchers like Slatkin (2015: 20) argue that "the initial contact between negotiator and subject" can be especially crucial with regard to setting "the tone and tenor for the negotiations" (e.g., "getting off on the right foot"). In fact, Slatkin (ibid) believes it to be a "foundation [for] all that follows". Third, I would contend that, as well as providing insights into how they are feeling, these initial contacts also provide negotiators with important clues as to their subject's reality paradigm – and how this (current view of the world) may need to change if the crisis is to be resolved (see especially Sections 3 and 6).

2. Initial contact

The YouTube clip of this 78-minute exchange begins, in fact, just prior to Sgt. Rich Weiner's opening interaction with Jeremy. Jeremy is heard to make a revealing self-disclosure – "can't go back" (at 23 seconds) – and two equally revealing imperatives – "tell them to take the shot" (25 seconds) and "tell them to please just shoot me" (52 seconds), all of which alluded to his preference for death (via *suicide by cop*) over prison. It is not initially clear, from the recording, whether Sgt. Rich Weiner – who was still travelling to the scene at this point – heard Jeremy's revelations. Instead, we hear Rich ask a colleague to confirm the identity of the man/guy "in the car" (at 1.09 and 1.37 minutes). After Rich was told (wrongly) that "his name [was] Josh" (1.43 minutes), he began to communicate with Jeremy directly, as follows.

(1)   Initial contact [1.48–3.02 mins into the 78-minute negotiation]

```
Rich:    Josh (.) my name is Rich (.) can you hear me
Jeremy:  name's not Josh it's Jeremy (.) and I can hear you
Rich:    Jeremy (.) I don't know what led to today (.) but (.) you're
         gonna be okay (.) I want you to promise me one thing can you
         do that
Jeremy:  I'm not gonna hurt nobody (.) I don't want to hurt anybody (.)
         I just [sobbing] I just want to start shooting me in the head
         (.) because it's that simple I'm not going back (.) I can't go
         back
Rich:    Jeremy I want you to promise me I know you said you're not
         going to hurt any of us and I believe you but I want you to
         promise me that you won't hurt yourself either okay
Jeremy:  I'm not gonna hurt me (.) you're gonna hurt me for me
         [sobbing] (1) listen (.) can you please please tell my
         fiancé I'm so sorry I swear to god I'm so sorry I do not
         want to leave her like this but I can't go back to prison
         man (.) I've been in jail my whole life (.) I can't go back
```

Initial contacts have long been recognised as being "particularly stressful moments" for negotiators (Bohl 1997: 47), not least because, in assuming "responsibility for… the safety" of others – including, in cases like this, the subjects themselves – they are acutely aware of the need "to set about creating a trusting relationship" with him or her. Notice that, in his first utterance to Jeremy, Rich forwent any form of greeting, preferring (a) to use (what he thought was) the subject's first name, (b) to offer a shortened form of his own first name, and (c) to then ask a polar interrogative to determine whether Jeremy could hear him. Directly addressing someone by their (first) name is a way of signalling that the message is directed to them, as well as being a recognised rapport-building technique (amongst English speakers). It is important to use the correct name, however, and to not be overly presumptuous when it comes to the use of shortened names or nicknames (as well as to consider – in order to facilitate – cultural differences). The faux pas was not disastrous in this case, however, as Jeremy was prepared both to correct the naming mistake – albeit using the full form of his first name – and also answer Rich's hearing query affirm-atively, thereby signalling to the negotiator that he was not completely disengaged (in spite of his apparent preference for *suicide by cop* over prison). Rich did not apologise for the naming error, preferring instead to stress that, although he did not yet know the circumstances that had "led to today", Jeremy was "gonna be okay". In essence, Rich was predicting an alternative – more positive – future for Jeremy that did not involve *suicide by cop* (see also Sections 4 and 6). He then sought to secure a promise from him. Instead of spelling out what the "one thing" was that he wanted Jeremy to promise him, however, Rich focussed first on Jeremy's ability/ willingness to make the promise ("can you do that"). Jeremy's response signalled his belief that the promise related to him not hurting anybody. He was careful to

reassure Rich, at this point, that he lacked the desire as well as the intention to hurt others, moreover (compare "don't want" and "not gonna"). He also repeated his earlier "want" to be fatally "shot" rather than return to prison, and was crying as he did so, thereby providing Rich with a strong signal that his reality paradigm (i.e., how he perceived his world at this time) had not changed. In his response, Rich purposefully acknowledged both the statement that Jeremy "was not going to hurt any" of them and his belief in that statement, before then spelling out what he actually wanted Jeremy to promise: not hurting himself. Jeremy reiterated his own reality paradigm relating to *suicide by cop* at this point – but also signalled his feelings for a significant other in his life, his fiancé Chelsea (see Section 6). The language Jeremy used in respect to his fiancé – "I'm so sorry" (x2), "I swear to god", "I do not want to leave her like this" – alluded, once again, to the extent of his emotional distress at this time, especially when coupled with his sobbing.

3. Acknowledging anxieties, sowing the seeds of an alternative future

Differing "perceptions of reality" (Archer et al. 2018: 186) have the potential to shape interlocutors' face(work) for good or ill. Grant Sattaur was perceived unfavourably as being a "coward" and thus "not man enough" to come outside by his negotiator, for example (ibid.: see also Introduction). Rather than attacking the subject's positive face, as Grant's negotiator had done, Rich opted to enhance Jeremy's positive face whenever possible. He attended to Jeremy's primary concern – going back to prison – almost immediately, for example, using a *tell me*-imperative that was specific (in seeking to understand *why*) but non-directive (in requiring neither a "yes"/"no" response, nor suggesting a specific answer to Jeremy).[2] As Extract 2 reveals, Jeremy addressed the *why* of Rich's *tell me*-imperative twice in a five-minute interchange, each time explaining that his "parole officer" had "violated" him "because" he had been "doing drugs":

(2) Tell me why… [3.05–8.08 mins into the 78-minute negotiation]

```
Rich:     Jeremy tell me why you think you're going back to prison
Jeremy:   [sobbing throughout] "cos my parole officer violated me
          because I'm doing drugs man (.) I haven't broke any laws
          I haven't hurt anybody nothing man (2) I'm going to prison
          because I'm doing drugs man (.) I came home (1) I didn't know
          I went to prison when I was sixteen man I didn't know how to
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2. Demanding some sort of response from Jeremy automatically imposed upon his negative face of course: i.e., his *want* or desire to be able to act freely (Brown and Levinson 1987), but this was offset by the invitation for Jeremy to begin exploring his feelings over (returning to) prison.

```
              live out here man (3) I just – I can't go back to prison man
              I just needed help with the drug problem that was all (.) I
              got pulled over (.) it's the end of the line man (.) can you
              tell them please [coughing] just shoot me in the head man
              please (.) 'cos I don't wanna go back to prison
Rich:         hey Jeremy (.) no one said you're going back to prison (.)
              and if what you're telling me if this was just a traffic
              stop (.) this is a small bump in the road right now okay (.)
              you're not- no one said you're going back to prison (.) and I
              can hear the pain in your voice so I don't want you to think
              that way now okay (.) you're thinking way down the line (.)
              and as far as getting help (.) for your drug problem for your
              addiction (.) we can help you do that (.) but the first thing
              we gotta do is get through right now (.) so what I'm asking
              you to do (.) is I want you to put that gun down (.) I do not
              want any officers to see you with that gun in your hand (.)
              can you do that for me
Jeremy:       [sobbing throughout] they can't see this gun (.) this gun is
              in my pants man (.) and I'm not gonna do anything to anybody
              with it [sobs] they shoot me in the leg or something try to
              drag me out (1) then that's when I'm gonna shoot my head off
              man (.) until then I'm not gonna do nothing to nobody (.)
              not myself not nobody else (1) I don't even want it to be a
              shoot out here there's a big ass gas truck over there the gas
              station (.) fucking thing's gonna go up like a bomb man (.)
              innocent people gonna be hurt everywhere
Rich:         you don't sound like the kind of guy that wants to hurt
              anybody so I don't think we have to worry about that today
              (.) so long as you promise me right (.) I wanna hear you say
              (.) that you promise you're not gonna hurt yourself
Jeremy:       I promise I'm not gonna hurt myself and nobody else man (.)
              but I'm not going back to prison (.) if they (.) make it my
              last resort to kill myself before I go back then that's what
              it's gonna be
Rich:         hey Jeremy (.) just so you know I'm not there so I can't see
              what's going on but I'm on my way there okay (.) and I want
              you to know that nobody's- nobody there is going to hurt you
Jeremy:       [sobbing throughout] just need them to sir (.) I need them
              to go ahead and end this (1) it's been drawn out too long
              already (.) people got shit to do man (.) my PO (.) she
              violated me man I'm doin- I'm going back to prison man (.)
              for doing drugs (.) they're going to put me in the county (.)
              I've got to withdraw off of heroin (.) I can't do it man I
              can't do it
Rich:         alright then let us help you (.) that's all we wanna do just
              wanna help you (.) now (.) nobody's hurt you so far (.) all
              they did was pull you over (.) you're talking to me you seem
              (1) like you- like you don't wanna hurt anybody so everyone's
              gonna be just fine today do you- do you hear me
Jeremy:       listen man I'm not gonna hurt nobody I got a fucking twelve
              gauge sitting right next to me man (.) [sobbing] I'm in the cop
              car with the keys man (1) if I wanted to take off right now I
              could (.) I just don't want nobody innocent to get shot man
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Rich:     then that's not gonna happen (.) would you be willing to toss
          that gun out the door
Jeremy:   nope nope not yet man no (.) [sobbing] 'cause all they're
          gonna do is run up on me man (1) I'm already in handcuffs (1)
          they're gonna run up on me man and- and take me to jail man
          (.) that gun's the only thing keeping me from going to jail
          right now (..) but I promise you I won't hurt nobody with
          that gun
Rich:     I believe you (.) now (.) can I make a promise to you
Jeremy:   If you'd like to sir
Rich:     I promise you (.) if you talk to me (.) and we work through
          this (.) you're not gonna get hurt (.) I promise you that's
          not gonna happen
```

This interchange, some 3-to-8 minutes into the 78-minute barricade incident, provided Rich with further evidence of the subject's emotional state. Jeremy's fear of having to return to prison was evident throughout, for example, as was the helplessness he felt due to his drug addiction. Rich appears to have recognised both as (what police negotiators call) *hooks*, that is, topics with which to begin de-escalating the situation, with the aim of "extract[ing] the subject from [the] crisis" (Strentz 2013: 17). He emphasised that "no one [had] said [Jeremy was] going back to prison" (x2), for example: but stopped himself from stating that this was not a possibility (see Section 6). He then acknowledged "the pain in [Jeremy's] voice", as a means of validating his feelings, whilst being careful to combine his demonstration of empathy with a re-interpretation of Jeremy's situation. He stressed that, if Jeremy's explanation of this as "just a traffic stop" was accurate, this was no more than a metaphorical "bump in the road" – and a "small" one at that. He also used Jeremy's "pain" as his reason for "want[ing Jeremy not] to think that" death was favourable at this point. He went on to suggest "help" for Jeremy's "addiction" was possible, but that it was contingent upon the (more pressing) imminent action of Jeremy putting his gun down and being "willing to toss [it] out the door".

The objective of the type of strategy highlighted above – beyond securing a firearm without incident – is to guide the subject toward a safer frame of mind, whilst avoiding any sense of colluding in their dysfunctional beliefs (Pain 2009): such as death (and, in particular, *suicide by cop*) being preferable to prison. If we look beyond Jeremy's repeated claims that "it [was] the end of the line" for him because he did not "wanna"/could not "go back" to prison and that he "need[ed] them to go ahead and end this", we do have evidence of the beginnings of a change in mind-set – even at this early stage in the negotiation. Notice in particular that Jeremy modified his negative responses (x3) using "not yet" when asked if he "would be willing to toss [the] gun out the door". He then explained that the gun was "the only thing keeping [him] from jail", before promising to not "hurt nobody with" it. This meant that, at some level, Jeremy was open to eventually surrendering

the gun, without injury to others, in the knowledge that he would most likely be returned to prison (see Section 6).

In spite of such positive signs some eight minutes into the barricade incident, it would take a further 70 minutes before Jeremy surrendered the firearm and exited the police vehicle. As McMains and Mullins (2014: 151) note, negotiations tend to "take time" because of the need to build a relationship between negotiator and subject that allows the former to gather intelligence, defuse emotions and enhance self-efficacy in the subject. In a crisis-negotiation context, the latter in particular involves:

i.   determining the beliefs a subject holds, especially in respect to their perceived ability to face challenges;
ii.   helping them to establish some self-belief that they can change things, be it themselves and/or their circumstances; and
iii. moving them on to problem solving with the support of the negotiator and, possibly, others.

These aspects are explored, further, in Sections 4 and 6, in particular.

4.   Belief-worlds, want-worlds and intent-worlds

McMains and Mullins (2014: 151) highlight the importance of contrasting any "violent confrontation" the subject may expect "from the police" with a "genuine desire to help" such that the negotiator comes to be perceived as an "ally". Because of Jeremy's preference for *suicide by cop* over prison, Rich's use of (what is often labelled) "the contrast effect" (Cialdini 1984) did not involve juxtaposing "potential deadly harm" with a "genuine desire to help" as McMains and Mullins suggest negotiators might do when interacting with hostage takers (ibid). Rich was careful, instead, to emphasise that the "guys" he worked with were "professionals" (20.43–20.48 minutes), that is, "good cops" who had "a lot of patience" and were thus "the best people" to "have here" (49.30–49.41 minutes), given Jeremy's predicament. We have further evidence, then, of Rich attempting to influence Jeremy's reality paradigm (i.e., the "filter" by which he perceived and interpreted the world) with his own. Negotiators need to be able to identify – so that they can influence – subjects' mental models of the world (or mind-sets), in this way, as they have the capacity to not only shape how a subject understands his/her world, but also how s/he makes inferences from/predictions based on what others have said or done (and decisions about how to act in consequence, etc.). Rich needed to convince Jeremy to surrender a firearm, and end a barricade incident, but this also meant convincing him he had a future. Hence his statement that Jeremy was "gonna be

okay" (in Extract 1); designed to project an immediate future reality for Jeremy that was different to Jeremy's prediction he would be killed by police snipers. Rich also went on to assert that, as Jeremy did not "wanna hurt anybody…everyone [was] gonna be just fine today" (at 6.53–6.57 minutes).

These competing realities to Jeremy's reality paradigm can be described as "belief-worlds" (Werth 1999), as can Rich's descriptions of his colleagues (above). Negotiators might also look out for "want-worlds" and "intent-worlds" (Werth 1999) in their interactions with subjects.[3] As this barricade incident reveals, these modal-worlds can overlap with one another as well as with (deontic) modal-worlds to do with, for example, permission, obligation and requirement or (epistemic) modal-worlds to do with, for example, (not) knowing, tentativeness, etc. Rich, for example, repeatedly stated an intention – using [*not*] *gonna* / [*not*] *going to* – and a desire – using *want* / *wanna* – whilst obliging himself and/or requiring Jeremy to act in some way – using *promise*. "I want you to promise me that you won't hurt yourself" is one of three examples of Rich requiring something of Jeremy in such a way in Extract 1.[4] Jeremy used a similar strategy, in the same extract, to signal he was "not gonna" nor did not "want to hurt anybody"; he "just want[ed them] to start shooting [him] in the head".

Rich went on to use the phrase *I want you* […] on twenty further occasions during the 78-minute barricade incident. Two sought for Jeremy "to take a couple of breaths" and "gather [him]self" so that Rich could better hear him, thereby attending to his level of emotional distress (see Extract 3). Signalling a "want" for Jeremy to calm down (in order to become less emotional and more rational), as in Extract 3 (below), had the potential to be face threatening, given the latent implicature that Jeremy was being too emotional. The strategy was probably deemed worthwhile, by Rich, given the need for Jeremy to repeat an address that would allow them to make contact with Chelsea (Jeremy's partner). Note that Rich then went on to use the same phrase, *I want you* […], alongside its negated form, to make clear he did not "want [Jeremy] talking to [Chelsea] on the phone", preferring instead for them

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3. Gavins (2007) prefers the description, boulomaic modal-worlds.

4. A promise equates to a purpose-world, under Werth's (1999: 238–9) terminology, as it presents intentions that are deictically placed within some future time zone. Rich used the word, *promise(s)*, on 41 occasions – most of which performed the speech act of promising or reported that a promise had been made and/or was going to be adhered to. As well as seeking a promise from Jeremy that he would not harm himself (as in this example), Rich "want[ed]" him to promise that he would keep the gun/his hands where they were, and "not…do anything until" they had the opportunity to "talk some more" (56.01–56.12 minutes). Rich promised, in return, that no-one would move against Jeremy, that Rich would make a recording of his fiancé once she arrived, and that he would also help Jeremy in other ways.

all to "talk [together] face to face" (see 9.22 minutes and especially 14.44–14.48 minutes). The aim, here, was to continue reinforcing a more positive, immediate future for Jeremy (that involved speaking with Rich and Chelsea), whilst nonetheless maintaining some control over the message Jeremy would hear from Chelsea and how he would ultimately hear it (for more details, in this regard, see Section 6).

(3)   Keep talking to me [10.42–15.47 mins into the 78-minute negotiation]

```
Rich:      hey Jeremy (.) I have a hard time hearing you on this radio
           (.) when you're crying (.) so I want you to take a couple
           of deep breaths for me okay (.) and I want you to gather
           yourself (.) and I want you to repeat what you just said
Jeremy:    [composes himself] she's on the corner of Sixth and Reed
           South Columbus (.) Sixth Street and Reed Avenue (.) R - E -
           E - D [xxx] if you pull up there (.) have somebody ask for
           her she'll come out […]
Rich:      […] alright we'll start working on that but you keep talking
           to me okay
Jeremy:    (2) sir I just don't wanna go back to prison (.) I came home
           [sobs] (.) I tried to find a job (.) nobody'd give me a job
           (.) can't go to college because of my criminal background (2)
           don't know what else to do man I-I struggle out here every
           day [sobs] (1) but I don't I don't commit no crimes man I
           don't do anything I-I do heroin (.) little cocaine (.) the
           only thing wrong I do man (1) you know I went to every drug
           class she ordered me to go to (.) I tried to go to rehab (1)
           you know (.) the fucking (.) there's one thing after another
           man I was supposed to go to rehab Wednesday (.) shattered
           my ankle (.) so I had to go have surgery on my ankle (1) my
           fucking ankle's killing me man [sobs] (.) you know what I
           mean (.) so they won't let me into rehab for that (.) […]
Rich:      you know addiction's tough (.) we deal with a lot of people
           that have that (2) I-I don't know what you're going through
           I can't pretend that I know (.) but I've seen a lot of
           people struggle with it (.) and I know that we have a lot of
           resources that can help you (.) so (.) prison is the last
           thing (.) the last place that- that I want to put you or see
           you go (.) so you gotta be willing to work with me so we can
           work around this but I tell you (.) I'm gonna be honest with
           you (.) the longer this goes on (1) the less chance we have
           of keeping you out (.) I'll make you a promise (.) if we
           can get this resolved quick (.) without anyone getting hurt
           including yourself (.) we can get the resources for you (.)
           do you believe me
Jeremy:    I don't know man (.) if you let me see my wife I'm willing to
           trust you though
Rich:      okay (1) so wife (.) is that- is that Chelsea
Jeremy:    yeah
Rich:      okay I'll make you that promise (1) now I'm not gonna let
           you talk to her until we resolve this but I promise you that
           you me and her can sit in the back of a wagon and we can talk
           about what our next steps are (.) you willing to do that
[…]
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Jeremy:   […] I just- I don't even gotta see her man I just need to
          talk to her on the phone
Rich:     hey you know what (1) I don't want you talking to her on the
          phone (.) I want you to talk to her face to face with me (.)
          okay
Jeremy:   (2) I don't understand why I gotta go back to prison for
          getting high man (.) and then on top of that I just caught
          this case (.) you know so that's another five ten years in
          the joint (.) I just did six man (.) supermax max close I
          done been through it all (.) it's all the same man
Rich:     you know what you're having a conversation with me right now
          (.) you're calming down (.) you haven't threatened to hurt
          anybody (.) that goes a long way in-in court and I promise
          you (.) if you work with me (.) I'll come to that court case
          and I'll- I'll talk to the prosecutor and the judge (.) I
          can't make you promises because they're gonna do what they do
          (.) but I can definitely tell them how you cooperated with me
          (.) but (.) that's exactly what you gotta do you gotta help
          me help you
```

Note how Rich responded to Jeremy's self-disclosures in Extract 3 above. He counter-balanced not "know[ing] what" Jeremy was "going through" and not "pretend[ing to] know", with knowing that "addiction's tough" and having knowledge of "a lot of resources that can help". The latter, in turn, became Rich's justification for "prison" being "the last place that" he "want[ed] to put…or see [Jeremy] go". However, he was careful to draw on an obligation-world in order to emphasise that Jeremy had to "be willing to work with" him. Rich then described their "conversation" in ways that pointed to the progress made to date. This included highlighting that Jeremy had "calm[ed] down" and had not threatened "to hurt anybody", both of which attended to his positive face (i.e., Jeremy's "want" to be approved of, appreciated, etc.). Rich followed this with a conditional promise and a "gotta" statement, thereby merging purpose-worlds (see footnote 5) and obligation-worlds on this occasion. Collectively, they emphasised a point that Rich was to make in different ways throughout the 78-minute barricade incident: that Jeremy's cooperation was the key to a positive outcome.

5. Influencing through (a temporary) connection

Promises are not only amongst the most common speech acts in negotiation contexts (Donohue and Ramesh 1992: 220) but also provide an extremely useful means by which negotiator and subject can signal a level of mutual cooperation (Cheney et al. 1972). Indeed, Bonoma et al. (1974) and Donohue and Ramesh (1992) share the view that negotiators can trigger a reciprocal exchange of promises – as well as offers – by engaging in a process of cooperative bargaining. There is evidence of

this in this barricade incident. It is also in line with the Liking Principle namely, the human tendency to (be more likely to) comply with the requests of those we know and like – or, failing that, those with the "likeability factor" (Cialdini 2001: 144). Compliments can be another reliable method of influence, according to Cialdini (ibid. 148–156), although they need to be context-sensitive given that subjects like Jeremy (and Grant) may have an extremely poor self-image[5] to the point of displaying suicidal tendencies. We have already noted Rich's use of promises and face enhancement above (see especially Section 4). The strategies feature in Extract 4 too, as does a third influence-inducing strategy relating to accentuating similarities.

(4)   Something in common [52.40–55.47 mins into the 78-minute negotiation]

```
Rich:     alright (.) tell me a little bit more what school did you go
          to (…) what kind of activities did you do (.) did you play
          sports or uh (.) hang out with your friends
Jeremy:   yeah I played baseball man (.) till I started fucking with
          drugs uh at about fourteen(.) real heavy (.) so (.) started
          smoking crack when I was twelve (.) seems like I've been
          fucked up ever since man
Rich:     well hey (.) you ain't gonna believe this until you see me
          later (.) but we've got something in common
Jeremy:   (1) you like to play ball do you
Rich:     I had to leave the baseball field to come out here and talk
          to you (.) I'm still in my uniform
Jeremy:   I'm sorry about that
Rich:     nah man you don't have to apologise don't apologise at all
          (.) just when-when she comes here (.) you and me can talk a
          little bit but until then (.) what position did you play
Jeremy:   shortstop mostly (.) you know I bounced around a lot though
          (.) never pitching
Rich:     alright good so we have a lot in common because I'm uh (.)
          I'm second baseman (.) so you got the power middle
Jeremy:   yeah that's where all the fun's at
Rich:     yeah you got that right (.) so you didn't ruin anything for
          me today (.) I-I was zero for one so far for the day so (.)
          you might've just pulled me out of a slump
Jeremy:   [chuckles] that's cool you can give me some shits and giggles
          [laughs] right now man
Rich:     well that's because you're letting me talk to you (.) so I
          appreciate that (8) so you a righty or a lefty
Jeremy:   righty
Rich:     what-what pl- uh what place did you er bat in the order
Jeremy:   [coughs] round three or four
Rich:     nice (.) do you ever play a wooden bat or are you just all
          aluminium
Jeremy:   I started to (.) I was- I was toughening my hands up for it
          and that was around the time I quit
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5.   Other subjects may be pursuing a course of action that most people would find morally objectionable (such as threatening to murder hostages).

Similarity is touted by both Byrne (1971) and Cialdini (2001) as being the most in-fluential quality a negotiator can display in negotiation contexts, due to the human tendency to like those with whom we have the most in common. Interestingly, Rich made use of this particular strategy after Jeremy became agitated by the presence of armed police officers looking for and then retrieving his phone from the car he had been driving (before being pulled over for the traffic violation). Rich asked a question designed to establish "what activities", including "sports", Jeremy had engaged in when in school. When Jeremy stated he had "played baseball" prior to getting involved with drugs, Rich retorted: "hey (.) you ain't gonna believe this until you see me later (.) but we've got something in common". As Brown and Levinson (1987: 108) highlight, even when strangers "imply common ground…to a limited extent", it enables them to "perceive themselves as similar" (if only "for the purposes of the interaction").[6] Rich's language at this point served to intensify this effect, as he framed whatever they shared in common as something that would (positively) surprise Jeremy, thereby allowing Jeremy to guess – and invite Rich to confirm – whether their similarity related to playing baseball. When Jeremy learned Rich had had to leave the playing field in order to talk with him, he engaged in more facework: "I'm sorry about that". As the apology had positive face implications for Jeremy, Rich was quick to insist he did not "have to apologise". He then made explicit that, whilst they waited for Chelsea, they could use the time to continue talking. Rich's questions thereafter elicited responses, around baseball, that allowed this negotiator to claim they had, in fact, "a <u>lot</u> in common" (my emphasis). He also engaged in further face enhancement, by suggesting that, rather than "ruin[ing] anything for him", Jeremy had "pulled [him] out of a slump". Rich's self-deprecatory humour regarding his poor performance served to increase the (growing) con-nection between them, as evidenced by Jeremy's statement that Rich had "give[n] him] some shits and giggles" and his accompanying laughter. Using "humour and joking" is not always advisable, as part of crisis negotiations, due to their potential to heighten emotional arousal in subjects experiencing psychological difficulties (Ireland 2012: 86). Rich, however, drew on a type of humour that strangers might use when getting acquainted, in order to achieve relational connection (see, e.g., Haugh 2011). Rich also followed this up with an expression of appreciation for "letting" [him] "talk" to Jeremy. Rich's positive evaluation of this particular behav-iour – using something akin to process-oriented complimenting – was most likely a move to encourage Jeremy to repeat that behaviour (i.e., keep talking). And it worked. Indeed, as Rich prepared to move to another location (in order to pick up a phone), Jeremy revealed to him he had guessed he was the police officer "in the

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6. "Establishing common ground" is a well-known positive politeness strategy (see Brown and Levinson 1987: 107).

Ford Focus huh or the Fusion" (56.30 minutes), allowing both an opportunity to continue connecting, relationally-speaking:

(5) Don't laugh [56.44–57.09 mins into the 78-minute negotiation]

```
Rich:    alright if you see me don't laugh (.) because I got flip
         flops my baseball pants and a cut off shirt on
Jeremy:  that your average day work attire
Rich:    oh I wish man
Jeremy:  it's a Sunday (.) getting some overtime man right
Rich:    yeah a little bit
```

On this occasion, Jeremy engaged in banter with Rich, by asking him whether his clothing was his "average day attire". He also initiated a new other-focussed topic, relating to whether Rich would receive overtime (given it was a Sunday), and signalled, thereby, an increased level of engagement.

6. (Temporarily) seeing experiences in a new kind of way

As Kolb and Williams (2001: 186) note, albeit in respect to a different kind of negotiation, it can be:

> […] difficult to keep [a] conversation going. But as long as [interlocutors] continue talking there is a chance to come together. It takes times for trust and rapport to be established and for the [subject]'s story to emerge. It takes times for [them] to adjust to seeing things differently. The steps [interlocutors] take to keep the dialogue going provide that time.

As crisis negotiators know only too well, "adjust[ing] to seeing things differently" (ibid.) may only be temporary when it comes to subjects in crisis. Indeed, they all too often find themselves called out to talk with a suicidal subject, who they (or a colleague) has negotiated with previously. Alternatively, they find they are able to help an individual at the scene, only to learn those individuals have not been able to change their life longer term (as in Jeremy's case).[7] This does not affect the crisis negotiator's role, of course, as the expectation of getting a subject past their immediate crisis assumes a short-term fix at best (Strentz 2012). An important part of achieving this involves encouraging the subject towards "a new *outer reality*" (Archer et al. 2018: 196), that is, getting them "to think about" their "experiences in a new kind of way" (Voutilainen 2012: 236–7, 242): hence my focus on reality paradigms (as well as facework) in this chapter. As the previous sections demonstrate, Rich's

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7.   See http://www.dispatch.com/content/stories/local/2017/01/02/1-police-negotiator-never-sure-how-efforts-will-turn-out.html.

strategy, in this regard, was to offer Jeremy an alternative future and how to get
to that future via both a re-interpretation of his current predicament and also the
promise of specific future actions on Rich's part that, importantly, were contingent
upon Jeremy first promising and then performing reciprocal (imminent) future
actions. There were at least three pivotal moments, in this barricade incident, where
Jeremy went on to signal his openness to Rich's strategy. As Extracts 6–8 reveal, all
centred around Chelsea in some way.

(6)   If X then Y [58.46–101.19 mins into the 78-minute negotiation]

```
Rich      we got Chelsea (.) and they're bringing her to me right now
Jeremy    you serious
Rich      told you man I ain't gonna lie to you (8) alright (.) so I
          want you to try thinking about something (.) she's gonna come
          here and I'm gonna talk to her (.) then I'm gonna play a
          recording (.) I'm gonna have her talk into the recorder (.)
          and then I'm gonna play it for you (.) just so you know that
          she's here (1) you good with that
Jeremy    Yeah
Rich      alright (1) are we still good (.) as far as our plan (.) and
          that plan is (.) once you know she's here you're willing to
          come out (.) is that right
Jeremy    yeah (.) that's right
Rich      thank you (.) alright you wanna talk some more ball
Jeremy    (3) [crying] just give me a sec
Rich      (4) I'll give you a second just tell me (.) tell me why
Jeremy    I just get upset thinking about her man that's all
Rich      (4) sounds to me like you have a lot of feelings for her
Jeremy    (4) ain't never felt like this about anybody in the world
Rich      (4) everybody has one that falls in their laps at least one
          time in their life (.) sounds like this one is yours (.) so I
          promise you (.) I'm gonna help with some resources for both
          you and her (.) but it- no kidding around it's gonna be a lot
          of work on both your parts
Jeremy    (5) if they can get her into rehab man and get her clean (2)
          I'll take the prison cell
```

In Section 3, I noted how Rich used Jeremy's fear of having to return to prison
and helplessness he felt due to his drug addiction as *hooks* with which to begin
de-escalating the situation, very early in the barricade incident. Two other *hooks*
then became evident as the incident developed, namely, Jeremy's feelings for
Chelsea and Jeremy's statements throughout that he did not want innocent people
to die due to his actions. The former hook is especially evident in Extract 6. It begins
with Rich signalling that Chelsea is on her way. That Rich was able to honour this
promise definitely benefitted the negotiation (cf. Greenstone 2005: 92). He was also
able to reiterate to Jeremy that, true to what he had told him previously, he was not
"gonna lie". Such statements have impression formation in mind: simply put, Rich
was portraying himself as consistently trustworthy. Rich then informed Jeremy that

he would prepare a recording of Chelsea for him, on condition that their "plan" of Jeremy coming out once he knew Chelsea was there was "still good". When Jeremy confirmed this to be the case, Rich intended to continue their discussion around baseball, but had to change tactics when Jeremy became emotional again. When it transpired that Jeremy was "upset" due to thinking about Chelsea, Rich was careful to emphasise his recognition that Chelsea was special to Jeremy, and then reassert his promise to get him help. He also mentioned helping Chelsea, and it was at this point Jeremy signalled a willingness to go to prison, conditional upon Chelsea getting help. This constituted a significant change in Jeremy's reality paradigm, when compared to the beginning of the call (cf. Section 2). A changing reality paradigm is also evident in Extract 7, at the point Jeremy acknowledged that he could "see" an alternative, possible future world where he made "it through this" and, thus, got to experience a "second chance". The extract begins with Rich using a colloquial expression, "paper" (denoting Jeremy's probation status), as a rapport strategy:

(7)   Positive short stop [1:02:08–1:05:07 mins into the 78-minute negotiation]

```
Rich:     what kind of paper you got hanging over your head
Jeremy:   I got three years over my head (.) nine month increments (2)
          they can't send me back for no more than nine months (.)
          it's not the time though man (.) it's the principle (.) I
          did every day of my six years man (.) every day (.) for a- a
          mistake I made as a kid man (.) a grown man tried to kill me
          and I shot him (.) I was sixteen years old never had a felony
          in my life (.) and they sent me to prison man as an adult (.)
          I went through a lot of shit in there man (2) I don't wanna
          go back there man (.) turned me into somebody I don't wanna
          be (.) just to survive day to day
Rich:     so you said you made some mistakes when you were still a kid
          well I'm gonna tell you what you're twenty two years old (.)
          you're still a kid
Jeremy:   yeah and I've already fucked my life forever
Rich:     no you didn't (.) you got a long life ahead of you bud (10)
          you hear me (.) you're twenty two years old (.) I got a son
          that's twenty two he's still a kid (1) you got a lot ahead
          of you (.) but the biggest obstacle you got right now (.) is
          this addiction problem (.) and this is definitely something
          that we can get you through
Jeremy:   I hope so (.) I hope so for Chelsea's sake man (2) I don't
          wanna die man but I ain't scared to (.) I'll look death right
          in the eye today if I have to (.) I just want what's best for
          her (.) and I'm terrified of leaving her out there alone
Rich:     I know you had a hard one man (.) that'd be tough on anybody
          (.) but you're gonna make it through this one today (.) this
          is gonna be your second chance (.) do you agree
Jeremy:   yeah I can see that happening
Rich:     good man (.) I need a positive short stop on this end and it
          sounds like I got one
Jeremy:   Yeah
```

In this three minute exchange, Jeremy disclosed a "mistake" he made as a "kid" (shooting "a grown man" that "tried to kill" him when he "was sixteen years old"). Rich mirrored his description back to him ("made some mistakes") before stating that, at only "twenty two years old" he was "still a kid". The likely strategy, here, was to signal to Jeremy that, given he was "still a kid", he was young enough to change his future (and hence do something about the man he had become in order "to survive day to day" in prison). The potential for such statements to sound patronising and/or to be rejected must be considered here. Jeremy's response, for example, signalled his belief that he had "fucked [his] life forever". Rich emphatically disagreed at this point, and opted to disclose something about himself: that he had "a son that's twenty two" who was (also) "still a kid" (as a means of justifying his youthful assessment of Jeremy). Rich then re-asserted explicitly that Jeremy had a future, by affirming he had "a long life" and "a lot ahead of" him. He was careful, nonetheless, to stress that Jeremy's "biggest obstacle…right now" was his "addiction problem", before stressing this was "something" they could get through (and together – hence the "we"). When Jeremy signalled he "hope[d] so for Chelsea's sake" and was "terrified of leaving her out there alone" (even though he was not "scared to die" but – note – did not "wanna die" by this point), Rich acknowledged Jeremy had "had a hard" life "that'd be tough on anybody". He then reasserted, once again, that Jeremy was "gonna make it through this one today", and that it would be his "second chance", before asking for Jeremy's agreement. Jeremy gave it, and was evaluated positively by Rich in consequence ("good man").

It is interesting to compare Jeremy's self-evaluations throughout the 78-minute incident with Rich's evaluations of Jeremy (and his plight) as well as himself (and his role in helping Jeremy). Jeremy saw himself as a drug addict (see Extract 2), who "started smoking crack when [he] was twelve" and started "fucking with drugs… real heavy" at "fourteen", and had "been fucked up ever since" (Extract 4). He stated that he had tried but failed to get a job and had not gone to college because of his "criminal background" (Extract 3), but stopped short of presenting himself as a criminal. Indeed, he claimed not to "commit no crimes", and that "the only thing wrong he" did was to take "heroin" and a "little cocaine" (Extract 3), but did disclose (as stated above) that he had made the "mistake" of killing a man when a "kid" of "sixteen" (see Extract 7). Jeremy was adamant, nonetheless, that he would hurt no one (Extract 3), but himself, in this barricade incident. His preference, though, was for the police to hurt him (Extracts 1 and 2). Indeed, suicide by cop was preferable to him than prison. In the context of crisis negotiation, subjects like Jeremy are expected – and strongly encouraged – to self-disclose. Self-disclosure can be used by negotiators too: to create a connection with the subject and/or to humanise them. Rich, for example, shared his passion for baseball with Jeremy and presented the both of them as baseball players, in consequence. He also told

Jeremy he had a son his age, thereby presenting himself as a father (as well as a negotiator). He presented himself, in addition, as someone who could help Jeremy and his fiancé (Extracts 2, 3, 6 and 7) and who was true to his word (i.e., consistently trustworthy: Extract 6). Rich portrayed Jeremy, in turn, as someone who had made "mistakes" (Extract 7), and had a "drug addiction" problem (Extracts 2, 3 and 7), following Jeremy's lead, but also emphasised (contra Jeremy) his belief that Jeremy still had "a lot ahead of" him (Extract 7). When Jeremy exhibited behaviours that Rich wanted him to continue (such as letting them talk together), Rich signalled his appreciation (Extract 4). He was willing to signal, too, that he believed Jeremy (when, e.g., he stated he was "not going to hurt any[one]": Extract 1), as well as to thank him (Extract 6) and evaluate him positively (as a "good man": Extract 7) when he demonstrated he was moving towards a safer frame of mind.

In their last exchange together, Jeremy talked about believing Rich too, but made this conditional upon Rich having been able to give him a name (Jerome) that he would not have known without speaking to Chelsea (see Extract 8). It came after Rich played the audio recording of Chelsea to him, and prompted Jeremy, in turn, to keep to his commitment to exit the vehicle straightaway (see Extract 8).

(8)   Coming out [1:16:34–17.57 mins into the 78-minute negotiation]

```
Rich        Alright man you ready to hear this recording
Jeremy      Yeah
Rich        alright here it is
Recording   Jeremy this is Chelsea (.) I miss y'all (.) I love you and
            I need you in my life (.) please come out to me I love you
            so much
Rich        alright man that was it
Jeremy      the only reason I believe you is because you know Jerome
            (.) I'm gonna come out though
Rich        wait a second (.) are you ready to come out you said
Jeremy      yeah (.) but are you gonna stick to your word (.) and we're
            gonna talk (.) me you and her
Rich        yep I made that promise I'm gonna keep it
Jeremy      we'll see (.) and if not man thank you for what you done
            man (1) now listen (.) I'm gonna roll that window down so
            that man can give me the instructions
Rich        alright
```

Note that, when Rich sought clarification that Jeremy was ready to exit the vehicle, and Jeremy gave it, Jeremy sought clarification in turn that Rich would "stick to [his] word" that the three of them – Rich, Chelsea and Jeremy – would talk. Although Rich reaffirmed himself to be a man of his word, Jeremy engaged in some interesting facework of his own at this point: he allowed for the possibility that the talk might not happen, nonetheless, and "thank[ed Rich] for what [he had] done" anyway.

7. Value of facework and other pragmatic concepts to crisis negotiators: A summary

Like Grant's negotiator, much of Rich's strategies were motivated by the need to provoke specific reparative moves that, in turn, required a change in the subject's reality paradigm. Simply put, Rich needed Jeremy to surrender the firearm and then exit the vehicle he had hijacked (Sections 2, 3 and 6), and under specific, orchestrated conditions. This meant Jeremy had to come to see a future for himself, as opposed to "want[ing]" *suicide by cop* in preference to prison (Sections 2–4 and 6). His strategy likely succeeded, where the strategy used by Grant's negotiator failed, because Rich was careful to evaluate Jeremy positively rather than negatively (cf. Archer et al. 2018). He recognised Jeremy's "interpersonal self-worth issues" (Ting-Toomey 1998: 188), for example, and responded to them using positive facework strategies (see Sections 4–6) in addition to combining his empathy with (re)interpretation (see Sections 2–4, and 6). Simply put, Rich validated Jeremy's feelings whilst nonetheless questioning any dysfunctional reactions/beliefs Jeremy seemed to have, and guided him (thereby) towards a safer frame of mind, whilst avoiding colluding (Pain 2009). By so doing, he was able to convince Jeremy "to think about" his "experiences in a new kind of way" (Voutilainen 2012: 236–7, 242) – at this point at least (see Section 6).

In the Introduction to this chapter, I emphasised how reality paradigms – as well as facework – have already been shown to be useful pragmatic concepts for a negotiator's linguistic toolkit (Archer et al. 2018). As highlighted in the chapter, one means by which negotiators can identify reality paradigms is by paying attention to a subject's self-disclosures (see especially Sections 2 and 6). By way of illustration, Jeremy self-disclosed what he described as a "mistake" to Rich: his "killing a man". He was careful, nonetheless, to signal that the "grown man tried to kill" him first, and to present himself as a "sixteen year old" "kid" who, although acting in self-defence, had effectively "fucked [his] life forever" (Extract 7). He also provided his reason for preferring *suicide by cop* over prison, in the same three minute exchange, when he stated he "went through a lot of shit in there", such that he "turned…into…somebody" he did not "wanna be" (see Section 6).

This chapter has also sought to expand upon the notion of reality paradigms. Negotiators like Rich need to be able to identify – so that they can attempt to influence subjects' mental models of their world(s) – as Rich sought to by offering an alternate future reality to Jeremy. They need to be able to do this in real time, however. Section 4 demonstrates how the modal-world concept makes a useful addition to the negotiator's toolkit, especially where a subject uses them frequently. Jeremy's consistent use of "I can't go back", for example, pointed to a

"belief-world" that Rich had to attend to, in order to end the barricade incident. Rich sought to persuade Jeremy that he had a future worth living for, by drawing consistently on a different "belief-world". He told Jeremy that he was "gonna be okay" (Extract 1) and that, as Jeremy did not "wanna hurt anybody…everyone [else was] gonna be just fine today" too (6.53–6.57 minutes), for example. The identification of modal-worlds – that is, "belief-worlds", "want-worlds", "intent-worlds", "purpose-worlds", "knowledge-worlds", etc. – by negotiators is made easier, potentially, by being identifiable at the word level. A high frequency of "(not) want to"/ (not) "wanna" statements, for example, would signal a subject's desire (unless designed to get the negotiator to do something [*I want you to…*], in which case they might signal that the subject's apparent desire is more akin to a necessity, from their perspective). A high frequency of "(not) going to" / (not) "gonna" statements would signal a subject's intent (and, potentially, level of determination). A high frequency of "promise" would signal their apparent obligation to some action deictically placed within a future time zone.

A promise is a speech act, of course. As highlighted in Section 5, promises constitute one of the most discussed speech acts in the negotiation literature, because of their prevalent use in (crisis) negotiation contexts (see Section 5). But they tend not to be explained in facework terms, in spite of the fact that negotiators would benefit from knowing the implications that particular speech acts (such as promises, offers, requests, demands) may have for the interlocutors' "face(s)". Promises are recognised as one of several influencing strategies in the (crisis) negotiation literature, however, along with compliments and the promotion of similarity (as noted in Section 5). This chapter has sought to demonstrate that the three aforementioned influencing strategies share facework in common too, thereby adding weight to my argument that facework is pivotal at each stage of a crisis negotiation (see Introduction and also Archer et al. 2018). The links between complimenting and facework are obvious, and have been much discussed by politeness researchers. Similarity has been less discussed, but is recognised, nonetheless, to be a way of implying common ground "for the purposes of the interaction" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 108), such that a relational connection can be created/maintained for the duration of that interaction (Haugh 2011). That so many of the concepts already drawn upon by negotiators can be linked to facework, in such ways, underlines its value to negotiators: and justifies, in turn, the argument for making facework a pivotal part of a negotiator's linguistic toolkit.

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Much like in everyday life, politeness is key to the smooth running of relationships and interactions. Professional contexts, however, tend to be characterised by a plethora of behaviours that may be specific to that context. They include 'polite' behaviours, 'impolite' behaviours and behaviours that arguably fall somewhere between – or outside – such concepts. The twelve chapters making up this edited collection explore these behaviours in a range of communication contexts representative of business, medical, legal and security settings. Between them, the contributions will help readers to theorize about – and in some cases operationalize (im)politeness and related behaviours for – these real-world settings. The authors take a broad, yet theoretically underpinned, definition of politeness and use it to help explain, analyse and inform professional interactions. They demonstrate the importance of understanding how interactions are negotiated and managed in professional settings. The edited collection has something to offer, therefore, to academics, professionals and practitioners alike.

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