

**“Don’t Speak to Me Like That”:  
Gender, Face-threatening Acts, and Their Responses**

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### Abstract

Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) state that although interaction is co-operative, a person's face can be unintentionally attacked through face-threatening acts (FTAs). Culpeper (1996) disagrees, stating that people can also intentionally attack someone's face, and devised "impoliteness superstrategies" (pp. 356-357) that are used for this purpose. However, little research has been done on intentional impoliteness, and even less on gender and intentional impoliteness. Therefore, the research question is: do men and women use different face-threatening acts, and do they respond to these FTAs differently? I aimed to analyse adult men and women's language, behaviour and paralinguistic features on FTAs and their responses to FTAs, focusing on the differences. This was done through analysis of a total of ten forty-minute episodes from three different reality television series: *Can't Pay? We'll Take It Away!* (n.a., 2014-2018), *Supernanny* (Frost, 2004-2008) and *Jo Frost: Extreme Parental Guidance* (Frost, 2010-2012), using a schedule based on the FTAs and impoliteness superstrategies by Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987), Culpeper (1996) and Bousfield (2008), respectively. The responses to FTAs were also recorded. Men and women seemed to use similar FTAs. However, the context in which the FTAs were spoken seemed to affect who was expressing which FTAs. A total of twelve different response types were recorded. These results can be used in different contexts (i.e. language teaching) to predict what kind of FTAs might be present in which contexts. They may also be used to add to both politeness and impoliteness theory.

*Keywords:* face-threatening acts, FTAs, gender, impoliteness, responses to FTAs

**Table of Contents**

Abstract.....	2
Literature Review.....	5
Politeness .....	6
(Im)politeness in Intercultural Communication and Social Groups .....	8
Politeness and Gender.....	9
Impoliteness .....	12
Impoliteness and Gender.....	18
Methodology .....	19
Data Collection .....	19
Analysis.....	20
Results.....	24
Face-threatening Acts .....	24
Responses to Face-threatening Acts .....	31
Discussion.....	38
Face-threatening Acts .....	39
FTAs in general.....	39
Comparisons Between the Two Genders.....	39
Responses to Face-threatening Acts .....	40
Responses in General.....	40
Comparisons Between the Two Genders.....	40
Limitations of the Study.....	41

Recommendations for Further Study .....	42
Implications for the Theory .....	43
References.....	44
Appendix.....	46
Appendix 1 – Tables Used to Tally FTAs per Episode. ....	46
Tables Five Episodes Can’t Pay? We’ll Take It Away! (n.a., 2014-2018) .....	46
Tables Five Episodes Supernanny (two episodes; Frost, 2004-2008) and Jo Frost: Extreme Parental Guidance (three episodes; Frost, 2010-2012), Respectively.....	46
Appendix 2 – Tables Used to Record Spoken FTAs and Their Responses.....	46
Tables Five Episodes Can’t Pay? We’ll Take It Away! (n.a., 2014-2018) .....	46
Tables Five Episodes Supernanny (Two Episodes; Frost, 2004-2008) and Jo Frost: Extreme Parental Guidance (Three Episodes; Frost, 2010-2012), Respectively.....	46

### **“Don’t speak to me like that”: Gender, Face-threatening Acts, and Their Responses**

Brown and Levinson’s (1978, 1987) theory of politeness entails that genuine, conscious impoliteness does not exist, as they state that all conversation is as co-operative as possible. It has long been noted that women are seen to be more polite than men (Holmes, 1995; Mills, 2005). However, Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) state that a person’s *face* – their positive self-image (Goffman, 1967, p. 5; as referenced by O’Keeffe et al., 2011, p. 63) – can be *unintentionally* attacked through so-called face-threatening acts (also known as FTAs; Brown & Levinson, 1987, pp. 69-70). Not everyone agrees with this; Culpeper (1996) argues that genuine, conscious impoliteness also exists. Either way, little to no research has been done on the difference between men and women concerning (conscious or unconscious) FTAs and their responses. Therefore, this BA thesis aims to explore whether men and women use different face-threatening acts, and whether they respond to these FTAs differently. Depending on the results of this study, we may gain new insights into what language men and women use, and what behaviour they display. Secondly, it may be possible to set up a repertory of which FTAs are used in which settings, which might be useful for applications such as teaching settings. Thirdly, it will give more clarity on whether people can be consciously impolite or not. Lastly, new FTAs may be recorded that have not been seen before. All in all, whether men and women use different face-threatening acts, and whether they respond to these FTAs differently, will be endeavoured to be elucidated.

#### **Literature Review**

The literature review shows that not much research has been done on gender and impoliteness. Through gendered language and behaviour, we have certain expectations of how men and women may speak impolitely, e.g. women being indirectly impolite, and men swearing. By researching this through the scope of non-fictional television, I hope to be able

to create some clarity on this issue, as well as adding to paralinguistic/non-verbal aspects of impoliteness in general.

### **Politeness**

Politeness is a well-researched topic within pragmatics and sociolinguistics (O’Keeffe, Clancy & Adolphs, 2011), even though there is no clear definition of the term (Bargiela-Chiappini, 2003). Lakoff’s (1990, p. 34) definition, that it is “a system of interpersonal relations designed to facilitate interaction by minimizing the potential for conflict and confrontation inherent in all human interchange” (as referenced by Karafoti, 2007, p. 120), will be used in this thesis. In short, politeness is a tool to effectively manage interactions and thus relationships (Spencer-Oatey, 2002). It is also influenced by the “social norms and social rules” of the individual (Karafoti, 2007, p. 123).

Brown and Levinson’s (1978, 1987) literature on politeness is seen as the cornerstone of research on the politeness phenomenon. Their work is firstly based on Grice’s (1975) *Co-operative Principle* (as stated in Bowe, Martin & Manns, 2014; O’Keeffe et al., 2011), which states that in interaction, everyone is as collaborative as possible in order to be “maximally efficient” (1989, p. 28, as referenced in O’Keeffe et al., 2011). Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) use Grice’s (1975) Co-operative Principle as the baseline of conversation and communication. This principle was then combined with Goffman’s (1967) notion of face to result in positive and negative face, as well as face-threatening acts. Goffman (1967) defines *face* as “the positive social value a person effectively claims for [themselves]” (p. 5, as referenced by O’Keeffe et al., 2011, p. 63). Face is also seen as a person’s self-image (Brown & Levinson, 1978, 1987; Goffman, 1972, as referenced in Brown & Levinson, 1987).

Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) build on this notion by devising two types of face: *positive* – the need to be liked – and *negative* – the need for independence. These are also called *face needs/wants* (Willer & Soliz, 2010, pp. 557-558). In essence, everyone wants to

be appreciated by the people around them, but also wants to be able to have the freedom to do and say what they want; what they need for their face to be maintained (also called “face-work”; Goffman, 1967, p. 12, as referenced in Bargiela-Chiappini, 2003, p. 1458). In general, people keep each other’s face so interactions are as smooth as possible, and Brown and Levinson (1987) state that a speaker wants to meet an addressee’s face needs to at least some degree (Leech, 1983, as referenced by Spencer-Oatey, 2002).

However, people can inadvertently threaten other people’s positive or negative face through *face-threatening acts* (hereafter also called FTAs) (Brown and Levinson, 1987, pp. 69-70; O’Keeffe et al., 2011, p. 46). These face-threatening acts can damage the speaker’s as well as the hearer’s (positive or negative) face (Karafoti, 2007); examples are “Fuck off” or “I don’t like you”. As Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) generally see conversation as cooperative, they see politeness as a system for mitigating these FTAs so as not to disrupt the ongoing interaction. They have five ways of softening these FTAs, called “(super)strategies” (Brown & Levinson, 1978, 1987, p. 68; Culpeper, 1995; O’Keeffe et al., 2011). An overview of these strategies can be found in Table 1. These strategies will be compared with Culpeper’s (1996) *impoliteness superstrategies* (pp. 356-357) in the Impoliteness section (See also Table 2), as the politeness superstrategies also form the cornerstone for impoliteness theory.

**Table 1**

*Brown and Levinson’s Five Strategies for Mitigating FTAs (1987, pp. 69-70)*

<b>Number</b>	<b>Superstrategies</b>	<b>Explanation</b>	<b>Example</b>
1	Do not perform the FTA	Do not say anything to threaten the hearer’s face.	Do not say the FTA.
2	(Bald) off record	Metaphor, irony, rhetorical questions, understatements	“You <i>really</i> enjoy working with children,

Number	Superstrategies	Explanation	Example
		or hints are used; this means that the meaning is ambiguous, and the speaker cannot be held accountable for one specific meaning.	don't you?" (Instead of: "You hate working with children.")
3	Positive politeness	Mitigating the statement to align with the hearer's positive face wants.	"Wow, you're doing so well!"
4	Negative politeness	Mitigating the statement to align with the hearer's negative face wants.	"I'm sorry for imposing, but..."
5	(Bald) On record	Do not mitigate the FTA – say it as clearly as possible.	"You're terrible at this."

### **(Im)politeness in Intercultural Communication and Social Groups**

One situation in which face and politeness strategies can lead to miscommunication, and thus create impoliteness, is through communication between people from different cultures and social groups (which includes men and women). This form of impoliteness is generally accidental and/or unconscious. Hall (1976) addresses this problem as follows. He divides social groups into "high-context cultures" and "low-context cultures" (as referenced in Bowe et al., 2014, p. 6), also known as *hierarchical societies* and *Western societies*, respectively (Bargiela-Chiappini, 2003, pp. 1455-1456). The first are cultures in which much context is conveyed in fairly few words, i.e. much is gleaned from the speakers, situation and cultural 'rules'; the latter are cultures in which context is explained through many more words, i.e. the speaker is much more explicit in what he/she wants (focusing on the individual). One of the causes for 'impoliteness' (or at the very least miscommunication) between cultures is that they may differ in the type of culture, explained above. For example,



if an inhabitant from Japan (a high-context culture) were to meet someone from the Netherlands (a low-context culture), communication issues would be sure to arise. Furthermore, Cheng (2003, as referenced in O’Keeffe et al., 2011) states that different culture types have different notions of politeness, which influences their notion of face. For example, if a society highly values politeness, its inhabitants will be extremely focused on not threatening anyone’s face. As stated before, Western (i.e. European and American) cultures are much more individualistic in their notion of face, whereas non-Western (i.e. African and Asian) cultures focus on the “collective” (Spencer-Oatey, 2002, p. 533), also known as the society, that they are part of.

In conclusion, it is important to keep in mind that the culture and/or social group someone is part of changes their perspective on what is polite, impolite, and what is expected of them from their society. Also take into account that miscommunication can occur between two people of different cultures and/or social groups.

### **Politeness and Gender**

As with culture differences, gender is also a social group in which men and women have different perspectives on politeness. For example, Mills (2003, 2005) and Willer and Soliz (2010) make the point that politeness is usually seen as something that women are more concerned with. However, when considering male and female language, one should take Mills’ (2003, 2005) statement in account: often, what we see as typical gendered language is stereotypical. However, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003, as referenced by Mills, 2005, p. 272) state that stereotypes

constitute norms (...) that we do not obey to but that we orient to (...) they serve as a kind of orienting device in society, an ideological map, setting out the range of possibility within which we place ourselves and assess others (p. 87)

Additionally, they do help develop men and women's identities (Mills, 2005). Therefore, they should not be considered as being untrue; stereotypes influence how we interact with and perceive others.

In this section, some examples of male and female behaviour, language, and politeness use will be given. First of all, Holmes (1995) highlights that language is used for two main purposes: *referential* and *affective* (p. 3). The referential function is used to share and accumulate knowledge; the affective function is used to communicate emotions and maintain (intimate) relationships. She proceeds to show us the findings of several studies on politeness and gender in different contexts (e.g. interviews, presentations, classroom settings, etc). Through these contexts, she explains that men generally focus on the referential function, whereas women focus on the affective aspect of language. The reasons could be biological, as well as psychological, or even social; it is not entirely clear why women focus more on relationships and men focus more on information exchange. However, Holmes (1995) also states that if women use 'male language' (e.g. directness, cursing, stating negative opinions without moderation, language that is not very emotional, etc.; Mills, 2005, p. 273) in a predominantly male setting, the encounter will be seen as strange or uncomfortable by those around them, and they are seen as not feminine (see also Mills, 2005). Men using 'female language' (modality, deference, hesitation, indirectness, being cooperative in their speech; Mills, 2005, p. 272) is much less common, although mixing both types of language by both genders in certain contexts does happen.

When considering language and behaviour in public situations with mixed male-female crowds, men are generally seen to talk much more than women (Holmes, 1995). Furthermore, they also tend to interrupt others (both men and women) in order to get their opinion heard. However, when in intimate relationships at home, women tend to talk much

more than men, as this is a more affective setting. Even when women try to persuade their partners to talk, it does not always prove fruitful (Holmes, 1995).

Another instance in which men and women differ considering politeness, is Karafoti (2007), who did a case study on men and women's responses to compliments. She realised that women, when receiving compliments, tended to tone the compliments down and react positively – and accepting – in general (through agreement markers and laughter). Men, on the other hand, although they did accept the compliments, did not downgrade them at all – on the contrary, there seemed to be a propensity to heighten the compliment.

Another case study of gender and politeness, focusing more on gender and politeness strategies in television, instead of general language and behaviour, is a study by Agis (2012). She analysed three individual episodes of a popular Turkish TV series, looking for different politeness strategies as well as considering gender. Out of the 761 instances she found, the politeness strategies that were used the most by far – by both men and women – were positive politeness strategies. Women used a little more than men. Negative politeness, bald on record and bald off record strategies, although fewer than 50 instances, were used more by men. However, as the results were so similar, she concluded that there are no significant differences between the politeness strategies used by men and women.

In short, the studies above show that women tend to be more concerned with politeness and relationships, whereas men, although they use politeness strategies, tend to be more focused on conveying information with less mitigation and are more focused on themselves as individual. It also seems that some researchers do not agree with the idea that men and women differ in politeness strategies. However, this may still show us what we can expect concerning analysing gender and FTAs. But first, the notion of impoliteness will be clarified.

## **Impoliteness**

Now that the notion of politeness has been explained and grounded in examples of polite behaviour and language that men and women use, its counterpart, impoliteness, will be explained. As FTAs are generally seen as impolite, knowledge of impoliteness is highly relevant for the research done in this thesis.

One of the first people to introduce the notion of *impoliteness* is Culpeper (1996, p. 350). He states that Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) theory of politeness is seriously lacking in its opposite – impoliteness. However, Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) state that all language and interaction are generally co-operative in essence, and is supposed to diminish conflict; they feel there is no need for a model of impoliteness, since genuine impoliteness does not exist. Eelen (2001), however, states that politeness is seen as a “deviation” (as referenced by Mills, 2005, p. 264). Kienpointner (1997) adds to this by suggesting that non-co-operative conduct should be seen as less of an anomaly (as referenced by Mills, 2005).

To match Brown and Levinson's politeness superstrategies (1978, 1987, pp. 69-70; see also Table 2.1.1), Culpeper (1996) designed *impoliteness superstrategies*, which are concerned with attacking the hearer's face (pp. 356-357). The first is *bald on record impoliteness*, with which the FTA is performed unmitigatedly, as clearly and as compact as possible. This differs from Brown and Levinson's (1987) Bald on record superstrategy in that theirs is still used in a context of politeness, whereas this strategy is used with as goal to be impolite. The second impoliteness superstrategy is *positive impoliteness*, in which strategies are used in order to damage the hearer's positive face wants. The third is its counterpart, *negative impoliteness*, in which the hearer's negative face wants are damaged. The fourth superstrategy is *sarcasm or mock politeness*, in which politeness strategies are used that are clearly fake, and do not promote “social harmony” (Culpeper, 1996, p. 357). Lastly, the

speaker can choose to *withhold politeness*, in which anticipated politeness is withheld. An overview of Culpeper's (1996) impoliteness superstrategies can be found in Table 2 below.

**Table 2**

*Culpeper's Impoliteness Superstrategies for Attacking Face (1996, pp. 356-357)*

<b>Number</b>	<b>Impoliteness Superstrategies</b>	<b>Explanation</b>	<b>Example</b>
1	Bald on record impoliteness	The FTA is performed as directly and clearly as possible, with impoliteness in mind.	"You're a monster."
2	Positive impoliteness	The FTA attacks the hearer's positive face needs.	"Nobody likes you."
3	Negative impoliteness	The FTA attacks the hearer's negative face needs.	"You can't even make the right decisions."
4	Sarcasm/mock politeness	Politeness strategies are used, that are obviously false.	"Oh yeah, I <i>love</i> the way you treat my friends."
5	Withhold politeness	Where politeness is anticipated, it is withheld.	A: "Would you like a drink?" B: "I want a drink right fucking now!" (Instead of: "Yes please.")

There are many different ways of applying these politeness strategies to language in order to make language impolite, the most important of which will be used to analyse the video material (see Table 3 in the methodology chapter). Firstly, Brown and Levinson (1987) give a list of FTAs that attack the hearer's (positive and negative) face. Concerning FTAs that affect the hearer's negative face, there are several. The first of these is acts that focus on something the hearer will do in the future, which compel the addressee to act, or refrain from

doing so. Examples of these are *orders* and *requests; suggestions, advice; reminders* [sic]; *threats, warnings* and *dares* (p. 66). Secondly, there are FTAs that also focus on something the hearer will do in the future, thereby putting pressure on the addressee to accept something, or to incur a debt. Examples of these are *offers* and *promises* (p. 66). Lastly, there are FTAs that show “desires” (p. 66) of the speaker to the addressee. These can concern either the hearer or the hearer’s property. Examples of these are “compliments, expressions of envy or admiration”; or “expressions of strong (negative) emotions” (p. 66).

There are also FTAs that affect the addressee’s positive face (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Firstly, there are acts that show that the speaker assesses a particular aspect of the hearer’s face negatively. Examples of these are “expressions of disapproval”, “criticism”, “contempt or ridicule”, “complaints and reprimands”, “accusations, insults”; and “contradictions or disagreements, challenges” (p. 66). Secondly, there are FTAs in which the speaker shows that the hearer’s positive face is something s/he does not care about or is nonchalant about. Examples of these are “expressions of violent (out-of-control) emotions” (p. 66); “irreverence”, “mention of taboo topics, including those that are inappropriate in the context”; “bringing of bad news about H[earer], or good news (boasting) about S[peaker]”; “raising of dangerously emotional or divisive topics”; “blatant non-cooperation in an activity”; and “use of address terms and other status-marked identifications in initial encounters” (p. 67).

Brown and Levinson (1987) also make another distinction in which there are FTAs that threaten the *speaker*’s positive and negative face. Those that affect a speaker’s negative face are the following: “expressing thanks”; “acceptance of H’s thanks or H’s apology”; “excuses”; “acceptance of offers”; “responses to H’s [impropriety]”; and “unwilling promises and offers” (pp. 67-68). Those that attack a speaker’s positive face are “apologies”; “acceptance of a compliment”; “breakdown of physical control over body, bodily leakage”,

“stumbling or falling down”; “self-humiliation, shuffling or cowering”, “acting stupid, self-contradicting”; “confessions, admissions of guilt or responsibility”; and “emotion leakage, non-control of laughter or tears” (p. 68).

Culpeper (1996) also devised strategies that one can use to attack the hearer’s face, that partially correspond with Brown and Levinson’s (1987) FTAs, as seen above. A reason why they partially correspond is because Culpeper used their work on politeness strategies, face and FTAs to develop his theory on impoliteness. These strategies were termed “impoliteness output strategies” (1996, pp. 357-358), subdivided into positive and negative impoliteness. As indicated by the *etc.*, he considers them incomplete. They are given below.

**Positive impoliteness output strategies:**

*Ignore, snub the other* – fail to acknowledge the other’s presence.

*Exclude the other from an activity*

*Disassociate from the other* – for example, deny association or common ground with the other; avoid sitting together.

*Be disinterested, unconcerned, unsympathetic*

*Use inappropriate identity markers* – for example, use title and surname when a close relationship pertains, or a nickname when a distant relationship pertains.

*Use obscure or secretive language* – for example, mystify the other with jargon, or use a code known to others in the group, but not the target.

*Seek disagreement* – select a sensitive topic.

*Make the other feel uncomfortable* – for example, do not avoid silence, joke, or use small talk.

*Use taboo words* – swear, or use abusive or profane language.

*Call the other names* – use derogatory nominations.

*etc.* (Culpeper, 1996, pp. 357-358)

**Negative impoliteness output strategies:**

*Frighten* – instill a belief that action detrimental to the other will occur.

*Condescend, scorn or ridicule* – emphasize your relative power. Be contemptuous. Do not treat the other seriously. Belittle the other (e.g. use diminutives).

*Invade the other's space* – literally (e.g. position yourself closer to the other than the relationship permits) or metaphorically (e.g. ask for or speak about information which is too intimate given the relationship).

*Explicitly associate the other with a negative aspect* – personalize, use the pronouns 'I' and 'you'.

*Put the other's indebtedness on record*

*etc.* (Culpeper, 1996, p. 358)

Bousfield (2008) adds to these by suggesting a few strategies that he considers to be missing from Culpeper's list. These are the following:

*Criticise* – dispraise h[earer], some action or inaction by h[earer], or some entity in which h[earer] has invested face (positive impoliteness)

*Hinder/block* – physically (block passage), or communicatively (deny turn, interrupt) (negative impoliteness)

*Enforce role shift* (forcing the intended recipient out of one social and/or discursal role and into another) (negative impoliteness)



Challenge – ask h[earer] a challenging question, question h[earer]’s position, stance, beliefs, assumed power, rights, obligations, ethics, etc. (positive and negative impoliteness) (Bousfield, 2008, pp. 125-134)

Furthermore, he shows another point to consider. He quotes an example from Culpeper (2006, p. 358) which makes mention of *shouting*. As shouting is not necessary to convey the message, it is done generally to make sure the hearer knows the speaker is angry, as well as attacking the hearer’s negative face by infringing on their personal space. This can, thus, also be seen as an impoliteness strategy. The term *face-threatening acts* will entail both these impoliteness output strategies, as well as face-threatening acts, in this thesis.

As stated above, Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) see certain acts as intrinsically (im)polite. This is also expressed by Culpeper (1996); and Gu (1990, as referenced by Spencer-Oatey, 2002) states that in Asian cultures, certain acts are only threatening someone’s face “if autonomy is assumed to be the desired valence” (p. 532). However, Mills (2005) disagrees with this, stating that in general there are always at least two ways of understanding an utterance, depending on the context. Therefore, it is a matter both of intention and perception.

What both Brown and Levinson (1987) and Culpeper (1996) voice is that their theory on politeness focuses mostly on the language aspects. Therefore, paralinguistic (i.e. non-verbal) aspects are still missing and should be added to. For example, Beebe (1995) suggests that intonation is something that can change a comment from neutral or positive to face threatening (as referenced by Mills, 2005). Spencer-Oatey (2002) adds to this by saying that it is difficult to measure people’s “level of face sensitivity” (p. 544); all we can do is analyse someone’s language use. This is all the more reason to analyse non-verbal responses as well.

Lastly, the notions of *mock (im)politeness* (Bousfield, 2008, pp. 136-137; Culpeper, 1996, pp. 352-353; Mills, 2005, p. 265) should also be considered, as they can occur quite frequently (Bousfield, 2008; Culpeper, 1996; Mills, 2005), and thus may well be encountered during the analysis of the video material. There are two versions of mock (im)politeness: the first was devised by Culpeper as one of the impoliteness superstrategies, *sarcasm (mock politeness)*; the second is the “banter” (Bousfield, 2008, p. 136; Culpeper, 1996, p. 352) variant (*mock impoliteness*), which promotes in-group solidarity. As mock politeness was already elaborated on, mock impoliteness will be the only term discussed here. This will be discussed so one can distinguish between impoliteness and mock impoliteness. For example, within specific social groups, swearing at one another will heighten group cohesion and cooperation. The speaker as well as those who hear these instances of mock impoliteness all are aware that the speaker’s speech is not serious. This fosters intimacy and in-group cohesion.

### **Impoliteness and Gender**

What this literature review has shown us is that politeness is a multifaceted, complex theory that changes depending on who uses it. Brown and Levinson’s (1978, 1987) work has been a baseline for politeness research over the last forty years, highlighting important facets of politeness in interaction such as positive and negative face, and face-threatening acts. However, their theory of face has its limitations. Depending on the culture and upbringing of the speaker and listener, miscommunication may occur, as each culture (and each separate social group within that said culture) has a different notion of what politeness entails and how face and face-threatening acts affect them. Men and women are different social groups as well, and thus both behave differently, maybe even stereotypically. For example, women are seen to be more polite than men. Since both have a different concept of politeness, and thus have a different face, they will differ in what they find face threatening. Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) give a thorough list of these acts that threaten the speaker and the hearer;

however, these are still viewed from the perspective of politeness (Culpeper, 1996). This is why Culpeper (1996) devised a theory of impoliteness, with its own impoliteness superstrategies and output strategies, and Bousfield (2008) follows by adding a few more output strategies. A combination of these will be used for the analysis of video material, as will be seen in the next chapter. Unfortunately, there is little to no research done on whether different FTAs are used by men and women, and whether they respond to FTAs differently as well. Therefore, authentic video material will be examined on impoliteness strategies and responses to these FTAs by men and women, as will be seen in the next chapter.

## Methodology

### Data Collection

In order to investigate the face-threatening acts of men and women, as well as the different responses to FTAs by men and women, data were collected from the following video material: *Can't Pay? We'll Take It Away!* (hereafter also *Can't Pay?* and *CP*; n.a., 2014-2018), *Supernanny UK* (hereafter also *Supernanny* and *SN*; Frost, 2004-2008), and *Jo Frost: Extreme Parental Guidance* (hereafter also *Jo Frost* and *JF*; Frost, 2010-2012). These primary sources were chosen based on their showing authentic, real-life situations. They were also chosen because instances of impoliteness occur relatively often in them. Episodes from *Supernanny* and *Jo Frost* were chosen to compensate for the high number of men in *Can't Pay?*. In total, five episodes from *CP*, two episodes from *SN* and three episodes from *JF* were used to analyse on face-threatening acts used by men and women. They were also analysed on their responses to FTAs. The episodes were found on YouTube; however, as episodes of *SN* were difficult to find, episodes from *JF* were added. These have the same premise and host as *Supernanny*, and thus can be seen as the same type of show. Please note that the FTAs of the children as well as the responses to FTAs by children were recorded, but are not part of

the data in the results chapter, as only the FTAs and responses to them by adult men and women was the research focus.

### Analysis

The same methodology was used as in Agis (2012), who also analysed episodes of a Turkish television show politeness strategies and gender. The video material was watched, and a tally was made of FTAs and their responses throughout the analysis of these episodes.

The following schedule (see Table 3) was used for tallying the different FTAs men and women made. This schedule integrated Culpeper's (1996, pp. 357-358) and Bousfield's (2008, pp. 125-134) strategies, as well as taking Brown and Levinson's (1987, pp. 65-68) strategies into account. These strategies can be found in the literature review, especially the Impoliteness section. Since there is no need for a distinction between positive and negative impoliteness strategies and face-threatening acts, all of the relevant strategies are in one table.

**Table 3**

*Analysis Schedule, Based on Brown and Levinson's (1987, pp. 65-68) Face-threatening Acts, and Culpeper's (1996, pp. 357-358) and Bousfield's (2008, pp. 125-134) Impoliteness Output Strategies*

Number	Impoliteness strategies/Face-threatening acts	Example	Times used by men	Times used by women
1	Ignore, snub the other	Not responding to what the other person is saying		
2	Exclude the other from an activity	Lock the door so the other person cannot get out		
3	Disassociate from the other	"You're nothing like me."		
4	Be disinterested, unconcerned, unsympathetic	"What do I care?"		

<b>Number</b>	<b>Impoliteness strategies/Face-threatening acts</b>	<b>Example</b>	<b>Times used by men</b>	<b>Times used by women</b>
5	Use inappropriate identity markers	“Look, <u>darling</u> . You stay out of my way.”		
6	Use obscure or secretive language	“Syntax trees’ complementizer phrase specifiers should not be confused with complements.”		
7	Seek disagreement	“Your mother’s a terrible person.”		
8	Make the other feel uncomfortable	“How dare you have let things get the way they are!”		
9	Use taboo words, insult	“Fuck you!”		
10	Call the other names	“You’re a bully.”		
11	Frighten	“If you keep going on like this, you’re going to die.”		
12	Condescend, scorn or ridicule	“Aren’t you adorable.”		
13	Invade the other’s space	Standing in a person’s personal space		
14	Explicitly associate the other with a negative aspect	“You’re lazy.”		
15	Put the other’s indebtedness on record	“You still haven’t written that paper for me.”		
16	Criticise	“You could’ve done this way better.”		
17	Hinder/block	Preventing someone from moving, picking someone up.		
18	Enforce a role shift	Copy the other person’s responses		
19	Challenge	“What are you going to do, huh?”		
20	Shouting	Raising one’s voice		

Number	Impoliteness strategies/Face-threatening acts	Example	Times used by men	Times used by women
21	Threaten, warn, or dare	“If you even dare, come close to me, I’ll hurt you.”		
22	Accuse	“You haven’t done anything to support us!”		
23	Use sarcasm or irony	“Yeah, that’s <i>really</i> going to help.”		
24	Use mock impoliteness	“What’s up, bitch? How are you?”		

Several previously unnamed categories were devised in order to accommodate the behaviour in the video material that there were no categories for (Table 4). These were the following:

**Table 4**

*FTA Categories Devised Based on Behaviour in the Video Material that Did Not Fit in the Original Categories*

Number	Impoliteness strategies/Face-threatening acts	Example	Times used by men	Times used by women
25	Command someone to do something, tell someone how to behave	“Get up!”		
26	Damage someone else’s property	Break something that someone else owns		
27	(Reference to) Take someone’s property	“We’re repossessing your house.”		

It should be stated that there were quite a few instances in which one sentence or phrase contained at least two FTAs (e.g. *command someone to do something; tell someone how to behave* and *shouting*). These FTAs were counted as separate FTAs, as it seemed that the more FTAs a sentence had, the weightier the sentence was, and the bigger the (emotional) effect. This can be seen in an example of *SN/JF* (see Appendix 2.2), in which a child has temper tantrums because his mother combines her face-threatening acts with the FTA *shouting*, scaring the child.

Responses to face-threatening acts per gender were recorded as well. The table that was used to record the transcriptions of the FTAs and their responses can be seen below (Table 5). These responses can be found in the results chapter, and the full tables can be found in Appendix 2. The first column was used to write down the numbers linked to the appropriate FTA (e.g. 22 equals ‘accuse’). In the second column, the FTA itself was transcribed. In the third column, the response to the FTA was transcribed. However, sometimes just a general description of the response was given if the response was very long, or if the response was given by a child. The same was done for the second column. In the fourth column, the numbers corresponding to the categories of responses to FTAs were added (e.g. 8 equals ‘ask questions’). See 4.2 for the categories.

**Table 5**

*Table Used for Transcribing FTAs and Their Responses*

<b>Number (FTA)</b>	<b>FTA</b>	<b>Response</b>	<b>Number (response)</b>

It is important to know that as discussed in the (Im)politeness in Intercultural Communication and Social Groups section, miscommunication can arise as a result of the

interactants being part of different social groups or cultures. Thus, if this occurred in the video material, it will be highlighted in the results.

It should be stated that of many FTAs, no response was recorded. This is for two main reasons: the first is that a large proportion of the responses were not shown, due to cutting to a different scene or shot. The second reason is that in *SN/JF*, the responses of children were transcribed, but left out, as the focus of this thesis was to analyse how adult men and women respond to FTAs.

## Results

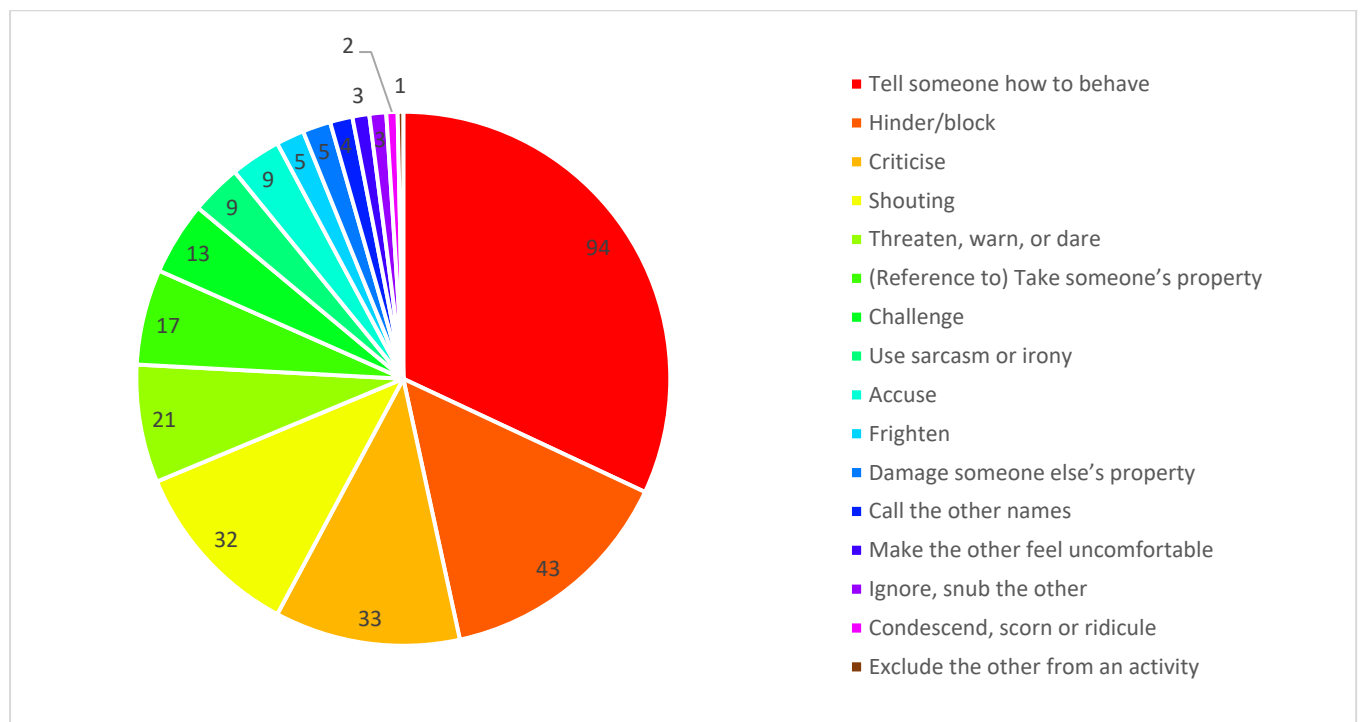
### Face-threatening Acts

After analysing the video material for FTAs, a total of 294 FTAs was found across ten episodes (see Figure 1). 97 face-threatening acts were found in the five episodes of *Can't Pay? We'll Take It Away!* (n.a., 2014-2018) and 197 were found in the five episodes of *Supernanny* (two episodes; Frost, 2004-2008) and *Jo Frost: Extreme Parental Guidance* (three episodes; Frost, 2010-2012). The tables that were used to keep a tally of the instances of FTAS (see Table 3) can be found in Appendix 1. An overview of the transcribed FTAs themselves and the responses to the FTAs, along with links to the episodes, can be found in Appendix 2. Figure 1 shows the FTAs that were used in all three television series. The three FTAs that were used the most, were *command someone to do something*, *tell someone how to behave*; *hinder/block*; and *criticise*. Of the most-used FTAs, most are verbal, with *hinder/block* being the only physical response, and *shouting* being the only paralinguistic one. *Hinder/block* was mostly used when restraining children in *SN/JF*.



**Figure 1**

*Overview of All the FTAs Shown in All Three Television Series*



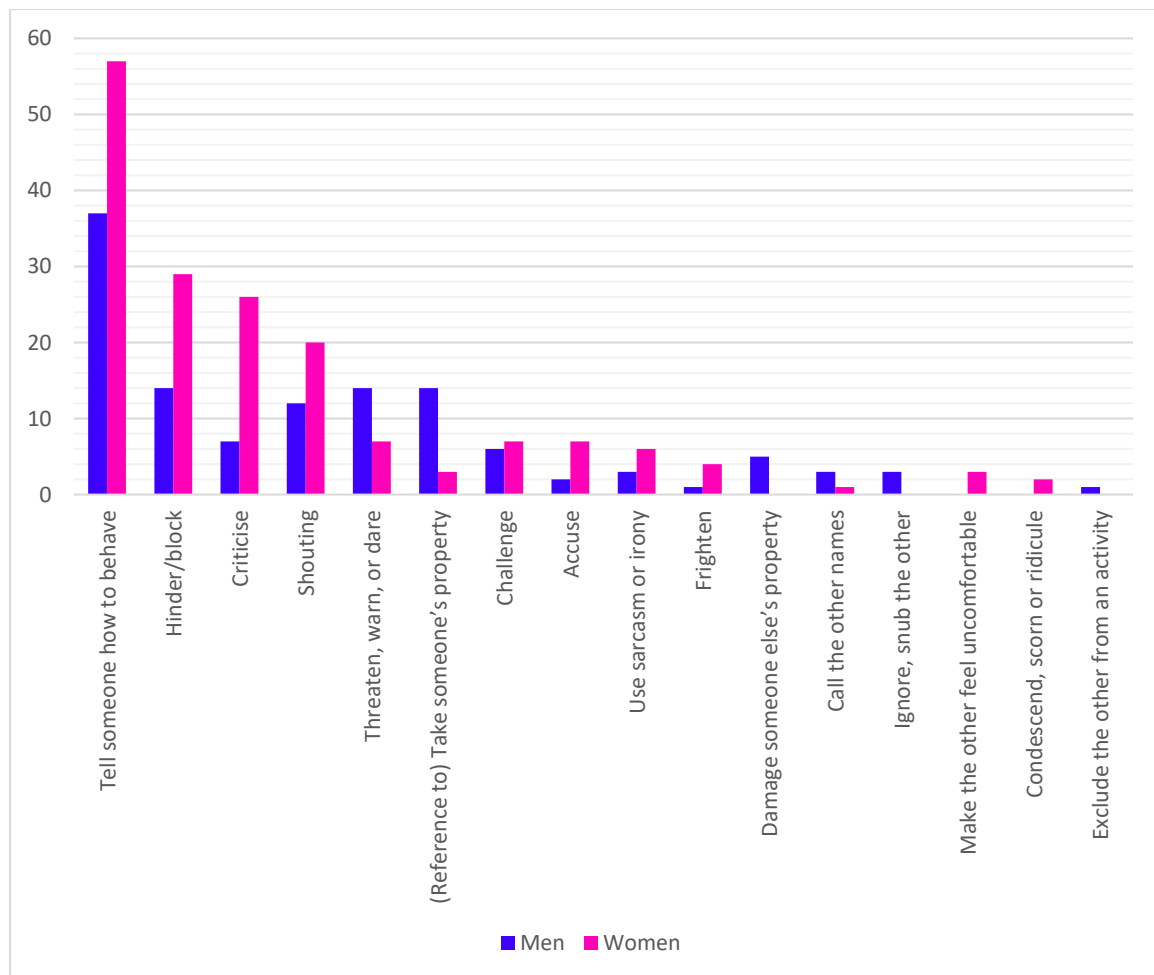
FTAs that were not used at all, were: *disassociate from the other; be disinterested, unconcerned, unsympathetic; use inappropriate identity markers; use obscure or secretive language; seek disagreement; use taboo words, insult; invade the other's space; explicitly associate the other with a negative aspect; put the other's indebtedness on record; enforce a role shift; and use mock impoliteness.*

The 294 face-threatening acts were performed by 31 people, which gives us an average of 9,48 FTAs per person. 122 of these were performed by 18 men, which averages out to 6,78 face-threatening acts per man. The other 172 FTAs were made by 13 women, which averages out to 13,23 face-threatening acts per woman. Figure 2 and 3 show a comparison of the FTAs that were used by men and women across all three television series. Women expressed more FTAs than men. Some FTAs were preferred by men (e.g. *call the other names; (reference to) take someone's property*) whereas others were preferred by

women (e.g. *hinder/block; use sarcasm or irony*) At first, it may seem surprising that overall more FTAs were made by women. However, the men who were expected to make many FTAs, like the bailiffs in *CP*, seemed relatively friendly and sympathetic. On the other hand, the women in *SN/JF* mostly interacted with their children, whereas the men did so much less. This explains the high rates of the first four FTAs in the Figures.

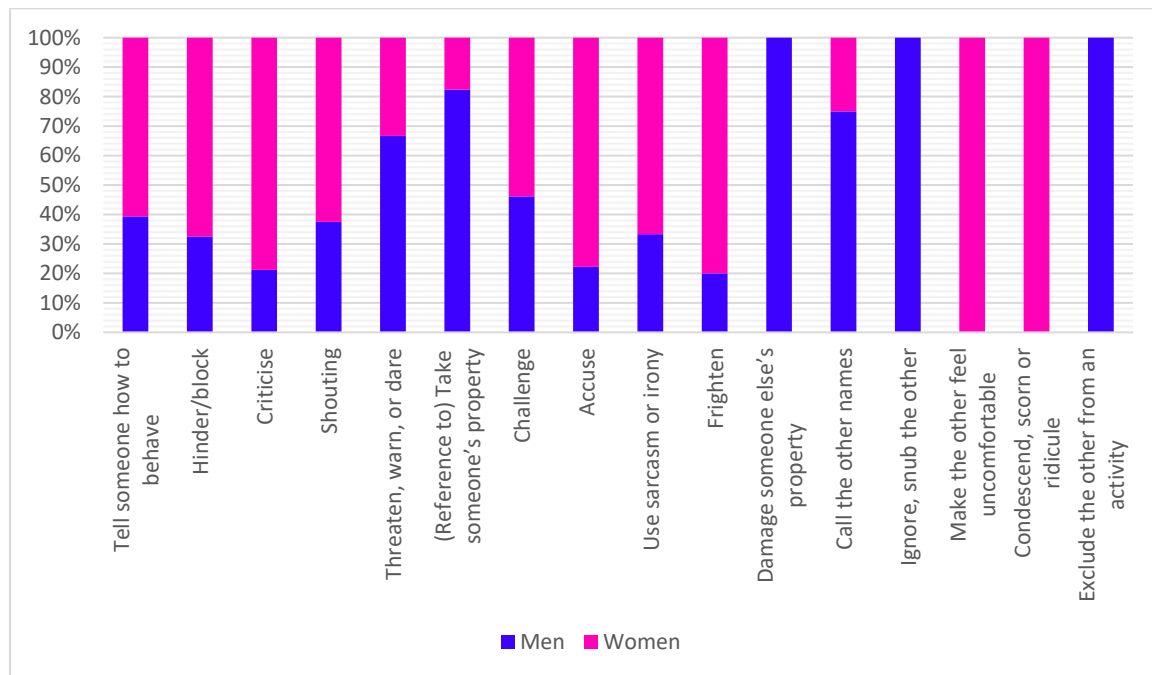
**Figure 2**

*Comparison of the FTAs Used by Men and Women Across All Three Television Series*



**Figure 3**

*Percentage of FTAs Used by Men and Women Across All Three Television Series*



It is surprising that *ignore, snub the other* and *exclude the other from an activity* are only used by men, as they seem more feminine, indirect FTAs: they do not attack someone directly and verbally. When looking at the exclusion FTA, though, it seems that this was used when a father locked his child out of the house in order to make him calm down. *Damage someone else's property*, a much more physical FTA, was also only used by men, which seems more in line with stereotypical gendered behaviour.

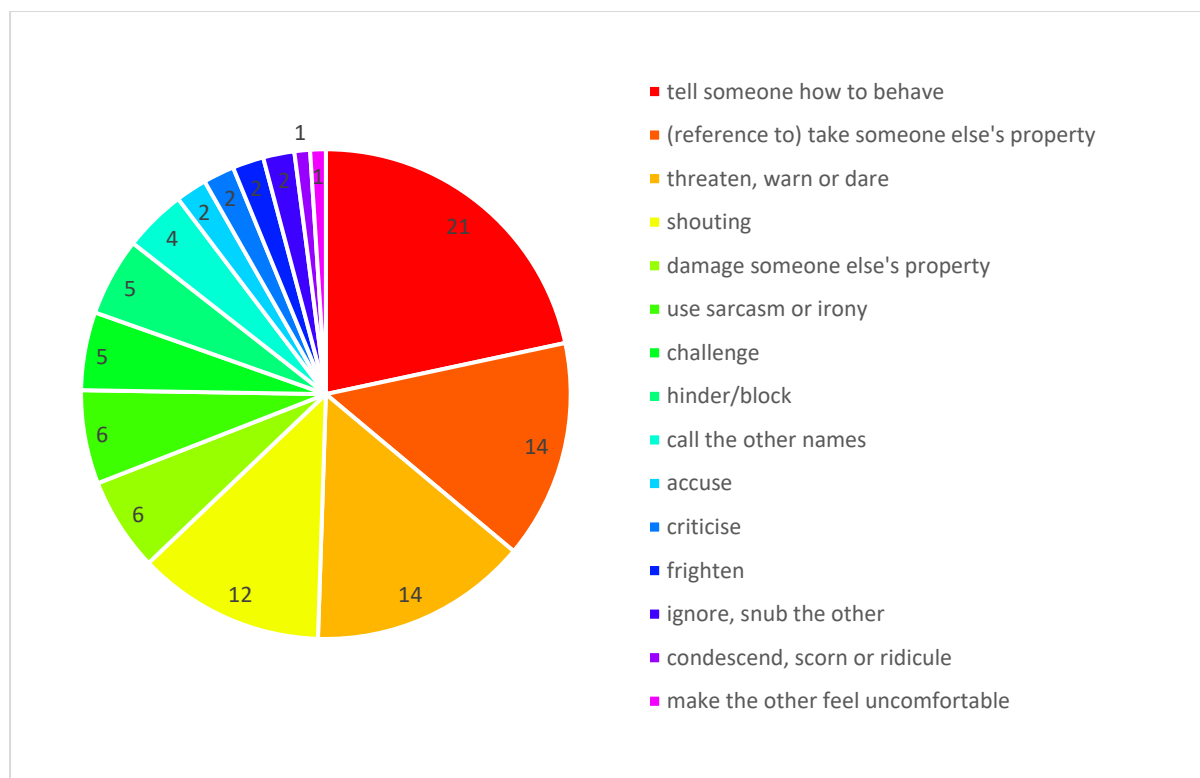
*Make the other feel uncomfortable* and *condescend, scorn or ridicule* were used only by women. The first was used mostly by *SN/JF's* host when criticising parents. The other was used against a bailiff, when he arrived with regard to her husband's debt.

As stated above, in the five episodes from *Can't Pay? We'll Take It Away!*, 97 instances of FTAs were found (see Figure 4). These were performed by 19 people in total. On average, 5,11 face-threatening acts were made per person. Furthermore, on average, 6 FTAs were made per man, and 2,4 were made per woman. Figure 4 shows an overview of the FTAs

that were used in *Can't Pay? We'll Take It Away!*. *Command someone to do something, tell someone how to behave*; (*Reference to*) *Take someone's property* was almost only used in *CP* and was used only by the bailiffs, because of their job. The reason *put the other's indebtedness on record* was not used, is because that seemed a more intimate FTA than the bailiffs' more formal utterances.

#### Figure 4

Overview of the FTAs Shown in Five Episodes of *Can't Pay? We'll Take It Away!*

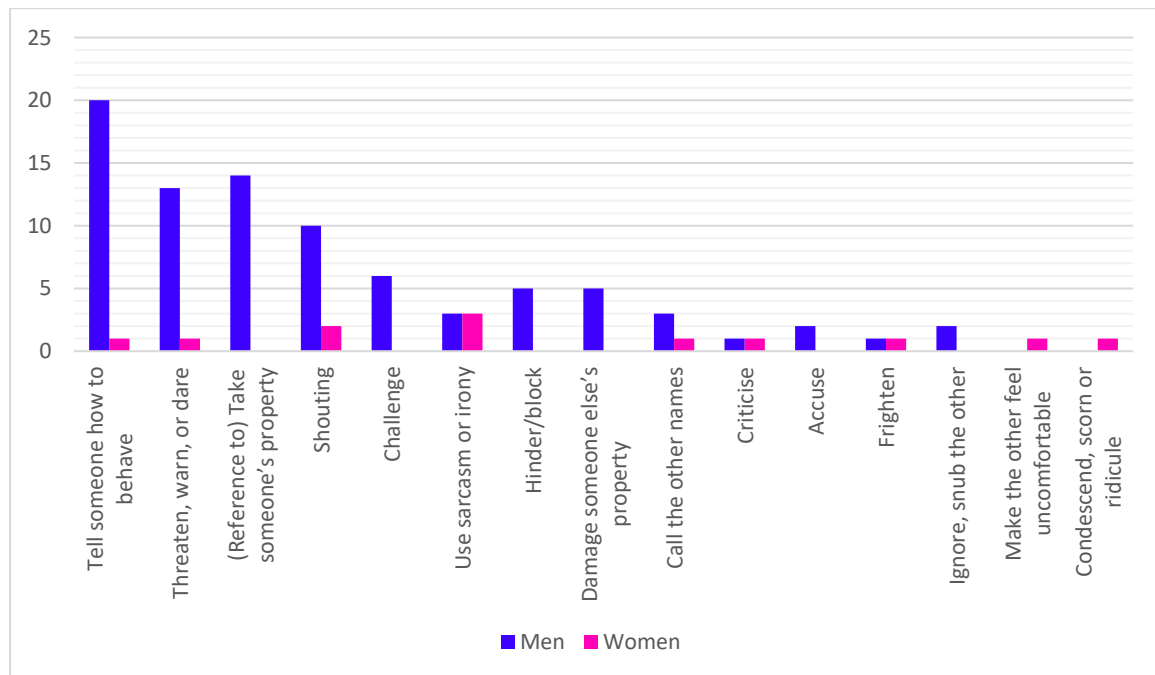


84 FTAs were made by 14 men, which averages out to 6 FTAs per man. 12 face-threatening acts were made by five women, which averages out to 2,4 FTAs per woman. Figure 5 shows an overview of the comparisons between FTAs men and women used in *CP*. The most-used FTAs were *command someone to do something, tell someone how to behave*;

*threaten, warn, or dare; (reference to) take someone's property; and shouting.* As mostly men expressed FTAs, women made relatively few in *CP*.

**Figure 5**

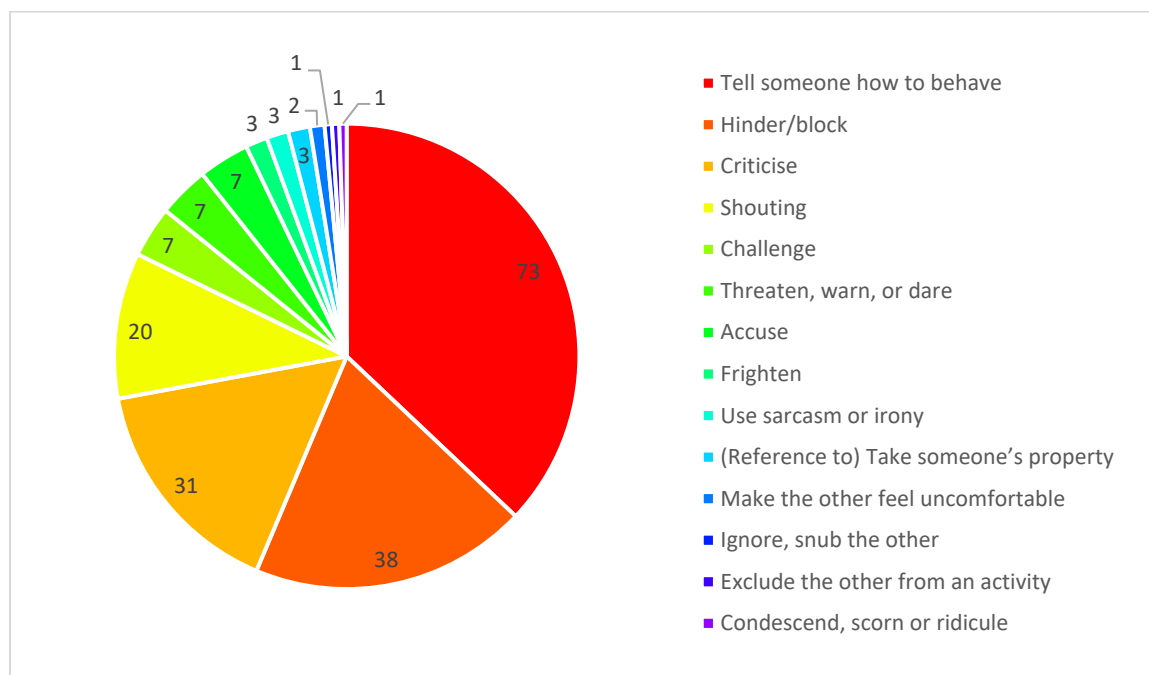
*Comparison of the FTAs in Can't Pay? Used by Men and Women*



As stated at the start of the chapter, in the five episodes of *Supernanny* and *Jo Frost: Extreme Parental Guidance*, 197 instances of FTAs were found (see Figure 6). These were performed by 12 people in total. On average, 16,42 face-threatening acts were made per person. Furthermore, on average, 9,25 FTAs were made by men, and 20 were made by women. Figure 6 shows an overview of the FTAs that were used in the five episodes *Supernanny* and *Jo Frost: Extreme Parental Guidance*. *Command someone to do something, tell someone how to behave* together with *hinder/block* made up over half of the FTAs. *Criticise* was mostly used by *SN/JF*'s host, who would admonish the parents for their behaviour and method of upbringing. The other FTAs were especially used in correcting children's behaviour.

**Figure 6**

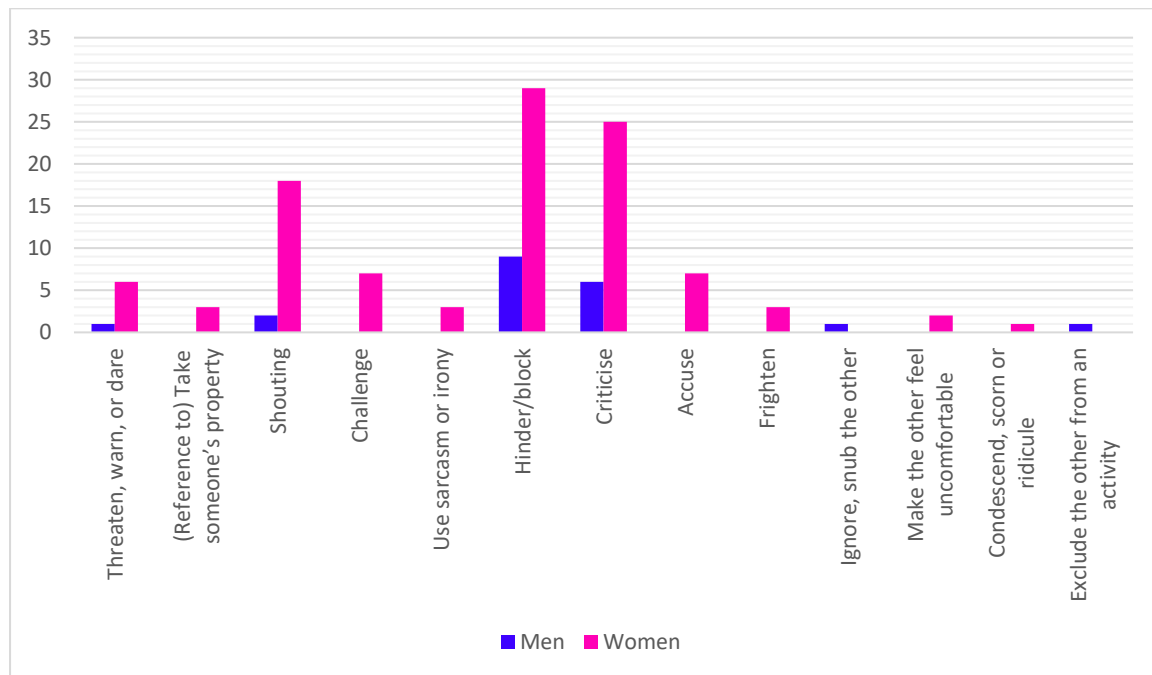
*Overview of the FTAs shown in Five Episodes of Supernanny and Jo Frost: Extreme Parental Guidance*



37 FTAs were made by four men, which averages out to 9,25 per man. 160 face-threatening acts were made by eight women, which averages out to 20 per woman. Figure 7 shows an overview of and comparison between the FTAs men and women made in *SN/JF*. Women were mostly in charge of their children's upbringing, which explains why so few men used FTAs. Despite this, it was surprising that *hinder/block* was used as much by women, as it is still a very physical FTA. This can at least partially be accounted for by the fact that a high number of them were single mothers.

**Figure 7**

*Comparison of the FTAs in Supernanny and Jo Frost by Men and Women*



### Responses to Face-threatening Acts

When analysing the video material, several responses to FTAs were recorded (see Appendix 2 for the transcribed FTAs and their responses). These responses were divided into 11 categories:

1. Respond with an FTA (e.g. ignore, hinder/block, command someone to do something/tell someone how to behave, shout, etc);
2. Respond with humour, laugh (joke);
3. Sympathise (“I understand it’s all a shock to you”)
4. Cry, be upset
5. Deny (“It can’t be possible.”) / Lie (“I haven’t received any letter”)
6. Give an excuse or reason against FTA (“I’ve got children”; “I need my car to take my kids to school”; “I lost my first child”)

7. Respond positively (in response to “I’ve called the police” – “Great!”; “Thank you very much” [with a smile]) / Agree (“That’s fine, that’s fine”, “We’ll move out today”; “I know”) / Acknowledge (nodding)
8. Ask questions (“What are you doing?”, “What for?” “(...) why should I be nice to you?”)
9. Explain (“I’m trying to make my own life easier because I know what’s going to happen when we take the bottles away.”)
10. Beg (“I don’t want to come back, *please*”)
11. Feel uncomfortable / guilty (downcast eyes; “I’ve known I’ve had my priorities wrong (...)”)

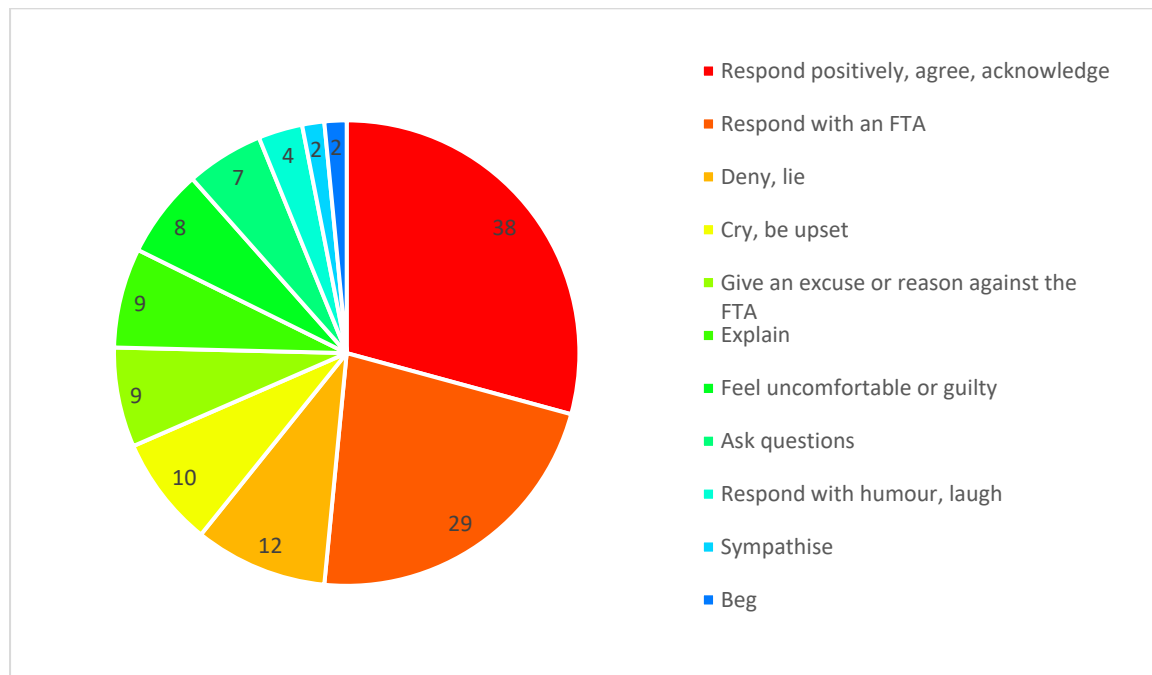
*Deny* and *lie* are in the same category because as the viewer, we cannot be certain whether someone is telling the truth or not. Furthermore, there were also instances in which the response to the FTA was unknown, e.g. because the other half of the conversation was over the telephone, or because the image cuts away to another scene.

Overall, 130 responses to FTAs were recorded across ten episodes. These were performed by 36 people, the average of which is 3,61 responses per person. 73 responses were found in the five episodes from *Can’t Pay? We’ll Take It Away!*, and 47 responses were found in the five episodes from *Supernanny* (two episodes) and *Jo Frost: Extreme Parental Guidance* (three episodes). Figure 8 shows the responses that were used in all three the series. *Respond positively*, *agree*, *acknowledge* and *respond with an FTA* were used more than half of the time. The former was likely used so often because of the difference in authority between the interlocutors. Therefore, the parents and debtors had to (appear to) agree with and acknowledge that authority.



**Figure 8**

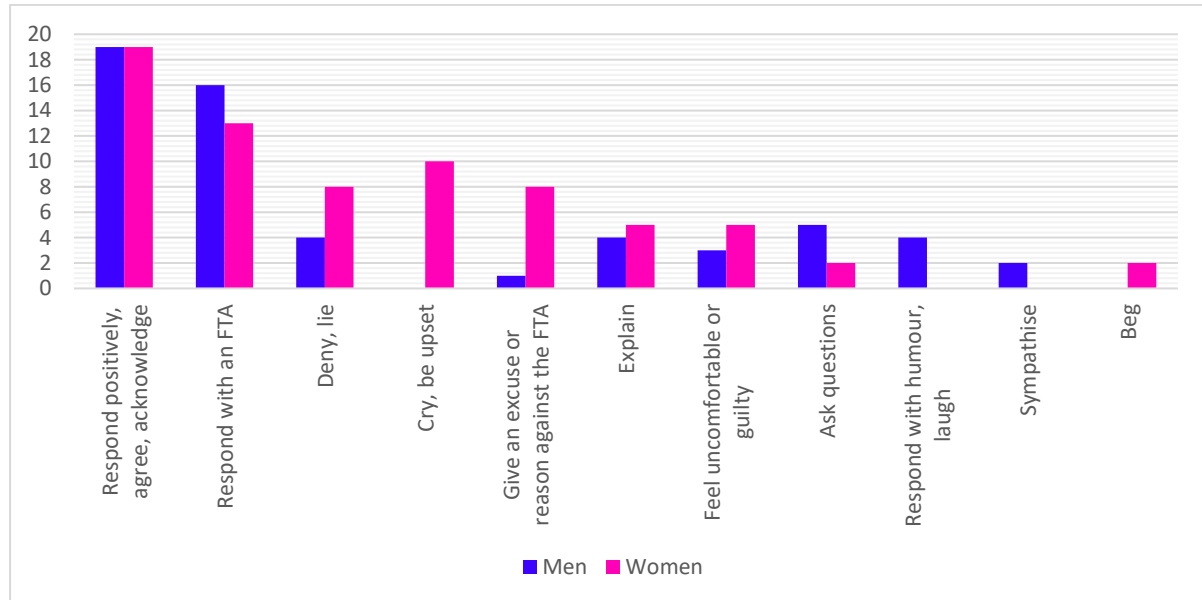
*Overview of the Responses to FTAs in All Three Television Series*



Of these 130 responses, 58 were given by men (with an average of 2,76 responses per man), and 72 were given by women (with an average of 4,8 per woman). Figure 9 and 10 show a comparison of the responses men and women used across all three television series. Women responded to FTAs the most, even though men had definite preferences (e.g. *respond with humour, laugh*; *sympathise*; and *respond with an FTA*). Many of the responses are non-threatening, which again can be accounted for by the difference in authority. Furthermore, *respond with an FTA* as well as *deny, lie* seem to be used in a stereotypical sense, coinciding with the gender and impoliteness patterns from the literature review.

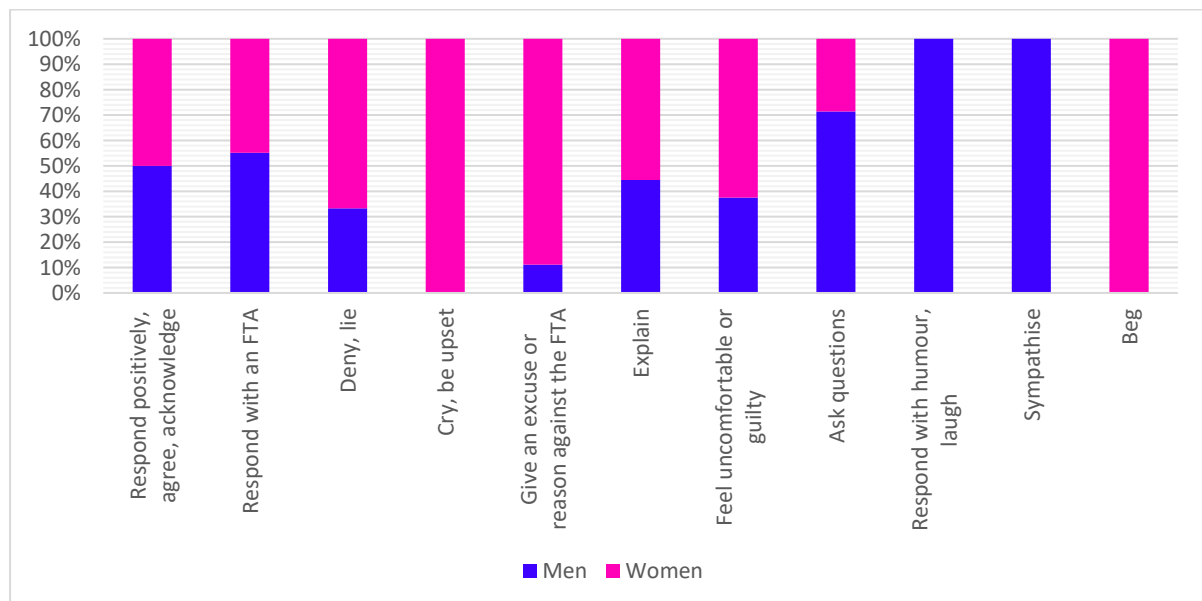
**Figure 9**

*Instances of the Recorded Responses to FTAs Used by Men and Women Across All Three Television Series*



**Figure 10**

*Percentage of Responses to FTAs Used by Men and Women Across All Three Television Series*

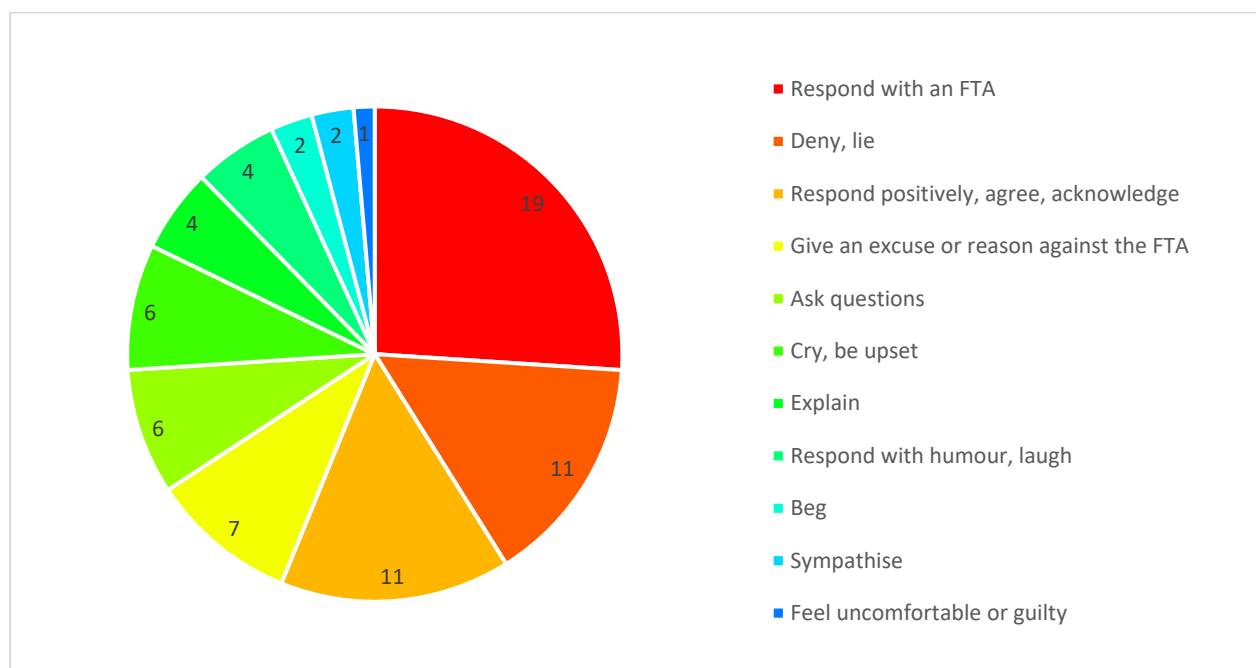


As stated previously, the bailiffs in *CP* were surprising in their behaviour. This can be seen by *respond with humour, laugh* and *sympathise*, which were only used by them; This so as not to respond aggressively. Furthermore, *beg* and *cry, be upset* were used only by women. These are more emotional responses, again coinciding with female stereotypes (Holmes, 1995; Mills, 2005).

As stated above, in the five episodes of *Can't Pay? We'll Take It Away!*, 73 instances of responses to FTAs were found. These were performed by 25 people in total; this gives us an average of 2,92 responses per person. Furthermore, 2,59 responses were made per man on average, and 3,63 responses were made per woman. Figure 11 shows an overview of the responses to FTAs used in *Can't Pay?*. Here it can be seen that the most frequent responses were still threatening (*respond with an FTA; deny, lie*), and were generally used in response to bailiffs arriving to collect a debt.

**Figure 11**

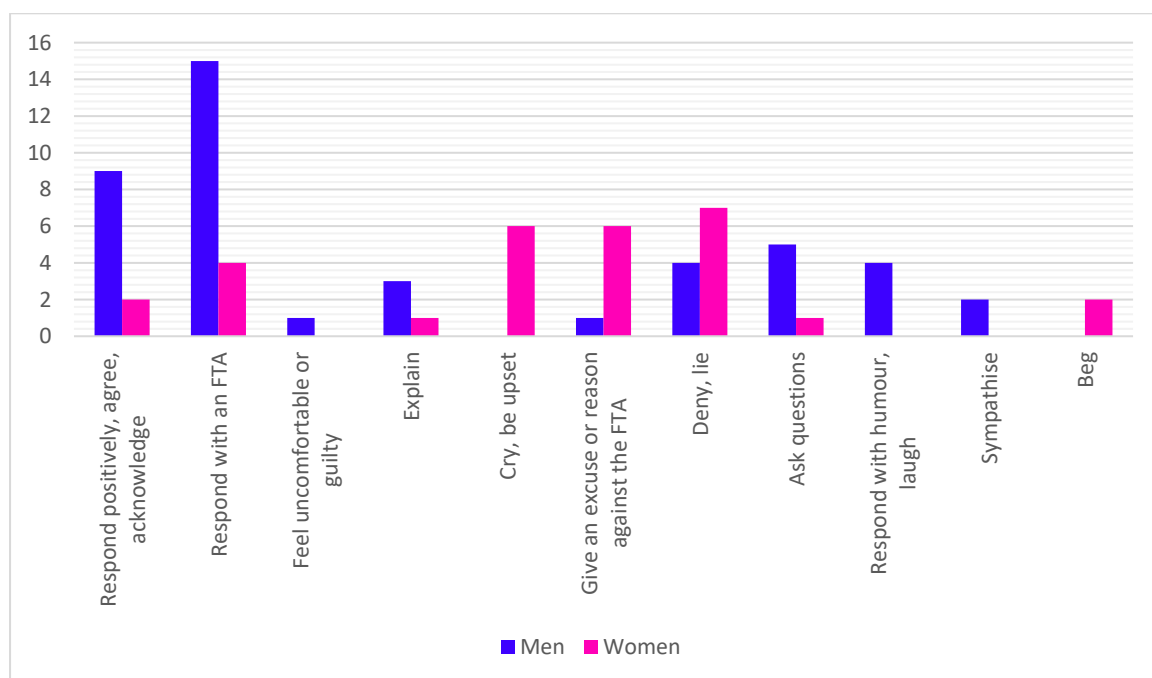
*An Overview of the Responses to FTAs Used in Can't Pay? We'll Take It Away!*



44 responses were made by 17 men, which averages out to 2,59 responses per man. 29 responses were made by eight women, with an average of 3,63 responses per woman. Figure 12 shows a comparison between the responses to FTAs that men and women use in *Can't Pay?*. Most of the results were accounted for above. *Ask questions* is used more by men, and seems to be a way of trying to grasp the situation while trying to keep one's emotions subdued.

**Figure 12**

*An Overview of and Comparison Between the Responses to FTAs Used by Men and Women in Can't Pay?*

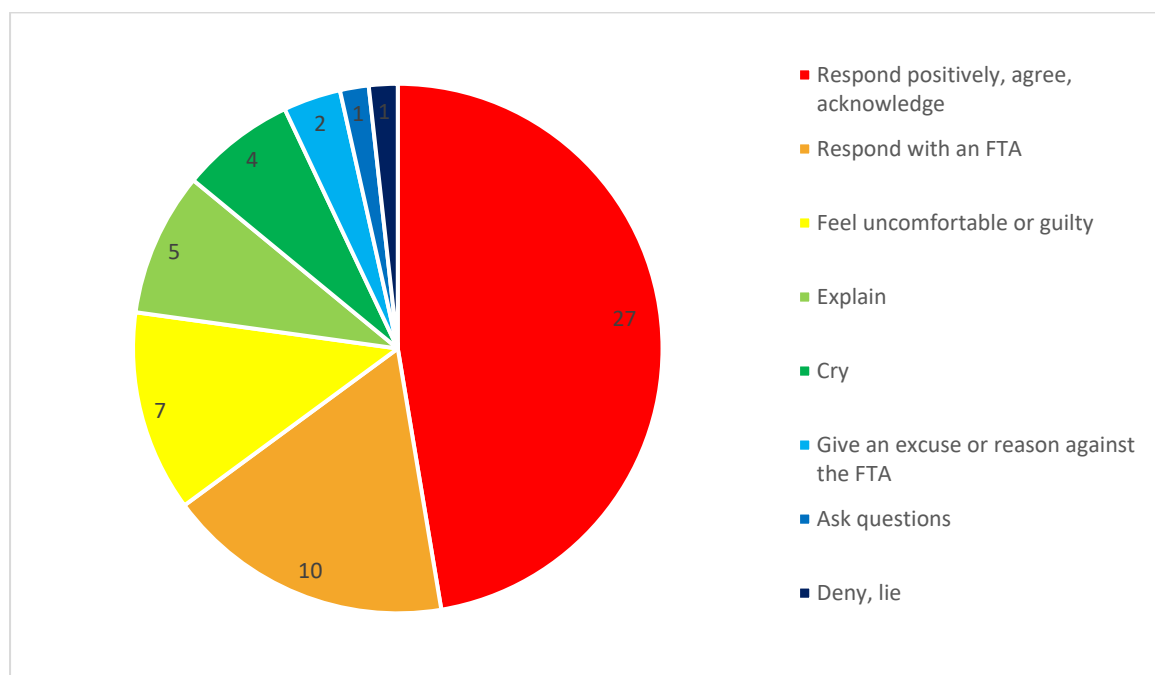


As stated above, in the five episodes of *Supernanny* (two episodes) and *Jo Frost: Extreme Parental Guidance* (three episodes), 47 responses were recorded. These were performed by 36 people, which gives us an average of 1,31 response per person. Furthermore, 3,5 responses were given per man, and 6,14 responses were given per woman, on average. Figure 13 shows an overview of the responses to FTAs used in *SN/JF*. *Respond positively*,

*agree, acknowledge* was mostly used when in conversation with the series' host. *Cry* and *respond with an FTA* are generally used in response to children's extreme behaviour, whereas the others are used in conversation with the series' host.

### Figure 13

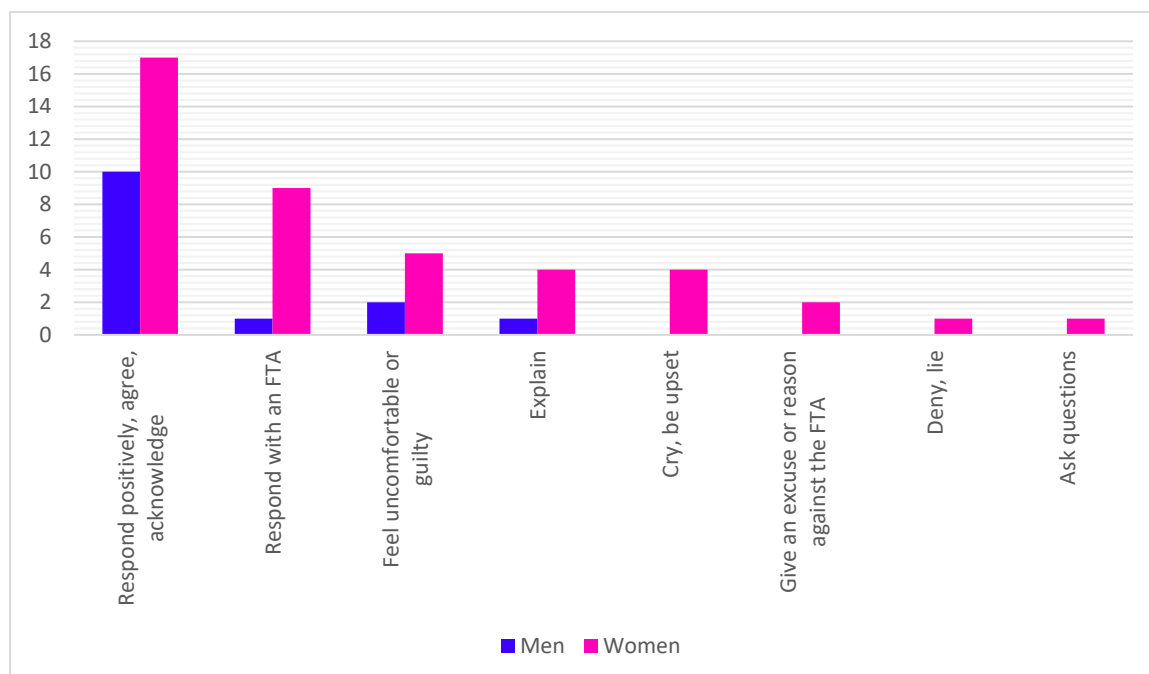
*An Overview of the Responses to FTAs in Supernanny and Jo Frost: Extreme Parental Guidance*



14 responses were made by four men, with an average of 3,5 responses per man. 43 responses were given by seven women, with an average of 6,14 responses per woman. Figure 14 shows an overview of and a comparison between the responses to FTAs that were used by men and women. The results of these were also elaborated on above. As stated before, most of the responses were from these two series, and were made by women, as they were either single mothers or were concerned with the children's upbringing more.

**Figure 14**

*Overview of and Comparison Between Responses to FTAs by Men and Women in Supernanny and Jo Frost*



### Discussion

It should be stated beforehand that in both *CP* and *SN/JF*, there is a difference in authority between most of the interlocutors. The bailiffs in *CP* have authority because they uphold the law; the host in *SN/JF* has authority because she has much experience with children's different behaviours and parents' different pedagogical methods. This means that the way the interactants behave around them (also considering FTAs and their responses) can be distinct from when they would be talking to someone who did not have a different authority level. More on this will be discussed in the study's limitations.

## **Face-threatening Acts**

### ***FTAs in general***

It seems that the FTAs that are used by men and women rely heavily on the context in which these FTAs are performed: the people they are talking to, the type of (threatening) situation, and the difference of situations between the speaker and the hearer. For example, *command someone* is mostly used in *Supernanny/Jo Frost*, when parents are telling their children what to do (e.g. “Stop it!”, “Put it on!”, “(...) eat your own dinner.”; see Appendix 2.2 for more examples). On the other hand, *(reference to) take someone’s property* is used much more in *CP* (e.g. “We have to repossess the property.”, “We’ve come to evict you today.”; see Appendix 2.1 for more examples). This shows that there is a definite preference of which FTAs are used when. The FTAs that did not occur in these television series, for example, may occur in very different situations.

### ***Comparisons Between the Two Genders***

Although the literature does say much on impoliteness and gender, several conclusions were made in the literature review as to what we could expect from gender and politeness. With gender and politeness, stereotypical behaviour seems to occur frequently, with men being more aggressive in their language and behaviour, whereas women are more indirect and tone down their responses. When comparing the two genders, it first seemed surprising that women expressed many more FTAs (172 instances) than men (123 instances). On second thought, it actually seemed straightforward, because the bailiffs in *CP* (where most of the data for the men comes from) were much more friendly and sympathetic than expected; therefore, not as many FTAs occurred as originally anticipated. Furthermore, in the context of parenting in *SN/JF*, women tended to focus more on the children, which meant that firstly, not many FTAs were made by men; and secondly, even more were made by women. This explains the numbers that were shown in the results.

Secondly, the general majority of FTAs that were expressed were generally the same type for each gender, regardless of the quantity. This suggests that in contexts in which FTAs are likely to occur, there are definite preferences as to the type of FTA used overall; especially *command someone to do something, tell someone to behave; shouting; criticise; and threaten, warn, or dare*. Concerning *hinder/block*, it might depend on the context whether this behaviour is an appropriate FTA or not.

### **Responses to Face-threatening Acts**

#### ***Responses in General***

Just like with the FTAs, the responses that are used the most might have been used because they are required by the context. Especially *respond positively, agree, acknowledge* was used equally (both 19 times) by men and women. A reason for such a balanced response is partially because in *SN/JF*, the host often talks to both parents at the same time, criticising their method of raising the children, to which both parents respond by agreeing (e.g. through nodding, agreement markers like “Yes.” and “I know.”, etc). The same counts for *CP*: when the bailiffs explain their story, they often get a similar response to their FTAs by both partners who are living together. A second reason for the high number of agreement markers is again accounted for by the difference in authority, as stated above. The context here is influenced by this authority presence. Therefore, there might be a change in responses if all the interlocutors are on equal footing.

#### ***Comparisons Between the Two Genders***

Several conclusions can be drawn from the results in comparison to the responses to the stereotypical behaviour shown in the literature review. The first was already stated above: although *respond positively* may be more feminine, the difference in authority may in part account for its high frequency. In fact, many of the responses adhere to this principle; they are in general non-threatening (with the exception of *respond with an FTA* and *deny, lie*), as



the context requires them to be so. Within this context of authority, the responses are different, however. When using threatening responses, men tend to respond with an FTA, whereas women tend to be more indirect by denial/lying. With non-threatening responses, women tend to be more emotional in responding to FTAs (see *beg* and *cry, be upset*). They also have a tendency to give explanations or go against the FTA with an excuse or explanation. Men, on the other hand, might suppress emotional feelings and focus on responding differently (e.g. by asking questions, using humour, or sympathising).

In conclusion, although we have notions of how men and women *tend* to act, the context in which they act changes the way they act, depending on where they are, what the FTA focuses on, and to whom they are speaking.

### **Limitations of the Study**

There are several limitations to this study. Firstly, because of the different scenes and angles used in the analysed episodes, it is always uncertain whether the full context of the conversation is given, whether the conversation is in the right order, whether the whole conversation was shown, etc. There were numerous occasions in which an FTA was made, but the response was skipped and another scene or shot succeeded the FTA instead.

A second limitation was that since all the material used was filmed, it is also uncertain whether the people involved are completely authentic in their behaviour. For example, the bailiffs in *Can't Pay? We'll Take It Away!* (n.a., 2014-2018) might be on their best behaviour, so to speak – maybe, when no cameras are involved, they are much less sympathetic towards the people who have to pay off their debts.

This brings us towards another issue. The bailiffs in *CP* and the host in *Supernanny* (Frost, 2004-2008) and *Jo Frost* (Frost, 2010-2012) have a certain level of authority. This means that the way the other interactants talk to them would likely differ from talking to someone who is on equal footing and/or there is no noticeable difference in authority and

knowledge. They might be afraid to respond honestly, or at all. This can especially be seen in *SN/JF*. When the host criticised the parents on the way they are raising and treating their child(ren), the parents often agree with what she says and do not dare to talk back.

A fourth problem is that it is very difficult to properly analyse the paralinguistic (i.e. non-verbal) features of a person when a conversation is taking place. The focus of the analysis is on the text, which makes it difficult to simultaneously pay attention to the paralinguistic features. A solution would be to have one person looking at the FTAs and responses, and to have another taking note of all the paralinguistic features that are occurring at the same time.

A last problem could be that the interactions adults make with children differ from those with other adults, which would change the data considerably.

### **Recommendations for Further Study**

Recommendations for further study would be to analyse FTAs between men and women, as well as their responses, in face-to-face, real-life conversation. Although television series like the ones analysed do provide us with a good basis on what to expect in different contexts, what FTAs they use, and how men and women respond to FTAs, it cannot be truly authentic and unmitigated. Secondly, as stated in the limitations section of this chapter, and linked to the previous recommendation, one could also research the FTAs and responses of men and women that are 'on equal footing', with no difference in authority. Another recommendation is to analyse which situations coincide with which FTAs (and responses). Through this, a 'library' of problem situations can be recorded, with many options for further use (e.g. in language teaching).

A fourth recommendation is to see whether different FTAs and responses are used between children; between adults; and between adults and children. Fifthly, as stated before, the paralinguistic behaviour that is part of FTAs and their responses could also be researched,

e.g. could certain paralinguistic features indicate certain types of FTAs or responses? A last recommendation would be to analyse whether FTAs (and responses to FTAs) differ when expressed towards a man or woman; are certain FTAs and responses chosen because their interlocutor is the same or a different gender.

### **Implications for the Theory**

The results of this thesis have shown that it is possible for conversations *not* to be inherently co-operative, in contrast to what Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) previously stated.

Instead, it has been proven that people can disrupt the ‘flow’ of conversation through FTAs, and impoliteness output strategies (i.e. Bousfield, 2008; Culpeper, 1996). A few more strategies were added to in the course of the research, namely *command someone to do something*, *tell someone how to behave*; *damage someone else’s property*; and *(reference to) take someone’s property*. Furthermore, a set of twelve responses to these FTAs were devised, based on the analysis of the video material. No record was found of responses to FTAs previously being researched, so this list can be used by researchers as a baseline for responses; possibly specified, edited and added to if needed.

On the point of gender and impoliteness, another implication is that it seems that although men and women do occasionally use FTAs that align with gendered/stereotypical behaviour (cf. Holmes, 1995; Mills, 2005), it also shows that they regularly use output strategies that do not cohere to that behaviour. It also seems that the FTAs (and responses) used depend on the context in which the conversation occurs. This includes the speakers and their level of authority, the relationship between the interlocutors, and the subject under discussion.

To conclude, this thesis has made several additions and changes to (im)politeness theory. Although much new information has come to light, even more aspects and perspectives can be researched (as was seen in the Recommendations for Further Study section), which will add even more to (im)politeness theory.

### References

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## Appendix

### Appendix 1 – Tables Used to Tally FTAs per Episode.

#### *Tables Five Episodes Can't Pay? We'll Take It Away! (n.a., 2014-2018)*

The tables can be found via the following link:

[https://drive.google.com/open?id=1OCc8Fp\\_Yb1\\_PMUVsdF3Uw5OfmK70QGGW](https://drive.google.com/open?id=1OCc8Fp_Yb1_PMUVsdF3Uw5OfmK70QGGW)

#### *Tables Five Episodes Supernanny (two episodes; Frost, 2004-2008) and Jo Frost: Extreme Parental Guidance (three episodes; Frost, 2010-2012), Respectively*

The tables can be found via the following link:

[https://drive.google.com/open?id=1\\_RE\\_znp41icWhfWHQZhTuaqnY3GR96jg](https://drive.google.com/open?id=1_RE_znp41icWhfWHQZhTuaqnY3GR96jg)

### Appendix 2 – Tables Used to Record Spoken FTAs and Their Responses

#### *Tables Five Episodes Can't Pay? We'll Take It Away! (n.a., 2014-2018)*

The FTAs and their responses can be found via the following link:

<https://drive.google.com/open?id=1i3h2J5xpN-YsCKPzwG1DbpxWmZGYLvjF>

#### *Tables Five Episodes Supernanny (Two Episodes; Frost, 2004-2008) and Jo Frost: Extreme Parental Guidance (Three Episodes; Frost, 2010-2012), Respectively*

The FTAs and their responses can be found via the following link:

<https://drive.google.com/open?id=1RsvgJG9aR5nZwAho55uRnyYMyQTqgBv5>