

**UNIVERSITY OF TARTU
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE**

***TU/VOUS* ABSENCE IN ENGLISH: TEACHING COMPENSATORY
POLITENESS STRATEGIES FOR EFL-ESL LEARNERS WITH VARIOUS
BACKGROUNDS**

MA thesis

**MARI-LIIS ALUPERE
SUPERVISOR: *Prof.* KRISTA VOGELBERG**

**TARTU
2013**

ABSTRACT

The current MA thesis discusses the importance of teaching intercultural communicative competence in language classrooms with a special emphasis on address pronouns and the lack of *tu/vous* distinction in the English language. One of its main focuses is the compensatory politeness strategies for EFL and ESL learners with various backgrounds. The topic is important because English is used widely between people from different language backgrounds; thus, miscommunication can easily occur. There are four main target groups who would benefit from the current paper: Estonian students of French and vice versa; the French studying English and vice versa; and Estonians studying English whose first or dominant foreign language is something other than English, as well as Estonians and French communicating in English as a *lingua franca*.

This thesis takes into consideration a number of theoretical and empirical studies on address pronouns, politeness theories, ICC and English as *lingua franca*. Additionally, fieldwork was carried out in France for the current study during two different time periods. The research done in the current thesis on address pronouns in French contributes to previous research done by other authors on the same topic regarding address pronouns in Estonian and Russian.

The paper is divided into five main topics: *Intercultural Communicative Competence vs. Intercultural Competence; Teaching Language and ICC; Politeness; The Usage of 'tu/vous' Among People from Different Cultural Backgrounds; and Dealing with the 'Rigidity' of Address Pronouns in English*. All of these topics also include sub-topics.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	2
INTRODUCTION	4
INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE vs. INTERCULTURAL COMPETENCE.....	10
<i>Five Savoirs</i>	12
The Three Circles.....	14
English as <i>Lingua Franca</i>	15
TEACHING LANGUAGE AND ICC	17
Foreign Language Teaching	17
ICC at schools	19
Common Ground and Forms of Address	27
THE USAGE OF <i>tu/vous</i> AMONG PEOPLE FROM DIFFERENT CULTURAL BACKGROUNDS.....	32
Method	32
Results.....	33
Discussion	34
DEALING WITH THE ‘RIGIDITY’ OF ADDRESS PRONOUNS IN ENGLISH.....	40
Hedging.....	41
Nominal Means of Address	42
<i>Academic Environment</i>	46
<i>Service Encounters</i>	47
CONCLUSION	49
REFERENCES	52
APPENDIX 1	56
RESÜMEE.....	67

INTRODUCTION

The current MA thesis discusses the importance of teaching intercultural communicative competence in language classrooms with a special emphasis on address pronouns and the lack of *tu/vous* distinction in the English language, i.e. the distinction between the direct address pronoun and the indirect one (where the indirect form is often, though not in all cases, viewed as the “politer” one). The author’s interest in the subject emerged during the Erasmus student exchange programme in France where she came across with people all over the world and was able to compose the corpus to be studied by the method of fieldwork (as opposed to somewhat discredited questionnaires). It should be mentioned that the research done on the address pronouns in French is a part of a bigger project employing new methods to the actual use of address forms in Estonian, Russian, English and French (see, for instance, Koksharova, Irina; Vogelberg, Krista, 2009).

In English, historically, there was also a distinction between the second person singular pronoun ‘thou’ and the second person plural pronoun ‘you’. After time, this distinction ceased to exist and against probability, the second person plural pronoun, i.e. the indirect form ‘you’, became the default. Even though nowadays there is a tendency in Europe towards using *tu* as a default, many languages still have the *tu/vous* distinction. When people from those language backgrounds use English, then they do not necessarily realise that to compensate for the lack of the *tu/vous* distinction, they need to use other strategies, of which English has developed a considerable, not to say an awe-inspiring, number. Therefore; teaching these compensatory strategies consciously and making people aware of this particularity, would make miscommunication less frequent and communication smoother.

Since the spread and situations of use of *tu* versus *vous* differ among Estonians and the French, the first, obvious, group to benefit from the fieldwork results – combined with what is known about Estonian usage – would be Estonian students of French and vice versa. The second obvious group would be the French studying English and vice versa.

However, the findings are important for a number of other groups and other reasons. First, recent trends in foreign language acquisition have started to emphasise the primacy of the influence of **other** foreign languages as opposed to one's mother tongue/first language in learning a new foreign language. For a time, the role of the mother tongue/first language was “erased” altogether. More recent studies have qualified this extreme position but found that at least on some crucial aspects such as grammar the influence of the first foreign language is indeed dominant. (Miliste et al. 2011)

Since *tu/vous* distinction falls between the fields of grammar and pragmatics, it is reasonable to assume that Estonians whose first or dominant foreign language is French, might be influenced more by French in their usage or, more precisely, internalisation of the usage of the distinction by French. (The same applies to other first or dominant foreign languages, e.g. Russian, German, etc).¹ This is the case especially in Estonia because the Estonian language itself has a *tu/vous* distinction, which, though in a period of flux and different in usage from French, contributes to the impact of studies of French as the first and/or second but dominant foreign language, on English as a second foreign language.

Therefore, the third group of people who are likely to benefit from the results of the research would be the Estonians whose first or dominant foreign language is something other than English. By extension, however, all learners of English whose language makes use of the indirect address (i.e., *vous* – this may not always be the second person plural, cf. German *Sie*) would need to be made aware of English compensatory strategies for the lack

¹ What is meant here by a dominant foreign language is the one a person is focused on in his or her studies, mainly those majoring in the pertinent studies, such as French.

of such a form of address. Finally, as detailed below, English is increasingly used as a *lingua franca* all over the world, both between a native speaker and a non-native speaker or between NNS-s, who bring their own pragmatics and cultural backgrounds along (e.g. an Estonian and a French person speaking in English). Even though people forgive each other more in *lingua franca* communication, miscommunication can still easily occur. People who are used to using more politeness strategies than for example Estonians have pointed out that Estonians might come across as cold and/or rude while using English.

The main problem with the *tu/vous* distinction for all these groups is that it is not automatically transferred into English via compensatory strategies. This result could be accounted for in terms of the normative/instrumental politeness distinction (O' Driscoll 1996: 16). O'Driscoll makes a convincing case for the essential functional sameness of the two which form a continuum according to the latitude in the choice of linguistic expression, yet he omits to remark that they almost never undergo the process of transfer when a foreign language is spoken.

The reasons are twofold: the *tu/vous* distinction is morphological, in fact grammaticalised, rather than lexical, and, related to this, it is normative rather than volitional. One has to choose between the *tu/vous* form whereas one is free to choose between expressions such as “I was wondering if ...” of the simple imperative (Vogelberg 2002b: 1068).

Thus, the two politeness strategies, though both falling under the general “indirectness” label, operate on two different levels – so different that even theoreticians tend to ignore a correspondence here. To exemplify this, when comparing strategies of request, it is common to classify many languages as “direct”, because their speakers prefer imperatives, whereas English is “indirect” because its speakers generally prefer at least conventional

indirectness. What is wholly overlooked here is the uses of the indirect forms of address in those supposedly “direct languages”.

A case in point is Larina’s study of Russian, where she describes interesting and in fact telling incidents yet does not give wholly satisfactory explanations for them. In her comparative study of the communicative behaviour of Russian and English speakers, Larina offers the following scenario:

In a restaurant

Tom: *What would you like to eat?*

Mary: *I don’t know. Let’s have a look at the menu.*

Tom: *OK (to the waiter) –*

The question is: what does Tom say to the waiter? The results showed that the majority of Russian speakers (60 %) regarded an utterance with the imperative as the most natural way to address the waiter:

Prinesite, poz’alujsta, menju.

‘Bring [me] the menu, please.’

Larina found that no English speakers found it appropriate to address the waiter in this situation with an imperative, even if the word ‘please’ followed it. On the one hand, 98% of the English speakers prefer a response in an interrogative form, e.g., “Could I see the menu, please?” On the other hand, only 40 % of the Russian respondents suggested an interrogative utterance, e.g., *Moz’no menju?* (literally ‘could [one] the menu?’). Larina (2008: 264–5) comments on this as follows:

In the Russian lingua-cultural tradition, directives are normally expressed in a direct way, by means of an imperative. Imperatives seem to be the most natural in such situations. Using a form which semantically implies some options under circumstances which in actual fact do not offer any options, is regarded as inappropriate. On the other hand, English speakers in the same situations formulate their “command” in a way which gives an illusion of options (my translation – M-L.A).

(Larina 2008: 264–5)²

Having long experience in teaching English in Russian universities, Larina (2008: 17) explains that it is rather difficult for Russian students to accept the English phrase *would you mind ...?* and quotes one of her students as saying, “But surely only princesses speak like that? Why on earth [*zac’em z’e*] should we?” What neither Larina nor her students

² Larina’s views have been fully supported by Wierzbicka (2010)

notice is that the reason the English speak like „princesses“ is that they do not have the *vous* form. For *Prinesite, poz'alujsta, menju*. 'Bring [me] the menu, please.' is not at all an exact translation: Russian has the *tu* form („prinesi“) which would downright shock the waiter in this situation (Koksharova and Vogelberg 2009 found that most Russians interpret the use of *tu* by strangers as a downright insult or, more often, a threat).

What neither Larina nor her students noticed in this case was the crucial role of *vous* in the Russian version – fully equivalent in its indirectness and the consequent negative politeness to phrases like „would you mind ...“. The case illustrates perfectly the task facing all teachers and learners of English whose first language or dominant second language has the *tu/vous* distinction. What we need to know, first, how often and in what situations *vous* is used in the respective linguacultures, make students aware of such situations and use this knowledge in overcoming overt or covert opposition to “superfluous“ British politeness.

There is a lot of material on politeness strategies in different languages and many fieldwork studies carried out already. However, parallel corpuses of Estonian politeness strategies, in particular those obtained not by questionnaires but more authentic methods such as fieldwork, are still in their infancy. On the other hand, the matter of intercultural communicative competence and the importance of teaching it in language classrooms also need further study. The paper concentrates on the second issue - where matters of transfer and use of compensatory strategies, however, play an important role – while also contributing to building the above-mentioned parallel corpuses for comparative (and teaching) purposes.

The structure of the paper can be described as follows. Firstly, the difference between intercultural communicative competence and intercultural competence is explained, alongside with the position of English in the world today. Secondly, there is a discussion

about teaching foreign languages and teaching them while keeping intercultural communicative competence in mind. Thirdly, the term politeness is discussed and its connection with forms and address is brought out. Fourthly, the fieldwork on *tu/vous* usage is described and analysed. And finally, there is a chapter on how to deal with the lack of *tu/vous* distinction in English by using different techniques.

The main topics of this thesis are: *Intercultural Communicative Competence vs. Intercultural Competence; Teaching Language and ICC; Politeness; The Usage of 'tu/vous' Among People from Different Cultural Backgrounds; and Dealing with the 'Rigidity' of Address Pronouns in English*. These topics also include sub-topics. *Intercultural Communicative Competence vs. Intercultural Competence* includes *Five 'Savoirs'; The Three circles; and English as Lingua Franca*. *Teaching Language and ICC* includes *Foreign Language Teaching and ICC at Schools*. *Politeness* includes *Common Ground and Forms of Address*. *The Usage of 'tu/vous' Among People from Different Cultural Backgrounds* includes *Method; Results; and Discussion*. And *Dealing with the 'Rigidity' of Address Pronouns in English* includes *Hedging and Nominal Means of Address*, which includes *Academic Environment and Service Encounters*.

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE vs. INTERCULTURAL COMPETENCE

According to Byram (1997: 70-71) Intercultural Competence (IC) and Intercultural Communicative Competence (ICC) are not the same thing. The former refers to the ability to interact in one's native language with those from another country and culture. Interculturally competent people draw upon their knowledge about intercultural communication; thus, they are able to overcome cultural differences and enjoy intercultural contact. Even if they do not use the specific foreign language on a given occasion, this ability still comes from their experience of language learning. ICC, on the other hand, means the ability to interact with people from different countries and cultures in a foreign language. People with ICC are able to act as mediators between people of different cultural backgrounds and their knowledge of another culture is linked to their language competence and the understanding of the specific meaning, values and connotations of that language. (Byram 1997: 71)

According to Byram and Zarate (1997: 239-243) an interculturally competent person is someone who can cross borders and mediate between two or more cultural identities. It is not someone who "floats over cultures like tourists tend to do" but is someone who is committed to turning intercultural encounters into intercultural relationships. An intercultural **speaker** does not only want to understand and gain an inside view of the other person's culture but also contributes to the other person's understanding of one's culture from an insider's point view. Therefore, becoming an interculturally **communicatively** competent person means a lot more than just the acquisition of particular skills, attitudes, values, knowledge items and the ways of looking at the world. (ibid.) In addition to increasing one's familiarity with foreign cultures, with one's own culture and with the

relationship between cultures, ICC implies that one also needs to acquire the competence to learn cultures autonomously (Sercu 2002: 72).

Sercu has pointed out that in today's multicultural international world, foreign-language competence will gain in importance. She also emphasises the importance of language educators realising that speaking in a foreign language means entering a cultural world that might be somewhat different from one's own. Thus, all language education needs to be an intercultural one. (Sercu 2002: 72) Her view is supported by Kramsch (1993: 1), who has written that culture cannot be considered as an expendable fifth skill that is just the side effect of the other four skills in language learning – reading, speaking, listening and writing. Kuo has proposed a new way to prepare learners for intercultural communication, namely, to provide a description, within the field of phonology, morphosyntax and on a level of communication, of what learners need in order to achieve and sustain mutual comprehension. (Kuo 2006: 214) She adds that it is essential for people from different mother tongue (L1) backgrounds interacting with each other in English as lingua franca to have a raised awareness of intercultural understanding. This is, in fact, a shared responsibility by anyone who takes part in the international society – both native (NS) and non-native speakers (NNS) of English. (Kuo 2006: 219-220)

Byram (1997:4) has added that successful communication is not only about the efficient exchange of information but about establishing and maintaining relationships. According to Partington (2006: 59), many authors, have proposed two general categories of language use: the transactional and the interactional. The former is used to convey content and the latter to express and maintain social relationships. (ibid.) One of the authors who supports this idea is Harris. She (1995: 121) explains that the transactional language use is oriented to reaching an understanding and the interactional language use is oriented to success and “is basically instrumental in mode, power-laden and often located in institutional sites”.

This basically means that a language has two equal functions and one cannot be considered more important than the other. Therefore, as Byram (1997: 4) puts it, effective communication depends upon using language to demonstrate one's willingness to relate. This often means politeness rather than the direct choice of information. The ways of being polite vary widely between different languages and cultures. In fact, politeness is only the visible symptom of a more complex phenomenon, namely, the differences in beliefs, behaviours and meanings that people use to interact with one another, and incompatibilities which may cause conflict, unless politeness is used to maintain relationships. (ibid.) Whenever people interact socially with someone from a different country, they bring along their knowledge of the world with some or no knowledge of the country in question (ibid.: 23).

Five *Savoirs*

Therefore, becoming an interculturally competent user of a foreign language involves the acquisition of communicative competence in that language, acquisition of particular skills, attitudes, values, knowledge items and looking upon the world (Sercu 2002: 63). These together make up a framework comprising of five *savoirs* (knowledges) (c.f. Figure 1): 'Declarative Knowledge' (*savoir*), 'Skills and Know-how' (*savoir-faire*), 'Existential Competence' (*savoir être*), 'Ability to learn' (*savoir apprendre*) and 'Critical Cultural Awareness'/'(Political) Education' (*savoir s'engager*) (LACE 2007: 25). According to Sercu (2002: 63-64) these *savoirs* are not isolated components, but rather components that are integrated and intertwined with various dimensions of communicative competence, which should actually be considered as a sixth *savoir* – *savoir communiquer*.

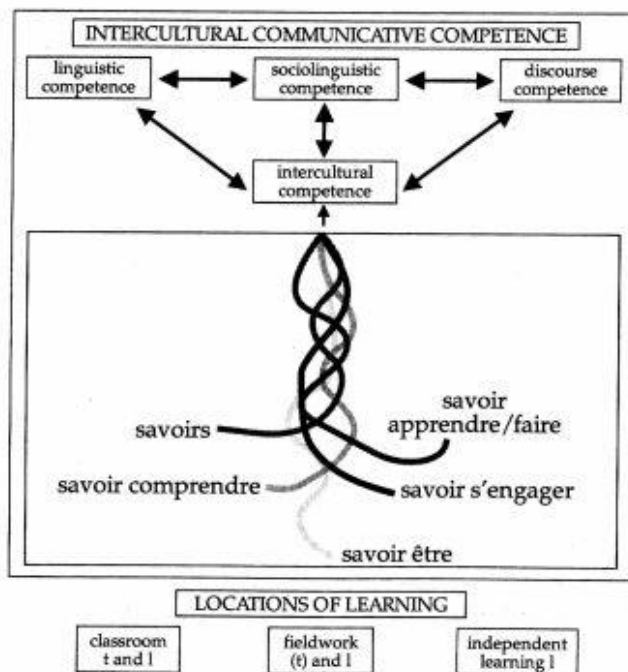


Figure 1 Dimensions of Intercultural Communicative Competence (Byram 1997: 34)

Sercu et al (2005: 3) explain that *savoirs* make up the knowledge, *savoir-comprendre* and *savoir-apprendre/savoirs-faire* make up the skills and behaviour, and *savoir être* and *savoir-s'engager* make up attitudes and traits. Therefore, *savoirs* refer to culture specific and culture general knowledge, knowledge of self and other, knowledge of interaction: individual and societal, and an insight regarding the ways in which culture affects language and communication. *Savoir-comprendre* means the ability to interpret and relate. *Savoir-apprendre/savoir-faire* mean the ability to discover and/or interact, the ability to acquire new knowledge and to operate knowledge, attitudes and skills under the constraints of real-time communication and interaction, and metacognitive strategies to direct own learning. *Savoir être* means the attitude to relativize self and value others and a positive disposition towards learning intercultural competence. And finally, *savoir-s'engager* means a general disposition characterized by a critical engagement with the foreign culture under consideration and one's own. (Sercu et al 2005: 3)

The Three Circles

Kachru (1992) describes the spread of English in the world as three concentric circles. There is the 'Inner Circle', the 'Outer Circle' and the 'Expanding Circle' (c.f. Figure 2). These circles are used to explain how English is acquired and how it functions in the world. The Inner Circle consists of countries where English is the mother tongue of a majority – the UK, USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, as well as Ireland and the Caribbean islands. The Outer Circle is formed by former colonial countries of the UK, where English is used as an institutionalized language and more often as an official language. (Kachru 1992: 356-357) Here belong countries like Bangladesh, India, Jamaica, Singapore, South Africa etc (Kachru 1996: 137). Finally, the Expanding Circle is made up of countries where English is used as a foreign language (EFL) for international communication and that have no historical connection to English. For example China, Egypt, Korea, Japan, and USSR, which nowadays would also mean Estonia. (ibid.) France has resisted the tendency yet with globalisation it is increasingly there.



Figure 2 Three Concentric Circles (Kachru 1996: 137)

English has nowadays mainly become an international means of communication among people who do not share the same mother tongue but also a means to communicate with the native speakers of English. In the Expanding Circle, English is used in international contexts that have nothing to do with either the Inner or the Outer Circle countries (Rästa 2011: 15). According to Crystal (1997: 61) the Outer Circle had an estimated 300-500 million speakers, and among nations where English is used primarily as a foreign language an estimated 500-1000 million speakers. This number has probably increased considerably by now.

According to Kuo (2006: 213), NS and their Englishes have become less important in international communication and that research interests now fall on NNS and their use of English. She adds that English has often been used for various purposes, from conducting professional discourse to having everyday conversation, by others than the people in the Inner Circle countries. (ibid.) Despite that, Liu (2008: 30) comments that although teachers of English are supposed to encourage their students to make English their own as a means for international communication by using elements from their own cultures, in many countries, the situation is the opposite – students are often treated as “absorbing sponges of Anglo-American cultures”.

English as *Lingua Franca*

According to Mollin (2006: 52), the Expanding Circle uses English mainly for *lingua franca* purposes; thus, English teaching should also prepare the students primarily for these situations. Culture and language are of course inseparable and one should have some knowledge of the target-language country/countries but in the case of English, the target

language country is often the world³ (Rästa 2011: 43). Kachru (1996: 138) supports this idea in the sense that English is a language of wider communication, alongside one or more languages from one's region; therefore, the major instrument of initiating large-scale bilingualism. Kuo (2006: 2) also supports the idea that English is used more by NNS than NS and most NNS need English in order to communicate with others of their kind.

Mollin (2006: 45) points out the fact that English as *Lingua Franca* (ELF) situations frequently occur between new conversation partners, so they are never stable and fixed. The user of ELF needs to accommodate to different other speakers from different cultural backgrounds and usually with different levels of competence in each speech situation. Mollin also claims that, although there is yet no ELF variety and the English teaching model in the Expanding Circle countries is still NS standard oriented, this does not mean that training for successful *lingua franca* communication cannot take place (Mollin 2006: 54). Jenkins (2006: 161) has written that when ELF forms can finally be codified, then mother tongue speakers in ELF interactions will have to follow the agenda set by ELF speakers than vice versa. She has added that in international communication, the participants need to be familiar with, and have in their linguistic repertoire, forms that are widely used and understood across groups of English speakers from different L1 backgrounds. (ibid.)

As things stand at present, with no ELF forms, in particular pragmatic rules, codified, both NSs and non-native speakers bring along their own cultural and pragmatic rules, often operating unconsciously. The situation gets especially complicated when two non-native use English as a *lingua franca* (e.g. an Estonian and a French person). Even though people forgive each other more in *lingua franca* communication, miscommunication can still easily occur. People who are used to using more politeness strategies than for example

³ One should note, though, that there are large parts of the world which still do not belong to the Expanding Circle, for example Ibero-American countries.

Estonians have pointed out that Estonians might come across as cold and/or rude while using English.

TEACHING LANGUAGE AND ICC

Politeness, being a big part of intercultural communication, is surely one of the competences people should have. According to Lakoff (1973: 297), “politeness is usually given priority in conversation, since it is more important to avoid offence than to achieve clarity”. Ogiermann (2009: 11) agrees that “it is in everyone’s interest to maintain each other’s face, which can be threatened and damaged through interaction with others”. Yet, she (2009: 24) argues that most non-native speakers will “never achieve the cultural competence allowing them to use the language as creatively or manipulatively as native speakers do”. However, knowledge of the broad features characterising the interlocutors’ culture can be very valuable. (ibid.)

Foreign Language Teaching

Jenkins (2006: 173) points out that teachers and learners have widely agreed to learn about Englishes, their similarities and differences, issues involved in intelligibility and the strong link between language and identity, rather than just about a variety of English. It seems to be the case that people are, thus, becoming more and more citizens of the world than tourists visiting different countries. This is something Byram (1997: 3) has also touched upon. He uses the term ‘sojourners’ to refer to foreigners who actually live in foreign countries, instead of just passing through. He goes to claim that a sojourner should have ICC qualities but these cannot be taught only in Foreign Language Teaching (FLT) but also in other subjects like geography or history. Then again, FLT already has the experience of otherness at the centre of its concern by asking learners to engage with both

familiar and unfamiliar through the medium of another language. (Byram 1997: 3) Ogiermann (2009: 29) adds that confrontation with other cultures makes people aware not only of the specificity of foreign cultures but also of their own cultural identity.

FLT needs, according to Byram, to be based on the understanding that communication is an interaction among people of complex cultural and social identities but also “to go beyond linguistic realisations of politeness to take account of the ways of living out of which others speak or write”. This is the only way to prepare learners to communicate and interact with foreigners. (Byram 1997: 4) He adds that the advantage of an FLT approach allows learners to become social actors engaging with other social actors in a particular kind of communication and interaction and not to see their role as imitators of native speakers. In international interaction between NNS and NS the former might even have an advantage by being aware of both the foreign culture and of their own. (Byram 1997: 21) Thus, FLT always happens in a particular context and the necessary nature of ICC is also partly dependent on context (Byram 1997: 22). Byram (ibid.) explains that intercultural communication might occur between people of different countries and languages where one is a NS, or where the language is used as *lingua franca*, or between people of the same country but speaking different languages. He adds that in addition to the knowledge about their own country and language community, the foreign language learner needs some extra socio-cultural competence (Byram 1997: 41).

One of these competences might be non-verbal communication. Argyle has pointed out that there is variation in non-verbal communication between cultures and that “when people from two different cultures meet, there is infinite scope for misunderstanding and confusion” (Argyle 1983: 189). Byram adds that many aspects of non-verbal communication that can be learned within a given cultural environment are unconscious. The language learners may not be able to control them. This is why it is essential that the

learners be able to see similarities and differences and to establish a relationship between their own and other systems rather than be imitators of NS. (Byram 1997: 14)

ICC at schools

According to Sercu (2002: 62), FLT includes at least two languages and cultures – that of the learner and that of the foreign interlocutor. Thus, it seems logical to try and raise awareness that people speaking other languages may also organise and perceive the world differently. As early as 1997, Byram wrote that schools and other educational institutes are increasingly expected to prepare learners for modern inter-lingual and intercultural experiences. (Byram 1997: 2) This is because a teacher can influence and structure the learning opportunities involved, even when she/he is not there. For example, teachers can develop learner autonomy within “a structured and framed experience of otherness outside the classroom” (Byram 1997: 64). And a learner who has acquired this autonomy in learning is able to use and improve their intercultural competence through performance (Byram 1997: 65). Byram suggests three broad and overlapping categories of location for acquiring intercultural competence. These are the classroom, the pedagogically structured experience outside the classroom and the independent experience. (ibid.)

Byram (1997: 65) argues that even though the traditional emphasis in cultural learning in the classroom has been on the acquisition of knowledge about other countries and cultures, then this is actually something that learners already gain through media on a daily basis, communicating with people from other countries by visiting, working or learning together. The classroom should rather be a place where learners can gain knowledge of the processes of intercultural communication (Byram 1997: 66), for example, ‘they’ versus ‘us’ – the differences and similarities, and how to act in different situations. He adds that classroom also has other limitations, such as the limited opportunity to develop the skills of

interactions in real time. This, however, occurs in English as Second Language (ESL) classrooms, where there are interlocutors from other cultures living in the same area. For EFL classes, it is up to a teacher to provide opportunities to meet people from different countries, for example, by proposing field trips. (Byram 1997: 68)

How can ICC be measured? Instead of gaining a native speaker competence, Byram (1997: 79-107) has suggested a threshold of being a competent intercultural speaker in a given situation. Depending on which components are emphasised and which objectives are prioritised or excluded from each component, a threshold for ICC is likely to vary from context to context (Byram 1997: 78). The idea behind this is that FLT should concentrate on equipping learners with the means of accessing and analysing various cultural practices and meanings they encounter, rather than to provide representations of other cultures (Byram 1997: 18-19). However, Byram adds that in case of *lingua franca* learners, they cannot acquire knowledge of all the national identities and cultures that they may come into contact with. In this case, learning about the target language country must be combined with developing in learners the methods to cope with other situations. (Byram 1997: 20) One should add, however, that if the learner has one concrete non-English-speaking country in mind (with the possible intention of becoming a sojourner yet at least at the beginning with English serving as a *lingua franca*), knowledge of that country's cultural and pragmatic rules would be highly recommendable, and, to an extent, also achievable.

Spencer-Oatey and Franklin (2009:185-194) have referred to effective training tools in preparing sojourns for intercultural communication. These would be The Cross-Cultural Adaptability Inventory developed by Colleen Kelley and Judith E. Meyeres (1993), The International Profiler (TIP) and Global View 360 by Worldwork (n.d.), as well as Intercultural Sensitivity Inventory (ICIS) by Bhawuk and Brislin (1992), Portfolio

Assessment by different authors (e.g. MacIsaac and Jackson in 1994, Jacobson, Sleicher and Burke in 1999, Ingulsrud et al. in 2002 and Byram in 1997) and INCA Assessment by Precht and Lund in 2007.

In addition to talking about other countries and cultures, Sercu points out that teachers need to make clear that other cultures, like their own, are anything but homogeneous and generalisations might be dangerous (Sercu 2002: 68). Moreover, the knowledge that is forwarded to learners should also be of interest to a particular learner group and whether these learners can relate to and understand the information presented to them (Sercu 2002: 67). Presenting 10-year-olds, for example, with a thorough overview of a country's educational system might not make for much cultural learning since these learners might not be ready for this topic, let alone, compare educational systems in a nuanced way. Sercu also argues that the relevant cultural information is “what one should be aware of when interacting with someone originating from the foreign culture, so as not to cause feelings of irritation in one's interlocutor or be irritated by one's interlocutor's behaviour” (ibid.) She (ibid.) adds that it is also important to carefully select cultural contents so that they would not confirm the already existing stereotypes that students may have.

The best way to give an adequate view of learners' own and of other cultures, according to Sercu, is to complement the outsider approach with an insider approach to the presentation of foreign cultures. This approach looks at the different understandings which members of that culture may have and does not only present one perspective on a particular aspect of the foreign culture. This may concern, for example, political or ethical issues, or the different attitudes people may hold towards certain values, institutions, behaviours or symbols. By offering learners multiple perspectives, the approach will promote a dynamic view of cultures and help the learners understand that “all cultures are continuously influenced by other cultures and cannot be considered in a territorialised way,

as being bound to a particular geographical part of the world or as locked within the boundaries of a particular nation state.” (Sercu 2002: 69) All in all, the culture practise activities should be chosen in such a way that they would be meaningfully related to learners’ knowledge about the particular culture in focus, their general understanding of cultures and their autonomous culture-learning skills and the overall level of ICC. (Sercu 2002: 70)

POLITENESS

Brown and Levison have shown with the help of some research studies (Carrell and Konneker 1981; Fraser and Nolan 1981; Scarcella 1980; Scarcella and Brunak 1981; Walters 1980, 1981), which have tackled the questions of the transfer of politeness strategies from one language to the other, that politeness rankings of differently formulated requests correlate highly for NS and NNS. Yet, there is also some evidence that NNS perceive more politeness distinctions than NS. The reason for this might be that NNS are more sensitive to distinctions of grammar in various request forms. (Brown et al 1987/87: 35) Brown and Levinson have concluded that “even minor differences in interpretive strategies carried over from a first to a second language can lead to misunderstandings and cross-group stereotyping of interactional style”. This is because the speakers of different languages use and interpret politeness strategies and assess the factors of power (P), distance (D), and rate of imposition (R) differently. (Brown et al 1978/87: 36)

Vogelberg states that Brown and Levinson’s basic approach to politeness, though it needs to be modified, is still the best one available “to account for linguistic politeness phenomena as contingent on factors related to the social context of interaction”. Yet, it needs to be kept in mind that their theory applies only for stable in-group situations and does not apply in the context of intra- or intercultural communication. She adds also that negative politeness can be seen as losing its status of being “more polite” than positive politeness. (Vogelberg 2002: 351-352) Ogiermann (2009: 20) agrees that Brown and Levinson’s distinction between positive and negative face is one of the parameters along which cultures can be measured. She adds that positive vs. negative face needs have been assigned different amount of importance in different cultures. While Goffman’s face is “on loan to him from society” (1972: 322), then Ogiermann (2009: 13) explains that “Brown

and Levinson's face is something that individuals claim for themselves". She also adds that Brown and Levinson's notion of face cannot be applied to collectivist cultures because the members of collectivist cultures "define themselves in relation to the social group they belong to [and] the greatest face loss consists in one's inability to live up to the group's expectations." (ibid.)

Another thing that can be seen in Brown and Levinson, is the analysis of "As is Well Known", where a negative politeness strategy is employed to "disclaim the assumption that the point of speaker's (S) assertion is to inform the hearer (H)", admitting that simply informing the H can constitute a face threat, even though this is not listed as one of the face-threatening acts (FTA) (cf. Brown and Levinson 1987: 68). (Brown and Levinson 1978/87: 165) Brown and Levinson's theory has also been criticised, according to Clyne, for its claims of universality. He refers to Ide (1989), who considers that the model does not apply to languages with honorific systems in which "social conventions (such as the person's place in society) constrain interactional choice, as in the Japanese concept of *wakamae* ('discernment')". The model also does not take into account that choice of politeness strategies is closely linked to interlocutors' cultural background, meaning that communicative principles are different across cultures and cannot be described with a single model. (Clyne et al 2009: 24)

According to Vogelberg, it can be suggested that if FTA-sensitivity really equalled R-sensitivity, then instead of Brown and Levinson's formula, where $P+D+R = \text{weight (W)}$, there would be a more logical one $[(P+D) \times R = 0]$, in the case of which $R = 0$ would require that $W = 0$ (Vogelberg 2002: 343). She explains that Brown and Levinson's formula actually accounts for situations where politeness is used even though a concrete impositive act is absent. For example, in Japanese a person can say a non-FTA utterance (such as 'Today is Saturday') while having to choose between three forms of different

levels of politeness. (Vogelberg 2002: 343-344) Therefore, Vogelberg explains that “Brown and Levinson’s formula differentiates face threat in general, as represented by W, from a concrete impositive speech act such as a request as represented by R”. Thus, when addressing a higher-ranking person, the very act of speaking constitutes a face threat, which needs to be softened, whether using ‘normative’ or ‘volitional’ politeness strategies. (Vogelberg 2002: 344) Meanwhile, various studies (including Ide 1989 on Japanese and American requests, and work on Estonian, Russian and Anglo-American requests, see e.g. Aas 1999, Konovalov 2001) confirm that both ‘normative’ and ‘volitional’ politeness are dropped among speakers who take the small values of P and D for granted and do not feel that they need to prop up in-group feelings. (Vogelberg 2002: 345)

According to Jandt (2004: 136-137) normative politeness is related to social norms. It is obligatory in communicative situations and is said to be unmarked (for example, *tu/vous* in – most cultures – and honorifics). It is also often referred to as discernment. (Jandt 2004: 136-137) According to Ogiermann (2009: 33), it is in the case of normative politeness, when the impact of social distance and power on language use (the choice between V and T forms) is the most evident. Volitional politeness, according to Barešova, is conscious, voluntary and marked. In this case, an example would be the various speech strategies in English. (Barešova 2008: 34) She adds that volitional politeness is usually used in connection with FTA situations. And the choice of politeness strategies for a certain FTA situation depends of the traditional values of the person’s culture and language. (Barešova 2008: 61) Vogelberg writes that:

Speakers do not make a link between a normative means of politeness in one language and its volitional equivalent in another [because] though performing the same functions, [they] have a different psycholinguistic status in that the former, by being grammaticalized and thus devalued, lies predominantly in the background consciousness of the speakers and the latter mainly in their foreground consciousness.

(Vogelberg 2002b: 1068)

Konovalov (2002) has written that for example the Russians use *vous* when approaching a stranger but they do not think about the fact that while speaking in English, this needs to

be replaced by other politeness strategies, for example using conditional questions such as ‘Could you...’ etc. Means of normative politeness such as V-forms are not transferred in interlanguage, though they are functionally equivalent and cross-linguistically mutually compensatory (Vogelberg 2002b: 1069).

According to Eelen (2001: 96), Brown and Levinson have never addressed the issue of interpreting utterances that are intended to be polite but do not necessarily have to be perceived as such by the hearer, who still needs to interpret them properly. All this is the reason to teach about how to use different politeness strategies in different languages.

Clyne et al point out that politeness is seen as something that is discursively constructed by interlocutors. Clyne uses the terminology proposed by Watts (2003: 259), which makes a difference between ‘politic behaviour’ (essentially Brown and Levinson’s ‘polite behaviour’) and ‘polite behaviour’. Politic behaviour, both linguistic and non-linguistic, is a kind of behaviour that interlocutors perceive as appropriate in the particular context, while polite behaviour consists of actions that go beyond appropriateness (‘the politic’) and is something that interlocutors find more than just contextually suitable. (Clyne et al 2009: 25)

Brown & Gilman (1989) studied politeness in Shakespeare’s four major tragedies and found “that predictions based on the distance variable were not confirmed in the plays“. Instead, they discovered that increase of affection was associated with increase of politeness and decrease of affection with decrease of politeness. They propose an additional parameter, called ‘relationship affect’. Svennevig (1999: 31) agrees by stating that if people have had frequent contact and ‘given face’ to each other during a certain period of time, then this might be interpreted as liking or a feeling of obligation, which, in their opinion (ibid.: 30), might be an independent variable affecting the choice of politeness strategies.

Holtgraves (2001: 341-2) divides approaches to politeness into three categories. The first is ‘social normative view of politeness’, where being polite is considered as behaving according to a set of rules that is appropriate to the context. The second is a ‘pragmatic view of politeness’, where politeness is one factor making up the pragmatic competence. The third one is a ‘face management view of politenesses’, where the most important thing is the attention to ‘face’. (Holtgraves 2001: 341-2)

Common Ground and Forms of Address

Clyne et al (2009: 25) state that “individuals enter into any interaction with a set of at least partly shared assumptions about what is appropriate behaviour in the situation at hand, based on their knowledge about the world, their partly shared histories and cultural experiences.” They have added that common ground can be established either at a personal or communal level. The former refers to individuals’ direct personal experience of each other and the latter to the shared membership of a particular cultural community. There is, for instance, a common understanding, at the communal level, about the default address patterns in a particular cultural community. The basis for decisions on which address forms to use, at the personal level, is the joint and direct experience of one another in a particular set of circumstances. In order to establish the common ground between individuals, these levels can come together. (Clyne et al 2009: 26) Of all forms or strategies of politeness, Clyne et al (2009: 32) focus on forms of address. In particular, they explain that forms of address, while used to signal affiliations and disaffiliation with others at individual and group level, are connected to the notion of common ground.

Clyne et al (2009: 27) suggest three steps in encounters with strangers in order to establish common ground. Firstly, “there is a process of fairly instant membership categorisation”. Secondly, interlocutors will make a decision on whether there is similarity

or difference. In the case of enough perceived sameness, at least one speaker might want to express alignment or convergence with the other one. This can be done linguistically (including the usage of the same address pronoun) or by switching to first names. And as a consequence of the outcome of the first two steps, during the third step, interlocutors can establish whether there is common ground or not. (ibid.)

According to Clyne et al (2009: 35), interlocutors are guided in their choice of address forms by many different factors. Firstly, they propose the concept of social distance (ibid.). This is a multidimensional concept which involves degrees of affect, solidarity and familiarity (Svennevig 1999: 34–5). Clyne et al (2009: 35) add that affect ranges from emotional closeness to hatred, solidarity from similarities to dissimilarities, and familiarity from well established relationships to complete strangers with no personal knowledge of the other. Clyne et al (2009: 36) explain that the latter is based on mutual knowledge of background information about the other; therefore, most commonly associated with ‘common ground’.

According to Svennevig (1999: 34) common ground is known as mutual knowledge of some piece of ‘encyclopaedic’ information (the wider sociocultural context ibid.: 217-18), which creates a relation of common expertise, whereas familiarity is established by mutual knowledge of ‘personal’ information (E.g. personal experiences, future plans, personal characteristics, ibid.: 218). He adds (ibid.: 35) that common group membership, even without familiarity or affect, is enough to cause solidarity. All in all, he writes (ibid.: 55) about two aspects that form the basis of common ground: firstly, the cultural communities the participants belong to and secondly, the direct personal experiences with each other. Clyne et al (2009: 35) add that the concept ‘common ground’, which is also understood as ‘low social distance’, touches all three social distance parameters. According to Brown and Levinson’s politeness framework (1987 in Clyne et al 2009: 28) a high degree of social

distance usually leads to using negative politeness strategies (for example using V and hon + LN) and a low degree of distance typically leads to positive politeness strategies (use of T and first names).

Brown and Gilman's 'The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity' is considered, by Clyne et al (2009: 15), as a groundbreaking study on address pronoun usage from a sociolinguistic point of view. They explain that it provides subsequent research with two essential dichotomies – that of 'polite' "*vous*" pronouns versus 'familiar' "*tu*" pronouns. This dichotomy is linked to the dichotomies of 'power' versus 'solidarity'. (Clyne et al 2009: 15) Svennevig (1999: 34) explains that when the distribution of rights and obligations is symmetrical, it is the case of relation of solidarity but otherwise there is a power relation between the interactants.

Clyne et al (2009: 37) add that there are two main ways of modes of address: pronominal and nominal, by using first names, honorifics and/or titles and last names or other vocatives. But every language uses different terms. Even in societies in which language, for example French, has long been monitored and regulated, address modes reflect the changing social values and patters of interaction (Clyne et al 2009: 4). Brown and Gilman (1960: 254) have predicted that the "*tu*" pronoun would eventually dominate over the "*vous*" pronoun. For example, there is a recent shift to a 'universal' "*tu*" in Swedish and tendencies of it are even seen in French (Clyne et al 2009: 4).

According to Dewaele (2004: 384), forms of address are definitely linked to politeness which is the negotiation of face and the presentation of self in communication. According to Clyne et al (2009: 3) second person singular pronoun can be referred to as T (i.e. *tu*) form, which is named after *tu* in Latin and second person plural pronoun can be referred to as V (i.e. *vous*) form, which is named after *vos* in Latin. The French terms *tu* and *vous* respectively, will be used hereafter to describe the fieldwork carried out by the author of

the thesis. Vogelberg explains that in T/V languages the choice of strategies seems to depend on the value of P and D exclusively. For example, one does not switch from T to V with a friend when presenting a large request but just needs to make up for this “rigidity” of honorifics by using other politeness strategies. (Vogelberg 2002: 346) According to Brown & Gilman (1972: 258) the use of “tu” is not determined by all personal attributes. For example, when similar shoe size or eye colour do not seem to matter, then political membership, family, profession, religion, sex and birthplace play a bigger role. The frequency of contact and the objective similarities may determine the choice of *tu*, however, frequent contact does not necessarily lead to the mutual *tu*. (ibid.) And finally, Brown and Levinson add that NS and NNS can be observed while thinking about on/off record distinctions. Namely, on-record corrections by NS to NNS’ utterances are more likely if the interlocutors are friends. (Brown and Levinson 1978/87: 35-36)

Clyne et al (2009: 1) have written that in order to mark social relations, the use of second-person pronouns, first names, last names and titles is crucial. Joseph (1989: 852–7) explains that address usage defines the relationship and attitudes of interlocutors by also being more open to cultural variation than other aspects of language. Forms of address reflect cultural values and act as an indicator of any social or political change. (ibid.) For example, according to Ongiermann (2009: 14), the use of honorifics in Japanese or Chinese is directed by social norms rather than individual choices because (Bargiela-Chiappini 2003: 1466) politeness is mainly associated with one’s duty towards the group. And in most Western languages, forms of address carry social information reflecting the (perceived) status of the hearer; hence, fulfil a similar function as honorifics (Ongiermann 2009: 14).

As can be seen, one of the most difficult aspects of verbal interaction in a foreign language is the use of address forms. Address forms are said to be easily observable in

everyday conversations and they depend upon social variables such as age, gender difference, formality of settings and social distance or familiarity between speakers. But can they also be easily chosen? Forms of address are also linked to politeness. Yet, the rules of politeness can vary across cultures; therefore, the rules of how and when to use which pronoun of address must also differ.

THE USAGE OF *tu/vous* AMONG PEOPLE FROM DIFFERENT CULTURAL BACKGROUNDS

In order to exemplify the difficulty of choosing the right tools while communicating with people from different nationalities, the present author seized the opportunity to carry out fieldwork on the actual usage of address pronouns (*tu/vous*) in French. The first time was during Erasmus exchange program in 2010 between September 2010 and January 2011. The second time was between August 2012 and November 2012. Although, the fieldwork is on the address pronouns in French, it characterises well the issues that one might come across while living, studying or working in any new cultural and language environment.

Method

The principles of ethnographical research were used to carry out a fieldwork necessary for this paper. According to Fingerroos (2003) the word ‘ethnography’ means the ‘description of people’ (cited in Laherand 2008: 104). In order to collect the data, participation observation was chosen. This means that the observer participates in the activity that is under the observation. The approach is naturalism, which means that the natural behaviour of the people is attempted to be captured. Naturalism is possible through direct contact and not in an artificial setting.

Ethnographic fieldwork, participant observation and naturalism have been found to often yield results different from those of questionnaires. Comparisons have shown that people are often not aware of how they actually speak – for instance, questionnaires about speech acts yield answers that are considerably more polite/indirect than the respondents use in real life (cf. Eelen 2001: 54).

The place of the occurrence, an approximate age of participants and the total number of people in the situation were written down. The male/female ratio and nationalities can be seen in the brackets, even though they do not reflect the total number of people because some people participated in several situations; thus they were counted only the first time. An overview of the situation and explanation of how people greeted each other verbally and whether they used handshakes or cheek kisses are also added. And most importantly, whether people used *tu* or *vous* for approaching other people was recorded too. The amount of *tu* and *vous* when said for the first time during one event is counted and written below the corresponding situation.

The different situations are numbered; altogether, there are 32. In addition to that, there are three situations which were found interesting but which could not be added to the regular ones for different reasons: either the observer was not present in those situations or no new people entered the situation, so *tu/vous* could not have been counted. Both of the timeframes include 16 situations.

Results

In total, there were 26 different nationalities under observation. These would include: French (**92**), Algerian (3), American (3), Austrian (1), Brazilian (2), Bulgarian (1), Canadian (1), Chinese (3), Czech (4), English (1), Estonian (9), German (2), Indian (3), Iranian (1), Italian (3), Japanese (2), Korean (1), Moroccan (3), Mexican (2), Polish (1), Romanian (3), Russian (1), Sierra Leonean (1), Spanish (4), Tunisian (5) and Turkish (2). Therefore, the total number of people in different situations would be 154, of which there are 87 women and 67 men. The usage of *tu* and *vous* as uttered the first time in one situation was also counted. Different situations have been divided into five categories: 1) in-group situations, 2) getting accustomed to the local manners, i.e. When in Rome Do as

the Romans Do, 3) common ground situations, 4) a random encounter/no point in changing the default behaviour, 5) formal environment – *vous* expected. Some situations can occur in different categories and include exceptional cases.

Discussion

In the following, the author will be referring to the numbers of situations and the reader is asked to refer to the appendix number 1 for more thorough information. In studies of Estonian (Koksharova and Vogelberg, 2009) it has been revealed that an immediate if somewhat unexpected usage of *tu* is characteristic for what at least one of the participants considers an in-group situation. (The results for Estonian vary, though – what is regarded as an in-group situation by some participants is not so viewed by others, with resulting embarrassment and/or offence).

When looking at my own fieldwork results, there are many cases that refer to this usage. These cases are characterised by an already existing group that the participant is entering thanks to a common friend or an acquaintance (for example, 1, 16, 17, 24). These people might not necessarily meet again. Yet, there are also cases when the participant is entering a group without previously knowing anyone but when it is clear that they will stay in contact; hence, the usage of *tu* instead of *vous* is preferred (for example, 2, 7, 30, 32). There are cases where the “in-group” is comprised of people of the same age, background, and/or interests; thus, *tu* seems appropriate (for example, 4, 11, 14).

Closely related to the in-group situations are also second and third type of situations that have been called “When in Rome Do as the Romans Do” and “Common Ground” type of situations. The “Common Ground” type of situations include cases where the participants have something in common and for that reason they need to communicate (for example, case number 5, 8, 10, 11, 13, 17-21, 26 and 32). Therefore, for more efficient

communication, they use *tu*. “When in Rome Do as the Romans Do” refers to the situations where non-native speakers of French have come together and adopted the French way of greeting and addressing one another. For clearer communication they have become or are trying to become accustomed to the local manners. These situations would be for example cases number 2, 3, 12, 13, 15 (“vous”) and 25. The next type of encounters are characterised by their duration. More precisely, they are rather short term. This means that there is no point of changing the forms of address if people know they might not see each other again. These situations would be for example cases number 6, 9, 10, 14 and 15. The last type of situations includes mainly formal ones where *vous* is obligatory (for example, 6, 23, 28, 29 and 31). In these situations, the right choice in address pronoun (viz. “vous”) might determine the outcome of the conversation. These situations often include dealing with different institutions and officials, such as banks and grocery stores, but also job interviews, where the power lies with the interviewer.

Unfortunately, most of the situations are not straightforward. For example, when looking at a situation number 6, then this includes random encounters of strangers who may or may not become more acquainted. These situations are also rather formal because the person looking for a place to live needs to leave a good first impression to get chosen. In this case, the power lies with the owner of the apartment and thus, changing the address pronoun is their decision. The first encounter (with a Moroccan man) is rather clear. *Vous* was used in the beginning but since it made him uncomfortable, he asked to change over to *tu*. The person looking for the apartment, not wanting to make the other person uncomfortable, had to accept the proposition. The second encounter (with a French woman) shows how the person holding the power of choice chooses to use “tu”, to create equality on the interactional level. The third encounter is a bit similar. The person holding the power, the owner of the apartment, changed over to using *tu* and did not even ask or

mention it and did not seem to be bothered by the other person acting in the same manner. The last encounter in this example was also a case where the power holder to switch over to a less formal form of address. In this case, the other party might have refused but at the same time, this probably would have made the owner uncomfortable.

When looking at a situation number 8, then there is also a proposition to switch over to using *tu* ('*on peut dire tu...*'). This is a case of common ground: the person was staying a week at someone's home and after being introduced and receiving a proposition to switch over to a less formal pronoun of address, the person was expected to accept the offer. Whereas, the next case (9) is interesting because an older man was introduced to the observer and he used *tu* while approaching that person but the observer remained using *vous*. This did not seem to bother that man; vice versa, he seemed to accept it because he did not make a suggestion to change it.

Situation number 14 represents well a random encounter where there is no point in changing the pronoun of address. The dance teacher's husband already knew some of the people and treated them as friends whereas newcomers were treated neutrally, meaning he continued using *vous*. This might have been because he was not sure whether he would see these people again or he was not sufficiently interested in interacting with them. Example number 15 is somewhat similar. In this case the parents of a friend were simply doing a favour to their son by helping his friends and their friends. His parents had never seen these people before and since they were renting their holiday house to them, they were treated as customers; hence, the usage of *vous*. They were not expecting to develop any further relationship. Next, there is a rather unusual situation (number 17). Most of the people in this situation knew each other very well (there is a father and a son and the father's flatmate) and one person also knew the woman entering the situation – they had been friends for several years. The two younger people used *vous* with the woman and she

responded with *vous* but the older man used *tu* with the woman and she still responded with *vous*. During the breakfast it became clear that the woman really admired the older man and probably used *vous* out of respect. This might also be a case of polite and not politic behaviour and even the case of liking as a separate parameter, where the increase of affection increases the amount of politeness used, or changes positive politeness strategies back to negative politeness ones.

Situations 19-21 are very similar. Each time the observer was approached by people who needed something from that person. Since they needed money, which is a rather sensitive topic, then they needed to be closer to the observer. Asking money when the distance is big is not as easy as when the distance is smaller. In order to have a smaller distance, they needed to use *tu* instead of *vous* and become more acquainted. Thus, in every situation, they asked the observer whether that person would mind using *tu* instead of *vous*. Even though, the observer agreed to this change, the conversation would have continued by using *vous* if the person had not agreed. Then again, this would have created an uncomfortable situation for the people who proposed *tu* at first place. On the other hand, situations number 22 and 23 are good examples of how a pronoun of address cannot be changed. Dealing with officials is a difficult process on its own, let alone getting something done. Opening a bank account depends largely on the official who to speak to. Being on one's best behaviour and knowing all the politeness strategies, including using the right pronoun of address (*vous*), helps to speed things along.

Another place where *vous* should be used at all times is a job interview. During the course of the interview, the interviewee was asked to bring several hypothetical examples. Instead of doing this indirectly, the interviewee chose to use *tu* (in the meaning of "one") from time to time. For example, 'Let's say if you (*tu*) had a choice of...then you'd (*tu*) surely choose the latter...' At the end of the interview the interviewee was recommended to

not use *tu* as much. Moving on to situations number 29 and 30, these show how the correct use of *vous* gets a person hired and how being hired means getting access to the in-group; thus, the sudden switch to *tu*. The first situation shows how a person successfully passes four consecutive interviews while using *vous* and the second situation shows that after signing a contract, the interviewee is immediately granted the access of using *tu* even with her superiors.

Example number 27 is very exceptional. In this situation two people, who belong to the same in-group but have not yet met and have common ground by being at their friends' concert, get acquainted. This would suggest the usage of *tu*. The observer was first approached by *tu* by an older woman. Then, the woman suddenly corrected herself and continued using *vous*. Since the flow of the conversation was really fast, it did not occur to the observer to say that it is alright to use *tu* or propose it; thus, they continued using *vous*. This case is particular because the observer seemed to have the power of decision over the pronoun of address and not the older woman.

All in all, in the two cases of fieldwork carried out by the author *tu* was used 1675 times and *vous* 81 times. However, an important *caveat* is in order here as regards representativeness: like all samples, the one accessible for this study was not as "unbiased" as a census study. The author recorded all situations where she participated during the two periods in question but due to her age the great majority of people she came into contact with were relatively young. A clear tendency emerges from an examination of the data that older people are more likely to use *vous*. This confirms the general tendency (noted by Clyne et al (2009) and several other authors) towards general *tu* gaining more and more ground in Europe as societies become more egalitarian (at least on the interactional level – real wealth differences are not relevant here). Thus, in the cases of "When in Rome, do as the Romans Do" representatives from more hierarchical countries had to converge towards

the (mostly young) French by switching to *tu* where in their own countries *vous* might have been more likely.

However, with older people *vous* is still very much alive. Also, the fact that in many cases the French interlocutor felt the need to ask whether a mutual *tu* would be acceptable or, in the case of a person with more power, to propose using mutual *tu* shows that *tu* is still not a general default option. At least in one case *vous* seems to have been used not only to show respect but also liking.

Vous also characterises official settings or showing respect toward another person, while *tu* is often used between friends and members of the family. *Vous* is chosen when addressing people who are older than the speaker or who have a higher social status. The transition from *vous* to *tu* seems to occur when the proposition is made by the person who has more right to be referred to as *vous*. Non-native speakers of French make mistakes because of several reasons. For example, they do not have the *tu/vous* distinction in their own mother tongue; or they do not have a sufficient level of French; or there are different rules in their mother tongue of how to use address pronouns.

Fieldwork generally yields results that are more varied than those obtained by role-plays or questionnaires. Thus, very often the transition from *vous* to *tu* just has to be felt and cannot be determined by a rule. However, as noted above, general patterns could be detected. More fieldwork would be necessary with a greater number of older people involved is needed to make bolder generalisations. The general impression at the moment is that *vous* is less common in France than in Russia, while the situation resembles that of Estonia.

However, since *vous* does exist in all of the three cultures, its lack in English still needs to be compensated for.

DEALING WITH THE ‘RIGIDITY’ OF ADDRESS PRONOUNS IN ENGLISH

According to Hickey et al, it is first and foremost important to understand that British English (BE) is just one of the Englishes in the world. Great Britain (GB) in itself comprises different English speaking countries and is considered multicultural. Thus, it is unsurprising that linguistic politeness, among many other things, varies considerably. (Hickey et al 2005: 116) According to Clyne et al, English is also a language that challenges the Brown and Gilman’s model, which is known to limit the pronouns of address. Contrarily to their hypothesis, the V form ‘you’ has become almost universal as the pronoun of address in English, instead of the T form ‘thou’. (Clyne et al 2009: 16) In addition to that, they add, addressing in English remains problematic in intercultural communication because, although English address modes may deal easily and efficiently with problematic or difficult matters, they still do not give the non-native speakers of English (NNS) the possibility to express human relationships based on their cultural values. (Clyne et al 2009: 163)

Hickey et al (2005: 124) have written that politeness in different cultures varies also by having more positive or negative tendencies. Brown and Levinson (1987: 118-119) add another variable – the relationship of participant roles in the speech act and also spatio-temporal and social location, explaining that “the normal unmarked deictic centre is the one where the speaker is the central person, the time of speaking (or ‘coding time’) is the central time and the place where the speaker is at coding time is the central place”. According to Hickey et al (2005: 124) this means that among the NS of English, there is a greater tendency to displace hedges into the past tense (e.g. “I was wondering whether ...). Therefore, they add, BE seems to be avoidance based, using negative politeness strategies more than positive politeness ones. This is reflected in linguistic strategies like personal

preference, hedging and deictic anchorage. Another typical characteristic is nonconventional indirectness, also known as off-record politeness (Brown and Levinson 1987: 211), which requires the hearer to draw appropriate inferences. (Hickey et al 2005: 118). The present paper cannot deal with the whole range of negative politeness strategies wide-spread in English, so only a few more conspicuous ones are picked out.

Hedging

Hickey et al (2005: 1) researched politeness in Europe, in 22 different countries. In GB where the authors compared NS and NNS, the NS data seemed to feature “reference predominantly in the context of hedging” and it also “displayed a greater incidence of first person singular hedging”. In addition to that, BE is more oriented to negative politeness and prefers off-record strategies in carrying out certain face threatening acts (FTA). (Hickey et al 2005: 123). According to Brown and Levinson (1987: 145), hedging is the main linguistic resource used for face-protection. Hedges are available for both positive and negative politeness, whereas in the latter case they are more common. In the case of positive politeness “intensifying modifiers fulfil the sub-strategy of exaggerating [interest, approval, sympathy with the H]” (p. 104). But in the case of negative politeness, they modify the expression of communicative intentions. (Brown and Levinson 1987: 145) According to the study of Hickey et al (2005: 120-121), before presenting any criticism or suggestions, both NS and NNS of BE mostly “engage in considerable face-work designed to enhance the positive face of the H” by commenting on all the positive features.

Sell (1991: 221) has proposed a term ‘selectional politeness’ where individual FTAs are carried out through selected linguistic expression. According to Hickey et al FTAs can be carried out through conventional indirectness or directly (with or without mitigation). Examples of indirectness would be:

- *Just one small point*: Smith's total score should be 72% and not 73%.
- *maybe sections* such as p. 6-7 *could* be commented on

In the first example, the criticism is towards a tutor who has failed to add up the marks correctly. This is softened by the introductory hedge and the elimination of the agent, which helps to defocus the tutor. In the second example, there is similar impersonalisation, the use of hedging ('maybe') and use of a modal verb ('could'). (Hickey et al 2005: 121)

Non-conventional or off-record FTAs, can be found in the following Hickey et al example:

- Lastly, I was a little surprised that you didn't provide any recorded comments about TMA2 on the cassette: this seems to be such a good opportunity to deal with language items – especially pronunciation ones – and to give the student a model. *I apologise* if this is something you normally do – it is a technique that other tutors use very effectively.

This is a case of a non-conventional criticism of a tutor's failure to give oral feedback. The monitor actively pre-empts reader response by taking 'the initiative'. (Hickey et al 2005: 122) The research done by Hickey et al also shows that NS of English appear to use more hedging and display greater incidence of *first person singular hedging* than the NNS. For example:

- *I felt* that they could perhaps have been given more information
- *I felt* your marking was *slightly* generous

(Hickey et al 2005: 123)

Nominal Means of Address

Moving on to address pronouns, according to Clyne et al (2009: 17), since English has a single address pronoun 'you' (U), studies on address have focused on other, nominal means of address. According to the fieldwork carried out by Clyne et al (2009:39) the use of U on its own can be considered as the default, neutral address form. This can be seen,

for example, in the following discussion between a male solicitor and two female students in London.

(1) I think that we go out of our way not to use nouns with people. You know, if I drop something in the street, I wouldn't use 'Sir' or 'Madam', I'd just go 'Excuse me! You've dropped something.'

(2) Which avoids referring to them directly.

(1) I think in this country we're all about avoiding referring directly to people.

(3) But is that a conscious avoidance?

(1) It's because we don't know. I think it's too difficult. Because you don't know strangers' first names so you can't do that. You don't want to make value or some kind of political judgement by going into the whole 'Mr', 'Mrs', 'Ms' thing. 'Mr' sounds terribly formal – it does to me, anyway. 'Sir' and 'Madam' sounds a bit archaic.

(Clyne et al 2009: 39)

According to Clyne et al (2009: 68) the single pronoun U does not mark the pronoun choice but that status can be signalled through other address terms. In their London data, the notion of class is touched upon on several occasions. An example of the use of the V-like forms is Sir and Madam:

I can remember my experience with 'Sir' and 'Madam' being quite class-based because I grew up in a very working-class environment but I speak fairly well, which was quite lucky because it meant when I was seventeen I could get a job on reception at a five-star hotel in Central London, which none of my classmates would have had a hope in hell of getting. But what it meant was that I ended up speaking to people who I considered to be of a much higher class than myself and I started calling them all 'Sir' and 'Madam', and they loved it. They thought it was great. You know, they thought I was the most polite thing, the shiniest little button. (London, FG, male housing support officer, 28)

(Clyne et al 2009: 68)

Clyne et al have also written that the popular belief is that languages with a pronominal distinction are usually free from complexity. They do not support this opinion, even though they agree that English 'makes up for' its lack of T/V distinction. (Clyne et al 2009: 17) Leech (1999: 112) has compared the use of first names and honorific + last name distinction in English with T/V distinctions in other European languages and Sifianou (1992 cited in Gardner-Chloros 2004: 7) argues that the variety of politeness formulas and the use of indirectness in English can make up for the lack pronominal distinction. Clyne et al argue (2009: 18) that nominal address forms in English have a range of terms, the use of

which varies according to factors like domain, relationship between the S and H, and S characteristics such as age and sex. Leech has divided nominals into categories on a scale from most intimate or familiar to most distant and respectful. He has named them as follows: (1) endearments – darling, sweetie, (2) family terms – mummy, (3) familiarisers – mate, (4) familiarised first names – Jackie, (5) first names in full – Jacqueline, (6) honorific + last name – Mrs Johns and (7) honorifics – Sir, Madam. (Leech 1999: 110–11) He also distinguishes three functions of nominals: to summon attention, to identify one's addressee and, to “establish or maintain a social relationship between the speaker and the addressee(s)”. (Leech 1999: 108)

Clyne et al have written that English gives an opportunity to observe the use of nominal forms in the same manner as the combination of pronominal (i.e. the T/V distinction – which, one might add, often entails verbal) and nominal in other languages. There are many possibilities to use address forms in English. Firstly, the speaker of English does not have to make a conscious decision of choosing between T and V, since Standard English has only one pronoun of address. Secondly, ‘you’ has a rather generic nature in English. This means that it is relatively easy “to avoid direct expression of closeness or distance towards one’s interlocutor”. Thirdly, personal and social orientation can be expressed through address. For example, formality can be expressed through honorifics such as ‘sir’ or ‘madam’ and informality or intimacy can be expressed through terms like ‘mate’ or first names and nicknames. Fourthly, plural forms such as ‘youse’ in BE and Irish English are a means to introduce a number distinction that is absent in Standard English. (Clyne et al 2009: 4) And finally, Wales (2003: 175-8) adds that ‘thou’ pronoun is common to some BE dialects. The moderator in the London focus group, in Clyne et al, adds that ‘you’ can be both formal and informal. The level of social distance can be expressed with the help of the tone of voice, sentence structure and manner of speaking. For example:

(1) You wouldn't say 'Are you alright?' to somebody you wanted to show a certain amount of respect to. Let's say your grandmother, you wouldn't go 'Are you alright?' you'd say 'How are you?' So there's a different manner, a different tone of using 'you'. There's also a different way of using 'you' as well, a different way of using it in a sentence. [...]

(2) But the other thing, I think we all have the ability to change our role in voice, tone and in manner. And I think we do it sometimes very skilfully. But whoever we're with, we seem to tune in very quickly to the level that we should be at to be comfortable with them and to make them feel comfortable.

(London, FG, (1) male voluntary sector worker, 26; (2) male retired secondary school teacher, 77)

(Clyne et al 2009: 39)

Clyne et al conclude that in fact the choice of address in English and in languages with T/V distinction is quite similar. In English there is the choice between forms like Mrs Jones or Irene and in languages with T/V distinction between V and T. (Clyne et al 2009: 59) Hickey et al have written that "address forms are often taken as an indicator of the social stratification of a given society" and English with its universal usage of T (i.e. "you" whose etymology has been forgotten and, though neutral, tends to be closer to T) could be said to reflect a more egalitarian society. The use of honorifics in BE is quite outdated, especially in comparison to other varieties such as Hong Kong English, where Ms has replaced both Miss and Mrs, or to countries that erase address forms altogether. (Hickey et al 2005: 117)

According to Clyne et al, there is a range of nominal forms in English in order to manifest address variation. There are 'T' like terms such as first name, 'mate' and 'dear' and 'V' like terms such as Sir/Madam, title + last name (LN) and hon + LN which was the default until recently. (Clyne et al 2009: 42) Leech (1999: 112) specifies that the use of first names (FN) is becoming more widespread now and hon + LN is used to mark a more distant and respectful relationship, such as between acquaintances. According to Bargiela et al (2002: 4) this, however, seems to be a recent phenomenon of BE speakers and is problematic to people over 50. They add that the use of hon + LN is still a norm in situations like job interviews, doctors' surgeries and work situations where a degree of formality is required (Bargiela et al 2002: 5).

Clyne et al (2009: 19) have written that when it comes to traditional honorifics, there have been many discussions on referring to single or married women by a single, neutral term ‘Ms’. Despite that, Romaine (2001: 158) writes that the findings from the British National Corpus show that the “usage of ‘Ms’ is still marginal as an address title in the UK. It accounts for only five per cent of the occurrences of the titled forms used for women.” In this sense BE is behind American English, where Ms is more widespread. (Romaine 2001: 159)

Academic Environment

All in all, it could be said that there are differences in different areas, for example, school/university, workplace and in transactional mode. According to Clyne et al FN can constitute a lowering of social distance; thus teachers used to use LN when approaching their students. (Clyne et al 2009: 93-94) This, though, was not reciprocal use of forms of address. Usually teachers would use FN or LN with the students and received Mr/Mrs + LN from them. Generally, students were not even aware about the teachers’ FN. Using FN to approach a teacher referred to a special relationship, for example, between the teacher and the 12th grade students. Sometimes FNs were used in other classes too because the teachers wanted to appear cool but this usually had dubious consequences. (ibid.) Clyne et al have added that in universities things were different. Academic staff was traditionally addressed by title (Prof or Dr) or hon + LN when they did not have a title. The staff usually responded with hon (Mr or Miss) + LN. Nowadays, FNs are most commonly used between staff and students. Yet, this is generally initiated by academics. If professors do not introduce themselves, it is believed that they wish to keep their distance. (Clyne et al 2009: 99) Whereas, people reach their working age, there are established address practices – whether agreed or imposed. The variation is said to occur in nominal and not pronominal

forms. The general norm is the usage of FNs. Of course, when the workplace is that of a hospital, it is also possible to use ‘doctor’ or ‘nurse’. (Clyne et al 2009: 106)

Service Encounters

When it comes to the transactional mode in service encounters, the use of forms of address might be more complicated. Leech wrote in 1999 that Sir and Madam in BE were used to address older male and female customers (Leech 1999: 112). T-like modes of address, such as ‘mate’ or ‘love’ are used in more complex ways. For example, ‘mate’ was used to be considered as a sign of lower-class male speech (Clyne et al 2009: 113). However, Formentelli studied the British National Corpus and found that the use of mate is expanding. There were cases when it was used by women, by speakers of different social backgrounds and even among colleagues in business settings. He explains this phenomenon by saying that it is “a signal of the increasing informality in social relationships”. (Formentelli 2007: 197) Clyne et al have written that the mode of address in English in the transactional domain is often formal and shop assistants usually address the customers as Sir or Madam. This changes only when a degree of familiarity is established. There can be a gradual progression from Mr, Mrs or Ms X to FN. (Clyne et al 2009: 113) Yet, Holmes (2001: 271) adds that in Northern England, service providers such as bus conductors and newspaper vendors tend to use ‘love’ with clients, regardless of the addressee’s sex or the level of familiarity.

Thus, British English thus seems to be prone to use negative politeness strategies more than positive politeness ones – yet again one should be reminded that the use of “vous”, i.e. an indirect address form, is a classical case of a negative politeness strategy, so linguacultures that do use it are often unjustly labelled as too direct and lacking in negative politeness. The usage of English between NS or as an interlanguage between NNS or

between NS and NNS might cause some problems if people's cultural background and politeness strategies differ. Nevertheless, a device that is widely used in BE – hedging – is a tool for both positive and negative politeness. Hedging is used with, for example, various FTAs. The English pronoun of address 'you' has a rather generic nature; yet, it does not mean that 'you' in one situation cannot be more polite than in another one. English uses nominals to mark this difference. These make up a large scale from most intimate or familiar to most distant and respectful. In addition to that social distance can be expressed by using different tones of voice, sentence structure and manner of speaking. But in order to use all these tools, a NNS of English needs to be taught about English nominals, tones of voice, sentence structure and manner of speaking.

CONCLUSION

English is used widely for *lingua franca* purposes by people from different cultural backgrounds and it does not necessarily involve native speakers. Therefore, communication should occur between people who are interculturally communicatively competent, meaning they are able to interact with people from different countries and cultures in a foreign language. Effective communication depends a lot on the knowledge about the other person's culture and background, including politeness strategies. An interculturally competent user of foreign language involves; thus, the acquisition of communicative competence in that language, acquisition of particular skills, attitudes, values, knowledge items and looking upon the world – five *savoirs*. As mentioned earlier, English is widely use as a *lingua franca*. ELF communication occurs in the Expanding Circle that has more than 1000 million speakers and the number is constantly growing. ELF situations are never stable and fixed because they frequently occur between new conversation partners and between people with different level of competence in each speech situation. Training for successful *lingua franca* communication, although difficult, is still possible.

People that are known as the citizens of the world or 'sojourners', need to have ICC qualities that can be taught in FLT and other subjects. FLT allows learners to become social actors engaging with others in a particular kind of communication and interaction and not to see their role as imitators of native speakers. Since FLT includes at least two languages and cultures, it seems logical to try and raise awareness that people speaking other languages may also organise and perceive the world differently. Schools and other educational institutes are increasingly expected to prepare learners for inter-lingual and intercultural experiences. The teacher has to take a role of an educator and a guide by

carefully choosing cultural contents in order to promote students' knowledge and develop learner autonomy.

Even though politeness rankings of differently formulated requests correlate highly for NS and NNS, the speakers of different languages use and interpret politeness strategies and assess factors of power, distance and rate of imposition differently. A distinction between normative and volitional politeness should be clearly made because speakers do not make a link between normative politeness in one language and its volitional equivalent in another because they have a different psycholinguistic status. This means that using *vous* in languages with pronominal distinction does not translate directly into languages with nominal use of address pronouns. Speakers of such languages may come across as too direct and even rude when communicating with NSs of English or even in English as a *lingua franca*.

In order to interpret utterances as polite, one needs to perceive them as such. While meeting for the first time, people may go through three steps to finally establish common ground – instant membership categorisation, deciding upon similarity or difference and finally deciding upon having common ground or not. Choosing the correct address forms depends on social distance, which leads to the usage of either positive or negative politeness strategies. Address forms can be divided into pronominal and nominal ones. They are said to be easily observable in everyday conversation and depend upon different social variables but since they are linked to the notion of politeness, which varies across cultures then the rules of how and when to choose the right address form might be vague.

It is possible to conclude on the basis of the fieldwork carried out by the author in France during two different time periods that there is a general tendency in the younger generation towards using the second person singular pronoun *tu*. Yet, the transition from *vous* to *tu* has to be often felt. Mistakes are quick to occur among NNS for several reasons.

The speakers might not have a *tu/vous* distinction in their own mother tongue; or they do not have a sufficient level of French; or there may be (and usually are) different rules for using an address pronoun in their mother tongue.

Since there are many Englishes in the world, linguistic politeness, among other things, varies greatly. Still, BE is said to use more negative politeness strategies, such as personal preference, hedging and deictic anchorage but also off-record politeness. However, one should once again be reminded that the use of *vous*, i.e. an indirect address form, is a classic case of a negative politeness strategy, so lingua cultures that do use it are often unjustly labelled as too direct and lacking in negative politeness. Meanwhile, using English negative politeness strategies is not self-evident for people from *tu/vous* language backgrounds, especially since these sentence constructions may seem overly polite for them. Using nominal means of address instead of pronominal ones might be more relatable. It is said that these can be used in the same manner as the combination of pronominal and nominal forms in other languages. All in all, NNS of English need to be taught about English nominals, tones of voice, sentence structure and manner of speaking. Unfortunately literature on the usage of nominal means of address still focuses on situations in the native environment and discusses if at all the usages of nominal means of address in *lingua franca* situations.

REFERENCES

- Barešova, Ivona. 2008. *Politeness Strategies in Cross-Cultural Perspective: Study of American and Japanese Employment Rejection Letters*. Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, Filozofická fakulta.
- Bargiela, Francesca, Corinne Boz, Lily Gokzadze, Abdurrahman Hamza, Sara Mills and Nino Rukhadze. 2002. Ethnocentrism, politeness and naming strategies. *Working Papers on the Web 3: Linguistic politeness and context*. Available at <http://extra.shu.ac.uk/wpw/politeness/bargiela.htm>, accessed on 4. December 2012.
- Bargiela-Chiappini, Francesca. 2003. Face and politeness: new (insights) for old (concepts). *Journal of Pragmatics* 35: 1453-1469.
- Bhatt, Rakesh M. 2001. World Englishes. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 30, pp. 527-550, accessed via JSTOR on 14.09.2012
- Brown, Roger, Albert Gilman. 1960. The pronouns of power and solidarity. In T. A. Sebeok (ed.). *Style in Language*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. 253-76.
- Brown, Roger, Albert Gilman. 1972. The pronouns of power and solidarity. In Giglioli (1972), 252-282.
- Brown, Roger, Albert Gilman. 1989. Politeness theory and Shakespeare's four major tragedies. *Language in Society* 18: 159-212.
- Brown, Penelope, Stephen C. Levinson. 1978/87. *Politeness: Some universals in language usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Byram, Michael. 1997. *Teaching and Assessing Intercultural Communicative Competence Multilingual Matters (Series)*. Great Britain: WBC Book Manufacturers Ltd.
- Byram, M., and Zarate, G. 1997. Defining and Assessing Intercultural Competence: Some Principles and Proposals for the European Context. *Language Teaching* 29, 239-243.
- Clyne, Michael, Catrin Norrby and Jane Warren. 2009. *Language and Human Relations. Styles of Address in Contemporary Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Crystal, D. 1997. *English as a Global Language*. Cambridge. UK: Cambridge University Press
- Dewaele, Jean-Marc. 2004. Vous or tu? Native and non-native speakers of French on a sociolinguistic tightrope. *International Review of Applied Linguistics. In Language Teaching*, 42: 4, 383-402.
- Eelen, Gino. 2001. *A Critique of Politeness Theories*. Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing.
- Formentelli, Maicol. 2007. The vocative mate in contemporary English: A corpus based study. In A. Sansò (ed.). *Language Resources and Linguistic Theory*. Milan: Franco Angeli. 180-99.
- Gardner-Chloros, Penelope. 2004. Le développement historique de T/Ven français et en anglais: parallélisme et divergence [Historical development of T/V in French and in English]. *Franco-British Studies* 33-34 (Autumn 2003-Spring 2004). Special Issue: Second person pronouns and forms of address in the languages of contemporary Europe. 90-99.
- Goffman, Erving. 1972. On face-work: an analysis of ritual elements in social interaction. In *Communication in Face to Face Interaction: Selected Readings*, John Laver and Sandy Hutcheson (eds), 319-346. Harmondsworth: Penguin (first edited 1955).
- Harris, Sandra. 1995. Pragmatics and Power, *Journal of Pragmatics*, 23(2): 117-135.

- Hickey, Leo, Miranda Stewart (eds.). 2005. *Politeness in Europe*. Clevedon, Buffalo, Toronto: Multilingual Matters
- Holmes, Janet. 2001. *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. London: Longman.
- Holtgraves, Thomas. 2001. Politeness. In W. Peter Robinson and Howard Giles (eds.). *The New Handbook of Language and Social Psychology*. Chichester: JohnWiley & Sons. 341–55.
- Ide, Sachiko. 1989. Formal forms and discernment. *Multilingua*, 8: 223–48.
- Jandt, Fred Edmund (ed.). 2004. *Intercultural Communication. A Global Reader*. USA: Sage Publications Inc.
- Jenkins, Jennifer. 2006. Perspectives on Teaching World Englishes and English as a Lingua Franca. *TESOL Quarterly*, Vol. 40, issue 3, pp. 157-181, accessed via JSTOR on 14.09.2012
- Joseph, John. 1989. Review of terms of address: Problems of patterns and usage in various languages and cultures by Friederike Braun. *Language*, 65 (4): 852–7.
- Kachru, Braj B. 1992. *The Other Tongue: English Across Cultures*. USA: University of Illinois Press.
- Kachru, Braj B. 1996. World Englishes: Agony and Ecstasy. *Journal of Aesthetic Education*. Vol. 30, issue 2 *Special Issue: Distinguished Humanities Lectures II*, pp. 135-155, accessed via JSTOR on 14.09.2012
- Konovalov, Vjatšeslav. 2002. Politeness Strategies in English and Russian: A Comparative Study of Requests (Research Master's thesis)
- Koksharova, Irina; Vogelberg, Krista. 2009. Прагматические значения обращений ты / Вы у эстонцев, русских в России и русскоязычной диаспоры Эстонии. In: Külmoja, Irina, ed). *Труды по русской и славянской филологии Лингвистика XII, HUMANIORA: LINGUA RUSSICA, Активные процессы в русском языке диаспоры и метрополии*, pp. 45 - 65. Tartu: TÜ Kirjastus
- Kramsch, C. 1993. *Context and culture in language teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kuo, I-Chan (Vicky). 2006. Addressing the issue as teaching English as a *lingua franca*. *ELT Journal*, Vol. 60, issue 3, pp 213-226. Available at <http://203.72.145.166/ELT/files/60-3-1.pdf>, accessed 11.09.2012.
- LACE. 2007. Study of the intercultural skills taught in foreign languages courses at each stage of compulsory education and training in the European Union. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/education/policies/lang/doc/lace_en.pdf, accessed 12.11.2012
- Laherand, Meri-Liis. 2008. *Kvalitatiivne uurimisviis*. Tallinn: OÜ Infotrükk
- Lakoff, Robin. 1973. The logic of politeness; or, minding your p' s and q' s. In *Papers from the Ninth Regional Meeting Chicago Linguistic Society, April 1973*, Claudia Corum, T. Cedric Smith-Stark and Ann Weiser (eds), 292–305. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Ларина, Татьяна Викторовна. 2008. Категория вежливости и стиль коммуникации: Сопоставление английских и русских лингво-культурных традиций. Москва: языки славянских культур.
- Leech, Geoffrey N. 1999. The distribution and function of vocatives in American and British English conversation. In Hilde Hasselgård and Signe Oksefiell (eds.). *Out of*

- Corpora: Studies in honour of Stig Johansson*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: Rodopi. 107–118.
- Liu, X. 2008. Influence of English as an international language on cultural teaching. *Sino-US English Teaching*, Volume 5, No.4. (Serial No.53) USA
- Miliste, Merje; Vogelberg, Krista. 2011. The Impact of Estonian an English on Estonian Learners of German. *Humaniora: Anglistica Tartuensia The Estonian Journal of English Studies*, 2 (1), 163 - 178.
- Mollin, Sandra. 2006. English as a *Lingua Franca*: A New Variety in the New Expanding Circle? *Nordic Journal of English Studies*, vol. 5, no. 2. Available at: <http://ojs.uib.no/ojs/index.php/njes/article/view/67>, accessed 11.09.2012
- O'Driscoll, J. About Face: A Defence and Elaboration of Universal Dualism. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 25, 1996, pp. 1-31
- Ogiermann, Eva. 2009. *On Apologising in Negative and Positive Politeness Cultures*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamin Publishing.
- Partington, Alan. 2006. *The Linguistics of Laughter: A corpus-assisted study of laughter-talk*. Routledge: Oxon.
- Romaine, Suzanne. 2001. A corpus-based view of gender in British and American English. In Marlis Hellinger and Hudumod Bussmann (eds.). *Gender Across Languages: The linguistic representation of women and men. Vol 1*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins. 153–175. Available at <http://users.ox.ac.uk/~romaine/corpusgender.pdf>, accessed on 4. December 2012
- Rästa, Tiit. 2011. MA thesis. Cultural Content in Local Baltic EFL Textbooks for 5th and 6th grade Students in the Light of the *Lingua Franca* Status of English. Tartu: University of Tartu: Department of English
- Sell, R. D. (1991) The politeness of literary texts. In R. D. Sell (ed.) *Literary Pragmatics* (pp. 208–24). London: Routledge.
- Sercu, Lies. 2002. Autonomous learning and the Acquisition of Intercultural Communicative Competence: Some Implications for Course Development. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*. Volume 15/1. Belgium: Facultelt Letteren
- Sercu, Lies. Ewa Bandura, Paloma Castro, Leah Davcheva, Chryssa Laskaridou, Ulla Lundgren, Maria del Carem Méndez Garcia and Phyllis Ryan. 2005. *Foreign Language Teachers and Intercultural Competence: An International Investigation*. Great Britain: Cromwell Press Ltd.
- Spencer-Oatey, Helen; Peter Franklin. 2009. *Intercultural Interaction: A Multidisciplinary Approach to Intercultural Communication*. UK: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Svennevig, Jan. 1999. *Getting Acquainted in Conversation*. A study of initial interactions. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: Benjamins.
- Vogelberg, Krista. 2002a. Politeness Debate Continued – Notes on Some Key Controversial Issues in Brown and Levinson's Theory. In Renate Pajusalu, Tiit Hennoste (eds.) *Tähendusepüüdja. Catcher of the Meaning*, pp. 340-354. Tartu: University of Tartu: Publications of the Department of General Linguistics 3.
- Vogelberg, Krista. 2002b. Politeness Strategies in English, Russian and Estonian: a contrastive study of requests. In Luis Iglesias Rábade and Susana Ma Doval Suárez

- (eds.) *Studies in Contrastive Linguistics*, pp. 1061-1070. Santiago: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela
- Wales, Katie. 2003. Second person pronouns in contemporary English: The end of a story or just the beginning? In *Franco-British Studies: Journal of the British Institute in Paris*, 33–34: 172–85.
- Watts, Richard J. 2003. *Politeness*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wierzbicka, Anna. 2010. Cultural scripts and international communication. In Anna Trosborg (ed.), *Pragmatics Across Languages and Cultures*, Walter de Gruyter: Berlin/New York, pp. 43-78.

APPENDIX 1

Fieldwork notes during September 2010-January 2011 and August 2012-November 2012.

Fieldwork in Paris

September 2010 – January 2011 and August 2012 – November 2012

I have counted the amount of *tu* and *vous* when said for the first time during one event. Some people have spoken English, thus their approaches and the times when they have been approached, cannot be counted. The number of nationalities and female and male participants given in brackets is counted in order to have an overview of different people all together and it does not reflect the total number of people in each occurrence because some people occur on several occasions.

SEPTEMBER 2010 – JANUARY 2011

1) **Place:** a birthday of a friend's distant friend

Total nr of people: 16 (French 15, Estonian 1; female (F) 8, male (M) 8)

Age: 30 +/-2 years (I was the only one who was 22)

The official start of the birthday was 8 p.m. I arrived with my friend arrived at 8.50 p.m. He explained it was normal to start going to the party at the time it is supposed to start. We were not the first ones to arrive or the last ones. We went in and put our food and beverages on the table (it is a custom that each person brings something to share with others).

Addressing: Women gave 2 kisses (on cheeks) and men shook hands or when they knew each other very well, they kissed too. Men and women shared 2 kisses. During this, people said their names and moved on to the next person. They smiled and said *enchanté*. All this meant that it was set clear from the beginning that people would *tutoyer* with each-other. Before kissing people, they usually said *salut*, *bonsoir* or even *bonjour*. I made the mistake of using *vous* at one point and the other person was quite astonished. I understood my mistake and explained that it was because of all the sentences that I learned by heart at school were in the polite form (e.g. *Excusez-moi d'être en retard*, *pouvez-vous me dire* etc).

(tu 240/vous 0)

2) **Place:** various dinners

Total nr of people: 4 (Indian 1, German 1, Estonian 1, F 2, M 1)

Age: 21-28

Addressing: Saying hello to my friend's boyfriend (Indian) by shaking hands, later when saying good-bye 2 cheek kisses. When meeting the second time, then only kisses. Saying hello and good-bye to an Estonian girl is always accompanied with a hug (normally no kisses). When I met with a German girl (a friend of a friend) the first time then we used handshakes but kisses for saying good-bye. Everyone's using *tu*.

(tu 6/vous 0)

3) Place: university**Total nr of people:** 7 (Czech 2, Polish 1, Korean 1, Japanese 2, F 6)**Age:** 20-26**Addressing:** The girls who I had become closer friends with (2 Czech girls, a Polish girl, 1 Korean, 2 Japanese girls), I always greeted with 2 kisses on the cheeks, the same thing for saying good-bye. Others are usually received a wave and a loud *bonjour* or *salut*. *Tu* was used from the first day onwards.**(tu 42/vous 0)****4) Place:** CouchSurfing meetings**Total nr of people:** 11 (French 8, American 1, Iranian 1, M 10)**Age:** 22-...**Addressing:** I met with about 10 men (French 8, American, Iranian). Normally the first hello is said by shaking hands (no matter what the nationality). When saying good bye, some did not know how to act and just said good-bye (a French man), some stuck to the hand-shake, but most of the men resulted in kissing the cheeks. Before kissing the cheeks, they said, "*On fait les bisous*", meaning that they "warned" me that they were about to kiss my cheeks; thus letting me know that it is accustomed. *Tu* was used from the start.**(tu 110/vous 0)****5) Place:** Home of a French girl. We were supposed to meet because of a university lecture that is called '*Appretissage en Tandem*'. It was obligatory that two people from different nationalities get together and practise their language skills. This meant that they would speak an hour in the mother tongue of the one person and another hour in the mother tongue of the other person. Thus, I met with a French girl who was learning Estonian.**Total nr of people:** 2 (French 1, F 1)**Age:** 22-25**Addressing:** I went to see her at her home. She met me on the door, we said 'hello' and gave 2 kisses on the cheeks. There was no hesitation; it is her nature to do so. After saying good-bye, again 2 kisses were given. *Tu* and *sina* were used from the first moment onwards.**(tu 2/vous 0)****6) Place:** I visited various apartments during one day to find a place to live.**Total nr of people:** 5 (Moroccan 1, French 1, Algerian 2, F 1, M 3)**Age:** 22-50**Addressing:** First place was a home of a young Moroccan man (about 25-30 years old). I used *vous* out of respect. After about 5 minutes of talking, he asked to switch over to *tu* because he was feeling too old. Next, there was a French woman, about 35-40 years old. I used *vous* with her, she did the same. Then there was an Algerian man, about 30 years old. I used *vous* at first but when he used *tu*, I switched over to *tu* too. It did not seem to bother him. Next man was about 42 years old, from Algeria. We used *vous* from the beginning but after few minutes he said, "*On peut tutoyer?*". I agreed. In all cases, 'hello' was said by shaking hands and good bye just by saying 'thank you'.**(tu 2/vous 6)**

7) **Place:** a dinner at a friend's place (a Polish girl) who lived with a French man (conversation in French)

Total nr of people: 9 (Tunisian 3, French 4, M 5, F 2)

Age: 22-55

Addressing: I was the first one to arrive at the dinner and my friend introduced me to her god-father. We exchanged 2 cheek-kisses and some polite words, and he proposed that we should *tutoyer*. After a while two other guests arrived (the son of the man and his friend). We all got up and greeted them by giving two kisses and exchanging names. We sat at the table to wait for the remaining guests. They arrived (2 guys, 1 girl, and one older woman), all of us got up from the table and greeted the guests. Everyone greeted them by giving two kisses, so did I. During the whole evening everyone used *tu*. People greeted me (I was the only one they didn't know) by saying *bonjour* or *bonsoir* and adding their name. I did the same thing because I had encountered this kind of behaviour before. When the dinner was over, all the guests, including me, left at the same time. All the visitors gave two kisses to the hosts, thanked them and left. I did the same.

(tu 71/vous 1)

Place: I went to visit my Estonian friends in a farm where they lived and worked as (tu 28/vous 6) - 2 persons' speech cannot be counted in this case because they spoke English

8) volunteers. My two friends (girls) were working for a 56 year old man who often had visitors in his house.

Total nr of people: 8 (French 5, Estonian 2 F 4, M 3)

Age: 20-56

Addressing: When I met with the owner of the farm (male 56), first we both said *Bonjour* and shook hands. In the beginning of our conversation he proposed us to use *tu*, saying *on peut dire tu....* Then I met the owner's girlfriend, we said *bonjour* and exchanged 2 cheek kisses and remained to using *vous*. Then I met the owner's friend (male 50). We said *bonjour* and shook hands. He proposed to use '*tu*' (*Je peux dire tu ?; Oui, bien sur; Tu peux dire tu aussi*). When they left everybody lined up to say goodbye. We exchanged 2 cheek kisses with the owner's girlfriend. We shook hands with the owner's friend and said *bonne soiree* to everyone.

9) **Place:** Everything is the same as in the previous case but it is the next day

Addressing: Another day when there was a big lunch in the farm, there was a guest (male 45) who entered the room last. He greeted everyone with 2 cheek kisses (both male and female), except the owner's girlfriend with whom they exchanged 4 cheek kisses. I remained using *vous* with this person. I was introduced to him later after all the greeting was done. He used *tu*. There was another new face (female 20) who greeted everyone with a *Bonjour* and 2 cheek kisses; we ended up using *tu* automatically.

(tu 29/vous 1)

10) Place: Angers; introducing my friend from Paris to others.

Total nr of people: 6 (French 1, M 1)

Age: 22-56

Addressing: My friend from Paris (male 38) met with my Estonian friends first. He approached one girl (23) to give 2 cheek kisses but she was not expecting it and pulled back. He also pulled back saying, 'Oh, you're not used to the kisses'. My other friend (23) laughed about it and said she was used to them; thus they exchanged 2 cheek kisses. After saying good bye, everybody exchanged 2 cheek kisses. I could not determine whether *tu* or *vous* was used because conversation was in English. Then my friend met with the farmer and his friend. They said *bonjour* and shook hands. Between them *vous* was used all the time. After saying good-bye by shaking hands, exchanging some warm words ('was nice meeting you' etc). Everyone used *tu* with me and the farmer and his friend used *tu* with each other.

(tu 8/vous 4) - 2 persons' speech cannot be counted in this case because they spoke English

11) Place: Dance classes, dance hall

Total nr of people: 14 (French 9, Chinese 3, Algerian 1, F 13)

Age: 19-25

Addressing: It is very common that dance lessons start and half of the people are missing. It is very common to be late. No one greets each other in the middle of exercises but it is done during the brake between dances or when the coach changes the music. During that time the girls who know each other approach one another and give 2 cheek kisses and ask *ca va?*. The girls who know the coach better also approach her and repeat and act in the same manner. At first I greeted people before the class by giving 2 kisses and exchanging polite words and if I saw a friend entering in the middle of the class then I just said *Salut* and smiled. But after a while I adopted the French way.

(tu 82/vous 0)

12) Place: An international Erasmus dinner at my friend's place. The idea was to organize an international dinner with international food so that every person would bring a traditional dish from their country. Countries that were represented were Estonia, Poland, Italy, Turkey, Romania, Czech Republic, Germany, Russia, Austria, Tunisia and France (last two countries were represented by the locals living in Paris).

Total nr of people: 18 (Italian 3, Turkish 2, Romanian 2, Czech 2, German 1, Russian 1, Austrian 1, F 11, M 1)

Age: 21-30, 45

Addressing: I arrived to a familiar background; thus I greeted everyone by saying *Bonsoir* and giving 2 cheek kisses. I was also introduced to some French people who I also greeted by kissing and it was natural to use *tu* with them. Soon arrived 3 Czech girls, 1 of them I knew, so I greeted accordingly, 2 of them I did not know; thus we did not exchange cheek kisses. Though, after saying good bye we exchanged kisses. I also brought another Estonian girl with me to the party and she knew no one there. When I introduced her to others, there were people who she exchanged kisses with and those who she did not. There were no obvious reasons why she kissed with someone and why she did not with others.

Not all the people arrived at the same time. So when someone arrived, everybody stood up and that person made a round by exchanging 2 cheek kisses with everyone, even with those they did not know. These kinds of dinners normally end at around the time of the last metro. So people started leaving one by one. Each time a person left, cheek kisses were exchanged. Everybody used *tu* during the whole evening.

There were awkward situations when two people who were greeting or saying good-bye but started giving the first kiss to the same side, after what people pulled themselves together and continued. After asking what it depends on, which cheek to choose first, I received a simple answer that it is arbitrary. The French explained that it is normal that these awkward situations occur. I have noticed that most of the time and most of the people start giving kisses presenting first their right cheek first.

(tu 306/vous 0)

13) Place: A party at a small studio. Three Estonian girls came to visit me in Paris; thus I decided to show them how parties are held here. In addition to that, I wanted them to meet some of our old friends (French) who we had met in Canada about 1,5 years ago.

Total nr of people: 19 (Estonian 5, French 9, Spanish 1, F 6, M 9)

Age: 22-40

Addressing: Me and my three Estonian friends went to meet an Estonian boy. Girls just said *tere/tšau* to him. But since he had also been living in Paris for a while and he knew I had done the same, we exchanged two cheek kisses as customary. When we reached the studio, where lived one Estonian and one German girl, we just said *Hi* because they were busy with getting ready. First guests to arrive were two French men, so everybody exchanged two kisses, including with this Estonian boy. And after when most of the people arrived (French, including one Spanish person) then everybody kissed everybody first saying *Bonjour/bonsoir* and giving their name before the kisses or in-between. The last one to arrive was one Estonian girl who had not been living in Paris for a long time; thus she did not kiss anyone just said *Hi* or shook hands. In general, the men greeted each other by shaking hands.

(tu 182/vous 0) - 5 persons' speech cannot be counted in this case because they spoke English

14) Place: home of a dance teacher

Total nr of people: (Moroccan 1, Tunisian 1, French 4, F 5, M 1)

Age: 22-55

Addressing: After a dance performance, the teacher called us to her place for a cup of tea. We entered and said just *Bonsoir* and the teacher introduced the 3 of us who were new to the group to her husband. We just said *Enchanté* and *vous* was used. But the other 3 girls, who were old friends of the teacher, each exchanged 2 cheek kisses with her husband and used *tu* with him. Everyone from our dance group used *tu* with communicating with each other.

(tu 62/vous 12)

15) Place: Meeting a (French) married couple, who rented a house for us for Christmas, at the train station

Total nr of people: 10 (Indian 2, Brazilian 2, French 3, F 3, M 4)

Age: 21-66

Addressing: Me and my friends (1 Estonian girl and 1 Indian boy) went to the countryside for Christmas. We rented a holiday house that belongs to one of our friend's (a French guy, who was there too) parents. Since the holiday house was far away from the train station, they met us there. The woman gave two kisses for everyone and said *Bonjour*. She started by greeting the people she knew from before and moved on to people she saw first time in her life. The man came into the room later, stood at the door. Shared kisses only with his son and said *Bonjour* to others by waving his hand. The parents were approached as *vous* by the 2 Estonians and 1 Indian guy, the others spoke English. The parents approached us as *vous* too.

(tu 14/vous 12) - 4 persons' speech cannot be counted in this case because they spoke English

16) Place: Soirée estonienne at my friend's place organized by me and my sister
Total nr of people: 12 (Estonian 1, French 2, F 1, M 2)

Age: 20-46

Addressing: Me and my sister were first ones to arrive because we organized the party. The party took place at my friend's apartment (the Polish girl living with her god-father). I exchanged cheek kisses with both of them and introduced my sister. She also exchanged 2 kisses, only because I had prepared her that it's a custom in France. After a while another French man arrived. He exchanged kisses with me and 2 other girls and shook hands with the owner of the apartment. Before giving kisses to my sister he asked, *On fait des bisous?*. My sister said *ok*, though she admitted she wasn't used to it. Then arrived a Korean girl (Erasmus), she exchanged kisses absolutely with everybody. After, a Russian girl came (Erasmus), it was the same case for her. Then my Estonian friend arrived (living in Paris since September). I introduced her to everyone and she exchanged two kisses with everyone except my sister to whom she gave a handshake. After the party she also just said *Bye* to my sister, while kissing everybody else. A Turkish girl exchanged kisses with everyone. Finally another French guy arrived (people were already sitting around the table). He walked around the table and gave everyone 2 cheek kisses, also to my Estonian friend and my sister who I introduced. Another French guy who arrived gave two kisses to me and shook hands with the owner of the house, who he saw for the first time and he said *Bonsoir* for everybody else. The last French guy acted in the same manner, saying that since everybody was sitting and eating then he didn't want to disturb them. Besides the exception mentioned above, all the women were given 2 kisses and men mostly exchanged handshakes, except for one French guy and the owner of the house because they had already been friends for a long time. People mostly said *Merci beaucoup* and other ways of thanking me for organizing the party and added *À bientôt* and *Bonne soirée*.

(tu 132/vous 0)

Interesting cases but cannot be counted because there were no new people.

Place: a farewell party at a friend's place

Total nr of people: 6

Age: 21-50

Addressing: Everybody greeted each other by sharing kisses. In the end of the evening when everybody was leaving they said 'good bye' differently. The two girls (Korean and Polish) gave me a long hug. The older man gave me 2 kisses as usually and the 2 other boys me gave long hugs too, without kisses. It appeared that hugging has a deeper meaning than kissing.

Place: house in the countryside, my friend was leaving the farm

Total number of people: 2

Age: 22-56

Addressing: My friend told me about this situation. She was leaving the farm she had been working at for a half a year. There was an awkward situation. She wanted to hug the person because this is more common to Estonians but the man wanted to share 2 kisses because that is more common to the French. She said kisses are too intimate for her and drawing from the last situation, I believe hugging was too intimate for that man.

AUGUST 2012 – NOVEMBER 2012

17) Place: breakfast at home

Total nr of people: 4 (Spanish 1, F 1)

Age: 24-48

Addressing: Three people, me including, already used *tu* with each other. When the last person arrived, she greeted everyone by exchanging 4 kisses. Two of us used *vous* with her, one of us did not. She used *vous* with everyone.

(tu 7/vous 5)

18) Place: random encounter on the street with the Red Cross

Total nr of people: 2 (French 1, M 1)

Age: 24-30

Addressing: Red Cross volunteers are supposed to approach people on the streets and persuade them to start donating money monthly. I was approached by a young French man who politely asked if I had time for him – I did. Then he asked whether I wouldn't mind using *tu* instead of *vous*. I didn't mind. But if I had, the conversation would have been by using *vous*. As for greeting, simple *Bonjour* was used.

(tu 0/vous 2)

19) Place: random encounter on the street with the Red Cross

Total nr of people: 2 (French 1, F 1)

Age: 24-30

Addressing: Red Cross volunteers are supposed to approach people on the streets and persuade them to start donating money monthly. I was approached by a young French woman who politely asked if I had time for her – I did. Then she asked whether I wouldn't mind using *tu* instead of *vous*. I didn't mind. But if I had, the conversation would have been by using *vous*. As for greeting, simple *Bonjour* was used.

(tu 0/vous 2)

20) Place: random encounter on the street

Total nr of people: 2 (French 1, M 1)

Age: 24-30

Addressing: Volunteers for another money raising association are supposed to approach people on the streets and persuade them to start donating money monthly. I was approached by a young French man who politely asked if I had time for him – I did. Then he asked whether I wouldn't mind using *tu* instead of *vous*. I didn't mind. But if I had, the conversation would have been by using *vous*. As for greeting, simple *Bonjour* was used.

(tu 0/vous 2)

21) Place: random encounter on the street

Total nr of people:

Age: 24-30

(French 1, F 1)

Addressing: Volunteers for another money raising association are supposed to approach people on the streets and persuade them to start donating money monthly. I was approached by a young French woman who politely asked if I had time for her – I did. Then she asked whether I wouldn't mind using *tu* instead of *vous*. I didn't mind. But if I had, the conversation would have been by using *vous*. As for greeting, simple *Bonjour* was used. (tu 0/vous 2)

22) Place: opening an account at one bank

Total nr of people: 2 (French 1, M 1)

Age: 24-45

Addressing: The first attempt to open a bank account did not go so well. Though this had nothing to do with misusing *tu/vous*. The conversation between a French speaking employee and a non-native speaker started off by using *vous* and remained like that until the end. As for greeting, simple *Bonjour* and an accompanying handshake were used.

(tu 0/vous 2)

23) Place: opening an account at another bank

Total nr of people: 3 (French 1, F 1)

Age: 24-65

Addressing: To open a bank account in the second bank, the non-native speaker took a French speaking man with her in order to avoid any miscommunication. The conversation between the three parties started off by using *vous* and remained like that until the end, with the exception of the two people who knew each other. As for greeting, simple *Bonjour* and an accompanying handshake were used.

(tu 2/vous 4)

24) Place: a birthday party at a friend's place

Total nr of people: 17 (Mexican 2, Bulgarian 1, Moroccan 1, French 10, American 1, F 9, M 6)

Age: 24-34

Addressing: A French girl's birthday – people from different circles were invited. I went there with a friend of mine. Most of the non-native speakers had been living in France for a long time already or had a French boyfriend/girlfriend. Whenever a new person walked inside the apartment, they were expected to make a tour of the room and greet everyone by exchanging kisses and giving their name. This resulted in using *tu* immediately.

(tu 272/vous 0)

25) Place: dinner at a restaurant

Total nr of people: 7 (French 2, Spanish 1, Romanian 1, English 1, Canadian 1, F 2, M 4)

Age: 24-27

Addressing: There were 4 men eating already (2 French, 1 Spanish, 1 Romanian) when 3 women arrived (1 English, 1 Canadian, 1 Estonian). The Romanian guy knew only the English girl so he introduced everyone to the rest of the group. Everyone greeted the girls by exchanging handshakes. Everyone immediately used *tu* with everyone.

(tu 42/vous 0)

26) Place: concert at a bar

Total nr of people: 5 (Estonian 1, F 1)

Age: 24-30

Addressing: I knew all of the people and introduced a new girl to the group (2 Estonians, 2 French, 1 Polish). Everyone started to use *tu* immediately. All of us used kisses for greeting each other.

(tu 10/vous 0)

27) Place: concert at a bar

Total nr of people: 2 (Tunisian 1, F 1)

Age: 24, 45

Addressing: I met the mother of one of my friends. We were introduced and we used kisses. She approached me first and wanted to use *tu* but then suddenly corrected herself and used *vous* instead. Since the conversation was really fast it did not occur to me to say that it's alright to use *tu*, so we continued on using *vous*.

(tu 0/vous 2)

28) Place: job interviews

Total nr of people: 3 (French 2, F 2)

Age: 24-35

Addressing: There were 2 different interviews with native speakers of French and the interviews took place in French. Handshakes were used to say 'hello'. During the interviews *vous* was used between the interviewer and the interviewee. After the end of one interview a remark was made by the interviewer that it is not recommended to use *tu* during an interview. But in actuality the cases where *tu* was used were not used in order to approach the interviewer but to bring a hypothetical example (as an informal equivalent of "one").

(tu 0/vous 4)

29) Place: job interviews

Total nr of people: 5 (French 4, M 3, F 1)

Age: 24-47

Addressing: There were 4 job interviews for the same post during one day. There were interviews with native French speakers and the interviews took place in French. Handshakes were used to say 'hello'. During the interviews *vous* was used between the interviewer and the interviewee. At one point there were 2 interviewers in the room – they used *tu* with each other.

(tu 2/vous 8)

30) Place: at work

Total nr of people: 3 (American 1, F 1)

Age: 24-47

Addressing: After being employed, there was training on the next day, which took place between 3 people (1 American, 1 Estonian and 1 French). Everyone use *tu* on this day, whereas just the day before *vous* had been used.

(tu 6/vous 0)

31) Place: meeting colleagues for the first time

Total nr of people: 3 (Sierra Leonean 1, French 1, F 2)

Age: 24-50

Addressing: 'Hello' was said by using a handshake. The colleagues used *tu* with each other and the newcomer was approached with *vous*.

(tu 6/vous 6)

32) Place : meeting point to go to the countryside
Total nr of people: 4 (Spanish 1, French 2, F 1, M 3)
Age: 24-30

Addressing: 4 strangers met up to go to a common friend's country house. *Tu* was used from the start and 2 cheek kisses were used to greet each other.
(tu 12/vous 0)

An interesting case:

Place : university lecture

Sex : a room full of students of different sex and a male lecturer (Polish)

Age : 21 – 35

Addressing : It was the first lecture of the school year and the lecturer proposed to the students to use *tu* from now on because they are already on the third year of their studies and almost like equals.

RESÜMEE

TARTU ÜLIKOOL
INGLISE FILOLOOGIA OSAKOND

***Tu/Vous* absence in English: teaching compensatory politeness strategies for EFL-ESL learners with various backgrounds**

Sina/Teie puudumine inglise keeles: kompensatoorsete viisakusstrateegiate õpetamine erinevate päritoluga inglise keelt võõrkeele ja teise keelena õppivatele õpilastele

Magistritöö

2013

Lehekülgede arv: 67

Annotatsioon:

Käesoleva magistritöö eesmärgiks on uurida kultuuridevahelise kommunikatiivse kompetentsuse õpetamise olulisust keele klassiruumis ning teha seda pöördumisvormide näitel; nimelt, uurides inglise keele viisakusstrateegiaid kompenseerimaks sina/teie eristuse puudumist inglise keeles. Nimetatud eesmärgi saavutamiseks on töös kasutatud erinevaid teoreetilisi materjale ning läbi viidud välitöö sina/Teie kasutuse kohta Prantsusmaal kahe erineva perioodi vältel.

Töös käsitletakse inglise keele õpetamise seost järgnevate teemadega: kultuuridevaheline kommunikatiivne kompetentsus, viisakus, pöördumisvormide kasutamine erineva päritoluga inimeste poolt ning inglise keeles sina/teie pöördumisvormide puudumise kompenseerimine.

Välitöö tulemuste põhjal on võimalik öelda, et pöördumisvormi valik võib sõltuda faktoritest nagu näiteks kõneleja emakeel, võõrkeele oskus ja kultuuridevaheline kompetentsus. Sama kehtib ka teiste viisakusvormide kohta, eriti kuna inglise keele puhul võib rääkida mitmetest keele variantidest. Briti inglise keel, kus „Teie“ kui üks levinumaid negatiivse viisakuse strateegiaid puudub, kasutab rohkem teisi negatiivse viisakuse strateegiaid, mis aga pole ilmtingimata loomupärane sina/Teie keeletaustaga inimestele. Inglise keelt õpetades tuleks rõhku panna ka nominaalide, hääletooni, lauseehituse ja rääkimisviisi õpetamisele, mis samuti tihti kannavad sama funktsiooni, mis sina/Teie erinevus teistes keeltes.

Märksõnad:

Inglise keele didaktika, grammatika, kultuuridevaheline kommunikatsioon, pragmaatika, viisakus.

Lihtlitsents lõputöö reprodutseerimiseks ja lõputöö üldsusele kättesaadavaks tegemiseks

Mina _____ Mari-Liis Alupere _____
(*autori nimi*)
(sünnikuupäev: _____ 3. juuni 1988 _____)

annan Tartu Ülikoolile tasuta loa (lihtlitsentsi) enda loodud teose
_____ *Tu/vous absence in English: teaching compensatory politeness strategies*
for EFL-ESL learners with various backgrounds _____,
(*lõputöö pealkiri*)

mille juhendaja on _____ Krista Vogelberg _____,
(*juhendaja nimi*)

reprodutseerimiseks säilitamise ja üldsusele kättesaadavaks tegemise eesmärgil, sealhulgas digitaalarhiivi DSpace-is lisamise eesmärgil kuni autoriõiguse kehtivuse tähtaja lõppemiseni;
üldsusele kättesaadavaks tegemiseks Tartu Ülikooli veebikeskkonna kaudu, sealhulgas digitaalarhiivi DSpace´i kaudu kuni autoriõiguse kehtivuse tähtaja lõppemiseni.

olen teadlik, et punktis 1 nimetatud õigused jäävad alles ka autorile.

kinnitan, et lihtlitsentsi andmisega ei rikuta teiste isikute intellektuaalomandi ega isikuandmete kaitse seadusest tulenevaid õigusi.

Tartus/Tallinnas/Narvas/Pärnus/Viljandis, ___13.05.2013___ (*kuupäev*)