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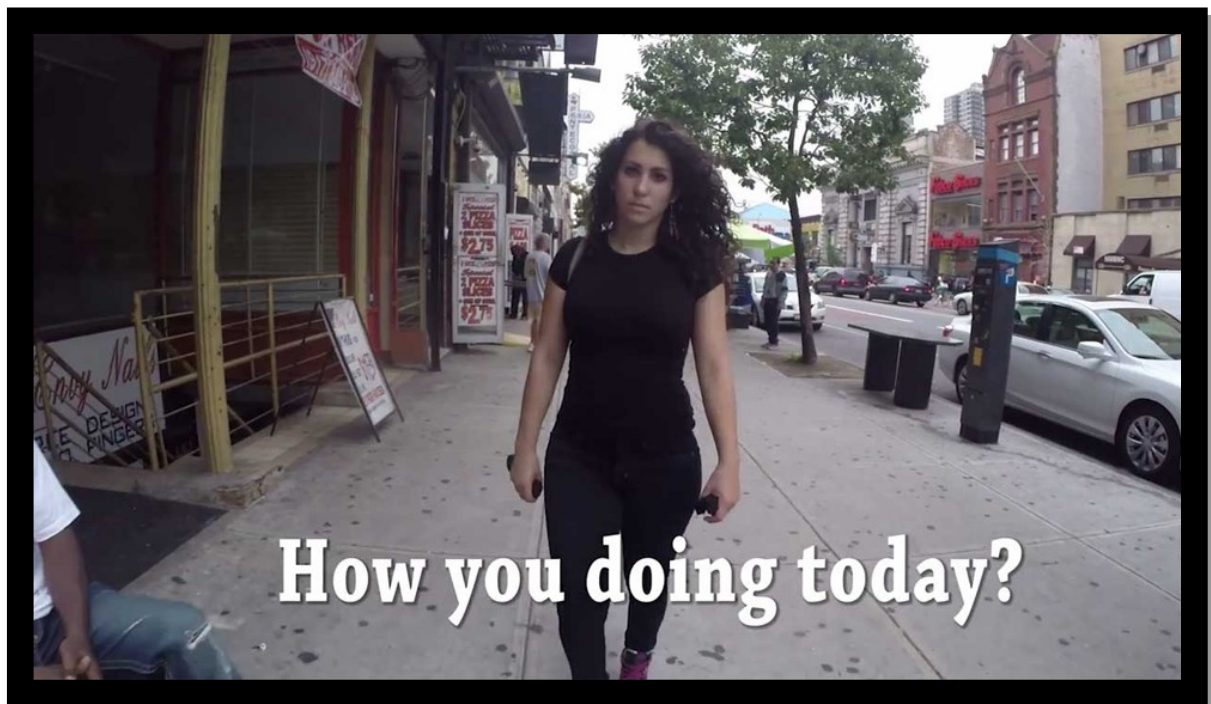
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[HOW YOU DOING TODAY?]

*A linguistic analysis of the street harassment video by Bliss and Roberts
(2014)*

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1. Introduction

On the 28th of October 2014, the video called ‘10 hours of walking in NYC as a woman’ went viral (<https://youtu.be/b1XGPvbWn0A>). After publication it received over 30 million views in less than five days! The publicity of the video even led to (media) coverage from several organizations worldwide, sparking an international debate about street harassment. The video was made by Robert Bliss and Shoshana Roberts as a volunteer project for the anti-street-harassment organization Hollaback!. In the video, Roberts experiences real-life ‘*catcalling*’ and/or street harassment while secretly being filmed by Bliss. The term ‘*catcall*’ (verb: ‘*catcalling*’) has two different definitions according to the online Oxford dictionary ¹. The first definition of a catcall is ‘a [shrill whistle](#) or [shout](#) of [disapproval](#) made at a public meeting or performance.’ The second definition is ‘a loud [whistle](#) or a [comment](#) of a sexual nature made by a man to a passing woman.’ This research will focus on the latter definition of the term. The catcalls caught on camera range from seemingly simple greetings to being silently trailed by a man for approximately five minutes. But where is the line between catcalls and harassment, and is there a difference between the two? The online Oxford dictionary defines ‘*harassment*’² as ‘aggressive [pressure](#) or [intimidation](#)’. If the addressee feels that the catcalls directed at her are creating pressure, the catcall becomes a medium to harass the addressee. The discussion triggered by this video about what should be considered harassment and what not has not yet come to an end. Some people view the way Roberts is treated in the video as a disgrace, an assault on equality, while others don’t see the harm. After all, the catcalls can be interpreted as compliments, so why be mad and call it harassment? A common catcall for example is calling the addressee ‘Beautiful’. The literal meaning is a description of the reality as viewed by the speaker, and since he views the addressee to be beautiful, it is a compliment. However, there are also people that are furious about the comments made by the men in the video, and there are people who are confused about the fact that others even consider it to be harassment. A small selection of the YouTube comments under the video illustrate the debate nicely:

I'm sorry but I consider myself an avid feminist, meaning I believe both women and men should be treated equally, just as women should have equal job opportunities and men should

1 <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/catcall>

2 <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/harassment>

feel unthreatened to show their emotions. This video however, I find, wrong. Yeah of course there were guys there who overstepped their boundaries and went too far but there were also very respectful men who said "hello miss" and "how are you today?" and "God bless". If you count things like that as street harassment then feminism becomes more of a joke to the people who already don't understand or support it. Furthermore, she walked silently, if she had said no at any point to any of the men interested would there be a different conclusion? I don't endorse street harassment and don't think it's NOT an issue but this is manipulative and bias.

- Sitara Grey (3 months ago)

/sigh/ Females... Honestly, who's attacking her here? Has she been assaulted or raped? No, she's been called beautiful and greeted in a friendly fashion. I don't see harassment, I don't see somebody groping her, I don't see anyone spitting in her face, I don't see anyone saying "have sex with me now or I kill you". All of your outrage is silly and unfounded. Plus, they deliberately omitted the White males who accosted her. This video is pointless and doesn't prove shit other than "A pretty girl attracts male attention". What's wrong with that?

-Alrune La Brune (1 month ago)

I'm a man and I find this comment section disgusting. Men shouldn't do this to women (and vice-versa). People (women and men) should be treated with respect. It's not okay for a stranger to say "hi, beautiful", or "damn" like they did in this vid. It's creepy and disrespectful.

- Tiago Gomes (1 month ago)

Since when is "How you doing today?" , "How are you this morning?" , "Have a nice evening." , " Hello, goodmorning. God bless you. Have a good day alright? " , " Whats up miss?" , and " Have a nice evening darling." harassment? This is total bullshit. And that's coming from a woman herself. You sensitive fuck.

-Typical Hudgens (3 weeks ago)

This is just a (very) small selection of comments available, but they nicely illustrate the ongoing debate. Some people even took the video and its contents so bad that it resulted in Roberts receiving rape threats from angry viewers (Butler, 2014). The fact that the opinions on this video vary so much is very interesting. How can it be that one person feels harassed while the other simply interprets it as a friendly hello? An argument often heard is that the catcalls cannot be harassment, because the guys are 'just saying hello'. This sparked my interest. Because is that really all that can be said about it? If it is just a friendly hello, how

can some people feel offended by it? This is where linguistics comes in. There are always two layers to an utterance: the things that are being said and the meaning that is implied. What is being said might be a greeting or compliment, but what is implied might be flirting or even harassment. The difference between compliments and harassment is a matter of (im)politeness and face-work³. In this research I will look at the pragmatics of catcalling with the help of cooperative communication and implicature theories such as the Gricean maxims (1967), the (im)politeness theories by Brown and Levinson (1987), Watts (2003) and Culpeper (2005), the conversation analysis theory by Mazeland (2003) and the theory on compliments by Verbiest (2004). At the end of this research I want to answer the following question:

What effects do catcalls have on both the speaker and the addressee in terms of face and (im)politeness?

In the street harassment video not all catcalls are as aggressive or harassing as others. There are different degrees of (im)politeness to be found and it will be interesting to take this into account. Since different degrees of (im)politeness in catcalls may influence the effects on both the speaker and the addressee in terms of face and (im)politeness, it is also important to ask the following question:

Are there different catcall types to be found in the video based on face-work and (im)politeness theories, and how do these types affect the speaker and the addressee?

Answering these research questions will help to understand how the catcalls in the video are used, what effect they have and how different degrees of (im)politeness may influence these effects. This will also help to understand how and why it is possible that some people think of catcalls as harassment, while others view them as harmless comments or compliments. My hypothesis is that catcalls are a social power struggle over (im)politeness and face-work that can be evaluated as both harassment or harmless by individuals, depending on personal experiences, social context and to a degree on the way the catcall is formulated. The more face-threatening or impolite the catcall, the more likely it is that the addressee will evaluate it as a negative experience. Speakers attempt to show (social) power over the addressee by catcalling, but by doing so their face is vulnerable for rejection. Speakers will

³ Face is the public self-image that every person has and tries to protect (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Strategies to protect this face are called face-work strategies. This will be explained in detail section 5.3.

(subconsciously) try to minimize threats to their own face by the way they formulate the catcall.

2. Background Video

Before researching the effect catcalls have on both the speaker and the addressee in terms of face-work and (im)politeness, it is important to discuss the background and details of the street harassment video.

The video was uploaded to YouTube on the 28th of October 2014 under the title '10 hours of walking in NYC as a woman'. It was uploaded on the channel 'Rob Bliss Creative' (www.youtube.com/channel/UCKJcGMO_UiqUQl8s7J9l7zw), and it is the only video ever uploaded to that channel. This YouTube account was created for the sole purpose of showing this video to the world. The video currently has 41.451.954 views [date:04-11-15].

In August 2014, creator of the video Rob Bliss (Rob Bliss Creative) reached out to the non-profit organization Hollaback!, offering partnership in creating a video that would highlight the impact of street harassment. Bliss' inspiration came from his girlfriend, who had experienced street harassment numerous times⁴. In an interview on Bustle.com he says he made the video to intimately capture street harassment on camera to be able to show people what it feels like. The video was thus created for the purpose of going viral and being viewed by as many people as possible to create awareness. Shoshana Roberts, who is seen in the video, volunteered to be part of the project after she found the casting call of Bliss on Craigslist (www.craigslist.org). Bliss had full creative control over the contents of the video and, in agreement with Hollaback!, He also owns the video with unlimited usage rights for Hollaback!⁵. The video itself was also non-profit and a volunteer service from both Bliss and Roberts.

The video shows Roberts silently walking the streets of New York City with two microphones in her hands, while Bliss walked in front of her with a GoPro camera hidden on his back. Bliss states in an interview with the Washington Post that he wore a GoPro camera chest mount backwards on his back, with a hole in the back of his t-shirt for the camera lens to see through. He was dressed to distract other people from this camera lens. He wore a bright yellow backpack under the camera to distract people's eyes, and he wore gym shorts, sunglasses and he had earbuds in to make it seem he was heading for the gym. Bliss states he

4 <http://www.ihollaback.org/blog/2014/10/27/new-street-harassment-psa/>

5 <http://www.ihollaback.org/>

looked completely uninvolved with Roberts. Unfortunately, Bliss is not seen in the video and therefore one can only take his word for it. Roberts' wore jeans and a crew neck black t-shirt, which are considered casual clothing. Her instructions were to never interact or react to the catcallers, but it is impossible to determine whether or not she might have accidentally made eye contact.

Bliss and Roberts walked the streets for a total of 10 hours, split into 2-3 hour shifts. This 10 hour window was chosen to show catcalling is a real and frequent issue and record just enough material to create a good internet video (Chatel, 2014). Also, since only a small amount of guys catcall, Bliss filmed especially in crowded places, because these are considered to be hotspots for street harassment. In his interview with Bustle.com, Bliss also states that he knew that the project was never going to be statistically accurate. There are 10hours of raw footage, but he had to make a selection of 18 scenes that would be shown in the actual video. He admits that having to cut and edit the video leads to massive inaccuracies, both in the true amount of catcalls as in the background of the catcallers. At the end of the video though, Bliss inserted the following text to safeguard himself against (racism-related) criticism:

100+ instances of verbal street harassment took place within 10 hours, involving people of all backgrounds. This doesn't include the countless winks, whistles, etc.

As mentioned above, the video was made as a volunteer project by Bliss and Roberts for the non-profit organization Hollaback! to highlight the impact of street harassment. Before researching the effect catcalls have on both the speaker and the addressee in terms of face-work and (im)politeness, it is important to discuss the background of the Hollaback! organization and their view on catcalls and street harassment. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

3. Hollaback! Background

Hollaback! is a non-profit movement with the mission to end street harassment by using a network of local activists around the world. They want to give people who get street harassed a platform to talk and share experiences, to ignite public conversations, and to develop innovative strategies to ensure equal access to public spaces (Hollaback! website). Hollaback! sees intimidation as the real motive for street harassment. Catcalls are used by harassers to make a target feel uncomfortable or scared, and to make the harasser feel powerful. The movement encourages people to document, map and share catcalling incidents on the street. This would be “a simple way to take that power away by exposing it.”⁶. Their vision is a community where street harassment is not tolerated and where all enjoy equal access to public spaces.



Hollaback logo. Source: ihollack.org

⁶ <http://www.ihollaback.org/>

The Hollaback! organization started as a project of seven New York residents in 2005, after the street harassment court case of the woman Thao Nguyen got a lot of media attention ⁷. Thao Nguyen reported to the police after Daniel Hoyt, an older, upper middle class raw-foods restaurant owner and known subway masturbator, terrified and harassed her by intentionally masturbating across from her on the subway⁸ (May & Travers, 2012). She had taken his picture with her cell phone camera, but when she notified the police, they chose to ignore it (Clift, 2006). Thao Nguyen didn't take 'no' for an answer and posted the picture online on the social media photo-sharing site Flickr.com, accompanied by a message to watch out for this guy. The photo got picked up by reporters and made it to the front page of the New York Daily Times. The media attention led to more women seeing the picture and recognizing Hoyt, leading to his arraignment in court on four counts of public lewdness (Clift, 2006). The case of Thao Nguyen was the motive for the four women and three men to start a discussion about their own encounters with street harassment. Samuel Carter, one of the co-founders and currently board chair of the Hollaback! movement was concerned and surprised



Photo of Thao Nguyen. Source: New York Daily News



when the females of the group told story after story of personal experienced street harassment⁹. The men in the group had never experienced such harassment, and Carter admitted to his female coworkers: “You live in a different city than we do.”Collectively, the seven co-founders initiated the Hollaback! movement as a blog, inspired by Nguyen to apply her approach to all forms of harassment: to document the experiences and share them on a public blog (Clift,

⁷ <http://www.ihollaback.org/about/history/>

⁸ See previous footnote

⁹ See previous footnote

2006). The Hollaback! blog was thus used to collect the stories of women's and the LGBT(Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender) community.

What started out as a small blog grew into an international movement in five years. In May 2010, Emily May, one of the original seven cofounders became the organization's first executive director. May holds a Master's Degree from the London School of Economics in

Emily May. Source: <http://veralynmedia.com>

Social Policy, and she states on her LinkedIn that “a crowd-sourced movement is the key to changing policy and minds, and ultimately, creating a world where everyone has the right to feel safe and confident”

(<https://www.linkedin.com/in/emilymay>). For her work at Hollaback! to end street harassment, May received eleven awards. Prior to working at Hollaback!, May worked in the anti-poverty world as a case manager, political action coordinator, director of development, and most recently, a one-woman research and development team. She has also worked on four political campaigns.

Since its second beginning as a non-profit organization, Hollaback! witnessed a large growth in publicity and interest by the public. This allowed them to broaden the organization and organize many events around the world designed to raise awareness about street harassment, including film screenings, lectures, demonstrations and book talks¹⁰. As of October 2014, the movement is run by local activists in 79 cities, 26 countries and operates in 14 languages. All site leaders from different states and countries are trained by Hollaback! employees in skills necessary to operate a blog prior to launching their own websites¹¹. To encourage interaction between the current and future site leaders, the Hollaback! team hosts events to allow the build of partnerships with community members and media outlets. Even after the site leaders successfully launch their own branch of the organization, they remain active participants in the main Hollaback! community. The idea is that all the branches will work in coalition to help further develop the Hollaback! movement and share resources.

Under the leadership of May, Hollaback! raised close to \$15,000 on the internet fundraising platform kickstarter.com to fund the development and the release of a Hollaback! iphone application. Hollaback! also received funding from the New York Women's Foundation,

10 <http://www.ihollaback.org/>

11 <http://www.ihollaback.org/about/the-movement>

Vogal, the Knight Foundation, Ashoka and the New York City Government¹². Hollaback!'s work to raise awareness on street harassment paid off in October 2010, when the New York city Council held the first hearing ever on street harassment. Council Member [Julissa Ferreras](#), who chairs the Women's Issues Committee, called the hearing in order to stress the importance of joining forces in order to take action specifically in New York City. Emily May was among the speakers at the hearing and she encouraged women to speak out against street harassment. After the hearing, New York City legislators invested \$28,500 in Hollaback!. This investment gave the organization the infrastructure needed to report street harassment incidents to the New York City Council.

12 <http://www.ihollaback.org/about/history/>

4. Methodology

This research wants to look in-depth into the phenomenon of catcalling, answering why and how it can be evaluated so differently by individuals and what effects it has on both the speakers and the addressees in terms of face and (im)politeness. It will thus be a qualitative research rather than a quantitative research. I hope to answer the following research questions by the end of this thesis:

1. What effects do catcalls have on both the speaker and the addressee in terms of face and (im)politeness?
2. Are there different catcall types to be found in the video based on face and (im)politeness theories, and how do these types affect the speaker and the addressee?

In the previous chapters I gave insight in the background of the street harassment video by Bliss and Roberts (2014) and the non-profit organization Hollaback! for which the video was made as a volunteer project. The background gives insight in the circumstances under which the catcalls in the video were documented, by whom it was produced and for what purpose. Important to note is that Bliss and Roberts set out to record street harassment and though unintentionally, both Bliss and Roberts may have evaluated some of the situations documented in the video as catcalls and/or harassment because their minds were set to interpret most utterances as such.

To start the research on the effect of catcalls on both the speaker and the addressee in terms of face and (im)politeness, I transcribed the catcall cases documented in the video following the transcription conventions by Jefferson (1979), mentioned by Mazeland (2003: 21-25). The full transcription can be found in attachment 1. The transcription of the video will allow me to analyze the catcalls and apply pragmatic theories to the concept catcalling.

Chapter 5 will show how different pragmatic theories can be applied to the concept of catcalling and what the effects are for both the speaker and the addressee. The pragmatic theories will be explained and using the transcribed catcalls as examples I will illustrate how the theories can be applied.

The theories on cooperative communication and implicature by Tomasello (2008) and Grice (1967) will explain how it is possible that addressees of catcalls can interpret the utterances in the catcalls differently than what is actually being said. Important is the distinction between

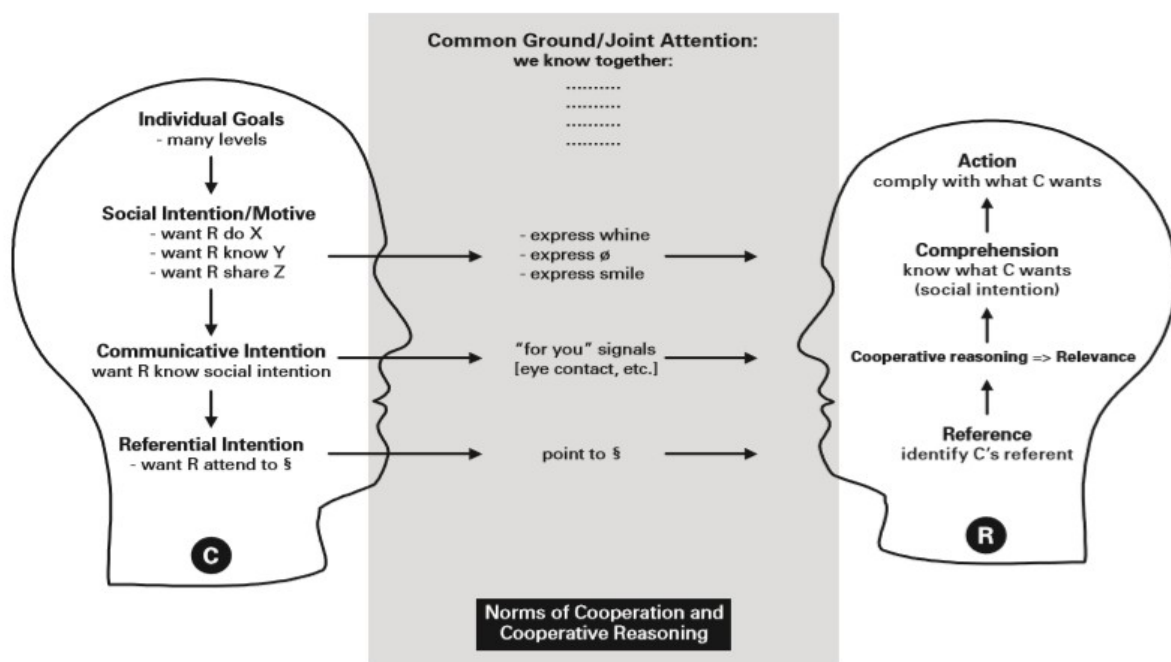
what is being said and what is being implied. The conversation analysis theory by Mazeland (2003) is useful because catcalls can be viewed as short conversations. Even if Roberts' instructions were to not interact, the implicature theories suggest that her silence implies a message, making it a response to what the catcallers say and thus a conversation. The theory on compliments by Verbiest (2004) is based on the conversation analysis theory and will give in-depth insight in the social power struggle that compliments can entail. The theories on (im)politeness and face-work entail a large part of my research because they will help to analyze the difference between compliments and harassment. I will discuss Brown and Levinson's theory on Politeness (1987) to help introduce the concept of face and face-work. Since the Brown and Levinson theory does not take impoliteness into consideration, I will also discuss the impoliteness theory by Culpeper (1996). It is important to take impoliteness into consideration since catcalls are not polite interactions by nature. Finally, the theory on social (im)politeness by Watts (2003) will help to analyze why the effects of catcalling are different between individuals. The previous (im)politeness theories will explain how it is possible that catcalls can be seen as harassment, but the social impoliteness theory helps to explain why individuals may evaluate the situation different than others because it takes personal experience and personal background into account.

In chapter 6 the catcalls documented in the video will be divided into different types, based on the risk to the speaker's face because the speaker can choose how to formulate the catcall, maintaining a certain level of control over the risks to his own face. This chapter will illustrate how different degrees of face-work and (im)politeness affect both the speaker and the addressee. The pragmatic analysis of catcalling in chapter 5 will act as a base for the categorization in chapter 6. All documented catcall cases from the video and video transcription will be included, categorized in either one of the types or mentioned as an exception in section 6.4.

5. Pragmatics of Catcalling

In this chapter I will introduce several pragmatic theories such as cooperative communication, compliments and (im)politeness theories, and discuss how they apply to the phenomenon catcalling by using catcall cases from the video ‘10 hours of walking in NYC as a woman’ as examples. This chapter will help understand how different theories apply to catcalling and function as a base for dividing the documented catcalls in the video into different types.

5.1 Cooperative Communication



Figuur 1: Cooperative model of human communication (C= Communicator; R = Recipient) (Tomasello, 2008:98)

Tomasello (2008:98) created a cooperation model for human communication. Figure 1 above shows that communicators have their individual goals and values. Humans are capable of acknowledging that others can help us pursue individual goals. Knowing that the best way to get help is by doing a communicative act in the joint attention frame is called the communicative intention. The referential intention is drawing the other’s attention to a referential situation in the external world, assuming that he/she will infer the underlying social intention. For this to work, the participants should have a common ground and joint attention. The cooperative communication model by Tomasello (2008) relies on the assumption that all participants in a communicative act will be cooperative in performing this communicative act.

This is however not always the case. Catcalls are in not very cooperative forms of communication. The following example from the video illustrates this nicely¹³:

A guy Roberts passes and who starts to follow her

S1 (4)

You don't wanna talk?

(there is a cut scene, so not sure how long the pause was between these utterances)

Because I'm ugly?

(3)

Huh?

(there is a cut scene, so not sure how long the pause was between these utterances)

We can't be friends, nothing?

(2)

You don't speak?

(there is a cut scene, so not sure how long the pause was between these utterances)

If I give you my number, would you talk to me?

(1)

No?

(1)

Too ugly for you?

S1 doesn't start by talking to Roberts, but he starts walking next to her trying to make eye-contact and perhaps trying to pry a first reaction from her. This is not very cooperative. If S1 wants a certain goal, he will have to do a communicative act in the common ground and joint attention, but even though his silence is a communicative act, it is too vague to be helpful.

Tomassello also argues that we (humans) are capable of recursive mindreading, the basic cognitive skill (Tomassello, 2008:96). Recursive mindreading is basically a spiral of being able

¹³ The full transcription of the catcalls in the video can be found in Attachment 1

to guess or 'know' what the other person might know or think, and what the other person might think that you think. This relates closely to the theory of "implicature" by Grice (1967). Grice recognized that the meaning of communication is dependent not simply on what is said, but also on what is implicated (implied). He distinguished between the inferences that one could possibly draw from an utterance and the inferences that the speaker intended. The latter he called implicatures. Since meaning is conveyed through both the linguistic activity and the situational context, it follows that there is more communicated than what is said. The recursive mindreading skills help us to deduct the inferred messages. To be able to communicate, there are certain conversational rules that people use to be understood. Grice (1967) proposed the so-called Cooperative principle. This principle includes four maxims that can be used as a guideline for conversation:

1. Maxim of Quantity
 - a. Give as much information as is required.
 - b. Don't give more information than is required.
2. Maxim of Quality
 - a. Speak the truth.
 - b. Don't say what you believe to be false.
 - c. Don't say things that you don't have evidence for.
3. Maxim of Relation
 - a. Be relevant.
4. Maxim of Manner
 - a. Be clear and understandable.
 - b. Avoid obscurity of expression.
 - c. Avoid ambiguity.
 - d. Be brief
 - e. Be orderly.

The maxim of Quantity makes sure that enough but not too much information on the subject is given. The maxim of Quality makes sure that what is said is honest and not exaggerated. The maxim of Relation is to keep to the matter in question, and last, the maxim of Manner makes that what is said is clear and easy to understand. These Gricean maxims help unravel the true meaning of what is being said. When a speaker violates one of the maxims, the addressee will notice this and with the recursive mindreading skill (Tomasello, 2008:96) he/she can deduct the true meaning of what is being said. With catcalls for example, the addressee can deduct the true meaning (catcalling) from what is literally being said by the speaker. Take a look at the following example from the video:

A guy not in view

S1 He:y Beautifu::l!

What is literally being said is a description of the addressee (in this case Roberts) but the utterance violates the maxim of relation. Roberts did not ask for S1 to give a description or opinion on her appearance. Since this maxim is broken, Roberts can deduct that giving a description might not be the true meaning of the utterance, but that it is a catcall. In fact, the catcall instances in the video all violate the maxim of relation because these utterances are not relevant in the context where they appear. The utterances are said without any relevant context, and therefore the addressee can infer them as catcalls.

Because S1 broke the maxim of relation, Roberts was able to interpret the true meaning of what was being said. However, this does not mean that Roberts will act to the true meaning of what is being said. As discussed earlier, not all participants display cooperative behavior (Tomasello, 2008) in an interaction. Take a look at the example case I discussed earlier concerning cooperative communication:

A guy Roberts passes and who starts to follow her

S1 (4)

You don't wanna talk?

(there is a cut scene, so not sure how long the pause was between these utterances)

Because I'm ugly?

(3)

Huh?

(there is a cut scene, so not sure how long the pause was between these utterances)

We can't be friends, nothing?

(2)

You don't speak?

(there is a cut scene, so not sure how long the pause was between these utterances)

If I give you my number, would you talk to me?

(1)

No?

(1)

Too ugly for you?

We concluded that S1 is not cooperative since he does not do a communicative act in the common ground and joint attention, but opts for trying to pry a reaction from Roberts. Applying the implicature theory (Grice, 1967), we can also conclude that Roberts' behavior is not cooperative. Roberts is capable of recursive mindreading (Tomasello, 2008) and she is thus able to interpret the true meaning of S1's silence (conversation starter) due to the situational context. S1 does not start to follow Roberts for no reason. Roberts decides to ignore S1 and his communicative act (silence) though, making it uncooperative behavior. Roberts' silence on the other hand is also a communicative act, signaling that she does not wish to converse. S1 ignores this signal and tries to start a conversation. He does this indirectly by asking her if she does not want to talk, expressing how her silence was inferred and at the same time showing that he chose to ignore her wish of not wanting to talk and is thus being uncooperative. This situation continues when S1 keeps asking questions. He inferred her silence correctly at the beginning (He hinted at it in his first utterance: 'You don't wanna talk?') as not wanting to talk, but chose to ignore it throughout the interaction. This case of catcalling is an accumulation of non-cooperative communication, as both participants seem to ignore the wishes and goals of the other.

Concluding from the previous examples, catcalls are usually non-cooperative communication acts and they violate the Gricean maxims (1967), leading the addressee to interpret the true meaning of what is being said in the situational context. This helps understand how it is possible that some individuals can evaluate catcalls as harmless comments while others argue that it is harassment. What is literally being said might be a greeting or compliment, but the implied meaning can be considered harassment if it is interpreted as such.

5.2 Conversation Analysis, Compliments and Power

In his introduction to Conversation Analysis, one of the things that Mazeland (2003) argues is that conversations consist of adjacency pairs. A pair consists of a first utterance and a preferred second utterance. These pairs can be uttered between two participants, where S1 utters the first utterance and S2 answers with the preferred second utterance, but both utterances may also be said by just one speaker. The first utterance is usually formulated in such a way that the preferred second utterance is the most logical answer; this is called the need for agreement. Having a conversation is a commitment from both parties. The conversation starter stated the proposal for a joint action/commitment (namely having a conversation), and the other participant can then uptake this proposal and accept the joint

action/commitment of the conversation, or reject it. Clark (2006) also argues that as joint commitments stack up, they become harder and harder to opt out of. Even if the addressee would try and alter the proposal, he/she will be committing him/herself further to the conversation and will have more difficulties getting out of it.

Verbiest (2004) used the adjacency pair theory of conversation analysis as a base for her theory on compliments. The speaker-addressee relation is very important for compliments. Both participants need to be able to infer the same message and understand the same implicature from the compliment. When receiving compliments, recipients tend to ask themselves what might be implied other than what is said, and whether or not they want to perform the implied preferred second utterance. This leads to several difficulties (Verbiest, 2004):

1. The recipient might feel like he/she is cornered; he/she might feel the obligation to act
2. The recipient might not know how to accept the compliment without being conceived as arrogant or stuck-up.
3. The recipient might doubt the sincerity of the compliment giver
4. The recipient might doubt if he/she is really deserving of the compliment

In the section on (im)politeness I will discuss the concept of face and face-work further, but it is important to note that most compliments are a threat for a person's negative face (Brown and Levinson: 1987). The negative face of a person is the wish to not be imposed upon. By giving a compliment, the recipient feels pressured to give a reaction, or preferred second utterance, and thus his or her negative face is threatened. Verbiest (2004) also argues that compliments can be abused when they are used to reach a certain goal, rather than to simply compliment the other (Verbiest, 2004). Every compliment (temporarily) gives the compliment giver the power to determine the social relation between the participants. A speaker possesses power if he/she has the freedom of action to achieve goals he set for himself, regardless of whether or not this involves imposing their will on others (Watts, 2003:201). This power is used by speaker 1 over speaker 2 when speaker 1 affects speaker 2 in a manner contrary to speaker 2's initially perceived interests, regardless of whether speaker 2 later comes to accept actions. Speaker 2 can either be persuaded or oppose to the will of speaker 1. Social interaction always involves relational work between participants; it embodies a struggle for power in which perceptions of politeness play a role (Watts, 2003: 213).

Verbiest (2004) argues that women have good right to distrust compliments, because gender roles that persist even in today's society give women less credit than men. Women can receive

compliments any time and about any subject, even when the compliment implies a relation to the speaker that is closer than she is comfortable with. Women risk being isolated and denigrated. Because compliments are usually part of a conversation, or even conversation starters, they have a preferred second utterance and not reacting would be considered impolite. Catcalls are the perfect example of this. Take this case from the video for example:

Two guys standing outside

S1 °Hi beautiful °

S2 God bless=*sirene*

S1 Sex:y!=American Eagle!

S1 uses the term of endearment 'beautiful' is a compliment which gives S1 power to establish a relationship closer to Roberts than she probably prefers because it shows S1 took the power to judge her on her looks. S2 catcalls an interjection, louder than S1, but it is not clear if he says anything after 'god bless' since a sirene interrupts his utterance. The implied message (Grice, 1967) of S2 is a compliment, but an indirect one. What is literally being said is 'Bless god for the fact this woman exists'. The speaker is thanking God for her existence and Roberts can infer the utterance as an indirect compliment, and, because it violates the maxim of relation (Grice, 1967), deduct from the context that it is probably a flirt or catcall. This type of compliments also establish a social relation to the speaker that might be too close or unwanted, and the speaker still takes the power to comment on her looks, but he does so indirectly. This means that the pressure on Roberts to react to his catcall is considerably lower than when she is faced with a straightforward compliment.

The power relation between speaker and recipient is important for the degree of how threatening the utterance is to the face of both the recipient and the speaker. Generally it can be assumed that the bigger the power distance, the bigger the chance that the face will be threatened. S2's utterance has no preferred second utterance (Mazeland, 2003) because it is an interjection. The intention is not to start a conversation, but rather to let Roberts know that he is flirting and/or catcalling. When uttering an indirect compliment, the face of the speaker is rather safe as there is no preferred second utterance (Mazeland, 2003) and thus no reaction is required. S1 catcalls again, this time louder so perhaps encouraged by his friend S2. He compliments her by calling her sexy, specifying his compliment by commenting on the logo on her pants. Especially this identity marker 'sexy American eagle' is very intimidating

because it expresses the fact that he has been looking at her butt. S1 takes the power here to judge over Roberts looks, and to let her know that he is talking to her specifically by adding an identity marker. This can be felt as quite denigrating to Roberts (Verbiest, 2003). S1's second catcall is not the first of an adjacency pair, but rather an interjection. Contrary to his first catcall, this one requires no preferred second utterance (Mazeland, 2003) and thus requires no reaction, making him more powerful in the conversation context.

In this section we can conclude that catcalls can be viewed as conversations with a social power struggle. The catcaller (S1) usually utters the first utterance of an adjacency pair such as a greeting formula or a compliment that requires a preferred second utterance, while taking the social power to imply a relationship closer to the addressee than is preferred by the latter. Though Roberts was instructed not to react throughout the video, this does not mean that she does not react. Her silence may convey an implied message which can be interpreted by S1 as an impolite reaction. In the example case above we saw that S1 catcalled the first utterance of an adjacency pair, but when he didn't get a preferred second utterance he switched to an interjection without the need for response. This is an important difference in formulating catcalls and it will help with categorizing the catcalls into different types in chapter 6.

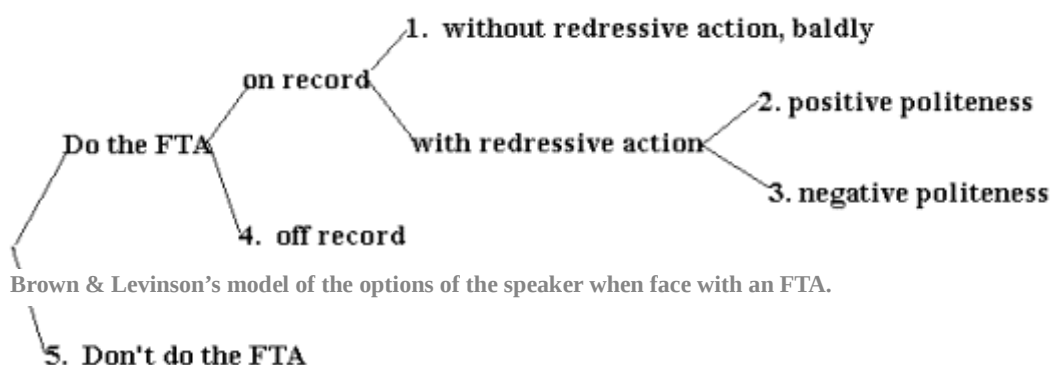
5.3 Politeness

Important for this research is that the reactions to the video are so different. Some people see the catcalls as harassment, and thus rude behavior, while others think that catcalls are perfectly fine behavior. Everybody has a certain view or opinion when asked to describe a person's behavior, most often in terms of whether that person is being 'polite' or not. But which criteria and what factors determine what is considered polite behavior, and what is considered rude or impolite? Politeness rules can vary. There are cultures that are considered to be more polite than others, but even within the same culture there can be individual differences in the evaluation of the behavior of another person. It depends on factors such as context, culture, social norms, social rank and many more. There will always be different interpretations, be it whether a certain behavior is polite, or whether or not that polite behavior is evaluated positively or negatively. If one's behavior is polite in situations that do not require it, it can be interpreted as impolite (Watts, 2003:3). These evaluations and interpretations of behavior are considered to be 'folk interpretations' and 'lay interpretations', and they are different from the 'politeness' and 'impoliteness' terms used in the (socio-)linguistics study field. The 'lay' or 'folk' interpretations of (im)politeness are called

first-order (im)politeness (Watts, 2003:4) or (im)politeness1 (Eelen, 2001), and the (im)politeness as a concept in a (socio-)linguistic theory is second-order (im)politeness or (im)politeness2 (Eelen, 2001). Eelen divides the Politeness1 in three different types:

1. Meta-pragmatic politeness1
 - Meta-pragmatic evaluation of the nature and significance of (im)politeness
2. Classifactory politeness1
 - Comments made by outsiders or participants of the conversation
3. Expressive politeness1
 - Participants aim at explicitly producing polite language. Expressive politeness1 is in evidence when participants make use of formulaic language, presumably to adopt a respectful or polite stance to the addressee.

Within (im)politeness2, or the theories on impoliteness, Politeness theory by Brown and Levinson (1987) is perhaps the most well-known. An important part of the Politeness theory by Brown and Levinson theory is the concept of face. Face is the public self-image that every person has and tries to protect, and it can be divided into a negative and a positive face (Brown & Levinson, 1987). The positive face can be described as the desire to be liked, admired and being part of the group. It represents the speakers' will to be appreciated in social interaction. The negative face is a desire for freedom of action and not to be imposed upon. Social interactions require maintenance of every participant's face, because it may create situations that are damaging to either the positive or the negative face. Building on the cooperation principle from Grice (1967), Brown and Levinson claim a Model Person (MP) with the ability to assess communicative goals, dangers of threatening other participants' face can choose appropriate strategies to minimize these face-threatening acts or FTA's (Watts, 2003:85). The MP thus needs to assess the possible face-threatening nature of the social interaction he/she is about to engage, and choose an appropriate polite strategy to soften or minimize the threat, or to decide to avoid the social interaction entirely. Brown and Levinson (1987) created five actions/possibilities available for the speaker to handle the social interaction and the possible FTA, as shown in the figure below:



of the
protect

face being strategy type 5: 'Don't do the FTA', and the 'worst' strategy that is most likely to damage the face strategy type 1: 'Do the FTA and go on record baldly and without any redressive action.' Strategy type 4 relies on the maxims of Grice (1967) to go off record and have the addressee infer the intended meaning. The on-record strategy types 2 and 3 are politeness strategies based on the positive and negative face, and can thus be divided into positive and negative politeness strategies. Watts gives examples of the fifteen positive politeness strategies and the ten negative politeness strategies drawn up by Brown and Levinson¹⁴. I will use the examples Watts (2003: 89-90) mentions in his book *Politeness* because the examples Brown and Levinson (1987) gave in their original work were 'an attempt to extrapolate from the minimization of face-threats to a theory of linguistic politeness' according to Watts (2003:88-89). Watts argues that his examples make the distinction between politeness theories and face-work. Face-work is the process where all speakers construct their own self image, showing this to the world through social interaction in a way that enables the other participants to construct and reproduce an image of the speaker close to the speaker's self image. Concluding from this, all human social interactions include face-work of some kind, and this face-work may sometimes be expressed through linguistic politeness (Goffman, 1955 cited in Watts, 2003:130-133). Face-work incorporates the following ideas:

1. All social situations and social activity types have their own assumed politic behavior. This politic behavior is expected by the participants, but is not evaluated as polite behavior because it is seen as normal.
2. An FTA occurs when one participant fails to meet the politic behavior expectations and falls out of line. This will be evaluated as impolite behavior.

¹⁴ The full list of examples are found in attachment 2

3. In some social interaction types committing FTA's is considered normal, making the FTA's neutral. Think for example about competitive events or political debates; without committing FTA's these interaction types cannot exist.
4. When a participant fails to meet the expected politic behavior and falls out of line, he/she may take measures to restore the damage done to face. This 'fixing' is called supporting face-work, and according to Watts (2003), this is applicable to the politeness Theory of Brown and Levinson (1987). Supporting face-work is often recognized by the highly conventionalized forms of polite language as listed in the Brown and Levinson Politeness theory model.
5. Most forms of politic behavior contain conventionalized and ritualized linguistic sequences. The purpose of these sequences is to regulate the social interaction and to ensure overall face maintenance.

In the previous section I argued that catcalls are usually compliments that abuse the power relation between the speaker and the recipient. Giving compliments is one of the positive politeness strategies that Brown and Levinson (1987) give in their Politeness theory. Watts gives the following example¹⁵:

1. *Notice, attend to H (his/her interests, wants, needs, goods, etc.):*

(Strategy 1) **Jim, you're really good at solving computer problems** □ (FTA) I wonder if you could help me with a little formatting problem I've got.

This situation can easily be imagined in the context of a catcall. Look at this case from the video again:

A guy not in view

S1 He:y Beautifu::l!

S1 addresses Roberts' positive face by giving her a compliment. And the example he gives for the tenth positive politeness strategy could very well be interpreted as a catcall.

10. *Offer, promise:*

¹⁵ The full list of examples can be found in attachment 2

(Strategy 10) **I'll take you out to dinner on Saturday** □ (FTA) if you'll cook the dinner this evening.

The fifteen positive politeness strategies mentioned can all be interpreted as catcalls. Important to note is that as soon as these utterances are interpreted as catcalls, it no longer concerns positive behavior. The utterances can be interpreted as polite behavior, and thus appealing to the positive face of the recipient. If they are however interpreted as catcalls, they become a threat for the recipient's negative face. As explained in the section about compliments and power, compliments can be abused to display social power. The speaker can establish a relationship closer to the addressee than is preferred, hurting the addressee's negative face. The contextual environment is extremely important when analyzing whether or not a structure is interpreted as polite or not. The Brown and Levinson Politeness model and their concept of MP refers to the speaker, whereas the addressee is only taken into account as a counter-weight. The MP can assess which politeness strategy is the most appropriate to use in the circumstances, but there is no mention of how the addressee may react to the politeness strategy produced (Watts, 2003:85). Watts wonders whether the theory by Brown and Levinson (1967) is in fact closer to a face-work strategy than an (im)politeness one. Watts states 'The presence of politeness is often only interpretable through inferencing processes carried out when individual participants process the other participants' contributions to the verbal interaction (Watts, 2003:93).' Speakers do not have to go through the whole diagrammatically arranged set of politeness strategies to choose one for the current situation, they just 'know'. What is evaluated as polite or impolite behavior is highly depend on the relationship between the speaker and the addressee, and the positive and negative strategies might not be used selectively for the positive and negative face they are based on. The examples Watts gives about person A wanting to borrow person B's lawnmower illustrate this nicely (Watts, 2003:95):

That's a superb new lawnmower you've got there, Fred.

[Positive politeness strategy 1 □ compliment; notice admirable qualities, possessions, etc.]

I wonder if you'd mind me borrowing it for an hour this afternoon to do my lawn.

[Negative politeness strategy 2 □ do not assume willingness to comply.]

Mine's in for repair at the moment.

[Not normally an expression of politeness but it can be interpreted as such in the current context as positive politeness strategy 13 □ give or ask for reasons]

Many of the utterances in the discourse above are not necessarily polite in themselves, but they are employed for face-work purposes, thus to save face. Therefore they can be interpreted as polite within the context of this discourse. Had the social relationship between the speaker and the addressee been different, the utterances might have been evaluated as over the top and unnecessarily polite or perhaps rude. Look at the following examples from the video:

A guy not in view

S1 He:y Beautifu::l!

[Positive politeness strategy 1 □ compliment; notice admirable qualities, possessions, etc.]

A guy Roberts passes and who starts to follow her

S1 You don't wanna talk?

(there is a cut scene, so not sure how long the pause was between these utterances)

Because I'm ugly?

[Negative politeness strategy 3 □ be pessimistic about ability or willingness to comply or Negative politeness strategy 2 □ do not assume willingness to comply].

In the examples from the video above, these politeness strategies can be interpreted as face-work, but they are certainly not polite behavior. The recipient (Roberts) will interpret these utterances as a catcall and then these face-work strategies can become threatening to her face, rather than saving it. Giving a compliment may be positive politeness (trying to appeal to the positive face) but when a compliment is used by the speaker to display power over the recipient by commenting on her looks (Verbiest, 2004) it is impolite behavior. Because the social relationship between the speaker and the addressee is unbalanced as the speaker seizes the power to judge, the things that are being said are evaluated as unwanted and impolite. This is why Watts argues that 'Politeness theory can never be fully equated with Face Theory (Watts, 2003: 117).' Face-work strategies may be used, but it depends on the context whether the behavior is evaluated polite or not.

In this section we can conclude that catcalling is not only a social power struggle as seen in section 5.2, but also a struggle for face-work. Giving compliments is considered a positive politeness strategy by Brown and Levinson (1987), but that doesn't mean that the utterances

are evaluated as such. The catcall examples from the video in this section show that when compliments are interpreted as catcalls, they become a threat for the negative face of the addressee. As explained in the sections on compliments (Verbiest, 2004), compliments can be abused to display social power. The speaker can establish a relationship closer to the addressee than is preferred, hurting the addressee's negative face. This makes catcalling a face threatening act.

5.4 Impoliteness

Eelen (2001) points out that theories of politeness have focused far more on polite behavior than on impolite behavior. That is surprising, because people are more likely to comment on something that is considered impolite than on something that is polite. Fraser and Nolen (1981) and Fraser (1990) suggest that behavior which indicated that the participants are abiding by what they call the conversational contract (CC) generally goes unnoticed. It's only when one of the participants violates the rights and obligations of the CC that his/her behavior is classified as impolite. The face-work strategies and FTA's by Brown and Levinson (1987) mentioned above can be used to be impolite on purpose, as Culpeper (1996) argues in his Impoliteness theory. Impoliteness is strongly connected to the power distance between the speaker and the addressee, something that is very important for compliments as well according to Verbiest (2004), and it's more likely to occur when the speaker is or feels more powerful than the addressee. Culpeper proposed impoliteness strategies based on the positive and the negative face, opposing the politeness strategies by Brown and Levinson (1987). These strategies are as followed (Culpeper, 1996):

Impoliteness strategies to harm the positive face (creating distance while closeness it preferred)

1. Ignoring
2. Excluding
3. Disassociating (denying association or common ground)
4. Disinterest
5. Using inappropriate identity markers (calling somebody by their title while you have a close relationship)
6. Using difficult jargon to
7. Seeking disagreement
8. Using taboo words or profane language.
9. Calling names

Impoliteness strategies that harm the negative face (Creating closeness while distance is preferred)

1. Frightening
2. Condescending or ridicule
3. Invading space (literally and metaphorically)
4. Addressing the other negatively by for example using pronouns 'I' and 'you'.
5. Tell the other on record about his indebtedness.

Throughout the video, Roberts applies the positive impoliteness strategy 1: ignoring. Her instructions were to not interact with anybody. However, several catcalls were in question form, asking for a reaction or a preferred second utterance (Mazeland, 2003). When she ignored the persons that spoke to her, it can be interpreted as the positive impoliteness strategy 1: ignoring. Though Roberts got the instructions to not interact with anybody to avoid evoking reactions, her silence is also a communicative act. The following example from the video also used in the cooperative communication section illustrates this:

A guy Roberts passes and who starts to follow her

S1 (4)

You don't wanna talk?

(there is a cut scene, so not sure how long the pause was between these utterances)

Because I'm ugly?

(3)

Huh?

(there is a cut scene, so not sure how long the pause was between these utterances)

We can't be friends, nothing?

(2)

You don't speak?

(there is a cut scene, so not sure how long the pause was between these utterances)

If I give you my number, would you talk to me?

(1)

No?

(1)

Too ugly for you?

S1 doesn't start by talking to Roberts, but he starts walking next to her trying to make eye-contact. After Roberts applies the positive impoliteness strategy ignoring as per instructed, he tries to start a conversation. He does this indirectly by asking her if she does not want to talk, expressing how he interpreted her silence. He does ask her a question, asking for a preferred second utterance (Mazeland, 2003). Unfortunately, there is a cut scene after that utterance, so we don't know how long the pause was between that utterance and the next. Since Roberts does not answer him, he gets no preferred second utterance and thus his face is threatened. He asks several more questions and the situation repeats itself. One could conclude that S1 keeps trying because he wants to save his face, but he also chose to ignore the I-do-not-want-to-talk-message Roberts send by ignoring him. S1 feels that his face was threatened by the positive impoliteness strategy ignoring and stalks Roberts to try and get an answer or reaction.

The same situation occurs in the following case from the video:

A guy she passes

S1 °Hello good morning°°

(1,5)

god bless you=

=have a good day alright?

(Stalks for five minutes)

S1 starts by uttering a greeting in a lower volume than is normal, and this might be face-work. He faces the FTA of not getting response or reaction with the preferred second utterance, and by voicing his catcall softly he has an extra safety measure. If Roberts does not respond, he can always claim it was because she either didn't hear him, or deny he ever said something in the first place. Roberts applies the positive impoliteness strategy ignoring. After a pause in which he gave Roberts the time to give him the preferred second utterance, he gives her a compliment (god bless you) followed immediately by a closing formula 'have a good day'. It seems as though he interpreted the message send by the positive impoliteness strategy as her not wanting to talk. He does however end this closing formula with increasing intonation, making it a question. This again requires a preferred second utterance (Mazeland, 2003).

Roberts, still ignoring him as per instructed, does not give this preferred second utterance. S1 then proceeds to stalk her for approximately five minutes without saying anything. This might be because his face is threatened by her use of positive impoliteness. S1 might be determined to not lose face and thus he stalks her to try and pressure her into reaction.

But it is not just Roberts that applies impoliteness strategies in the examples above. The speakers in both cases use the negative impoliteness strategy of invading space. Stalking Roberts is the very literal meaning of invading her space, but in other instances the speakers also use this negative impoliteness strategy to metaphorically invade her space. Take for example the case from the video I mentioned earlier in the section on compliments:

Two guys standing outside

S1 °Hi beautiful °

S2 God bless=*sirene*

S1 Sex:y!=American Eagle!

The term of endearment 'beautiful' is a compliment which gives S1 power to establish a relationship closer to Roberts than she probably prefers (Verbiest, 2004) because it shows S1 took the power to judge her on her looks. This is metaphorically invading her space because S1 suggests a social relation close enough for him to comment on her looks. The second time S1 catcalls, he invades Roberts' space even more than the first time. He compliments her by calling her sexy, specifying his compliment by commenting on the logo on her pants.

Especially this identity marker 'sexy American eagle' is very intimidating and space invading because it expresses the fact that he has been looking at her butt. Also note that S1's second catcall is not the first of an adjacency pair, but rather an interjection. Contrary to his first catcall, this one requires no preferred second utterance (Mazeland, 2003) and thus requires no reaction, making him more powerful in the conversation.

Catcallers also use other impoliteness strategies, as seen in the following example: S2 uses the negative impoliteness strategy of telling the other on record about his/her indebtedness.

A few guys sitting outside at a cafe

S1 Hey what's up gi::rl?
 =?How you doing
 S2 Somebody's acknowledging you for being beautiful
 You should say thank you more!
 S1/S2/S3) Fo>real?

S2 recognizes that S1's face is threatened when Roberts applies the positive impoliteness strategy ignoring, and he makes the implied message of flirting explicit by telling Roberts she should be more grateful for the compliment. What S2 literally says is: 'It is your debt to say thank you when you receive a compliment'.

In this section we saw that catcalls entail both politeness strategies and impoliteness strategies. We can conclude that most catcalls are (negative) impoliteness strategies, namely invading (metaphorical) space, and can thus be hurtful for the addressee's (negative) face. This is an important effect catcalls have and it may explain why they can be evaluated as harassment. In the video, Roberts displays the positive impoliteness theory ignoring throughout the video, which may be evaluated as face threatening by the speakers, resulting in face-work on their part. Catcalls are thus not only hurtful for the addressee. If the catcallers do not get a preferred response, their face is vulnerable for threats as well. In the examples given we see that speakers do face-work after not receiving a preferred response to the catcall, such as calling out Roberts for not responding or switching to a catcall that is differently formulated than the first one. This is important for chapter 6, where I will categorize the catcalls into different types based on the effects on speaker's face.

5.5 Social (Im)politeness

So face-work provides us with an idea of why some things are being said and to what purpose (to be polite or impolite), but it does not explain why some utterances are evaluated differently by different people. Watts (2003) draws up a new model for (im)politeness in his book 'Politeness', where in contrary to previous theories on politeness², he takes politeness¹ as a starting point. His model of (im)politeness is dynamic, flexible and it is able to deal with the different evaluations and characteristics of (im)politeness in social interactions, even allowing discursive disputes contrary to previous politeness studies. Watts himself calls his model a social model for politeness which tries to offer ways to recognize when or why a linguistic utterance might be open to an (im)polite interpretation, instead of aiming to draw up a model that predicts when or how speakers will produce linguistic politeness (Watts, 2003:160). The model allows individual interpretations of polite and impolite behavior.

The social politeness model consists of two major concepts: Politic Behavior and Linguistic Politeness (Watts, 2003:161-167). The first concept is Politic behavior. This is the expected behavior for the social activity type similar to the face-work theories. Behavior that is not considered part of the politic behavior of a specific interaction type is evaluated as 'inappropriate' and open for classification such as 'rude' and 'impolite'. But where do these expectations come from? What determines the politic behavior for an interaction type? People usually tend to think that the appropriate forms of behavior exist outside ourselves, that they are rules of some kind that were decided upon by either a higher instance or by the community. Now, this way of thinking is not entirely wrong, because if we follow these 'rules', we are most likely to achieve the goals we set for the interaction. Violating these rules, which are mostly ritualized forms of behavior, is considered impolite. Yet these 'rules' do not exist outside ourselves but mainly inside of us. Every person has an internal habitus of expectations for communicative genres and interaction types based on their own personal (past-) experiences, upbringing and culture. This starts explaining why what one person might find a proper response is considered rude by another. Highly conventionalized utterances, containing linguistic expressions that are used in ritualized forms of verbal interaction are called formulaic, ritualized utterances by Watts (2003:168). These utterances have been reduced from full grammatical constructions to markers of politic behavior. Examples are 'thank you very much', 'it's a pleasure to' and the use of extensive terms of address (full names and or titles). Semi-formulaic utterances are conventionalized linguistic expressions that carry out indirective speech acts appropriate to the politic behavior of the social situation. Examples are 'I think', 'I mean', etc. These structures are not evaluated as polite if they fit in the politic behavior of the social situation, but when used excessively or when missing, it will be noticed and evaluated by the other participants. Earlier discussed was that social interactions can be a struggle for power between the participants. However, this power-struggle can only be perceived and engaged in by members against the background of previous preconceptions about what forms of linguistic behavior are appropriate to the social practice being carried out. Social behavior from these preconceptions create the Politic behavior (Watts, 2003:213)

The second major concept of Watts' politeness model is linguistic politeness. Linguistic politeness is the behavior that goes beyond the politic behavior and it is thus open for evaluation (polite or impolite). This is similar to supportive face-work in the sense that it stands out from the 'normal' behavior and thus opens itself up for evaluation. However,

linguistic politeness may also include potential irony, aggressiveness, abuse etc. It is all up to personal evaluation. Adding polite language structures to an utterance does not automatically mean that this will be evaluated as polite. To explain this, Watts discusses a theory of linguistic payment. Every utterance has a certain value, and in social interactions, participants are expected to respond ('pay') with equal valued utterances (2003:151). This is politic behavior, and thus the payments go largely unnoticed because replying with equal value is the conventional second utterance, or preferred second utterance of the adjacency pair in discourse (Mazeland, 2003). If one of the participants fails to 'pay' this value, that's when it will be noticed by the other party, evaluating it as rude or impolite. On the other hand, if one participant does an excessive payment (responds with more value than necessary) this would be polite language, but not always evaluated as such. For example, when somebody asks you to call them by their first name and you would refuse to do so to maintain a certain distance to that person, it will be considered impolite. Calling them by their full name, or even by their title, might be negative politeness, but in the context where you were asked to be more informal, it can be evaluated as rude when you do such an excessive linguistic payment. Linguistic structure consciously produced as realizations of extra value are called expressive politeness¹. Those classified after the social interaction are classificatory politeness¹. There is no way to measure whether the second utterance has sufficient payment value, because like the politic behavior, it depends on the participants' personal, individual habitus.

Everything a person says conveys an ideational meaning and an interpersonal meaning (Halliday, 1978 cited in Watts 2003:172). This is best explained with the example Watts (2003:172) gives:

S1 Nice day today.

'Today is a nice day' is the ideational meaning of the utterance above. It is a proposition and can thus be assigned a truth value. 'I am greeting you' is the interpersonal meaning. Politeness payment is concerned with interpersonal rather than ideational meanings. Greeting is a speech act that requires a response since it is the first part of an adjacency pair (Mazeland, 2003), making it an interpersonal act. This theory is very applicable to the catcall instances in the video. Every catcall has an ideational meaning, an interpersonal meaning and an implied meaning. To illustrate this, I will use the first catcall in the video:

Three guys on folding chairs in front of a store facing the pavement.

S1 How you doing today?
 S2 Smi:[le

S3 [I guess not goo[d

S2 [!SMI::LE

The opening utterance by S1 has an increasing intonation at the end of the sentence, making the utterance a question. The ideational meaning is something along the lines of ‘how is your health/wellbeing today’, and since this is a common way to start a conversation, the interpersonal meaning is greeting. Both S1 and Roberts will know from their own past experiences that the utterance is a common way to greet somebody and to start a conversation. The implied meaning of the utterance that Roberts can infer is flirting and/or catcalling because the utterance of S1 violates the maxim of relation (Grice, 1978). The utterance of S1 is not relevant in the context because Roberts just passes him on the streets when there is no relevant time to start a conversation. Because S1 violates this maxim, Roberts can infer that greeting and/or starting a conversation is not the implied meaning of S1’s utterance but rather that he wants to flirt with her or catcall.

This section expands some of the theories earlier discussed. In section 5.2 we discussed that speakers need a preferred second utterance to the first adjacency pair they utter, or their face will be threatened. Watts (2003) however argues that speakers want equal linguistic payment. This equal linguistic payment would preferably be the preferred second utterance, but it may also be any other reaction of equal (linguistic) value. Roberts' silence does not provide this, which is threatening to the speaker's face. Also, Halliday (1978), cited in Watts (2003:172) offers deeper insight in the difference between messages. In section 5.1 we discussed what is actually being said versus what is implied. Halliday adds the ideational meaning and an interpersonal meaning into the mix. Identifying the interpersonal meaning helps recognize what communicative act is being done. This helps analyze the effects it has on both the speaker and the addressee since it gives insight in what equal linguistic payment would be and whether or not the utterance is the first utterance of an adjacency pair.

The previous theories helped explain how it is possible that catcalls can be evaluated as harassment , but did not explain why the effects of catcalling are evaluated different between individuals. In this section we conclude that every person has an internal habitus of expectations for communicative genres and interaction types based on their own personal

(past-) experiences, upbringing and culture. Therefore, the effects of catcalling may be experienced differently by each individual.

6. Catcall types

The catcalls in the video can be divided into three main types, according to the techniques the speakers use. These types are divided by the difference in degree of face-loss for the speaker. I chose to divide the catcalls based on the face-loss risk of the speakers because they have the choice to choose one of the three types and therefore have a certain level of control over the risks to their own face. I will discuss the way it affects the addressee's (Roberts') face per type as well. Important to note is that when a speaker chooses to utter a catcall with a low risk to his own face, Roberts' face is also less threatened and vice versa. In the introduction of this research I explained that the online Oxford Dictionary describes a catcall as 'a loud [whistle](#) or a [comment](#) of a sexual nature made by a man to a passing woman', and harassment as 'aggressive [pressure](#) or [intimidation](#)'. The more the addressee will feel pressured or intimidated to react, the more likely she is going to evaluate the catcall as harassment. The three different types are 'utterances with high risk to the face of the speaker', 'utterances with less risk to the face of the speaker' and 'interjections with even less risk to the face of the speaker'. These types will be explained in the next sections. Section 6.4 will address catcall cases from the video that are not divided into the previously mentioned types, and discuss them individually.

6.1 Utterances with high risk to the face of the speaker

These catcalls are usually first utterances of an adjacency pair, and mostly formulated as either questions or greetings. These utterances thus have a strong need for a preferred second utterance (Verbiest, 2004 and Mazeland, 2003) or other equal linguistic payment (Watts, 2003). This makes the speaker vulnerable for face threats (Brown & Levinson, 1987) because there is a possibility where he will not get the preferred second utterance of equal linguistic value (Watts, 2003). The addressee's face on the other hand is equally threatened because this type of catcalls strongly asks for a preferred second utterance or equal linguistic payment, putting pressure on her to actually react because ignoring this type of catcall means performing a large FTA. Pressuring or intimidating somebody to do certain things can be considered harassment¹⁶, but though there is pressure on the addressee there is no real intimidation. The utterances that belong to this category found in the video are the following:

16 <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/harassment>

Utterance	Case	Notes
How you doing	1, 3, 13, 14, 19	The intonation may vary in power and emphasis.
What's up	2, 3, 18	May be followed by a term of endearment: Beautiful (2), Girl (3), Miss (18)
Hey, hi, hello	3,5, 6, 11, 12	May be followed by a term of endearment: Baby (5), Beautiful (6, 11)
How are you this morning	7	
Good morning	12	

Many of these utterances are conversation starters and the interpersonal meaning is often greeting. A couple of examples of this catcall type are the following cases from the video¹⁷:

Case 1: Three guys on folding chairs in front of a store facing the pavement

S1 How you doing today?
S2 Smi:[le
S3 [I guess not goo[d
S2 [!SMI::LE

The opening utterance by S1 is of the first type of catcalls. It has an increasing intonation at the end of the sentence, making the utterance a question. The ideational meaning is something along the lines of ‘how is your health/wellbeing today’, and since this is a common way to start a conversation, the interpersonal meaning is greeting (Halliday, 1978 cited in Watts 2003:172). Both S1 and Roberts will know from their own past experiences that the utterance is a common way to greet somebody and to start a conversation. The implied meaning of the utterance that Roberts correctly interprets is flirting and/or catcalling because the utterance of S1 violates the maxim of relation (Grice, 1978). The utterance of S1 is not relevant in the context because Roberts just passes him on the streets when there is no relevant time to start a conversation. Because S1 violates this maxim, Roberts can interpret that greeting and/or starting a conversation is not the implied meaning of S1’s utterance but rather that he wants to flirt with her or catcall. As discussed earlier, Roberts applies the positive impoliteness strategy ignoring (Culpeper, 2008) throughout the video, threatening the positive face of the speaker because he will not get a reaction in the form of a preferred second utterance (Verbiest, 2003) or equal linguistic payment (Watts, 2003). That the face of S1 is indeed threatened is

17 The chronological transcription of the catcall cases by number can be found in attachment

confirmed by the reaction of the other guys present. After Roberts ignores S1, S2 tries to get her to smile, a reaction that he probably considers to be a reaction of equal linguistic payment to S1's utterance (Watts, 2003). He makes this demand twice, without regard for face-work strategies as he boldly uses the imperative, the second time even more forcefully in volume and intonation. S3 is also trying to save S1's face by trying to get a reaction from Roberts. He does so by using an on-record strategy (Brown & Levinson, 1987), stating that she's not well because she does not answer. Because the silence of Roberts is taken as an FTA, the men seem to try and trigger a reaction to save S1's face. Roberts is faced with a FTA because S1's utterance is of the first type of catcalls. It is a greeting utterance and it pressures her to react to it with equal linguistic payment (Watts, 2003).

Case 3: A few guys sitting outside at a café:

S1	Hey what's up gi::rl? =?How <u>you</u> doing
S2	Somebody's acknowledging you for being beautiful You should say thank you more!
(S1/S2/S3)	Fo>real?

S1 utters a catcall from the first type. The ideational meaning (Halliday, 1978 cited in Watts 2003:172) of S1's utterance is asking after wellbeing, which is a conventionalized formula for asking after someone's wellbeing. The interpersonal meaning (Halliday, 1978 cited in Watts 2003:172) is greeting since the conventionalized utterance is often used as conversation starter. The implied meaning is catcalling because 'what's up girl, how you doing' a very common way is to ask for a girl's attention, especially with the intonation pattern used. S1's utterance violates the maxim of relation (Grice, 1967), and therefore Roberts can deduct the implied message from S1, which is catcalling. Since Roberts applies the positive impoliteness strategy of ignoring throughout the video, S1's face is threatened since he did not get linguistic payment (Watts, 2003) in the form of a preferred second utterance (Mazeland, 2003 and Verbiest, 2004) or other reaction to his question. Roberts on the other hand has her face threatened because S1's utterance is of the first type of catcalls. It is a greeting utterance and a question, which pressures her to either react to it with equal linguistic payment (Watts, 2003) or perform an FTA and decline/ignore his question. S2 recognizes that S1's face is threatened by Roberts' silence, and he makes the implied message S1 explicit by telling Roberts on record without redressive actions (Brown and Levinson, 1987) that S1's utterance meant that he (S1) thought she was beautiful. S2 clearly considers saying thanks to be a response of equal linguistic payment (Watts, 2003) and tries to save S1's face by trying to get a reaction

from Roberts. Roberts face on the other hand is very threatened by S2 since he on record without redressive actions orders her what to do by using imperatives. This puts more pressure on her to give a reaction and it makes it harder for her to ignore the utterance, making the FTA (Brown & Levinson, 1987) of ignoring bigger. It is unclear who utters the 'Fo>real?', it could be S1 or S2, but since there were more guys sitting outside that café, it could have been any one of them. This comment can be directed at the Roberts because she is still not responding, but another possibility is that one of the other guys responds to S2 for making S1's implied message explicit. S2 tried to save S1's face by putting pressure on Roberts, trying to get her to react. However, by making S1's implied meaning explicit, he may have made things worse for S1. Where S1 probably did some face-work (Watts, 2003) and chose to address Roberts with a conventionalized greeting, leaving the implied catcall or compliment for Roberts to interpret, S2 makes his implied message explicit, without any regard for face-work or face-saving strategies.

In the examples above, it is clear that the first type catcalls leave the face of the speaker rather vulnerable and open for threats as these catcalls are usually in question form, asking for a preferred second utterance (Mazeland, 2003 and Verbiest, 2004) or other equal linguistic payment (Watts, 2003). Roberts' face on the other hand is equally threatened because a question strongly asks for a preferred second utterance or equal linguistic payment, putting pressure on her to actually react because ignoring this type of catcall means performing a large FTA. Since Roberts was instructed to apply the positive impoliteness strategy ignoring throughout the time she walked through the streets, the catcallers in these cases did not get their preferred second utterance or equal linguistic payment and thus their faces were harmed while in the same time her own face was threatened as well because she was forced to perform large FTA's. That the faces of the catcallers were indeed hurt is confirmed by the fact that in some of these cases, the speaker(s) try to do face-work and/or comment on Roberts' silence. For example in case 1, where S2 and S3 try to make Roberts perform the preferred second utterance by suggesting preferred answers and/or using imperatives to order her to give a reaction.

S2 Smi:le
 S3 I guess not goo[d
 S2 [!SMI::LE

In case 2 it is S2 who tries to protect the face of S1 by making S1's implied message explicit and by using imperatives to order Roberts to give a reaction.

S2 Somebody's acknowledging you for being beautiful
 You should say thank you more!
 (S2/S3) Fo>real?

S2 tried to save S1's face by putting pressure on Roberts, trying to get her to react. However, by making S1's implied meaning explicit, he may have made things worse for S1. Where S1 probably did some face-work (Watts, 2003) and chose to address Roberts with a conventionalized greeting, leaving the implied catcall or compliment for Roberts to interpret, S2 makes his implied message explicit, without any regard for face-work or face-saving strategies.

6.2 Utterances with less risk to the face of the speaker

These catcalls are also part of an adjacency pair (Mazeland, 2003), just like the first type, but they are often not the first utterance of a pair. This type of catcall has a lesser need for a preferred second utterance (Mazeland, 2003) or equal linguistic payment (Watts, 2003) because the utterances are often closing formulas. This makes the speaker less vulnerable for face threats because the need for a preferred second utterance (Mazeland, 2003) or other equal linguistic payment (Watts, 2003) is less than the first type catcalls. Catcallers that use this type probably do so because they are doing face-work (Watts, 2003). The addressee's face on the other hand is also threatened less because there is no strong need for a preferred second utterance or equal linguistic payment. This results in less pressure on the addressee to react, because the FTA of ignoring this type of catcall is not as big. There could be a reaction or answer to the utterances of this type of catcall, but the way they are formulated also allows silence or no reaction to be acceptable. These catcalls do not pressure the addressee for a reaction and are usually not intimidating. Therefore it is likely that these catcalls may not be evaluated as harassment. The utterances that belong to this category found in the video are the following:

Utterance	Case	Notes
Have a nice evening	8, 20	Term of endearment might be added: Darling (20)
have a good day alright	12	This catcall ends with increasing intonation, therefore it may get a second utterance, but it is not necessary.

These utterances are usually conversation endings and phrases used to say goodbye. Examples from the video are the following:

Case 8: A guy in passing, turning his head.

S1 >Have a nice evening<

The utterance of S1 is a catcall of the second type. The ideational meaning (Halliday, 1978 cited in Watts 2003:172) is 'I wish you have a nice evening' while the interpersonal meaning is saying goodbye or closing conversation. The implied meaning is catcalling, though many argue that the implied meaning in these cases is the same as the ideational one: wishing somebody a nice evening. The reason why this utterance can be interpreted as a catcall is because it violates the maxim of relation (Grice, 1967). Looking at the context, there was no relevant point for S1 to utter a closing formula to Roberts as they walked past each other at a bust intersection. The fact that the utterance is irrelevant in the context is also confirmed by the way S1 pronounces his catcall. He utters 'Have a nice evening' faster than is considered normal, and one can conclude from this that he said it in a hurry because there was no time to utter it in a normal speed. The fact that S1 chose a closing utterance, rather than an opening one also suggests this, because it could be a measure of face-work. By catcalling a closing formula the need for a preferred second utterance (Mazeland, 2003) or other linguistic payment (Watts, 2003) is small. One could expect a preferred second utterance such as 'thank you' or 'you too', but it is not a necessity. Because this type of catcall allows silence or not reaction to be more acceptable than the first type of catcalls, the impact on Roberts' face is also less. When there is no strong need for a preferred second utterance or equal linguistic payment, it results in less pressure on Roberts, because the FTA of ignoring this type of catcall is not as big.

In some cases, like the example above, these type two catcalls are used individually. The catcaller then anticipated that his face might be threatened, and to prevent this he uttered a closing formula where the need for a response or preferred second utterance is not that high. In other cases, this type of catcall is used as face-work. The catcaller starts with a type 1 catcall (Utterances with high risk to the face of the speaker), but after Roberts' applied the positive impoliteness strategy ignoring (Culpeper, 1996), the speaker tries to save face. This is the case in case 12:

Case 12: A guy she passes

S1 °Hello good morning°°
(1,5)
god bless you=
=have a good day alright?
(stalks for five minutes)

S1 starts by uttering a type one catcall in the form of a greeting. S1 does this catcall in a lower volume than is normal, and this might be face-work. He faces the risk of not getting a reaction and thus no preferred second utterance (Mazeland, 2003) or equal linguistic payment (watts, 2003). This would be highly damaging to his positive face (Brown & Levinson, 1987). By calling his catcall in a soft manner, he has an extra safety measure: if Roberts does not respond, he can always claim it was because she either didn't hear him, or deny he ever said something in the first place. Because this is a type one catcall, the threat on Roberts' face is also large because there is a pressure on her to give equal linguistic payment (watts, 2003) to his opening formula. After a pause in which he gave Roberts the time to react, S1 gives her a compliment. What is literally being said is 'God blessed you with beauty' and it is a conventionalized form used to compliment somebody. Roberts can interpret the utterance as a compliment because it violates the maxim of relation (Grice, 1967). The context of the situation suggests that the utterance is probably a flirt or catcall. The compliment is followed immediately by a type two catcall in the form of a closing formula. It seems as though S1 interpreted the positive impoliteness strategy ignoring (Culpeper, 1996) that Roberts applies correctly as her not wanting to talk, and he utters a closing formula to do face-work (Watts, 2003) and try to save his positive face (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Whereas his first catcall left him with a high risk to his face because of the strong need for equal linguistic payment (Watts, 2003), the closing formula of the type two catcall lowers this risk because it lowers the need for equal linguistic payment. This also has an effect on Roberts' face, as the FTA she has to perform by applying the positive impoliteness strategy ignoring (Culpeper, 1996) becomes less high when there is less pressure to react. S1 does however end this closing formula with increasing intonation, making it a question. This again makes the risk for his face higher because the questioning intonation creates a higher need for a reaction. This means that Roberts' face is also threatened slightly more. S1 then proceeds to stalk her for approximately five minutes without saying anything. Whether this is because he is trying to force a reaction from Roberts or not is uncertain, and at this point it cannot be counted as catcalling anymore, but stalking. There are a few instances in the video where the catcallers start to follow Roberts or even stalk her for a period of time. I will discuss these cases later in the discussion chapter 6.

6.3 Interjections with even less risk to the face of the speaker

These catcalls are interjections. They are not necessarily part of an adjacency pair, they don't have a grammatical function and they are separate from the sentences they are used in. In the video most interjections even stand on their own as utterances. There are two types of interjections: ones that have a communicative function and ones that are emotional exclamations¹⁸. The interjections used in the video are mostly of the latter type. The risk to the speaker's face is very low with this type of catcall, because there is little to no need for a reaction. The speaker does not have to fear that the addressee will not react to his catcall, because not reacting is acceptable. The addressee could respond with a 'thank you' as equal linguistic payment, but it is not expected. The addressee on the other hand has less pressure to react, making the threat to the face lesser because she will not have to perform (a large) FTA by ignoring the catcall. However, the interjections catcalled are usually compliments (terms of endearment) and can be degrading to the addressee. Because the speaker has less to fear for his face, he can catcall more space invading (negative impoliteness strategy, Culpeper, 1996) compliments. By commenting on the addressee's looks the speaker takes the power to judge, establishing a social relation which is closer than preferred (Verbiest, 2004). The face of the addressee is thus very threatened. There may not be a lot of pressure on the addressee to react, but the power of the compliments can be abused in such a way that the addressee might feel denigrated or even intimidated. When the addressee feels intimidated, they can evaluate this catcall type as harassment. The interjections used in the video are the following:

Utterance	Case	Notes
God bless you	4, 11, 12	Term of endearment may be added: Mami (4)
Damn	4, 10 (2x), 13,16	Term of endearment may be added: Girl (16)
nice	9	
sexy	11	Term of endearment may be added: American eagle (11)

These utterances are exclamations of the emotions of S1 and they don't function as an adjacency pair utterance because of their intonation pattern. They are often loud and shouted. These exclamations may be about Roberts, but they are not explicitly directed at her and require thus no reaction or equal linguistic payment (Watts, 2003). This leaves the face of the speaker less vulnerable or invulnerable for face threats (Brown & Levinson, 1987). This type

¹⁸ <https://onzetaal.nl/taaladvies/advies/tussenwerpsel>

of catcall is a bit more intrusive than the type 2 catcalls with no risk to the face, since these catcalls are often voiced with increasing intonation and volume. And these are all comments on Roberts' looks, rather than wishes for her wellbeing, where the speaker takes the power to establish a social relationship in which he places himself above Roberts and judges on her looks (Verbiest, 2004). In case 10 for example, this type 3 catcall is used twice with increasing force:

Case 10: A guy not in view

S1 Damn!
 DAMN!

The implied message is a compliment, which gives S1 the power to determine a close social relationship with Roberts, giving him the power to comment on her looks. There is no preferred second utterance, as this interjection is not necessarily directed at Roberts to start a conversation. There's little face threat for S1, as there is expected reaction. For Roberts, this is threatening to her face because the social relationship in which he can judge her looks is implied.

6.4 Other Catcall Cases

The catcall types discussed previously can be used separately or together, depending on the preference of the speaker. Most speakers in the video opt for only one or two of these types, but in case 12, S1 utters all three types:

Case 12: A guy she passes

S1	°Hello good morning°° (1,5)	□	Type 1 catcall
	god bless you=	□	Type 3 catcall
	=have a good day alright? (Stalks for five minutes)	□	Type 2 catcall

After the type 2 catcall however, this case evolves from catcalling to stalking. This is strange because S1 did utter a closing formula type 2 catcall, indicating that the interaction ended there. This stalking might occur because Roberts applied the positive impoliteness strategy ignoring, and S1 felt that his face was threatened after the type 1 catcall, even after he tried to do face-work with the other two types. By stalking S1 tries to pressure or intimidate Roberts to react and this can be considered harassment.

Case 17 is also a case of stalking rather than catcalling and I have thus not incorporated this case in the three types above.

Case 17: A guy Roberts passes and who starts to walk to her

S1 (4)
You don't wanna talk?
(there is a cut scene, so not sure how long the pause was between these utterances)
Because I'm ugly?
(3)
Huh?
(there is a cut scene, so not sure how long the pause was between these utterances)
We can't be friends, nothing?
(2)
You don't speak?
(there is a cut scene, so not sure how long the pause was between these utterances)
If I give you my number, would you talk to me?
(1)
No?
(1)
Too ugly for you?

The reason for stalking here is the same as in case 12. S1 feels that his face is threatened and stalks Roberts to try and intimidate her to get an answer or reaction of equal linguistic payment (Watts, 2003). Stalking puts great pressure on Roberts and it is intimidating to her, making this a clear case of harassment. The positive impoliteness strategy ignoring (Culpeper, 1996) that Roberts applies has the implied message that she does not want to talk. S1 probably not satisfied with this because he does not see it as a payment of equal linguistic value (Watts, 2003). He pressures Roberts to react because it seems that he will continue to follow her until she gives him an preferred second utterance (Mazeland, 2003) of equal linguistic payment (Watts, 2003). The preferred second utterance is an answer to his catcalls, but Roberts telling him to stop following her is probably also acceptable as equal linguistic payment. As long as S1 gets a reaction, his face will be saved. For Roberts face, this is very threatening. S1 catcalls questions to her, pressuring her to react. Following her around builds up even more pressure and is also intimidating. This particular case is a case of stalking rather than a case of catcalling, and due to the large pressure this puts on Roberts, it is harassment.

Case 15 is also not included in the catcall types above, because whether or not this case is a catcall is up for discussion.

S1 He:::y look it there!

(1)

I just saw a thousand ↓dollars

It is not clear who S1 is talking to. It could be Roberts, but it could also be somebody else entirely. Considering the context, it is likely to assume that S1's utterance is indeed directed at Roberts, but that leaves me with another issue: The form of this catcall seems to be unique. The online Oxford Dictionary¹⁹ describes the term catcall as 'a loud [whistle](#) or a [comment](#) of a sexual nature made by a man to a passing woman' as I explained in the introduction of this research, but these utterances don't seem to have an implied sexual nature. S1 starts with an utterance that asks to focus attention on something S1 can see. This could be Roberts, but it might not be. After a pause where S1 gets no reaction or any other form of linguistic payment (Watts, 2003), he continues with 'I just saw a thousand dollars'. This could be enlarging on his first utterance by explaining what he wanted the listeners to focus on, it could also be face-work because Roberts applied the positive impoliteness strategy ignoring (Culpeper, 1996). I considered the possibility that 'I just saw a thousand dollars' was perhaps a conventionalized phrase used to catcall, but there are no instances of this utterance recorded before the video. The video by Bliss and Roberts may however give this phrase a catcall status because it seems that, now Roberts and Bliss categorized it as a catcall, the phrase itself is being accepted as such. A feminist blogging-website²⁰ describes the utterance as 'an obvious attempt at objectifying.' The implied meaning then would be that Roberts looks like 'she is worth a thousand dollars', perhaps even hinting that it might be the 'price' for her? Implying a reference to Roberts being a whore? It could be possible, but it may also be a case of misunderstanding. Roberts and Bliss went on the streets to purposely record catcalling-cases. They might have included this utterance in the video because they were focused on recording catcalls, having a mindset where it is possible that they interpret many utterances as catcalls. Due to the uncertainty of this case, I decided to not include it in the three catcall types. Perhaps after the popularity of the video, this utterance will become a conventionalized catcall, but right now, there is no evidence that supports that.

19 <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/catcall>

20

<http://femmfataleckcu.com/2014/11/16/unwanted-male-attention-catcalling-and-why-i-feel-uncomfortable-with-politeness/>

7. Conclusion

The purpose of this research was to take an in-depth look into the phenomenon of catcalling, answering why and how it can be evaluated so differently by individuals and what effects it has on both the speakers and the addressees in terms of face and (im)politeness. The research questions were as followed:

1. What effects do catcalls have on both the speaker and the addressee in terms of face and politeness?
2. Are there different catcall types to be found in the video based on face and (im)politeness theories, and how do these types affect the speaker and the addressee?

Before answering these questions, it is important to realize that the video project by Bliss and Roberts was volunteer work for the anti-street harassment movement Hollaback!. Though unintentionally, both Bliss and Roberts may have experienced some of the utterances in the video as catcalls because they set out specifically to document catcalls. Their minds were set to interpret most utterances while walking through the streets of New York as catcalls. Especially case 15²¹ is a good example of a situation where it is not certain if it really is a catcall, but Bliss and Roberts obviously interpreted it as such.

So what effects do catcalls have on both the speaker and the addressee in terms of face and politeness?

Catcalls are a social power struggle of (im)politeness and face-work with the effect that both the face of the addressee and the face of the speaker are vulnerable for threats. They are usually non-cooperative communication acts (Tomasello, 2008) which violate the Gricean maxims (1967), leading the addressee to interpret the true meaning of what is being said in the situational context. Catcalls can be analyzed as conversations because what is being said is often the first utterance of an adjacency pair (Mazeland, 2003) with the need for a preferred second utterance or other equal linguistic payment (Watts, 2003) in return. This need for equal linguistic payment may put pressure on the addressee to react, and if she does not want to give the preferred positive reaction, she is faced with performing a FTA (Brown and Levinson, 1987). Compliments in catcalls can be interpreted as a threat to the addressee's negative face because the speaker can abuse the social power and establish a social relationship closer to

²¹ See attachment 1: the video transcription

the addressee than is preferred (Verbiest, 2004), even though Brown and Levinson (1987) consider giving compliments to be a positive politeness strategy. Culpeper's theory on impoliteness (1996) shows that most catcalls consist of a negative impoliteness strategy: invading (metaphorical) space which is hurtful for the addressee's face.

The speaker's face is equally vulnerable for face threats. In the video, Roberts displays an impoliteness strategy: the positive impoliteness theory ignoring (Culpeper, 1996). Roberts' silence gives no equal linguistic payment (Watts, 2003) to the speaker's catcall, making it an impolite response and face-threatening for the speaker. The face threatening effect on the speaker's face may result in face-work on their part, for example catcalling a differently formulated second catcall or even stalking.

The effects of catcalling discussed above may be experienced differently by each individual. The pragmatic theories show how catcalls can have a face threatening effect, but if an individual does not interpret the catcall as threatening based on their own experiences, upbringing and culture (Watts, 2003) then they may as well be interpreted as compliments.

Based on the findings from the pragmatic analysis of catcalling, there are three catcall types to be found in the video. These categories answer the second research question: Are there different catcall types to be found in the video based on face and (im)politeness theories, and how do these types affect the speaker and the addressee? The catcalls are categorized by the way they affect the speaker's face:

1. Utterances with high risk to the face of the speaker
2. Utterances with less risk to the face of the speaker
3. Interjections with even less risk to the face of the speaker

These catcall types may be divided by how they affect the speaker's face, but each type also has a different effect on the addressee. Generally, the lower the risk for the face of the speaker, the less pressure is put on the addressee to give a reaction of equal linguistic payment (Watts, 2003). This does not mean however that the type 3 catcalls are evaluated as less harassing than the type 1 catcalls. In the introduction of this research I explained that the online Oxford Dictionary describes a catcall as 'a loud [whistle](#) or a [comment](#) of a sexual nature made by a man to a passing woman', and harassment as 'aggressive [pressure](#) or [intimidation](#)'. The more the addressee will feel pressured or intimidated to react, the more likely it is that the catcall will have negative effects on the addressee.

Type 1 catcalls consist mostly of opening formulas (greetings) and questions, which create a pressure on the addressee because these first utterances of an adjacency pair have the need for a preferred second utterance (Mazeland, 2003) or other equal linguistic payment (Watts, 2003). It also leaves the face of the speaker vulnerable for threats when no equal linguistic payment is given. This is why many speakers (or their friends) try to do face-work after Roberts applies the positive impoliteness theory ignoring (Culpeper, 1996).

Type 2 catcalls are usually closing formulas and have little risk to both the speaker's and the addressee's face because there is no strong need for a preferred second utterance (Mazeland, 2003) or other equal linguistic payment (Watts, 2003). This relieves pressure for the addressee, who now has the option to not react because she does not have to commit a FTA. The chances that the effects of this type 2 catcall are considered harassing are lower than the type 1 catcalls.

Type 3 catcalls are interjections. The risk to the speaker's face is very low because there is little to no need for a reaction. The addressee will also feel less pressured to give a reaction, making the threat to her face smaller because she will not have to perform a FTA by ignoring the catcall. There may not be a lot of pressure on the addressee to react, but the interjections catcalled are usually compliments (terms of endearment) and can be degrading to the addressee (Verbiest, 2004). Because the speaker has less to fear for his face, he can catcall more space invading (negative impoliteness strategy, Culpeper, 1996), and power-abusing compliments. It is likely that the addressee will evaluate the effects of this type 3 catcall negatively. Not because it puts a lot of pressure on her to react, but because it suggest a social relationship to the speaker that is intimidating.

Considering the pressure it puts on the addressee in terms of (im)politeness strategies, FTA's and intimidation, it is more likely that the effects of the type 1 and type 3 catcalls are evaluated more negatively than the type 2 ones. This however still depends on the context of the situation, the social relation between the speaker and the addressee and the past experiences and personal views of the addressee.

8. Discussion

My original intention was to answer the question: How is it possible that catcalls can be evaluated as both compliments and harassment by different individuals?

This question proved difficult to answer. The catcall types I drew up give insight in which types may be evaluated as harassment easier than the others, but it does not truly answer why they are evaluated as such. The social pressure and face threats may contribute to the fact that it is possible to interpret catcalls as harassment, but for a large part it depends on the context of the situation, the social relation between the speaker and the addressee and on the past experiences and personal views of the addressee. This is why, rather than researching why catcalls are evaluated as both compliments and harassment, I decided to research the specific effect catcalls have on both the speaker and the addressee in terms of face-work and (im)politeness. This will also indirectly address the originally intended research question.

The results of my research are not universal. The pragmatic analysis shows how the catcalls documented in the video can have a negative effect on the addressee, but there is no guarantee that these effects will actually occur. In the case of Roberts and Bliss, the catcalls have been evaluated negatively (hence they appeared in their street harassment video) probably due to the effects of catcalling I mentioned in my conclusion, but other individuals might not experience these effects at all. The evaluation of catcalls is too dependent on the situation, the social relation between the speaker and the addressee and the past experiences, upbringing, culture and personal views of the addressee (Watts, 2003).

The types I categorized the catcalls in are based on my individual research and analysis of the catcall cases documented in the video. It is possible that there are more or perhaps different categories to be found and I do not claim that the way I categorized the catcall types is the only correct way. In fact, some of the instances documented in the video do not fit into one of the three categories I drew up. I hope that future research will test my categories and that other researches can build further on this initial categorization.

The theories used in this research applied well to the catcall cases, but I have taken a rather free interpretation of some of these theories by using them differently than the original author intended. I explained in the pragmatic analysis that the catcall cases documented in the video can be analyzed as conversations because Roberts' silence can be interpreted as a reaction

with implied meaning. The conversation analysis theory by Mazeland (2003) however focuses on 'actual' conversations with all participants engaging in the communicative act. Yet, contrary to 'actual' conversations, catcalls are most often one-sided and therefore a large part of the conversation analysis theory by Mazeland (2003) was not used. Merely the concept of adjacency pairs was truly applicable to the catcalls in the video.

The theory on politeness by Brown and Levinson (1987) focuses on politeness and politeness strategies from the viewpoint that all participants actively try to engage in polite behavior. Rather than the original intention of Brown and Levinson to use their theory as a politeness theory, I applied their theory as Watts (2003) interpreted it: as a face-work theory. The concepts of face, face-threats and face-work were very useful for analyzing the catcalls documented in the video and the phenomenon catcalling in general. They helped explain how it is possible that seemingly harmless utterances or compliments can be hurtful for an addressee and how it is possible that the speakers felt hurt when their calls were unanswered.

The social (im)Politeness theory (Watts, 2003) is used differently than Watts intended in his book 'Politeness'. Watts presents in his theory that, to determine what is considered socially (im)polite, one has to analyze the reaction of the addressee. In the street harassment video by Roberts and Bliss (2014), Roberts was instructed to use the positive impoliteness strategy ignoring (Culpeper, 1996), and thus not react. Yet, Watts' (2003) Politic Behavior and Linguistic Politeness theories, combined with his claims about linguistic payment are very relevant for analyzing the catcall instances in the video, as shown in section 5.5. Roberts not reacting to the catcalls can also be interpreted as a reaction to the catcalls. This 'silent reaction' has an effect on the continuation of the catcall situation, as it may result in speakers catcalling again or stalking to try and save their face.

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Attachment 1: The video transcription

In this attachment I will give the full transcription of the video, transcribed by the transcription-format of conversation analysis by Gail Jefferson (Jefferson 1979, 1983b, Ochs e.a. 1996:461-465). The video starts with the actress putting some piece of cloth over the camera lens to signify the camera will not be visible to the people in the street. Then text appears on a black screen: Ten hours of silent walking through all areas of Manhattan, wearing jeans and a crewneck t-shirt. Throughout the video Roberts can be seen walking, from head to toe on camera. The catcaller is not always in view and if he is, his face is blurred. There are obvious cuts in the movie, as it is 10 hours of recording material edited into a 1.56 minute video. This may harm the liability of the footage seen in the video, because it is unknown whether the interactions in the video are the full interactions that took place, or perhaps fragments of the interactions.

1. Three guys on folding chairs in front of a store facing the pavement.

S1 How you doing today?
S2 Smi:[le
S3 [I guess not goo[d
S2 [!SMI::LE

2. On a busy pedestrian crossing, a guy turning his head.

S1 What's up beautiful?=>have a good day

3. A few guys sitting outside at a cafe

S1 Hey what's up gi::rl?
?How you doing
S2 Somebody's acknowledging you for being beautiful
You should say thank you more!
S2/S3) Fo>real?

4. A guy Roberts passes.

S1 <God bless you mami...>
(2,0)
Damn!

5. A guy with a crutch holding a can.

S1 Hey Baby

6. A guy not in view.

S1 He:y Beautifu::l!

7. A guy sitting on a small pole smoking a cigarette.

S1 How are you this morning?

8. A guy in passing, turning his head.

S1 >Have a nice evening<

9. Catcaller unknown.

S1 Ni:ce!

10. A guy not in view.

S1 Damn!
DAMN!

11. Two guys standing outside.

S1 °Hi beautiful °
S2 God bless=*sirene*
S1 Sex:y!=American Eagle!

12. A guy she passes.

S1 °Hello good morning°°
(1,5)
god bless you=
=have a good day alright?
(Stalks for five minutes)

13. Two guys standing outside a shop.

S1 Da::mn!=
S2 =How you doing?

14. A street vender.

S1 How you doing?=
=goo:d?
(.)
Sweetie?

15. A man in a purple suit.

S1 He:::y look it there!
(1)
I just saw a thousand ↓dollars

16. A guy passing by and turning his head.

S1 Damn girl!

17. A guy Roberts passes and who starts to follow her.

S1 (4)
You don't wanna talk?
(there is a cut scene, so not sure how long the pause was
between these utterances)
Because I'm ugly?
(3)
Huh?
(there is a cut scene, so not sure how long the pause was
between these utterances)

We can't be friends, nothing?

(2)

You don't speak?

(there is a cut scene, so not sure how long the pause was between these utterances)

If I give you my number, would you talk to me?

(1)

No?

(1)

Too ugly for you?

18. A guy not in view.

S1 >What's up miss?<

19. A guy on the side of the street, sitting on a railing smoking a cigarette.

S1 How you do::ing?

20. Couple of guys standing outside a shop.

S1 Have a nice evening darling

Attachment 2: Brown and Levinson Politeness strategies

Below the 25 politeness strategies to the addressee's positive and negative face by Brown and Levinson (1987) are listed, accompanied by the examples Watts (2003) gives in his own work on Politeness theories.

Addressed to the hearer's positive face:

- Notice, attend to H (his/her interests, wants, needs, goods, etc.):*
(Strategy 1) **Jim, you're really good at solving computer problems** □ (FTA) I wonder if you could help me with a little formatting problem I've got.
- Exaggerate (interest, approval, sympathy with H):*
(Strategy 2) **Good old Jim. Just the man I wanted to see. I knew I'd find you here.** □(FTA) Could you spare me a couple of minutes?
- Intensify interest to H in the speaker's contribution:*
(Strategy 3) **You'll never guess what Fred told me last night. This is right up your street.** □(FTA) [Begins a narrative]
- Use in-group identity markers in speech:*
(Strategy 4) **Here's my old mate Fred. How are you doing today, mate?** □ (FTA) Could you give us a hand to get this car to start?
- Seek agreement in safe topics:*
(Strategy 5) **I agree. Right. Manchester United played really badly last night, didn't they?** □ (FTA) D'you reckon you give me a cigarette?
- Avoid disagreement:*
(Strategy 6) **Well, in a way, I suppose you're sort of right. But look at it like this.** □ (FTA) why don't you...?
- Presuppose, raise, assert common ground:*
(Strategy 7) **People like me and you, Bill, don't like being pushed around like that, do we?** □ (FTA) Why don't you go and complain?
- Joke to put the hearer at ease:*
A: (Strategy 8) **Great summer we're having. It's only rained five times a week on average.**
B: Yeah, terrible isn't it?
A: □(FTA) Could I ask you for a favour?
- Assert or presuppose knowledge of and concern for H's wants:*

(Strategy 9) **I know you like marshmallows, so I've brought you home a whole box of them.** □(FTA) I wonder if I could ask you for a favour...

10. *Offer, promise:*

(Strategy 10) **I'll take you out to dinner on Saturday** □ (FTA) if you'll cook the dinner this evening.

11. *Be optimistic that the hearer wants what the speaker wants, i.e. that the FTA is slight:*

(Strategy 11) **I know you're always glad to get a tip or two on gardening, Fred,** □ (FTA) so, if I were you, I wouldn't cut your lawn back so short.

12. *Include both S and H in the activity:*

(Strategy 12) **I'm feeling really hungry. Let's stop for a bite.** (FTA = S wants to stop and have something to eat and wants H to agree to do this)

13. *Give or ask for reasons:*

(Strategy 13) **I think you've had a little bit too much to drink, Jim.** □ (FTA) Why not stay at our place this evening?

14. *Assert reciprocal exchange:*

Dad, □(FTA) if you help me with my maths homework, (strategy 14) **I'll mow the lawn after school tomorrow.**

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

A: (strategy 15) **Have a glass of malt whisky, Dick.**

B: Terrific, thanks.

A: Not at all. □ (FTA) I wonder if I could confide in you for a minute or two.

Addressed to the hearer's negative face:

16. *Be conventionally indirect:*

(Strategy 1) **Could you tell me the time,** please?

17. *Do not assume willingness to comply. Question, hedge:*

(Strategy 2) I wonder whether I could **just sort of** ask you a **little** question.

18. *Be pessimistic about ability or willingness to comply. Use subjunctive:*

(Strategy 3) **If you had a little** time to **spare** for me this afternoon, I'd like to talk about my paper.

19. *Minimize the imposition:*

(Strategy 4) Could I talk to you for **just a minute**?

20. *Give deference:* (strategy 5) (to a police constable) Excuse me, **officer**, I think I might have parked in the wrong place.
21. *Apologize:* (strategy 6) **Sorry to bother you**, but...
22. *Impersonalize the speaker and the hearer. Avoid the pronouns I and You:*
(Strategy 7)
A: **That car's parked in a no-parking area**
B: It's mine, officer.
A: **Well, it'll have to have a parking ticket.**
23. *State the FTA as an instance of a general rule:*
(Strategy 8) **Parking on the double yellow lines is illegal**, so □ (FTA) I'm going to have to give you a fine.
24. *Nominalise to distance the actor and add formality:*
(Strategy 9) **Participation** in an illegal demonstration is punishable by law, □ (FTA)
Could I have your name and address madam?
25. *Go on record as incurring a debt, or as not incurring H:*
□ (FTA) If you could just sort out a problem I've got with my formatting, (strategy 10)
I'll buy you a beer at lunchtime.