

(IM)POLITENESS IN URUGUAY: NEGOTIATING REFUSALS IN THREE DOMAINS
OF INTERACTION

By

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To David and my friends in Rosario

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABBR.	abbreviated (as)
CCSARP	Cross-Cultural Study of Speech Act Realization Patterns code manual (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989)
DNG	downgrader
EMPH.	emphatic
EST.	estimated as
F.	formal
FB	Félix-Brasdefer, J. César
HA	head act
INCL.	including
INF.	Informal
LIT.	literally
LS	linguistic strategy
POP.	population
REQ	request
REF	refusal
RS	refusal sequence
RTT	refusal turn at talk
SM	supportive move
SMA	supportive move, aggravating
SMM	supportive move, mitigating
SUB	subordinate, workplace/business domain
UPG	upgrader

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The present study examines the speech act of refusing in the spontaneous discourse of female Uruguayans in various domains: spheres of life in which certain socio-cultural norms and expectations guide both verbal and non-verbal interaction (Fishman 1972; Boxer 2002). It contributes to the establishment of baseline native speaker pragmatic norms that can later be compared with those of other speech communities, and used for instruction in the L2 classroom. Within a theoretical framework for relational work based on Locher and Watts (2005), and building on the findings of previous speech act research across speech communities (e.g., Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper 1989; Márquez Reiter 2000; Félix-Brasdefer 2008), this study examines how female Uruguayan Spanish speakers realize refusals in the family, social and workplace domains. It investigates the pragmatic strategies that they employ, and the extent to which such strategies vary according to domain, participant characteristics, addressee characteristics and factors relating to social distance, such as participant-addressee relationship.

Two hundred forty-three refusal sequences extracted from a 240 hour corpus of naturalistic recordings from Uruguay provided the basis for answering three research questions: 1) How do female Uruguayan Spanish speakers realize the speech act of refusing? 2) How and to what extent do their refusal strategies vary according to contextual features (e.g., domain, participant and addressee characteristics, participant-addressee relationship)? 3) What do these data reveal about these Uruguayans' socio-cultural norms and expectations for communication within relationships? The refusal situations were generated by ten women from lower and middle socioeconomic speech communities, resulting in 96 distinct participant-addressee pairs.

The results are discussed in terms of non-politic/politic linguistic behavior and opposing views of social distance, particularly Wolfson's "Bulge" theory (1988) and Boxer's (1993) summations from her work on indirect complaints. The selection of refusal strategies was sensitive to various factors, but the strongest evidence emerging from these data was that for domain, social distance and addressee sex. The overall evaluation retained the hypothesis, posited by previous researchers, that Uruguayans orient more toward linguistic strategies of affiliation and involvement.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

The present study examines the spontaneous speech of Uruguayan women to better understand how these speakers negotiate discordant stances in everyday situations, and the underlying regularities characterizing their linguistic behavior. It takes as its point of departure Boxer's challenge to apply baseline data generated from natural discourse to language learning contexts:

[It] is important to take into account norms . . . of any community . . . to be able to guide and train novice language users into increased expertise. Once we have knowledge of what members of discourse communities successfully do in spontaneous spoken discourse, we can then apply these findings to situations in which novice language users are acquiring and employing an L2 in any domain and in variously configured communities and interactions. Such varied contexts include . . . sensitivity to the constraints of the sociolinguistic variables (e.g., gender, social distance, and social status) in the L2; [and] sensitivity to domains of usage (e.g., workplace, education, and social interaction) (Boxer 2008: 314).

This study accepts this challenge by examining the real world of native speaker interaction, focusing on the natural face-to-face discourse of Uruguayans in various interactional domains. These naturalistic data provide many avenues for exploration; for this project I restrict the scope of analysis to the speech act of refusals, which have been shown to differ cross-culturally (e.g., Blum-Kulka et al. 1989, García 1989, 1992, 1999, Márquez Reiter 2000, Félix-Brasdefer 2008). In doing so, I seek to answer the principal question: What formulas and strategies do female Uruguayan Spanish speakers use to realize refusals in different domains of life, and to what extent does the use of these strategies demonstrate sensitivity to the various contextual features characterizing each interaction?

Rationale

Foundational is the assumption that inextricably linked in interaction are language and culture.¹ Instead of “culture,” however, I adopt Bourdieu’s notion of *habitus*, the product and producer of individual and collective experiences:

The habitus, a product of history, produces individual and collective practices—more history—in accordance with the schemes generated by history. It ensures the active presence of past experiences, which, deposited in each organism in the form of schemes of perception, thought and action, tend to guarantee the ‘correctness’ of practices and their constancy over time. . . . This system of dispositions [is] a present past that tends to perpetuate itself into the future by reactivation in similarly structured practices (Bourdieu 1990: 54).

Being responsible for all our “reasonable,” “common-sense” behaviors, much of the *habitus* is acquired through socialization. To the extent that others share a similar linguistic *habitus*, it can be argued that these individuals belong to a common speech community. However, the covert nature of such “schemes of perception and thought” makes it difficult to pinpoint—much less teach—the underlying premises for interaction sustained by the members of different linguistic groups. Based on politeness theory literature (e.g., Scollon and Scollon 2001; Watts 2003), and the findings of previous speech act research (e.g., Olshtain and Cohen 1983; Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper 1989; Márquez Reiter 2000; Félix-Brasdefer 2008), it is encouraging that focused study can bring aspects of these dispositions to the surface. This is of ultimate importance to linguistic and cross-cultural studies, as well as to those adult language learners seeking to approximate native speaker norms.

¹ One of myriad definitions of culture is “the acquired knowledge that people use to interpret experience and generate social behavior” (Spradley 1979: 5).

The literature reveals that domains, or interactional spheres of life, are important to consider for such a study, since the verbal and non-verbal interactions within each are guided by certain shared socio-cultural norms and expectations (Fishman 1972; Boxer 2002). Fitch (1998) credits domains with providing a locus for the construction of these norms, and holds that communication practices, such as speech acts (Austin 1962; Searle 1969), are fundamental to the relationships formed within them. Thus, a focus on speech acts in the context of the domain in which they occur (e.g., family, social, workplace) is a valid point of departure. The act of refusing is an understudied phenomenon, particularly with naturalistic data; what attention has been given it tends to involve experimental data and cross-cultural interlanguage pragmatics (i.e., non-native learner behavior) rather than on native speaker varieties. However, it is a cogent area of pragmatic research in that it entails failing to comply with someone's wants or to acquiesce to another's suggestions or opinions. Such situations require cultural expertise in order to save the face (Goffman 1967; Brown and Levinson 1987) of one or more interlocutors, and to manage rapport pursuant to the interactional goals of the speakers (Spencer-Oatey 2000).

To date, little work has been done on the linguistic practices of Uruguayans; what has been done focuses on the capital region of Montevideo (e.g., Márquez Reiter 2000) or on the northern area bordering Brazil (e.g., Elizaincín 1997). This study shifts the focus to a less-densely populated region in the southwestern department of Colonia. Also, because I lived in this area of Uruguay for one year (1996-1997), I was familiar with the territory and had established contacts. I limited the primary participants to women because, as a woman myself, I had more access to women, and was more

easily able to establish the trust and rapport crucial to this type of data collection, especially given the relatively short time period available for collecting the data (nine weeks).

Research Questions and Overview of Findings

The data produced by these Uruguayans in interaction provide answers to the following three research questions: 1) How do female Uruguayan Spanish speakers realize the speech act of refusing? Specifically, what formulaic utterances and strategies do they use? 2) How and to what extent do their refusal strategies vary according to the following contextual features: domain of interaction, participant and addressee characteristics and factors pertaining to the participant-addressee relationship (i.e., social distance)? 3) What do these data reveal about these Uruguayans' socio-cultural norms and expectations for communication within relationships?

The subsequent chapters handle each one of these questions in turn. Chapter 4 shows, for example, that these Uruguayans did not shy away from direct refusals, but often mitigated direct responses with supportive moves (external to the “main” refusal or head act) and, at times, with downgraders (internal to the head act). Exceptions to this trend occurred while refusing orders and invitations, and, particularly, within the social domain of interaction; in these cases, indirect refusal strategies prevailed. A structural feature common to direct refusals was the *no + porque [x]* template, while the *sí + pero [x]* template was common to indirect refusals. In Chapter 5 I argue for the concept of interactional domain as a variable in its own right, distinct from others such as social distance and power. I also suggest that the orientation of the talk played more of a role

in the selection of refusal strategies than did the physical setting, though both were important.

Chapter 6 examines the impact of various participant characteristics (e.g., age, education level, socioeconomic status, addressee sex), as well as factors pertaining to the participant-addressee relationship, on how the participants refused. It was found that the sex of the addressee and the social distance between interlocutors were the most significant factors to affect refusal strategy choice, while others, such as participant age, did as well, but to a lesser degree. Surprising was the fact that the socioeconomic status of the participant did not seem to play a role in how the participants refused.

In Chapter 7, I discuss the findings in terms of Watts' social practice and emergent networks view (2003), Locher and Watts' theory of relational work (2005) and Scollon and Scollon's politeness/face systems (2001). I propose several norms of interaction, conceptualized as underlying regularities of the speech community, based on the trends that emerged. I make the case that the Uruguayans of this study adhered primarily to what Scollon and Scollon term a solidarity politeness system—in line with others' assertions regarding Uruguayan speech behavior (i.e., Márquez Reiter and Placencia 2005)—but that they were not limited to this system. I show that the participants engaged in the co-construction of emergent networks and, in so doing, relied on strategies less demonstrative of involvement, but more indicative of independence. Thus, the participants at times made adjustments to the proposed norm “in general, show involvement,” due to factors such as the domain of interaction, the sex of the addressee, how familiar they were with the situation and the social distance

between interlocutors. In addition, I demonstrate how the findings, when organized by domain, served to reconcile Wolfson's (1989) and Boxer's (1995) opposing viewpoints with regard to speech acts and social distance.

Significance

This study bridges several gaps in the discourse analysis and pragmatics literature. Foremost, it brings to light aspects of language that are difficult to capture: the underlying regularities inherent in interaction. Much work on interlanguage and cross-cultural pragmatics has shown this to be an important area of current and further research. In so doing, it contributes to the establishment of baseline native speaker norms that can later be compared with those of other speech communities.

In general, some work has been done on the speech act of refusals; however, the majority have used written surveys or role plays to elicit data, often comparing non-native speakers of a particular language with a sample group of that target language (e.g., Beebe et al. 1990; Sadler and Eröz 2001; Félix-Brasdefer 2003, 2004). Studies relying primarily on naturalistic data within native speaking communities are rare. While more scholars have taken an interest in the Spanish language within the body of politeness and speech act literature (Díaz Pérez 2003; Márquez Reiter and Placencia 2004; Márquez Reiter and Placencia 2005; Placencia and García 2007), only a sliver of the empirical studies has taken native varieties of Southern Cone Spanish as the focus. To date, no previous study has examined spontaneously generated Uruguayan refusals within a domain-based framework.

Previous Refusal Studies

The present review of previous refusal studies is divided into two sections, first a review of the work on refusals in general and, second, a review of refusal studies

specific to the Spanish language. In this review I show that the majority of scholars thus far have depended on elicited or experimental data to make their claims. I conclude by underscoring the need to collect and analyze natural data in order to better understand native speaker norms and more aptly guide non-native learners of Spanish.

Refusals, General

Previous studies of refusal behavior have focused on languages such as American English (e.g., Labov and Fanshel 1977; Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford 1991; Beebe and Cummings 1996), Scottish English (Wootton 1981), British English (Kitao 1996), Japanese (e.g., Shigeta 1974; Moriyama 1990; Furumura 2002), Korean (Lyuh 1992; Kwon 2004), varieties of Chinese (e.g., Chen et al. 1995; Bresnahan et al. 1999), Arabic (e.g., Hussein 1995; Nelson et al. 2002), German (e.g., Beckers 1999), Italian (Frescura 1997), Zapotec (Schrader-Kniffki 2007), and varieties of Spanish (e.g., García 1992, 1999; Margalef-Boada 1993; Félix-Brasdefer 2003; VonCanon 2006).

These and others have also taken as their object of study non-native varieties, which they have compared to native speaker norms, e.g., L2 English by L1 Japanese speakers (e.g., Takahashi and Beebe 1987; Beebe et al. 1990), L2 English by L1 Chinese speakers (e.g., Ren 2013), L2 English by L1 Arabic speakers (Al-Issa 1998), L2 English by L1 Spanish speakers (e.g., Félix-Brasdefer 2003), and L2 Spanish by L1 German speakers (Margalef-Boada 1993).

Scholars have employed comparable frameworks for analyzing refusals (e.g., Blum-Kulka et al. 1984; Beebe et al. 1990) (see also Chapter 2), which has facilitated making comparisons among studies. For example, Chen, Ye and Zhang's (1995) used Beebe et al. (1990) in their analysis of Mandarin Chinese refusals. They found that the participants of their study favored indirect refusal strategies. They most commonly

refused offers by dissuading the interlocutor with threats, guilt trips, and criticisms. For requests, suggestions and invitations, the most frequent indirect refusal was to give reasons. Refusals to invitations in Peruvian Spanish (García 1992), Venezuelan Spanish (García 1999), Mexican Spanish (Félix-Brasdefer 2008) and American English (Félix-Brasdefer 2003) were similar to the Chinese refusals in terms of a preference for indirectness, but not always in terms of strategy type.

As noted, Chinese refusals to invitations most frequently consisted of reasons; the second most frequent strategy, however, was a direct refusal, followed by an expression of regret (Chen et al. 1995). For Peruvian Spanish, mitigated refusals (e.g., *yo creo que no va a ser posible* “I think that it’s not gonna be possible”) were as prevalent as giving reasons; direct refusals and expressions of sorrow/regret were the next most common (García 1992). While Chen et al. did not code for “mitigated refusals” *per se*, we can see that the two groups—the Chinese and the Peruvians—both relied on giving reasons, direct refusals and expressions of regret for refusing invitations. The Venezuelans of García’s (1999) study and the Mexicans of Félix-Brasdefer’s (2008) study also preferred giving reasons to refuse. Unlike the Chinese and the Peruvians, however, the Venezuelans did not employ expressions of sorrow to as great an extent, or direct refusals at all. Instead, they were more likely to “negate/doubt their ability to comply” and give an “indefinite reply” (1999: 417). The Mexicans, on the other hand, differentiated their strategies on the basis of power (an artifact of Félix-Brasdefer’s research design). When the interlocutor was of equal status, they most frequently refused the invitation with reasons. They then tended to refuse directly, give indefinite replies and mitigate their refusals. When refusing an

invitation from someone in a position of authority, mitigating the refusal (rather than giving reasons) was the main strategy, followed by direct refusals. Compared with the Mexicans, the American English speakers relied more heavily on direct refusals when refusing someone in authority, but tempered their use of direct refusals with reasons with an addressee of equal status. In both cases, the Americans were direct more often than the Mexicans, though the overall tendency for both groups was to use indirect strategies.

Thus, the above suggests that the study of refusals is demonstrative of how people from very different speech communities (e.g., Chinese and Peruvians) can produce similar linguistic behaviors, while groups that seem more alike can display differences (e.g., Peruvians and Venezuelans). Invitations, for example, tended to be refused indirectly across cultures, but not in the same way. Giving reasons was the most common strategy for refusing invitations across the groups mentioned, but the extent to which the participants of the various studies refused with, for example, direct refusals, indefinite replies and expressions of regret varied by country of origin. Also, variables such as relative power were shown to affect refusal behavior.

While useful as a starting point for identifying areas of cross-cultural difference (and similarity), these studies are not representative of natural, face-to-face discourse. These and the majority of refusal studies are based on elicited, rather than natural, data. Over two-thirds of the 51 studies listed in Félix-Brasdefer (2008: 46-50) relied on discourse completion tasks (in which participants wrote down what they might say in a given situation), role play data (in which participants acted out what they might say and/or do with another participant or a research assistant) or a combination of the two.

Studies relying solely on natural data were significantly fewer (seven), while five of these added some aspect of natural observation to a discourse completion task or role play technique. Thus, natural data formed a part in only a quarter of the studies. Other approaches involved judgment tasks and retrospective verbal reports.

Additionally, the vast majority of these works elicited their data from university students in academic settings and focused on some variety of English. Notable exceptions include Wooton's (1981) study of parent-toddler interaction using natural data, Goldbeck's (2006) study of American children using a telephone role play technique, Schrader-Kniffki's (2007) work on intra-cultural communication and silence in Zapotec using natural data, and two studies of Japanese refusals in business settings (Tickle 1991; Cramer 1997). In the latter, though the setting was novel, the researchers still relied on discourse completion tasks and role plays, respectively. Thus, more studies are in order that study languages other than English, participants other than students, and use methods other than discourse completion tasks and role plays. Specifically, there is a need for more studies that record and analyze natural data. Because, while experimental methodologies are good for controlling certain features of an interaction, natural discourse assures us authenticity—that what was produced is really what someone would say or do in a given situation.

Refusals, Spanish

The focus of this review will be on findings related to native speaker patterns of refusal behavior. The works reviewed and critiqued here include García (1992, 1999) for Peruvian and Venezuelan Spanish, Pinto (2003) for Spanish/Mexican Spanish compared with US English, and Félix-Brasdefer (2003, 2008) for Latin American and Mexican Spanish compared with US English.

García (1992, 1999) examines and compares refusal behavior of men and women in Peru (1992) and Venezuela (1999). Both studies employ an open role play technique in which each of the twenty participants (10 male, 10 female) are instructed to decline an invitation to attend a friend's birthday party (equal power, low social distance). Her framework synthesizes Brown and Levinson's (1987) concepts of positive and negative face and politeness and Scollon and Scollon's (1983) solidarity and deference strategies (upon which she casts Brown and Levinson's politeness hierarchy, discussed below)². For coding purposes, she employs the classification of head acts and supportive moves of Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), which she categorizes in terms of solidarity and deference politeness.

The strengths of García's studies include 1) parting from the university student profile to include non-university adults, varying in terms of class, education and occupation, 2) attending to detail in the transcription (including non-verbal and paralinguistic behavior) and presenting contextualized samples of transcript, 3) giving attention to the potential differences between men and women when refusing, and 4) revealing a two-stage pattern for the Peruvians for declining an invitation (request-response, insist-response) and a three-stage pattern for the Venezuelans (request-response, insist-response, wrap-up).

In terms of the sociolinguistic variables, the benefit is limited to displaying significant differences between male and females for the selection of refusal strategies, though there seemed to be no marked differences between the Peruvian and the

² Solidarity politeness: low power difference and low social distance between interlocutors; includes bald-on-record and positive politeness.

Deference politeness: high social distance between interlocutors; includes off-record, do nothing, and negative politeness (García 1992: 209).

Venezuelan set. In both studies, both groups of men and women were deferential in their refusals in both stages of the interaction. In the first stage, the most prominent deferential strategies for head acts among Peruvian men included expressions of sorrow/regret and giving reasons/excuses, while for the Venezuelans it was reasons/excuses and doubting one's ability to comply. In the second stage, Peruvian men made (token) agreements to go to the party (solidarity) and expressed their gratitude for having been invited; the Venezuelans, on the other hand, continued to give reasons/excuses and doubt their ability to comply.

For the women, in the first stage, the most prominent deferential strategies for head acts among Peruvians included mitigating the refusal or giving reasons/excuses. With the same frequency that they gave excuses, they also refused directly (solidarity). Venezuelan women mirrored the Venezuelan men in that they gave reasons/excuses and doubted their ability to comply. The second stage displayed more differences between the men and the women. When insisted upon, the Peruvian women extended more (token) agreements (solidarity) than did the men, while the Venezuelans still gave reasons/excuses, but also made (token) future plans (solidarity). The overall conclusion was that Peruvian and Venezuelan men were more deferential than the women. The women tended to temper their deferential strategies with more friendliness / solidarity behavior. Nevertheless, all demonstrated that they deemed it more important to preserve the interlocutor's positive face at the expense of their own negative face.

Despite their contribution, García's analyses ignore some extralinguistic variables and poorly define others. For example, though her participants vary in age, class, education and occupation, she does not attempt to discuss the participants' behavior in

these terms—not even to say that her data were insufficient for such a discussion.

Also, the concept of class, limited to roughly equal divisions of “middle-middle” and “upper-middle class,” was stated without any qualification or methodological description as to how these categories were derived.

In addition, the use of open role plays restricted the type of invitation to one (i.e., inviting a friend to one’s birthday party), which while good for experimental isolation, is extremely limited in scope and calls into question the validity of a study on Venezuelan invitations (plural). In both studies, each participant spoke with the same female interlocutor, whose behavior 1) possibly had a priming effect on the participants (cf. 1992: 212) and 2) was likely rehearsed after several rounds. Additionally, because of the unnaturalness of the experimental set-up, we cannot be sure that this is what the participants actually would have said or responded. Finally, regarding the theoretical/analytical framework, García’s synthesis of the various perspectives is cumbersome and, in some cases, stands in contrast to her own coding scheme. For example, while García classifies giving reasons as an example of deferential/negative politeness, Brown and Levinson (1987) consider this behavior an example of positive politeness. Because giving reasons was a prevalent strategy, a change in classification from negative to positive politeness likely would affect the conclusions of her study.

Pinto (2003) uses discourse completion tasks to compare native English, native Spanish, and interlanguage³ (Spanish) speech act data. Her participants include native Spanish speakers from Spain (N=23) and Mexico (N=21), plus four levels of non-native, university Spanish students (N=80). Based on the classification scheme for refusals of

³ See Selinker (1972) for a full explication of the notion of interlanguage: knowledge under construction that contains L1, L2, and autonomous features found in neither.

Beebe et al. (1990)⁴, she categorizes the strategies used among native and non-native speakers, according to their written answers to two refusal scenarios: an invitation and a request. Her findings suggest that, for language learners, pragmatic competence does not develop simultaneously with grammatical competence; for example, expressions of regret varied widely in Spanish, but were limited to “(I’m) sorry” in English (2003: 163). This points to an area of potential pragmatic difficulty for English-speaking learners of Spanish that our research can help to address.

In refusing an invitation from a friend, Pinto found that while both native groups’ most frequently chosen first-strategy was an expression of refusal (e.g., *no puedo / not tonight*), the Spanish speakers employed this strategy nearly twice as often as the English speakers (48% vs. 28%). Explanations or excuses were equally frequent among the Spanish and English speakers as a first-strategy (26% and 25%); however, the Spanish speakers expressed a desire to accept (e.g., *me encantaría / I would love to*) much less than the English speakers (5% vs. 26%). Statements of regret (e.g., apologies) were less frequently a first-strategy among both groups, although the Spanish speakers made these statements comparatively less than the English speakers (10% vs. 16%). Suggestions of alternatives and expressions of gratitude were infrequently used as first strategies among both groups.

In refusing a request from a friend, the strategy preference for native Spanish and English speakers was very different. In this case, though statements of regret were the most frequent first-strategy for both groups, the Spanish speakers employed this

⁴ Pinto modifies the classification scheme into seven categories: 1) expression of refusal, 2) explanation/excuse, 3) desire to accept, 4) statement of regret, 5) suggest alternative, 6) future offer, 7) expression of gratitude

tactic much less than English speakers (48% vs. 64%). For the Spanish speakers, expressions of refusal were a strong alternative to statements of regret (33%), but there was nothing in the English data that came close to offsetting the preference for the statement of regret (e.g., desire to accept achieved only 18%). Overall, according to Pinto (2003: 160), the Spanish and English preferred first-strategies for refusing an invitation from a friend were, from most to least preferred:

- SPN: explicit refusal > excuse > regret > alternative > desire to accept / gratitude
- ENG: explicit refusal / desire to accept / excuse > regret > gratitude > alternative

Likewise, the Spanish and English first strategy preferences for refusing a request were:

- SPN: regret > explicit refusal > excuse > desire to accept / alternative
- ENG: regret > desire to accept > alternative > explicit refusal > excuse

The problematic areas of this study include reliance on discourse completion tasks to obtain native speaker data. While they form an appropriate comparison for learner data in a study such as hers, these data are highly questionable if taken as representative of native speaker linguistic norms. A positive point is that the refusal situations used in her study are highly relevant to university students in Mexico, Spain and the United States. However, due to the scope of her project, which includes myriad speech acts, her investigation of refusals is limited with only two refusal situations. Also, she aggregates data from two native varieties of Spanish that have been shown to differ in specific pragmatic areas, such as apology behavior (Wagner 1999). A better practice would have been to separate them into two groups and/or conduct tests of intragroup difference to show if and where there were significant differences between the Mexicans and the Spaniards.

Félix-Brasdefer's (2003) study of refusal behavior differs from Pinto's in several respects. First, he focuses only on refusals to invitations, allowing for more in-depth exploration of this area: three situations, each with different power/distance constellations versus one of equal power/distance. Second, he relies on open role plays (N=90) rather than written discourse completion tasks. This had the advantage of allowing speaker negotiation and interaction, and produced more tokens of refusal strategies than Pinto's instrument, despite less participants (20 versus 44 native speakers). Third, Félix-Brasdefer employs a more complex refusal strategy coding system as well as retrospective verbal reports (akin to García (1992, 1999)). Like Pinto, his goal is to compare interlanguage (Spanish) data with native speaker (English and Spanish) data; but, unlike Pinto, he looks at one group of advanced Spanish learners, rather than four groups of distinct proficiency levels. Regarding the native Spanish speakers of his study, they were from six different Latin American countries (Mexico, Cuba, Venezuela, Peru, Argentina and Colombia) as opposed to Pinto's participants from Mexico and Spain.

Based also on a modified version of the framework of Beebe et al (1990), Félix-Brasdefer's divides his data into four main categories (i.e., direct, indirect, solidarity, adjuncts) with various sub-categories. This makes direct comparison with Pinto difficult, especially since Pinto does not divide her data in this way and works with a reduced set of strategies. Also, Félix-Brasdefer presents his descriptive statistics in terms of all strategies used, rather than first-strategies, making it difficult to compare his findings with García's as well.

To summarize Félix-Brasdefer's findings, he found that the native Spanish speakers employed less direct strategies overall than the native English speakers (4% vs. 11%), and within each power/distance constellation (2003: 233, 239). This difference was corroborated by retrospective verbal reports. Recalling that in Pinto's data, Spanish speakers refused an invitation with expressions of refusal—"the most explicit, direct means for refusing" (Pinto 2003: 163)—nearly twice as often as the English speakers (48% vs. 28% as first strategy; 62% vs. 33% overall), these findings appear to be in direct opposition. Noting that the stylistic variation of the different Spanish-speaking countries represented in both Pinto's and Félix-Brasdefer's studies likely impacted the outcomes, it would be of interest to isolate and compare the two researchers' Mexican data to see if they continue to produce such distinct results.

With regard to indirect strategies, Félix-Brasdefer found that these were the dominant category for both native Spanish and English speakers (53% and 51%, respectively). However, within the gamut of indirect strategies, Spanish speakers were most likely to 1) make excuses and 2) give indefinite replies (e.g., *voy a intentar* "I will try"), whereas English speakers were most likely to 1) give apologies and 2) make excuses (2003: 233). This supports Pinto's findings that English speakers were always more apologetic than Spanish speakers when refusing (whether the proposition be an invitation or request) and that both groups tended to give reasons/make excuses.

Also of interest is the fact that only Spanish speakers employed any strategies in Félix-Brasdefer's larger category of solidarity, which included explicit acceptance of the invitation, mitigated acceptance, or "solidarity" (e.g., when refusing a boss's promotion dinner: *me da mucho gusto que le hayan ofrecido ese puesto [a Ud.]* "I am really

pleased that they have offered you that position”). While absent in the native English data, solidarity strategies were prevalent in the native Spanish data, comprising 12% of all strategies.

Finally, it is worth noting that for the Spanish role plays, the inviter was a native Spanish speaker who followed the pattern set forth by García (1992) in which the invitation is followed by an insistence. While it is unknown how the native Spanish speakers responded to this technique, in the verbal report, 80% of the English speaking learners of Spanish felt “uncomfortable, impatient, bad, forced” (2003: 246). This illustrates another potential area of contrast between native Spanish and English speakers when refusing.

Félix-Brasdefer’s subject selection and methodology present problems in several respects. As mentioned above, he combines into one native Spanish group speakers spanning Latin American and the Caribbean; thus, despite his claim, there is no control for “Spanish dialect” (2003: 225).⁵ Second, he enlists the help of two female research assistants (one Peruvian, one American), rather than two females and two males, to perform the role plays with each of the participants. This is problematic because of gender differences in refusal behavior (e.g., Holmes 1995; García 1993). Also, it is likely that the repetition of role plays would create a rehearsal effect on the part of the research assistant, causing at least one side of the conversation to be less natural. Third, his data presentation is highly restricted to descriptive statistics and reveals only lines of transcripts, rather than full, contextual examples of results. The few transcribed

⁵ The same argument could be made for the English speakers in Pinto’s study. Though she does not explicitly state where they are from, we presume that, as a group of 80 college students, they come from different regions of the United States.

data that he does present are not coded for non-verbal (e.g., a smile) or paralinguistic behavior (e.g., prosodic stress, laughter). Fourth, some of the situations that he chooses beg the question as to the validity of the data; that is, he asks the participants to perform roles for which they probably have little or no real life experience (e.g., as the department manager of a telephone company).

In a later study, Félix-Brasdefer (2008) remedies many of the above issues; also, he moves away from Brown and Levinson's (1987) model of politeness. Recognizing the politeness¹ and politeness² distinction (discussed in Chapter 2), he situates this study within a politeness¹/relational work framework (Eelen 2001; Watts 2003). Based on the notions of face (Goffman 1967) and relational work (e.g., Locher and Watts 2005), this study examines expressive and metapragmatic politeness⁶ among Mexican (Tlaxcalan) and American (Minnesotan) males via six open role play situations, with refusals to invitations, requests and suggestions. The role plays are organized in terms of Scollon and Scollon's (2001) three "face systems": hierarchical (unequal power), deference (high social distance) and solidarity (low social distance).

Using this relational work/face systems approach and role play/data triangulation methodology, Félix-Brasdefer makes a strong case for his conclusions regarding the refusal strategies for these two groups and the values that he claims these strategies imply. Among others findings, Félix-Brasdefer's data show that whereas both Mexicans and Americans gave reasons/excuses, refused directly, and even agreed with the interlocutor whom they were refusing, differences emerged. The Mexicans mitigated

⁶ Expressive politeness¹ can be defined as "linguistic expressions that may be open to a polite interpretation in specific situations," while metapragmatic politeness¹ deals with people's perceptions of politeness as a concept in daily interaction, here accessed by gathering participant responses from data triangulation (Félix-Brasdefer 2008: 4).

their refusals and gave indefinite replies to a greater extent than the Americans. The Americans preferred to offer alternatives and/or request additional information. The data iterated his 2003 work in which the Spanish speakers, as a whole, displayed a higher degree of indirectness than the English speakers.

With the use of retrospective verbal reports, Félix-Brasdefer gleaned the participants' reactions to the role plays in the areas of perception, directness, and insistence. In the moment of the interaction, whereas the Mexicans reported being conscious of power differences and maintaining/building relationships, the Americans were more concerned with being honest, fair and straightforward. With respect to directness, the Mexicans felt that being more indirect reflected respect and concern for the other in the sense that an indirect refusal served to "*suavizar el trancazo* or 'soften the blow'" (2008: 149). (Mitigated) directness, they expressed, was more appropriate for relationships of *confianza* or trust. The Americans, on the other hand, felt that by being more direct they were being honest with and respecting the hearer's face wants. Regarding insistence, Mexicans felt that such behavior was expected and appropriate, while for the Americans it was generally unexpected and inappropriate. Combining the data from the role plays and the verbal reports, Félix-Brasdefer proposes an overarching evaluation of the Mexican and US cultures:

on the one hand, an inclination towards involvement or affiliation with an interlocutor who shows concern for the other and expresses cooperation and solidarity with the interlocutor (Mexicans); on the other, a tendency towards independence or autonomy to reflect values of fairness and individuality, and a focus on the self as an independent member of a society (Americans) (2008: 161).

As noted, this study takes steps to correct many of the shortcomings in Félix-Brasdefer (2003). He limits the groups to participants from relatively small geographic

areas, controlling as much as possible for language variety; he increases the interlocutors from one to two per group; he controls for gender by employing only men in the study, and he gives ample stretches of transcript upon which the reader can base her or his own opinion. Moreover, the transcripts are much more detailed with non-verbal and paralinguistic cues. Also, the situations that he employs are all relevant to his participant base and performed in appropriate settings, assuring maximum validity within a role play framework.

While overall a tightly knit work methodologically and theoretically, we are still left with questions and concerns. For example, what did the participants do/say who did not follow the Mexican/American “mainstream” pattern (i.e., Mexicans who were bothered by an insistence and Americans who were not)? He gives no examples or explanations of these exchanges or verbal reports. Also, how would women participants have compared in the study? And would ethnographic research corroborate or contradict the findings? The strongest concern still has to do with the type of data analyzed. If one wishes to propose overarching evaluations of different cultures, experimental data lacks validity in that they are not the participants’ natural responses in spontaneous face-to-face interaction. Also, it is fallacious to generalize findings to an entire country based on data generated by only one group from a smaller geo-political region within that country.

Based on the review of these studies in which native Spanish was taken as the language of focus, Boxer’s (2008) admonition rings true. Given the plethora of experimental studies conducted to date, it is time for scholars to focus on baseline data generated from spontaneous speech. This is especially true for those of us interested

in teaching Spanish as a second language. In order to guide and train novice language users, we need to know what the members of different discourse communities do to successfully manage situations during spontaneous spoken discourse. The present study accepts this challenge by examining natural face-to-face discourse of Uruguayans in various interactional domains, taking extralinguistic and social variables into account.

Description of the Speech Community Studied

This section describes the area of Uruguay in which I collected the data, i.e., the speech community. There is debate surrounding the concept of “speech community” as well as its counterpart “community of practice” (Rampton 1998); my use of speech community combines aspects of what Rampton (1998; 2000) calls “pragmatic” and “distributional” approaches. In other words, I assume that there is, in general, a background against which members of the community have come to know their variety of Spanish and the norms for appropriate pragmalinguistic behavior (i.e., the pragmatic approach, cf. Hymes 1972); on the other hand, through careful analysis of refusal practices, I seek to discover whether there is any significant difference in these practices between the two groups of participants based on area of residence within Rosario (i.e., the distributional approach, cf. Labov 1972).⁷

Regarding my choice of the term “speech community” as opposed to “community of practice,” I chose the former because I deem its bounds to be less restrictive than the latter. For the purposes of this study, I define a speech community as a geopolitically bound community that shares norms “for the conduct and interpretation of speech, and

⁷ Source:

http://www.academia.edu/1220308/Speech_community_Handbook_of_pragmatics_ed_by_J_Verschueren_J_Ostman_J_Blommaert_and_C_Bulcaen_1_30. Last accessed on April 27, 2013.

... for the interpretation of at least one linguistic variety” (Hymes 1972: 41). Thus, it is the more inclusive realm of people and their activities. The other is more constrained and specified toward achieving a common goal or purpose (Lave and Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998), such that within a given speech community, any number of communities of practice—consisting of members of one or, potentially, various speech communities—can form, operate and disband (e.g., an academic committee, a project team, a rehabilitation group, a marriage). While I recognize that all of the participants of this study function within various communities of practice during their day-to-day interactions (loosely operationalized through the domain framework), the goal of this section is not to describe these; it is to give the reader some insight as to the historical, structural and social context in which these women operate and share with their interlocutors.

Over the course of nine weeks in the summer of 2009, I collected the data for this project in the once town, now city, of Nuestra Señora del Rosario (abbr. Rosario) (pop. 10,085⁸), located in the southwestern department of Colonia, Uruguay (Figure 1-1). Geographically, it lies a short distance (approximately 32 miles) from the department’s capital, the historic Colonia del Sacramento, which is also a major access hub to Buenos Aires by ferry. In addition to beaches a few miles to the south, Montevideo lies less than a two-hour bus ride to the southeast and is highly accessible by private and public transport.

Rosario’s founding initiative, attributed to Spanish Captain Benito Herosa, was completed in 1775, a year before the formation of—and Rosario’s integration with—the

⁸ According to the *Censo 2011*, as reported by the *Instituto Nacional de Estadística, República Oriental del Uruguay* (2012a).

Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata. While the first rooted inhabitant of this area was Pascual de Chena (d. 1736), an Amerindian of Peruvian descent, not much political, cultural or linguistic influence is attributed to the indigenous presence here (or in Uruguay), though some dispute this view (Mezzera 1968, Caetano and Rilla 2005).⁹ Undeniably influential, however, was the massive influx of European immigrants (est. 550,000) over a relatively small national population (est. 74,000 in 1830) between 1824 and 1924 (Caetano and Rilla 2005: 106, 494). These hailed in smaller numbers from England, France and Germany, and in larger quantities from Spain and northern Italy (117).

Without a doubt, these European newcomers affected the political, cultural and linguistic landscape of a country so new and sparsely populated: studies have detailed the outcomes of Spanish in contact with Italian in the River Plate area (e.g., De Pierris 1990; Cancellier 1996), while towns neighboring Rosario, such as Colonia Valdense and Nueva Helvecia, maintain ties and celebrate their historic connections with France, Italy and Switzerland.¹⁰ Nevertheless, despite the multilingual influences that have crafted the southern Uruguayan variety of Spanish into what it is today, my perception based on nearly seventeen years of interaction with this community is that Rosarians, in general, are for the most part monolingual speakers of this variety of Spanish. Personal communications from two primary school teachers in the public system confirm that

⁹ According to Caetano y Rilla, following Uruguayan independence in 1830, the extermination of the remaining indigenous peoples in 1831 “fue ‘un fracaso’ si se lo mide en comparación con el peso que lo indígena tiene en la toponomía, y...con el conjunto de potentes tradiciones gestuales y rituales [e.g., el del mate],...y...el peso del universo misionero jesuítico en la formación de los pueblos del Río de la Plata” (2005: 19). Also, converted guaraníes, numbering more than 30,000, “fueron la base de la mano de obra rural uruguaya... [y] hasta 1840 el idioma en la campaña era el guaraní” (19).

¹⁰ Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nueva_Helvecia. Last accessed on October 15, 2012.

early foreign language training, primarily in English and/or Portuguese, occurs in some public schools; however, it is not consistent due to a lack of resources and personnel:

[foreign language training] no es obligatorio porque no hay recursos para tener profesores de idiomas en todas las escuelas, pero sí hay varias escuelas que tienen profesor de idioma, en general inglés. En el programa (currículum) están detallados contenidos de inglés y portugués para cada año, pero . . . si hay profesores (Silvana Dalmás Gardiol, personal communication, April 23, 2013).

[foreign language training] is not obligatory because there are not resources to have language teachers in all the schools, but there are various schools that have a language teacher, typically for English. In the program (curriculum) there are content guidelines for English and Portuguese for each year, but . . . only if there are teachers (Silvana Dalmás Gardiol, personal communication, April 23, 2013).

A look at Uruguay's National Administration of Public Education departmental guide to schools with instruction in English and/or Portuguese supports Dalmás Gardiol's statements.¹¹ According to this official source, in the Department of Colonia there are only ten public schools with language training (English only), none of which are in Rosario. In Rosario, this makes learning another language a question of private instruction and, therefore, the prerogative of individual families.

Present-day Rosario boasts a central plaza surrounded by the city's architecturally prominent Catholic church, well-established businesses, and colonial homes (Figure 1-2). The plaza is still a place for people to come together, to share *mate*, shop and/or conduct business and financial transactions. Those living in this centro area (Centro) are privileged in that they are close to the national bank, schools, churches, medical facilities, transport hubs and social establishments. Also, they tend

¹¹ Information found on the home page of the *Departamento de Segundas Lenguas*, a department of the *Consejo de Educación Inicial y Primaria*, which is overseen by the *Administración Nacional de Educación Pública*. Source: http://www.ceip.edu.uy/documentos/2013/segundaslenguas/NomenclatorSegundasLenguas21_03_13.pdf. Last accessed on April 30, 2013.

to live in well-established, single-family homes, often above their own businesses (Figure 1-3).

The local economy has historically centered on agriculture, meat and dairy production, though at one time Rosario was a locus of intense factory production (the last of these—a battery plant—closed in 2002).¹² In fact, the whole of the department is known throughout the country for its artisanal cheeses, preserves and other products.¹³ Fields laden with cattle, sheep and other livestock surround the area outlined in Figure 1-1. A slaughterhouse is located in the southwestern outskirts and is considered a significant source of employment; an impressionistic survey of the town reveals a large number of butcher shops, signaling a lucrative source of income. Another emerging sector is that pertaining to medical facilities, most notably the centrally located *Cooperativa Asistencial Médica del Este de Colonia*, which boasts 64 beds and an intensive care unit, and is the largest, most complete facility in the department.¹⁴

On the outskirts of town, some two miles to the south of the central plaza and roughly adjacent to the slaughterhouse, is the neighborhood of El Pastoreo (Figure 1-1). Geographically marginalized with 400-plus residents, it was only in 2011 that it was incorporated into the census area of Rosario.¹⁵ There is, for example, no bus route that connects it to the city center, and certain shops offering basic provisions have sprung up within the neighborhood to supply goods to those who choose not to make the trek

¹² Source: http://www.teledoce.com/telemundo/nacionales/30612_Fanaesa%3A-abandono-y-contaminacion. Last accessed on April 23, 2013.

¹³ One commercial example of this is the company Los Nietitos, which began operations in La Paz, Colonia and produces fruit and dairy products. Source: <http://www.losnietitos.com.uy/home.htm>. Last accessed on April 23, 2013.

¹⁴ Source: <http://www.camec.com.uy/content/servicios.html>. Last accessed on April 23, 2013.

¹⁵ Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rosario,_Uruguay. Last accessed on October 15, 2012.

into town. While *motos* (scooters) are prevalent, few of the residents own cars. There are no medical services in El Pastoreo, but there are three educational facilities: an agricultural school, an elementary school and a social service center that houses a government-supported preschool and kindergarten. Based on my interactions in El Pastoreo, residents tend to possess lower levels of education (i.e., less than a high-school equivalent) and work as laborers (e.g., construction, brick making), paraprofessionals (e.g., teacher's aide) and domestic services (e.g., cooking and cleaning services). While this is by no means an exhaustive list, the perception of El Pastoreo's population is that of a lower socioeconomic class with much less-privileged access to basic goods and services than their Centro counterparts, the latter boasting a more bourgeois lifestyle.

Over the decades, several generations have been born in El Pastoreo and have, over time, formed a close-knit community where most know each other. It is common for offspring to build onto existing family-owned structures or beside other family members' homes; larger dwellings can be divided into units and rented individually (Figure 1-4). Among those with whom I have had contact, a general air pervades that there is a separation between "us" and "them"—those from El Pastoreo and those "del pueblo" (from the Centro), respectively. Based on my contacts with those from the Centro area, I can say that the feeling is mutual to an extent.

The question remains, though, as to whether I have presented to the reader one or two speech communities, since historically these groups have maintained some degree of isolation and separation of identity. In the sense that a speech community consists of a group of people "who speak a common language, dialect or other

language variety, often recognized on geographical or ethnic criteria” as defined by Jackson (2007), I would be hesitant to claim two distinct speech communities: within the jurisdiction of the same local government, they share the language of Spanish and certain tell-tale phonological features typical of the southern Uruguayan variety, such as *sheísmo*, the elision and aspiration of /s/, and *voseo* (cf. Lipski 2004). Also, the residents of El Pastoreo frequent the city center and interact with those from the Centro area on a regular basis (while separate, the physical distance is relatively short). In addition, ethnicity in Uruguay is relatively irrelevant as compared with other areas of Latin American where the question is more salient, such as the Andean region. According to the 2011 census, 94% of the Uruguayan population considered themselves of “white” heritage, 8% “afro or black” and 5% “indigenous.” In fact, the department of Colonia is one of the most ethnically homogenous in the country.¹⁶

On the other hand, however, taking the definition of speech community proposed at the outset of this section (and extended here): “a community sharing rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech, and rules for the interpretation of at least one linguistic variety . . . [mingling] what a linguist would distinguish as grammatically and as socially or culturally acceptable” (Hymes 1972, 36), one could argue that the Centro and Pastoreo areas make up two speech communities. Mutual intelligibility and shared local governance aside, linguistic practices that are socially acceptable and thus shared in El Pastoreo may not be so in the Centro and vice versa. Greetings (cf. Pinto 2008; Spencer-Oatey 2009: 1), the use of ritual insults (cf. Holmes 1995), levels of in/directness and attenuation (cf. Márquez Reiter 2002) and the strategies employed to

¹⁶ Instituto Nacional de Estadística Uruguay. Source: <http://www.ine.gub.uy/censos2011/index.html>. Last accessed on October 15, 2012.

maneuver within various speech situations (cf. García 1992, 1999, 2007; Félix-Brasdefer 2003, 2008) are only a few of myriad areas in which differences in pragmatic norms can be ascertained. This is one of the questions of the present study: how and to what extent do the practices for negotiating refusal situations vary based on participant area of origin: Centro versus El Pastoreo. Thus, in this study I have recognized the possibility of two speech communities within a small geographic area and relatively homogeneous population, and have conducted the analysis with that possibility in mind. As I show in Chapter 6, however, the refusal behavior between the Centro and Pastoreo groups was surprisingly similar. For the purposes of this study, this finding supports treating the data as having come from one speech community.

Chapter Organization

The organization of the present dissertation is as follows: Chapter 2 presents the major theories of politeness and the theoretical framework chosen for the present study. I also review Speech Act Theory, as well as previously established frameworks for analyzing refusals. In Chapter 3 I provide a thorough description of the methodology used to carry out the research: instrument design, participant selection and profiles, data collection, data transcription and data analysis. I also give the rationale behind each of these procedures. Chapter 4 provides an overview of the refusal strategies used by the participants in answer to the first research question. I discuss these results in terms of in/directness of the refusal head act, the salient linguistic strategies for head acts and supportive moves, as well as the use of formulaic phrases and templates.

Chapters 5 and 6 answer the second research question regarding the extent to which the participants' refusals varied according to the contextual features of the exchange. In Chapter 5 I analyze the data from the perspective of domains, roughly

described as domestic, social and workplace/business. This analysis takes as separate the social orientation of the talk and the physical setting in which it took place. It reveals the importance of domains for understanding the participants' refusal strategy selection. Chapter 6 involves the participant characteristics (i.e., age, education level, socio-economic status/neighborhood of residence) and other social variables pertaining to the addressee in relation to the participant (i.e., addressee sex, relative age, relative education level, relative socioeconomic status and relative power). I also take into consideration factors relating to the participant-addressee relationship, such as level of familiarity and contexts of contact, generally described as social distance factors.

The last chapter, Chapter 7, provides the reader with a discussion of the results and the overall conclusions. Here I discuss the major findings in relation to previous research and to the theoretical and analytical frameworks guiding the study. One conclusion was that the domain of interaction, the sex of the addressee and social distance factors—analyzed individually and compositely—were the most important determiners for how the participants of this study refused. Thus, examining refusal patterns along various lines underscored the salience of certain variables, such as domain, that are generally overlooked in experimental studies and also pointed to the need to investigate more thoroughly the inner-workings of social distance with data rooted in natural, spontaneous discourse.

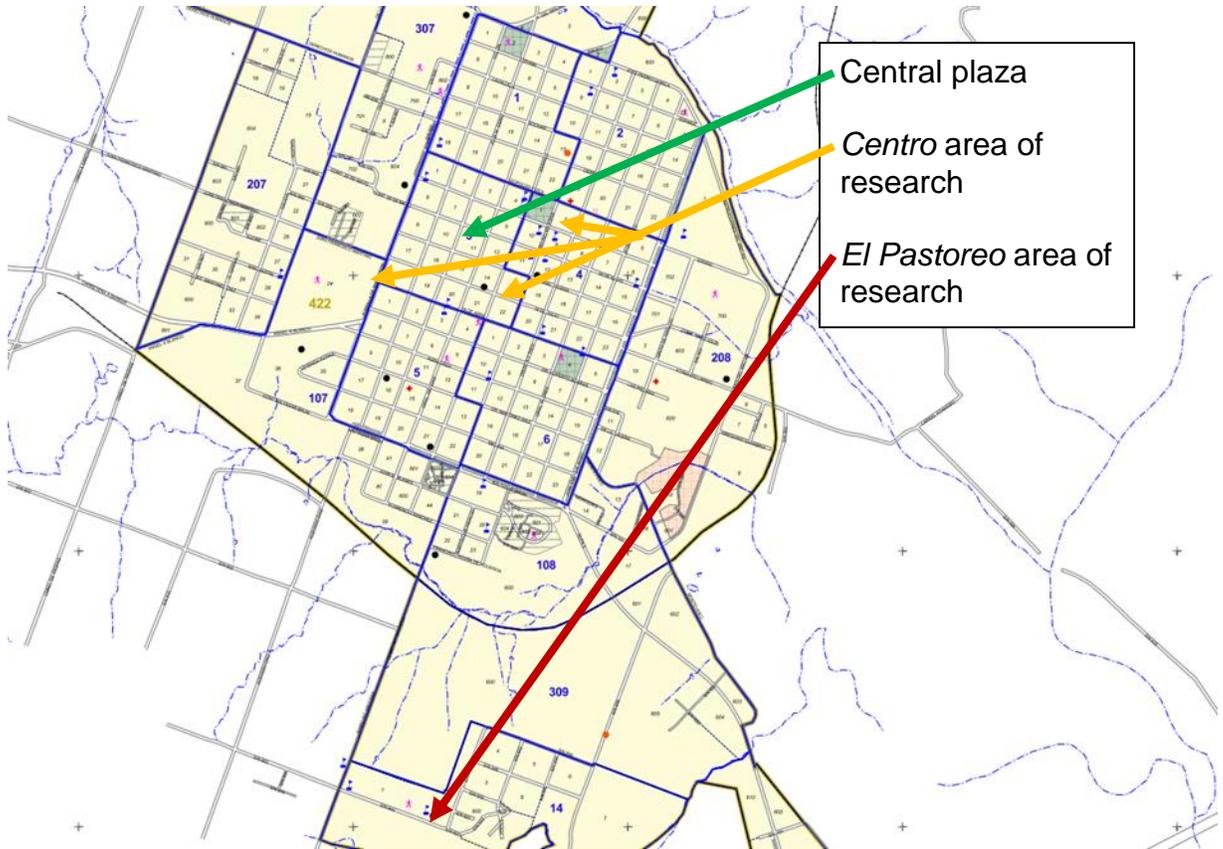


Figure 1-1. Layout of the city of Rosario, as shown by the *Instituto Nacional de Estadística, República Oriental del Uruguay* (2012b).



A



B

Figure 1-2. Rosario's central plaza, *la plaza Benito Herosa*. A) Taken from the northeast corner of the plaza looking onto the square and B) from the central square looking south to the statue of Artigas and the Catholic Church. Photos courtesy of Heather Kaiser.



A



B

Figure 1-3. *Centro* dwellings. A) Taken from the northeast corner of the plaza looking onto its north side where a single-family dwelling, situated above the family shop, is nestled between a corner business and a social club and B) a typical single-family dwelling one block from the central plaza. Photos courtesy of Heather Kaiser.



Figure 1-4. *El Pastoreo* dwellings. A) One of the original *ranchos*, currently uninhabited, and B) a typical present-day multi-family dwelling. Photos courtesy of Heather Kaiser.

CHAPTER 2 THEORETICAL AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORKS

This chapter discusses in broad strokes the theoretical literature underpinning this study. It consists of three principal sections: 1) politeness theory, 2) speech act theory and analysis and 3) frameworks for analyzing refusals. In the first section, I outline the major politeness theories, concentrating on Brown and Levinson (1987) and Scollon and Scollon (2001). I then discuss the major criticisms of Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness and present Watts' (2003) social practice and emergent networks view, as well as Locher and Watts' (2005) theory of relational work. In the second section, I focus on Speech Act Theory (Austin (1962); Searle (1969)), outline its basic tenets and underlying assumptions, and emphasize the ways in which Speech Act Theory conflicts and coalesces with the latter theories. For the third section, I outline analytical frameworks that have been used previously to analyze refusals and the extent to which they are practical for the present study.

Politeness Theory

As reviewed in much of the discourse analysis and pragmatics literature (cf. Watts 2003; Márquez Reiter and Placencia 2005; Placencia and García 2007; Félix-Brasdefer 2008), the most prominent scholars theorizing about politeness (or area thereof) include: Lakoff (1973) (rules of politeness), Grice (1975) (cooperative principle and maxims), Brown and Levinson (1987) (universal model of linguistic politeness/theory of face), Fraser and Nolen (1981) (conversational contract), Leech (1983) (politeness principle and maxims), Aston (1988) ((positive) rapport), Ide (1989) (social norm/volition and discernment view), Gu (1990) (connects politeness with moral societal norms), Blum-Kulka (1992) (cultural norms/scripts), Janney and Arndt (1992)

(interpersonal supportiveness/tact view), Culpeper (1996) (model of impoliteness), Spencer-Oatey (2000) (rapport management), Chen (2001) (model for self-politeness), Scollon and Scollon (2001) (politeness/face systems), Watts (2003) (social practice and emergent networks view) and Locher and Watts (2005) (theory of relational work).

Detailed descriptions of each of these theoretical approaches are found in Watts (2003), Placencia and García (2007) and Félix-Brasdefer (2008). For this review, I concentrate on Brown and Levinson (1987), Scollon and Scollon (2001) and that which will serve as the overarching framework for this study, Watts (2003) and Locher and Watts (2005).

Brown and Levinson's Universal Model of Politeness²

In 1978, Brown and Levinson proposed a theoretical model to account for similarities in linguistic behavior found among speakers of highly distinct language groups (i.e. English, Tzeltal and Tamil). Noting, for example, that people across groups often employed hedged, indirect speech when making relatively large requests, severe criticisms, etc., they sought to provide an explanation for what appeared on the surface to be irrational behavior: that is, communicative behavior that was inefficient, flouting, for example, the Gricean maxim of Manner (i.e. not avoiding obscurity or ambiguity of expression) (Grice 2006). However, the fact that speakers from unrelated speech communities did this consistently tuned the researchers in to the possibility that this behavior was, in fact, highly rational and motivated by “politeness, very broadly and specially defined” (1987: 55). To this end, they extended Goffman's concept of “face” into a duality of “positive” and “negative” face (discussed below). They theorized that “strategic orientations to participants' face” composed an underlying, unifying and universal force responsible for such similarities. The central question of their 1978 work, republished in 1987, asks, “What sort of assumptions and what sort of reasoning

are utilized by participants to produce such universal strategies of verbal interaction?” (1987: 57).

To answer this question, Brown and Levinson assume a Model Person who “is a willful fluent speaker of a natural language, further endowed with two special properties—rationality and face” (58). Every Model Person is “rational,” i.e., able to use reason to determine the means by which she or he can achieve some desired end. Additionally, all Model Persons possess both positive and negative face. The notion of positive face is “the positive consistent self-image . . . crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of,” while that of negative face corresponds to one’s “basic claim . . . to freedom of action and freedom from imposition” (61). In general, it is to the benefit of the interlocutors (assumed to be Model Persons) to preserve the other’s face, since face consists of a set of wants that can only be satisfied by the actions of others. However, and this is their crucial point, speech acts threaten either positive or negative face. In their framework, certain acts inherently do this; these are known as face-threatening acts or FTAs. Acts inherently threatening positive face include criticisms, disagreements, raising of emotional or divisive topics (causing the addressee to be put in an awkward position damaging to the self-image), the use of address terms (that cause embarrassment to the addressee) and apologies (marring the speaker’s positive image). Acts inherently threatening negative face include orders, requests, suggestions, threats, offers (causing the addressee to incur a possible debt), and compliments (possibly causing the addressee to think she or he may have to protect the desired object) (cf. 1987: 65-68).

It is therefore up to the rational speaker, the Model Person, to determine what course to take, based on the outcome of a cost-benefit analysis: one's wants versus the perceived needs of the other in a given speech community. Here, three variables come into play: P (power, the relative status of the speaker to the hearer), D (distance, the social relationship between the speaker and hearer in terms of familiarity/intimacy), and R (ranking, how a culture ranks a particular imposition or face threatening act relative to another). The "weightiness" of some imposition "x" can thus be calculated as such: $W_x = D(S, H) + P(S, H) + R_x$, where S and H equal "speaker" and "hearer," respectively (1987: 76). A higher weight corresponds with an increased risk of face loss. Of note is the implication that cultural knowledge vis-à-vis the ranking of the imposition could be ascertained by comparing the outcomes of, say, two situations for which the relationships of power and distance are the same.

Furthermore, based on the speaker's calculation of W_x , she or he will follow a decision-based, "politeness hierarchy" in order to determine the strategy for doing some FTA (cf. figure, p. 60). Brown and Levinson have identified five main strategies (1-5): where *do the FTA bald on record* equals 1 (most face-threatening) and *don't do the FTA* equals 5 (least face-threatening). To arrive at strategies 2-4, the speaker has chosen to do the FTA, but must then choose whether to do it *on record with redressive action* (2, 3) or *off record* (4) in hopes that the addressee will understand the message via inference (i.e. "implicature" (Grice 2006)), with the risk that she or he may not. At the core of Brown and Levinson's politeness hierarchy are strategies 2 and 3. For if the speaker chooses to *do the FTA on record with redressive action*, this means that she or he will attempt to "give face" to the hearer using either (69-70):

- *positive politeness*: aimed at anointing the hearer's positive self image (2), or
- *negative politeness*: aimed at minimizing impositions to the hearer's wants (3).

Thus, assuming Model Persons, Brown and Levinson's model predicts that "rational face-bearing agents will choose ways of doing face-threatening acts that minimize those threats, hence will choose a higher-numbered strategy as the threat increases" (83). For example, in situations where there is little risk of threatening the addressee's face, the speaker may choose to make a direct statement without hedges or softeners (i.e. *bald on record* = 1), as when a woman, about to laundry, says to her husband (low D, low P), "Give me your dirty clothes." Where this risk is more serious, a speaker may use an apology (i.e. *negative politeness* = 3); for example, at a bus stop, one stranger to another (high D) might initiate a request with, "sorry to bother you, but . . ." in order to communicate the desire to not impinge upon the addressee.

Criticism of Brown and Levinson

Such scholars as Ide (1989), Werkhofer (1992), Márquez Reiter (2000), Eelen (2001), Watts (2003), and Locher and Watts (2005) have criticized Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness on numerous counts. Since many are interrelated, I have outlined ten key critiques within which certain groups of problematic areas are subsumed. The following is a synopsis of these points. Woven throughout is my argument that these shortcomings necessitate the departure from the Brown and Levinson model to a radically different approach (i.e. Watts' social practice based approach), which I discuss below.

First, Brown and Levinson conflate the notions of first and second order politeness, or politeness1 and politeness2. Watts, Ide, and Ehlich (1992) argue for the need to distinguish between politeness1 and politeness2, a banner that has been taken

up by others in works such as Eelen (2001), Watts (2003), and Watts and Locher (2005). The difference resides primarily in the empirical versus the abstract, with politeness¹ corresponding to commonsense, “folk” notions of the term, i.e., “the various ways in which polite behaviour is perceived and talked about by members of socio-cultural groups” (1992: 3). According to Eelen (2001), fundamental characteristics of politeness¹ include evaluativity (judgment of own/others’ behavior, intimately connected with social values), argumentativity (aimed at some “social effect” (37)), normativity (involved with social norms associated with appropriateness), and “polite”-ness (oriented to the “polite” end of the “polite-impolite” spectrum).

Politeness², on the other hand, is a theoretical construct in pursuit of linguistic universals; it is informed by politeness¹ phenomena and seeks to explain them. However, a proper politeness² theory must avoid the trap of being evaluative, normative, and one-sided. An acceptable politeness² theory must take into consideration the discursive (social) struggle¹ involved in the everyday hashing out of politeness¹. In the end, claim Eelen and others, Brown and Levinson fail on all accounts.

As Watts (2003) points out, Brown and Levinson make the error of evaluating *a priori* which linguistic forms are “polite,” instead of leaving such notions to the speakers themselves. In fact, as Holmes (1995), Watts (2003) and Locher and Watts (2005) demonstrate, no linguistic expression is inherently polite. Also, there is evidence in the literature to support the statement that their “universal” concepts of positive and

¹ Based on Bourdieu’s discussion of ‘struggle’, e.g. “Each state of the social world is no more than a temporary equilibrium.... The struggle which is the very principle of the distributions is inextricably a struggle...to impose the legitimate way of perceiving the power relations manifested by the distributions...which...can help to perpetuate or subvert these power relations” (1990: 141).

negative face—especially the latter—are premised on predominantly Western norms of politeness¹ (e.g., don't restrict another's freedom of action), and become problematic when applied to the analysis of non-Western speech in interaction (e.g. Gu (1990) for Chinese, Ide (1989) for Japanese, DeKadt (1998) for Zulu).

Watts (2003) claims that Brown and Levinson's theory is one-sided, biased toward the "polite" end of the "polite-impolite" continuum. It does not and cannot account for *impoliteness* that obtains in the real world of discourse (cf. Kaul de Marlangeon's (1995) study of Argentine impoliteness). To this end, Culpeper (1996) proposes a remedy to this shortcoming by devising positive and negative impoliteness strategies to attack, rather than care for, the other's face wants, ultimately causing discord, instead of harmony. However, Watts (2003) suggests that Culpeper's solution is merely a "patch" to a fundamental problem, rather than a significant step toward creating a comprehensive theory of politeness² in which "the positive-negative distinction . . . ceases to exist" (Eelen 2001: 47). Additionally, it assumes politeness values, functions, and meanings² of linguistic forms and strategies to be pre-formed and static (Watts 2003; Márquez Reiter 2000). Thus, as a "production model" (Werkhofer 1992: 163) of pre-conceived "polite" utterances, it tries to predict what linguistic strategies a speaker will choose, rather than "display social processes at work" (Watts 2003: 25). It does not provide space for the discursive struggle or the process nature in which politeness is constructed, negotiated and renegotiated in social interaction.

The second major problem with Brown and Levinson is that in striving for a theory of politeness², it disconnects from the first. Politeness¹ is important because

² Evans (2006) argues that 'meaning' is not an inherent property of words or expressions, but "a property of situated usage-events.... That is, meaning...arises from language use" (491).

“the investigation into politeness in individual cultural frameworks will almost inevitably involve first-order concepts” (Watts et al. 1992: 4). Eelen extends the critique of abstracting away from politeness¹ by showing how the empirical variability inherent in a politeness¹ system is lost in the resulting theoretical model; empirical data that undergoes statistical processing results in a “calculated average” that, in actuality, could represent no one (Eelen 2001: 146). Indeed, Brown and Levinson’s Model Person is a clear step in the direction of “averaging out variability,” since outliers (insane people, adolescents, etc.) are excluded from the outset. Werkhofer (1992), Eelen (2001), and Watts (2003) view the notion of the Model Person as unrealistic and not representative of speakers in everyday, real-world interaction.

A third problem is Brown and Levinson’s reliance on Grice’s maxims and Cooperative Principle (CP) as a theoretical basis (Grice 2006). It is flouting (purposeful, but cooperative, non-fulfillment of a maxim) that is the most interesting for Brown and Levinson, because it gives rise to conversational “implicatures.” Watts and others (e.g., Ochs Keenan 1976; Locher and Watts 2005) criticize the classic Gricean pragmatics underscoring Brown and Levinson (and others, e.g., Leech 1983) on several accounts: it is contradictory—“politeness” requires one to violate a cooperative maxim in order to be more cooperative (read “polite”); it tends toward a Eurocentric bias (cf. Ochs Keenan 1976); its rationality does not allow for the constant negotiation and renegotiation of meanings³ in verbal interaction, but is “static” (Watts 2003: 212, 207). In so doing, it neglects the social meanings displayed in ongoing discourse, a point also made by

³ Again, Evans (2006) is relevant here in the sense that “Grice’s theory of natural meaning [as opposed to non-natural meaning, i.e. implicatures] is grounded within the traditions of intensional/extensional and truth-conditional semantics, which amounts to saying that ‘natural meaning’ is in some sense encoded by the linguistic structure of the utterance and therefore that language ‘contains’ meaning(s)” (Watts 2003: 205).

Ochs Keenan (1976). Also, claims Watts, “the Gricean model never gives an explicit account of how implicatures are derived” nor how the “correct” implicatures are constructed (2003: 208, 206).

Fourth is the critique that Brown and Levinson is less a theory of politeness², and more a theory of facework that limits Goffman’s original conceptualization of the term (Watts 2003, Locher and Watts 2005). The crux of this critique is that Brown and Levinson equate “politeness” with FTA redress and, in so doing, restrict facework to the “polite” end of the “polite-impolite” continuum. In fact, Locher and Watts show that positively marked polite behavior is only a small part of the realm of facework/relational work (Figure 2-1). Given that there are some arenas in which it is perfectly acceptable and expected behavior to threaten, damage and/or destroy another’s face, “politeness does not always have to do with rational, planned instrumental behaviour in the effort to preserve face” (Watts 2003: 82). Brown and Levinson’s politeness hierarchy hardly addresses this issue and, as stated earlier, a proper politeness² theory must account for this reality.

The fifth major criticism is that the FTA-centered model assumes that all rational human beings are concerned with preserving their individual image, mitigating face threatening acts whilst satisfying their wants. Nwoye finds this view to reduce social interaction to a paranoid activity of “continuous mutual monitoring of potential threats to the faces of the interactants” (1992: 311). This is not appropriate for cultures in which the needs of the social group—not the individual—take precedence, which is the principal critique of Japanese linguists Ide, et al. (1992) and Matsumoto (1989). The root of this (Eurocentric) cultural bias is the Brown and Levinson-imposed dialectic of

positive and negative face, with that of negative face being highly contentious. It has been shown to be problematic and/or irrelevant for many language groups, for example: Chinese (Mao 1994, Gu 1990), Japanese (Ide 1989, Matsumoto 1989), Nigerian Igbo (Nwoye 1992), Polish (Wierzbicka 1985), Turkish (Bayaktaroglu 2000), Egyptian Arabic (Mursy and Wilson 2001), Zulu (De Kadt 1998). Watts argues for a return to Goffman's conceptualization of face (explained below), since it is able to handle the cases in which negative face lacks validity.

Sixth, Brown and Levinson do not make the distinction between what is polite behavior and what is merely appropriate. Their theory shows little, if any, regard for behavior that is simply expected (and therefore not polite) or for "polite" expressions that are perceived negatively by the hearer (e.g., insincerely). This goes back to Werkhofer's and Watts' point, also held by Eelen (2001: 119), that Brown and Levinson's model is biased toward "the production of behavior rather than its evaluation" (Watts 2003: 91-92). In other words, they do not take into consideration how the utterance is perceived, whether positively or negatively, and suggest that certain linguistic expressions are inherently polite (i.e. vested with positive or negative politeness). In addition to evidence for this point produced by scholars such as Watts (2003), Locher and Watts (2005), Holmes (1995), Ide (1989) and Mao (1994), Evans' (2006) work in usage-based models of grammar makes the argument that words do not inherently possess "meaning;" rather, meaning is constructed in use.

A seventh critique calls into question the "somewhat crude" nature of Brown and Levinson's variables of power, distance and rank of the imposition, due to their underspecification (Watts 2003: 112). Werkhofer states, "Being defined as static

entities that determine polite meanings, these variables represent a narrow approach to social realities, an approach that neglects the dynamic aspects of social language use” (1992: 176). The variable “power” is problematic because it is not fixed, but depends upon the interactional context. Similarly, social distance is not a reliable way to characterize the relationship between the speaker and the hearer; more helpful is the “affective relationship” between the interlocutors (Watts 2003: 96). Also, we must consider the point of Ide et al. (1992) that in some languages (e.g., Japanese) politeness is contingent upon specific features of the ongoing social interaction, regardless of power and distance. Even more problematic is the variable “rank of imposition,” since it has been shown to be a function of power and social distance, and cannot necessarily be calculated independently of the other variables (Ide et al. 1992, Watts 2003: 96, 112). Thus, the variables are conflated.

The eighth object of debate is Brown and Levinson’s hierarchy of politeness strategies (e.g. off record, bald-on record, positive/negative politeness). A foremost critique is that it is incorrect to equate indirectness with politeness (Locher and Watts 2005: 15-16; Blum-Kulka 1987). Also, what is their basis for the assignment of certain scores to these strategies? Cross-cultural evidence suggests that negative politeness strategies are not necessarily more polite, and in some contexts could be perceived as formal, distant, and insincere (e.g. García 1989, 1992, 1999; Félix-Brasdefer 2008). Thus, such an assignment of scores is not universal, but at best culture-specific.

Ninth, Brown and Levinson’s conceptualization of culture is unclear. They use “culture” coterminously with “society” and “group”, as well as synonymously with “social category”, “social population”, geo-political entities and entire languages (cf. 1987: 242-

255). According to Eelen (2001), their theory defines culture not explicitly, but only in relation to face-threats and FTAs. Since all human beings have face and all cultures the notion of an FTA, “cultures only differ in when and how face can be threatened or redressed . . . [and] in what utterances qualify as FTAs” (2001: 158). This does little to explicate the problem of culture, a concept that is frequently named, yet rarely agreed upon. To compound the problem, Márquez Reiter agrees and notes that “situational and cultural factors are largely ignored in Brown and Levinson’s theory” (2000: 28). This has been evidenced above in the discussions of face and the P, D, R, W variables as well as with the politeness hierarchy.

Tenth and finally, Brown and Levinson’s approach leaves the social power of politeness unexplored (Watts 2003, Werkhofer 1992). Werkhofer suggests that, like money in a market economy, politeness “may become a social force in itself, . . . playing the role of an active, ‘powerful’ medium, [and] will feed back into the processes that had once given rise to it” (1992: 159). As supported by Bourdieu’s theory of social practice (1990), politeness can be conceived as a mediator between the individual and the actions sanctioned by society (Werkhofer 1992, cf. Watts 2003: 111).

Watts’ Universal Model of (Im)Politeness¹

As noted, the essential criticism of the Brown and Levinson model of politeness is that it is not what it says it is, namely, a universal model of (im)politeness². Taking to heart the above criticisms put forth by Werkhofer, Eelen and others, Watts (2003) agrees that in order to develop a valid, scientific theory of (im)politeness², one must investigate the discursive struggle inherent within the evaluative, normative, and argumentative notions of (im)politeness¹. Thus, he meets head on the first two

challenges against Brown and Levinson posed above and proposes a universal model of (im)politeness¹ (Watts 2003: 261, 263).

Watt's model is based on Bourdieu's theory of social practice and his own theory of emergent networks (Watts 2003; Placencia and García 2007). Its goal is to "offer ways of recognizing *when* a linguistic utterance *might* be open to interpretation by interlocutors as '(im)polite' [his emphasis]" without assigning *a priori* politeness value to any linguistic expression or strategy (2003: 143). In this he corresponds with Fraser and Nolen's view that "whether or not an utterance is heard as being polite is totally in the hands (or ears) of the hearer" (1981: 96). Indeed, in the present model, the evaluations and perceptions of *all* the participants are important—speakers, hearers, third parties, etc. Since in real life exchange, these evaluations and perceptions figure into the ongoing verbal interaction, the development of emergent networks, and the (re)negotiation of their and others' positions within those networks, this model aims to provide space for this phenomena and explain how this is done. To do this, Watts builds on the distinction he made in earlier work between *politic* and *polite* behavior, where politic behavior represents the realm of unmarked behavior, similar to Fraser's observation that "participants note not that someone is being polite—this is the norm—but rather that the speaker is violating the [conversational contract]⁴" (1990: 233). Polite behavior, then, is the marked behavior considered by the participant(s) to be in excess of what is expected, an idea which I will develop below. First, however, it is necessary

⁴ The conversational contract is explained in terms of an 'understanding': upon engaging in a given conversation, "each party brings an understanding of some initial set of rights and obligations that will determine...the limits of the interaction" (Fraser and Nolen 1981: 93-94). "The terms of the conversational contract...are not fixed, but can be renegotiated over time" (Placencia and García 2007: 6).

to explain Watts' view of emergent networks, and how this relates to Bourdieu's theory of social practice.

Watts proposes a usage-based, discursive model that holds at its core Bourdieu's theory of social practice. This theory holds that at the site of all social interaction exists "the dialectic of the *opus operatum* and the *modus operandi*" (Bourdieu 1990: 53); that is, the tension between "objectified structures, products, modes of behaviours which individuals have gained through previous interaction (not always involving themselves)" and the process by which individuals structure ongoing interaction based on the *opus operatum* (Watts 2003: 148). Watts' notion of *latent network* corresponds to *opus operatum*, while that of *emergent network* corresponds to *modus operandi*. Whereas latent networks are "structures produced by historical practice," an emergent network is a "dynamic process" that unfolds among participants in the course of ongoing interaction (153). The relevant point is that "emergent networks can only develop in social practice . . . on the basis of previously determined latent networks" in the same way that the *modus operandi* depends upon the *opus operatum*.

Situated within this dialectic is Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*. The *habitus* is "the system of structured, structuring dispositions . . . which is constituted in practice and is always oriented towards practical functions" (Bourdieu 1990: 52). It is simultaneously past, present, and future oriented. The concept of *habitus* is important to Watts' model, because it intimately relates to the concept of politic behavior. Indeed, the *habitus* is *responsible for constructing politic behavior* in that it "tends to generate all the 'reasonable', 'common-sense', behaviours which are possible within the limits of

objective regularities, and which are likely to be positively sanctioned because they are objectively adjusted to the logic characteristic of a particular field . . .” (Bourdieu 1990: 55-56). Thus, the *habitus* is acquired through socialization and is “the set of dispositions to act in certain [reasonable, common-sense] ways, which generates cognitive and bodily practices in the individual” (Watts 2003: 149). To the extent that others share a similar set of dispositions or *habitus*, it can be argued that these individuals belong to a “culture.”

The concepts of field and capital help to gain a better understanding of social and linguistic practice. Per the theory of practice, social practice exists and takes place within social fields, “arbitrary social organizations of space and time, [which] are the sites of constant struggle over capital” (Watts 2003: 149). That is, capital—material (e.g., money, goods), cultural (e.g., education), social (e.g., relationships and their quality)—is at stake in the respective fields that comprise a society’s material, cultural, and social marketplaces. Note that these marketplaces are never solely “material, cultural, and social” in nature. For example, the workplace, schools and friendship groups are essentially fields in the material, cultural, and social marketplaces, respectively; however, friendship groups exist at school and at work; business is conducted among friends, etc. (The idea of fields in a marketplace corresponds to the “cluster of social situations typically constrained by a common set of behavioral rules” that makes up “domain” (Fishman 1972: 452).) “Capital can thus be seen as an incorporation of resources, which become part of the individual’s *habitus*” (Watts 2003: 149). Hence, social practice is determined by 1) one’s *habitus*, 2) one’s store of capital (e.g. incorporated resources and skills), and 3) the objectified social structures (e.g.

power hierarchies) of the field (i.e. situation within a domain) in which one interacts:
[(habitus)(capital)] + field = practice (Watts 2003, 150, 256).

Just as the practices of a field are not confined to any one marketplace, neither is the capital involved. The crucial point for language is this: because language (one kind of cultural capital) is a fundamental part of all social interaction, it transcends marketplace boundaries. Thus, language constitutes capital at stake in all fields of interaction, not merely those comprising the cultural marketplace. Given language's unique status, Watts proposes the following version of Bourdieu's equation to describe linguistic practice: [(linguistic habitus)(linguistic capital)] + linguistic field = linguistic practice. Hence, linguistic practice equals "the ways in which the linguistic dispositions internalized by the individual as her/his linguistic *habitus* multiplied by the linguistic capital the individual has gained in the marketplace are combined with the objectified linguistic structures of the field" (Watts 2003: 150).

The discursive model that Watts proposes assigns a *value* (cf. money (Werkhofer 1992)) to the linguistic resources (e.g. fluency in different language varieties and registers) that comprise linguistic capital. Thus, linguistic resources can be thought of as *currency* that can be exchanged, converted, and "used as capital to bargain for 'goods' in other markets" (152). Specifically, "linguistic capital includes the ability to use linguistic politeness as a form of extra 'linguistic payment'" (152). It is important to note that the values assigned to linguistic resources are not fixed, but, like money, change over time. They are also negotiated by the interactants participating in the exchange. A participant's attempt to change the value of a network link, or to change some part of a

latent network structure (e.g., act outside the realm of politic behavior), is an attempt to exercise power over another (and akin to Bourdieu's notion of symbolic violence).

The amount of power that one possesses is connected to one's (linguistic) capital, and indicative of the options and possibilities available. The "exercise of power" is a salient feature of Watts's theory, and is particularly significant for the development of an emergent network, which is constructed in ongoing social interaction (Watts 2003: 214). In an emergent network, "A exercises power over B when A affects B in a manner contrary to B's initially perceived interests, regardless of whether B later comes to accept the desirability of A's actions" (1991: 62). If B accepts as desirable A's actions, then A has persuaded B. If not, then A has coerced B. The extent to which A will take pains not to make B feel as though she or he has been coerced resides in the realm of facework, the notion to which I now turn.

Watts discounts Brown and Levinson's concepts of positive and negative face, and returns to Goffman's original definition: "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line⁵ others assume he has taken during a particular contact" (1967: 5). Face is highly mutable and depends on others interpretations of one's self more than one's own interpretation. This is what Goffman meant when he wrote that face is "not lodged in or on his body, but rather something that is diffusely located in the flow of events in the encounter . . ." (1967: 7). That it is "located in the flow of events" and not inherently within the individual suggests that face is constructed discursively. Also, if face is temporarily "on loan" to the individual from society, it is

⁵ Goffman defines a line as "a pattern of verbal and nonverbal acts by which he expresses his view of the situation and through this his evaluation of the participants, especially himself" (2006: 299). Another way of thinking of a speaker's line is his or her (un)stated goal or stance.

equally true that the individual participates in lending face to others (Goffman 1967: 10). Since face is often “the condition of interaction,” it is clear that “we have an obligation to maintain the faces of the other participants in the interaction” (Watts 2003: 125). Hence, the necessity of facework. Simply stated, facework consists of “the actions taken by a person to make whatever he is doing consistent with face. Facework serves to counteract ‘incidents’—that is, events whose effective symbolic implications threaten face” (Goffman 1967: 12).

Contrary to Brown and Levinson’s Politeness Theory, which casts facework in the biased light of appropriate, polite and face-threat mitigation behavior, Locher and Watts (2005) propose a more comprehensive view of facework. This view has resulted in what they term relational work (so as to avoid confusion with Brown and Levinson), where relational work is defined as “the ‘work’ individuals invest in negotiating relationships with others . . . encompassing both appropriate and inappropriate forms of social behavior” (Locher and Watts 2005: 11). In their graphic (reproduced in Figure 2-1) they make the distinction between *politic* and *polite* behavior as put forth in Watts (2003), and show how the (im)politeness continuum maps onto this conceptualization.

A general truth underlying the theory of relational work is that all polite behavior is politic, but not all politic behavior is polite. Watts points out that much of what has been considered “politeness” in the literature actually falls within the category of *non-polite politic* behavior: the unmarked “linguistic and non-linguistic behavior that the participants construct as being appropriate to the ongoing social interaction” (2003: 144). In the sense that it is expected behavior, i.e. part of the *habitus*, it is non-polite.

With regard to positively and negatively marked excess, two scenarios illustrate. When my one-year-old son says to me, “More milk, mama,” given his developmental stage, I expect him to say this and may oblige his request/demand without thinking that anything is necessarily missing from his utterance.⁶ However, on the occasions that he adds [pis] (“please”) to his utterance, the value of this “excess” is positive and exercises persuasive power, such that I may change my mind about not giving him the milk or get him the milk more quickly. In a crowded bus, however, if someone obliviously steps on me and I say to that person directly without hedge, “Oh, you’re on my foot!” this would likely constitute politic (expected) behavior. It is probable that the person would excuse her- or himself while stepping off, resolving the situation. On the other hand, if I were to say, “Would you MIND removing your shoe from my foot, please?” despite the conventionalized indirectness, the more formal language and the addition of the so-called politeness marker “please,” this utterance is likely to be perceived as over-polite and negatively marked. Its value exceeds what the situation requires; however, its force is not that of a sincere request, but of a sarcastic rebuke. The foot-stepper may feel coerced and this evaluation may result in opposition, rather than resolution.

Thus, Watts’ model of (im)politeness¹ is one that appropriately allows for different interpretations of what (im)politeness¹ is. It is not an explanatory or descriptive approach that “abstracts away from real data,” i.e., from first-order to second-order politeness, but one that holds fast to the investigation of (im)politeness¹. Neither does it attempt to predict where politeness should occur, nor does it make claims about the *de*

⁶ Note that my son would be excluded from the Brown and Levinson Model Person precisely because of his developmental stage. Though he may not be cognizant of “please” as a politeness strategy, he is capable of exercising power with its use and persuading me. Both his exercise of power and my perceptions as the hearer are unaccounted for in Brown and Levinson (1987).

facto politeness of an utterance. The latter example above, for instance, supports the argument against indexing “polite-impolite” linguistic behavior with “indirect-direct” speech. It illustrates how politeness is not inherent to any language-specific expression, but is discursively constructed, being shaped by the *habitus*.

The challenges of Watt’s model are 1) to determine, in a given speech situation, what constitutes politic behavior, and 2) how to identify (im)politeness¹. Upon analyzing a text, Watts suggests three initial steps: establish the participants’ lines⁷, the faces that they have been or wish to be assigned (i.e., how they are or wish to be perceived by interlocutors), and the politic behavior likely to determine the discourse behavior (2003). These steps imply an in-depth knowledge of the situational context, familiarity with the speakers and with the system of symbolic resources (experiences and beliefs) that shape their understanding of the world. However, Watts does not develop a methodology for the non-native researcher to analyze linguistic data from other speech communities. For this I turn to Scollon and Scollon’s politeness systems (2001), Speech Act Theory and the analytical frameworks established by speech act-based research to better understand what people do with words, being careful not to assign them *a priori* values of (im)politeness.

Scollon and Scollon’s Politeness (or Face) Systems

Scollon and Scollon propose two aspects of face, involvement and independence, both of which, paradoxically, “must be projected simultaneously in any communication” (2001: 46). These aspects are analogous to Brown and Levinson’s

⁷ Goffman defines a line as “a pattern of verbal and nonverbal acts by which he expresses his view of the situation and through this his evaluation of the participants, especially himself” (2006: 299). Another way of thinking of a speaker’s line is his or her (un)stated goal or stance, e.g. for A to convince B that they should emigrate to Australia, or A believes that she and B should emigrate (cf. Locher and Watts 2005).

positive and negative face (and, therefore, do not escape the criticisms highlighted above). However, their conceptualization of face is presented more in line with Goffman and Watts in that it is “located in the flow of events” and not inherently within the individual: “Face is the negotiated public image, mutually granted each other by participants in a communicative event” (Scollon and Scollon 2001: 45). Whereas Brown and Levinson’s view of face is concerned always with the standing of oneself in relation to others (i.e., that one be approved of, but not imposed upon), Scollon and Scollon’s reflects a two-way street: as the discourse unfolds, one shows appreciation and approval of others (not just receives it), and yet maintains some degree of individuality while respecting others’ need for the same. Depending on the speech community, the degree to which either of these aspects of the “self” is made manifest varies, making this model less prone to complaints of Eurocentric bias and irrelevancy.

On this view, the involvement aspect of face is “concerned with the person’s right and need to be considered a normal, contributing, or supporting member of society” (Scollon and Scollon 2001: 46). It is responsible for showing interest in others and in-group membership; it emphasizes commonalities and shared viewpoints with others. The independence aspect “emphasizes the individuality of the participants [and] their right not to be completely dominated by group or social values” (47). This is the side that attends to the need for some degree of autonomy for oneself and others. These two aspects of face are in tension all the time. The extent to which they are held in balance (or not) is conditioned by the speakers and the speech situation (Hymes 1972).

Scollon and Scollon claim that there are certain linguistic strategies that reflect one side of the face dialectic more so than the other. Strategies of involvement would include, but are not limited to, the following examples (2001: 50-51):

- noticing or expressing concern for addressee;
- exaggerating interest in, approval of or sympathy for addressee;
- claiming in-group membership with addressee;
- claiming common points of view, opinions, attitudes, knowledge, etc.;
- being optimistic;
- claiming understanding of addressee's wants/needs, taking them into account;
- assuming or asserting reciprocity;
- using less formal terms of address (first names, nicknames, endearment terms);
- being "voluble" or talkative;
- speaking in the addressee's language or dialect.

Strategies of independence, on the other hand, illustrate a desire or need to maintain distance for the purposes of the other or oneself. Strategies illustrative of this side of face might include (2001: 51):

- making minimal assumptions about the addressee's wants;
- giving the addressee options;
- using language that minimizes impositions to addressee;
- apologizing;
- being pessimistic (not assuming addressee wants what you want);
- using language that distances/dissociates the interlocutors from an imposition;
- stating a general rule (another dissociative strategy);
- using more formal terms of address (last names, titles);
- being "taciturn" or less inclined to talk; reserved in speech;
- speaking in one's own language or dialect (despite options).

These aspects of face, along with the aforementioned variables of power and social distance, comprise three politeness systems: deference, solidarity and hierarchy. The deference politeness system is characterized by symmetrical power relationships (-P) and more social distance (+D) (e.g., homologues from different universities that gather for a meeting); in this system we would expect the participants in a conversation to use relatively more independence strategies. The solidarity politeness system

epitomizes close, symmetrical relationships (- P, - D) (e.g., good friends for whom status is irrelevant). In this politeness system we would expect a high level of involvement strategies. The hierarchical politeness system involves asymmetrical relationships (+ P) in which one participant is invested with power over another (e.g., employer-employee, parent-child), but for which social distance is less significant (+/- D). We would expect the participants to reflect their status relative to the other via different linguistic strategies: those in superordinate positions would use a greater proportion of involvement strategies, while those in subordinate positions would display sensitivity to status differences by using relatively more independence strategies. In addition, the rank of an imposition can affect the relative use of face strategies. For any system, as the severity of the imposition increases, we would expect relatively more displays of independence strategies; conversely, for low-ranking impositions, we would expect more involvement strategies.

This has implications for how researchers perceive and describe the linguistic behavior of linguistic groups. In the case of Spanish-speaking communities, scholars such as García, Félix-Brasdefer, Márquez Reiter and Placencia have made claims based on the involvement/independence dichotomy or like theories. In the case of Uruguay Spanish and other varieties, Márquez Reiter and Placencia conclude that:

in some varieties of Spanish (e.g., Argentinean [Buenos Aires], Peninsular Spanish, Uruguayan [Montevideo], Venezuelan [Caracas]) politeness appears to have more of an orientation towards positive politeness or expressing solidarity, interdependence, affiliation towards the interlocutor. [This] does not necessarily imply that negative politeness or the expression of deference, independence or autonomy is not present. The findings appear to suggest that . . . when there is a social distance between the interlocutors, Spanish speakers are more likely to make use of negative politeness or express deference. . . . If we were to place the different studies reported on the politeness continuum, we would find the

Argentineans, Spaniards and Venezuelans . . . sitting at one end of the spectrum, followed by the Chileans and Uruguayans in the middle and the Mexicans, Ecuadorians and Peruvians . . . towards the negative end of the continuum (2005: 190).

That Uruguayans orient towards “expressing solidarity, interdependence [and] affiliation” is a hypothesis that I test using Scollon and Scollon’s model (cf. Chapters 4 and 7).

Speech Act Theory

The founders of Speech Act Theory, John Austin (1962) and John Searle (1969), concerned themselves with how an utterance of speech can “do” more than one thing (i.e., act) at a time. The hypothesis upon which they based their work, and for which Searle believes he provides evidence (based on his own intuitions), is that “speaking a language is engaging in a rule-governed form of behavior” (Searle 1969: 22). Linguists espousing a functionalist, rather than a formalist, view of language would counter this hypothesis, arguing for usage-based models based on natural data that reveal patterns and tendencies (not “rules”), Watts being one of these scholars. However, speech act analysis based on the general tenet of the Theory, that we “do” more with our words than just relay information, offers much in the way of an interpretation of discourse.

Central to Speech Act Theory is the speech act, comprised of a locutionary act (the propositional meaning of what is said), an illocutionary act (what is meant by what is said), and a perlocutionary act (what is understood by what is said) (Austin 1962; Schiffrin 1994). In an effort to more clearly distinguish “between illocutionary verbs and acts,” Searle (1977) proposes a speech act taxonomy in which there are essentially five types: representatives, directives, commissives, expressives and declarations. An apology, for example, is an expressive that “expresses” speaker emotions and feelings; a refusal is a commissive that “commits” the speaker to a particular course of action.

For a speech act to be successful, Searle proposes that it must meet a set of idealized Felicity Conditions, a “set of rules that is collectively sufficient for such a performance” (Schiffrin 1994: 56). Each of these rules focuses on a different aspect of the utterance, including its textual content (propositional content rule), the background circumstances (preparatory rules), the speaker’s psychological state (sincerity rule) and the point of the utterance (essential rule) (Searle 1969, 63). In other words, the speaker is expected to express some proposition or act in an utterance, which must not have been obvious to the hearer before the utterance (otherwise, what would be the point of saying it). Also, the speaker must take responsibility for her or his intentions to carry out the act (sincere or not); what is uttered “counts” as the speaker’s intention. This assumes idealized speech under “normal” conditions, not given to ironies, etc.

While the set of Felicity Conditions enables the performance of a speech act, having fulfilled them allows one to arrive at an act’s illocutionary force. This force is central to the utterance’s meaning. Hence, the idea of the illocutionary force indicating device (IFID)—a conventionalized cue used to linguistically achieve a speech act. The IFID (a.k.a. performative) is often a language-specific expression generated out of a speaker’s knowledge of essential rules, “part of our linguistic competence” (57), and forms the most direct basis for classifying a speech act. For example, an apology is often signaled with IFIDs such as “I’m sorry” in English, *slixa* “forgiveness” in Hebrew, and *perdón* “pardon/excuse me” in Spanish. Noting that not all speech acts are so direct, Searle later makes the connection between indirectness and politeness, which would be built upon by other scholars such as Brown and Levinson (1987) and Blum-

Kulka (1987). While scholars such as Brown and Levinson have equated indirectness with politeness, as discussed above, this is not always the case.

Certain elements of Speech Act Theory collide and coalesce with Watts' discursive model of (im)politeness. Regarding collision, the most notable is a difference in the foundational hypothesis: Searle believes language to be a form of rule-based behavior while Watts believes language to be a dynamic system of latent and emergent networks. Searle—a philosopher, not a linguist—depends upon his own native speaker intuitions and idealized speech circumstances and behaviors for his theory, whereas Watts relies on natural discourse emanating from real-life speech circumstances. On the coalescent side, both believe that words have the power to do. Whether requesting or greeting (Searle), or whether “upsetting an equilibrium” (Watts), utterances have a power far beyond the collective meaning of the words that comprise them. Also, both believe that our individual and shared histories and experiences shape our utterances and how we perceive others' utterances, although for Searle the use of linguistic elements is always governed by underlying rules (1969: 15).

In the study of politic and polite behavior, Searle-based work can assist with Watts' first step of determining what is politic in order to, secondly, determine what is (im)polite. Specifically, this entails utilizing Searle's and subsequent taxonomies for getting a sense of the flow of the discursive formats and strategies observable in linguistic practice. In the following section, I present previously established analytical frameworks for analyzing refusals that are commonly cited in the literature.

Frameworks for Analyzing Refusals

As noted above, a refusal is a commissive act that commits the speaker to a certain course of action (Searle 1977). It is typically (but not always) a dispreferred

response (Pomerantz 1984) that “[fails] to engage in an action proposed by the interlocutor” (Chen, Ye and Zhang 1995: 121). Refusals most often follow some other turn at speaking or initiating act (e.g., a request). They can be direct or indirect (conventionally or non-conventionally so) and are negotiated in interaction, often instantiating face-saving maneuvers (Houck and Gass 1996). Also, they may include adjunct expressions that serve as supportive facework (Beebe et al. 1990; Félix-Brasdefer 2008). Chapter 3 provides more detail as to the scope, identification and coding of refusals for this study.

The present framework for the analysis of refusal behavior is based on the work of Beebe, Takahashi and Uliss-Weltz (1990) and Félix-Brasdefer (2008). The major strategies of Beebe et al. are as follows (1990: 72-73):

- Where the refusal is direct, we may expect:
 - a) a performative (“I refuse”)
 - b) a nonperformative statement
 - i) No
 - ii) negative willingness / ability (“I can’t,” “I won’t,” “I don’t think so”)
- Where the refusal is indirect, we may expect:
 - a) a statement of regret (“I’m sorry,” “I feel terrible”)
 - b) a wish (“I wish I could help you”)
 - c) an excuse, reason, explanation (“My children will be home that night”)
 - d) a statement of alternative (“Why don’t you ask someone else?”, “I’d prefer . . .”)
 - e) a set condition for future or past acceptance (“If you’d asked me earlier . . .”)
 - f) a promise of future acceptance (“Next time I’ll . . .”)
 - g) a statement of principle (“I never do business with friends”)

- h) a statement of philosophy (“One can’t be too careful”)
- i) an attempt to dissuade the interlocutor
 - i) threat or statement of negative consequences (“I won’t be any fun tonight”)
 - ii) guilt trip (waitress refusing to let customers linger: “I can’t make a living off people who just order coffee”)
 - iii) criticize / insult /attack requester (“Who do you think you are?”, “That’s a terrible idea!”)
 - iv) request for help, empathy, and assistance by dropping or holding the request
 - v) let requester “off the hook” (“That’s okay, you don’t have to [invite me]”)
 - vi) self-defense (“I’m trying my best”)
- j) acceptance that functions as a refusal
 - iii) unspecific or indefinite reply
 - iv) lack of enthusiasm
- k) avoidance
 - v) non-verbal (silence, hesitation, do nothing, leave)
 - vi) verbal (topic switch, joke, repeat part of request, postponement, hedging)
- Adjuncts to refusals:
 - a) statement of positive opinion / feeling / agreement (“That’s a good idea . . .”, “I’d love to . . .”)
 - b) statement of empathy (“I realize you’re in a difficult situation”)
 - c) pause fillers (“uhh,” “well,” “oh,” “uhm”)
 - d) gratitude / appreciation

Gass and Houck (1999), Félix-Brasdefer (2003, 2004, 2008) and others (e.g., Pinto 2003) have used this framework and modified it to accommodate their data. For example, Gass and Houck (1999) added three categories to the framework: confirmations, agreements and clarification/information requests; Félix-Brasdefer (2004)

added two—mitigated refusals and, also, clarification requests. Given these modifications and that one of the languages analyzed was Spanish, I gave considerable weight to Félix-Brasdefer’s framework for studying refusals in Mexico and the United States, shown below (2008: 72-82):

- Direct refusals:
 - a) flat "no"
 - b) negation of a proposition (*no puedo* “I can’t”; *me es imposible ir* “it’s impossible for me to go”)
- Indirect refusals:
 - a) apology / regret (*discúlpeme, pero . . .* “I’m sorry, but . . .”; *me da mucha pena* “I feel really bad”)
 - b) wish (*ojalá pudiera ir* “I wish I were able to go”)
 - c) reason / explanation (*ya tengo planes* “I already have plans”)
 - d) alternative (*qué le parece si nosotros . . .* “how about if we . . .”)
 - e) set condition for future or past acceptance (*si consigo quien me dé aventón a tu fiesta, llego después* “if I find someone to give me a ride to your party, I’ll be there later”)
 - f) promise to comply (*voy a tratar de estar en tu fiesta . . .* “I’m gonna try to be at your party . . .”)
 - g) indefinite reply (*no sé si pueda llegar* “I don’t know if I can come”; *ya veremos* “we’ll see”)
 - h) repetition of part of previous discourse
 - i) postponement (*qué posibilidades habría de que pueda posponer la clase?* “what possibility would there be to put the class off?”; *voy a pensarlo y luego le digo* “I’ll think about it and let you know later”)
 - j) mitigated refusal (expressions internally modified by the conditional mood, impersonal expressions, mental state predicates, adverbs, degree modifiers)
 - k) request for additional information (*dónde va a ser?* “where is [the event] gonna be?”; *quiénes van a ir?* “who all is going to be there?”)

- l) preparator (*lo que pasa es que ya tengo un compromiso* “the thing is that I already have a commitment”; *sabes qué? no puedo* “you know what? I can’t”)
- Adjuncts to refusals:
 - a) positive opinion (well-wishing, other positive comment: *es una buena idea* “it’s a good idea”; *felicidades, pero . . .* “congratulations, but . . .”)
 - b) agreement (*sí, pero . . .* “yes, but . . .”; *entiendo perfectamente, pero . . .* “I understand perfectly, but . . .”)
 - c) empathy (*es comprensible la situación en la que nos encontramos de verdad, pero . . .* “the situation that we find ourselves in is really understandable, but . . .”)
 - d) gratitude / appreciation (*de antemano le doy las gracias* “I thank you in advance”)
 - e) willingness (*me encantaría ir a celebrarlo, pero . . .* “I would love to go and celebrate, but . . .”)
- Internal modification of a refusal sequence:
 - a) mental state predicates (“I think,” “I believe”)
 - b) modal adverbs (“probably,” “unfortunately”)
 - c) degree modifiers (“kind of,” “sort of,” “*como que*”)
 - d) tag questions (“. . ., is that okay?”; “. . ., *o sí?*”)

The above coding schemes guided the present study with the added benefit of making it easier to compare to others that have used the same system. The advantages of Félix-Brasdefer’s framework were that he provided examples of the strategies in Spanish and labeled them, where applicable, as expressing involvement or independence (Scollon and Scollon 2001). However, it was not always possible or feasible to code in exactly the same manner, because of the different types of data used (i.e., experimental versus natural). Table 2-1 shows the framework that emerged for the present study in comparison to those above. The differences are further discussed in Chapters 4 and 7. Complete definitions of all strategies used and examples for each are given in the Codebook (Appendix C).

Table 2-1. Comparison of frameworks for classifying refusal strategies

Agree	Beebe et al. (1990)	Félix-Brasdefer (2008)	Kaiser (2014)
	I. Where the refusal is direct, we may expect:	I. Direct refusals:	I. Direct refusals:*
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	a) a performative		
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	b) a nonperformative statement		
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	i) No	a) flat "no"	a) No
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ii) negative willingness / ability	b) negation of a proposition	b) negates proposition
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>			c) command
	II. Where the refusal is indirect, we may expect:	II. Indirect refusals:	II. Indirect refusals:*
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	a) a statement of regret	a) apology / regret	apology / regret
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>			repair
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	b) a wish	b) wish	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	c) an excuse, reason, explanation	c) reason / explanation	reason / explanation
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>			appeals to external support or party
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>			blames hearer / other
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>			claims / implies hardship
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>			justify / minimize offense
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>			statement of information
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	d) a statement of alternative	d) alternative	alternative
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>			counter argument / correction
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	e) a set condition for future or past acceptance	e) set condition for future or past acceptance	condition
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	f) a promise of future acceptance	f) promise to comply	(alternative)
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	g) a statement of principle		statement of principle / philosophy
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	h) a statement of philosophy		(statement of principle / philosophy)
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	i) an attempt to dissuade the interlocutor		
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	i) threat/statement of negative consequences		attacks / threats / warns / ridicules / insults hearer
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ii) guilt trip		
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	iii) criticize / insult / attack requester		(attacks / threats / warns / ridicules / insults hearer)
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>			complain
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>			rhetorical form
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>			sarcasm
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	iv) request help, empathy, assistance		

✓	v) let requester "off the hook"		let hearer off the hook
✓	vi) self-defense		self-defense
	j) acceptance that functions as a refusal		
✓	i) unspecific or indefinite reply	g) indefinite reply	indefinite reply
☒	ii) lack of enthusiasm		
☒			acceptance/agreement to do X
	k) avoidance		
✓	i) non-verbal (silence, hesitation)		delays response / ignores
✓	ii) verbal:		distracts from offense
✓	topic switch		topic switch
✓	joke		jokes / laughs
✓	repeat part of request	h) repetition of part of previous discourse	repetition / reiteration
☒			insists / tries to convince
✓	postponement	i) postponement	postpones
☒	hedging	j) mitigated refusal	**
✓		k) request for additional information	request for information / confirmation
☒			doubts hearer
✓		l) preparator	preparator
	III. Adjuncts to refusals:	III. Adjuncts to refusals:	
✓	a) statement of positive opinion / agreement	a) positive opinion (well-wishing, positive comment)	wish / positive feelings
✓			compliment
✓		b) agreement (partial or weak agreement)	confirmation / acknowledgement
☒			backchannel
☒			claim common ground / display solidarity
☒			concession / admission / disarmer
✓	b) statement of empathy	c) empathy	comprehension / empathy
☒			concern for hearer / other
☒			reassures hearer
✓	c) pause fillers		pause filler
✓	d) gratitude / appreciation	d) gratitude / appreciation	gratitude
✓		e) willingness	(wish / positive feelings)
☒			emotional expression (stand-alone)
		IV. Internal modification of a refusal sequence:	III. Internal modification (downgraders / upgraders):
✓		a) mental state predicates ("I think", "I believe")	hedge / subjectivizer / understater

✓	b) modal adverbs ("probably", "unfortunately")	(hedge / subjectivizer / understater)
✓	c) degree modifiers ("kind of", "sort of", " <i>como que</i> ")	(hedge / subjectivizer / understater)
✓	d) tag questions ("... , is that okay?"; "... , <i>¿o sí?</i> ")	appealer / cajoler
☒		anticipates interlocutor
☒		apologetic / empathetic intonation
☒		commitment indicator
☒		conditional verb forms
☒		discourse marker
☒		emotional expression (embedded)
☒		endearment term
☒		expressions marked for register (<i>lamento decirte</i> . . . "I lament to tell you . . .)
☒		impersonal expressions (<i>no se puede</i> "it can't be done")
☒		laughter / smile voice
☒		loudness / emphatic intonation
☒		proper name
		IV. Other
		formulas (various)
☒		post-refusal small talk

* Supportive moves (a.k.a. adjuncts to refusals) can also be comprised of these strategies;

** "mitigated refusals" like *los guantes no se pueden tocar!* ("the gloves can't be touched!") would be coded as a negation of the proposition, internally downgraded by the impersonal *se*, as well as upgraded by the emphatic final tone; a (✓) indicates agreement with at least one other framework; also, a strategy in parentheses indicates a combined category that has fit a previous slot.

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

Chapters 1 and 2 reviewed the literature concerning the speech act of refusals and discussed the theoretical and analytical frameworks guiding the present study. This chapter explains in detail the methodology employed for data collection and analysis and the rationale behind these decisions. It begins with a description of the general procedure: the testing and design of research instruments, information on the chosen speech communities, as well as the selection of participants and their profile. The following sections detail how I collected and transcribed the data, along with the rationale behind the approach. The chapter ends with an in-depth look at the procedure for analysis: how the data were coded, the qualitative comparisons made, and the statistical tests appropriate for the corpus.

General Procedure

The core focus of the data collection process was to obtain naturally occurring speech via digital voice recording. While I will explain the procedure for this process in the next section, I begin here with a description of the research instruments that I designed and used to support the voice recordings. Also, in this section I outline the method for recruiting participants and give a brief profile of the group.

Instrument Design and Testing

For this study, I combined elements of the ethnographic and conversation analytic approaches (discussed below); the ethnographic approach informed the data collection process while work on conversation analysis informed the transcription procedure. Because it was important to be able to analyze extralinguistic features surrounding the talk in conjunction with the talk itself, it was imperative that I find an

efficient way to record the physical setting, scene, characteristics of participants, participant purposes and outcomes, the tone, and the manner of speech (cf. Hymes' mnemonic SPEAKING) (Hymes 1972: 63-64) as unobtrusively as possible. Thus, this project employed three instruments to fulfill Institutional Review Board (IRB) requirements and to assist in data collection: an informed consent form (Appendix A), a background information questionnaire and a conversation log (Log) (Appendix B).

With regard to informed consent, I wrote the form first in English, then in Spanish. Three native Spanish speakers proofread the document and provided input. The Institutional Review Board also required a back-translation comparable to the original English text, which I provided.

The other two instruments I designed in Spanish; the English versions are for reference only, since they were not used in the study nor required by the IRB. The first, entitled *Información de fondo*, collected basic information about the participants, and verified that they were from the community in question and spoke no other languages before Spanish. It asked them to explain and then place themselves within Uruguay's economic class system and, finally, probed their general thoughts about what it means to be im/polite and asked them to give examples. This last request served the purpose of a "grand tour question" to help uncover the "major features" in the participants' perceptions of (im)polite/politic behavior (Spradley 1980), while the questions regarding economic class allowed the participants to shape my local knowledge regarding this topic and to explain to me how they viewed themselves within their own country and community. The idea behind this was to minimize my (the researcher's) projections regarding their situation and to allow their (emic) perspective to better inform my (etic)

analysis (cf. Harris 1976). Based on native speaker feedback, I chose also to use the *tú* pronominal and verbal forms for this questionnaire.

The second instrument, entitled *Registro de conversación* (hereafter, Log), I employed as a tool to keep track of those people with whom the participant interacted during her day. It records the time, place and purpose of the conversation, interlocutor characteristics (e.g., name, sex, profession, socioeconomic status relative to the participant), and asks questions regarding their relationship (e.g., context and frequency of contact, how well they knew each other, degree of confidence). Finally, it gives the participant space to describe how she felt about the interaction, if it bothered her in any way (possible areas of non-politic/inappropriate behavior), or if it generated good feelings (possible areas of polite politic behavior). As stated above, the goal of eliciting such information, aimed at getting “inside the heads” of the participants (Harris 1976: 334-335), was to collect data that a) I had no other way to collect, b) would clue me in on key linguistic exchanges without revealing the specific research goal (i.e., how refusals are done), and c) would allow me to analyze their linguistic behavior in terms of extralinguistic variables shown to be relevant in previous studies (e.g., Labov 1972; Wolfram 2003; Tannen 1990; Wagner 2000). I designed the Log as a tool that either the participant or the researcher could fill out quickly after each encounter; due to its informal and quotidian nature, I wrote it using the *vos* pronominal and verbal forms.

Before finalizing these data collection instruments, I corresponded with two Uruguayans (in Uruguay) and asked them to proof the documents and give their comments for improvement. This feedback led to the final versions shown in

Appendices A and B. In addition, once in Uruguay, I conducted a trial run of the data collection process with a contact outside of the targeted community, which led to some minor revisions of the Log's presentation format to increase ease of use.

Participant Recruitment

Ten Uruguayan women, ranging from 19 to 61 years of age, provided the data for this study. I eschewed experimental tools such as discourse completion tasks and directed role plays and focused instead on collecting naturalistic data from spontaneous face-to-face interaction. To obtain the participants, I ventured into the Centro and Pastoreo areas of residence (Figure 1-1, orange and red arrows, respectively). Having lived in Rosario in the late nineties, I relied on my previously established contacts and the snowball recruitment method, where one participant led to another and that contact led to another, etc. The women self-reported their socioeconomic status as either middle or lower, which corresponded to the Centro/Pastoreo division.¹

Hence, the analyses presented in the following results chapters are based upon the data of ten Uruguayan women, five from the Centro and five from El Pastoreo. I obtained informed consent (Appendix A) in writing from all of the women participants and verbally from her interlocutors. Each woman also completed a background information form (Appendix B, discussed below) and received modest monetary compensation for her participation.

Participant Profiles

A profile of each of the ten participants is given in Table 3-1. The women from the Centro area ranged from 31 to 61 years of age, with an average 11 years of formal

¹ The women's self-classifications from the Centro area ranged from "lower-middle" to "upper-middle" class, with the majority self-classifying as simply "middle."

education (including technical training); those from El Pastoreo ranged from 19 to 39 years of age, with an average 8.6 years of formal education. Regarding professional and socioeconomic status, all of the Centro women were small business owners, either personally or by proxy: Rena owned and ran her own shop; Mar ran two branches of the business owned by her and her parents; Isabel, Moqui and Ana were spouses of business owners and were either assisting (e.g., Isabel as secretary) or had assisted in the family enterprise. As I expected, all of the participants in the Centro group categorized themselves as some level of middle class (e.g., “*media baja*,” “*clase media*,” “*media alta*”).

In contrast, none of the participants from El Pastoreo owned or shared in ownership of a business. They took part in voluntary capacitation programs (e.g., homemakers Ela and Lea),² provided childcare and food preparation services, buildings and grounds services, or had spouses who worked in construction trades. Only one of the women in this group, Ari, maintained supervisory status over a group of subordinates, as a coordinator of a government-funded worker capacitation program. Thus, it met my expectation that all of the participants in this group categorized themselves in terms such as “*clase baja*” and “*pobre*,” that is, of low socioeconomic status.

With the exception of Mar, all are mothers, though in different stages: at the time of the study, all of the women from El Pastoreo had primary school-age children (or younger) at home. For the Centro group, the same was true only for Isabel and Moqui.

² At the time of the data collection, these women were participating in a culinary workshop that met once to twice a week at the Social Service Center in El Pastoreo. The training was part of a publicly funded initiative aimed at lower income families by the *Ministerio de Desarrollo Social*.

Rena and Ana both had older children at various stages of independence. Rena's two were enrolled in secondary school and the university, requiring comparatively much less parental supervision; Ana's two were out of school pursuing their own professions, though the son happened to be living at home during the research period. Thus, I reserved the status of "homemaker" for those who either labeled themselves as such or who spent the majority of the day caring for (her own) younger children and attending to business related to the home, such as shopping for groceries and other necessities.

Data Collection

Methodological Considerations and Rationale behind Approach

Since no speaker is unencumbered by society, and no society could exist without individual speakers (Fishman 1972, 453), I chose an approach that linked macro- and micro-sociolinguistic issues. An Ethnography of Speaking (ES) (Hymes 1972) methodology organized around a domain framework naturally does this by "explicit[ing] diverse codes that fulfill functions within the community (a macro-sociolinguistic perspective) . . . [and] also look[ing] at . . . the way in which community members use various types of speech to fulfill [the functions of particular speech behaviors] (a micro-sociolinguistic approach)" (Boxer 2002: 12-13). Thus, ES is an appropriate method for the study of face-to-face refusals within domains, because it takes a contextual look at the speech act within the speech events "giving relevance to the sociolinguistic variables (e.g., social status, gender, age)" (2002: 13).

This has implications for data collection in that ES works best with spontaneous speech. ES data typically consist of natural, spontaneous talk audio-recorded by a participant observer, the observer's field notes, as well as interviews (often meta-linguistic/pragmatic) with informants of the same speech community. These informants

act as “experts” on their community and the variety of speech under analysis. Given stretches of talk recorded in the field, for example, they can offer their reactions and insights (Spradley 1979, 1980; Agar 1980). In fact, it is via this method of recording, identifying target discourse, and triangulating with a member of the group (also known as “member checking”) that the researcher revises and refines working hypotheses (Spradley 1980; Agar 1980; Johnstone 2000). Thus in order to capture spontaneous speech useful to this study, it was necessary to craft a method for collecting data that 1) was discreet, 2) did not sacrifice sound quality, 3) could be understood in the context of people and places, and 4) would provide opportunity to tap the participants’ tacit knowledge of and reactions to the conversations in which they took part.³

Recording of Data, Administration of Instruments and Follow-Up

Given the above methodological considerations, I designed and implemented the following procedure, which involved both written and recorded data. On the day that a participant was to begin, I met with her to review the informed consent form, which she then read and signed (Appendix A). I did not tell her that I was studying refusals, but that I was interested in linguistic politeness among Uruguayan women and how I could learn from them in order to become a more competent Spanish speaker myself and to better teach students in the United States taking Spanish as a foreign language (as recommended by Jessi Elana Aaron, personal communication, June 3, 2009). I answered any questions that she had regarding the study and reiterated that she was free to turn off the recorder at any time (e.g., during a very private conversation with a

³ I had to perform a type of triangulation with my participants that would not betray what I was looking for, since I was still collecting data and did not want to risk other participants finding out by word of mouth. I was unable to carry out triangulation of the other kind—where you play back a recording to another speaker of the same community and gather her/his reaction—due to time limitations. Now that I have processed the data and identified refusal sequences, this would be a future research step.

spouse, to go to the bathroom), and also that she was under no obligation to complete the study, should she not desire.

Regarding a participant's interlocutors, we obtained verbal consent before, during or after the exchange; I made the consent form available to anyone interested. (My presence made it fairly obvious that something was going on, and the other person would almost always ask about it.) In the case of the participant who worked at the government-funded day care at the social services center, we solicited and received permission from the facility's Board and made teachers and parents aware of the project. In other cases, some participants sought and obtained consent on my behalf before agreeing to make recordings. For relatively impersonal public transactions, such as buying bread, it was accepted practice to let the speakers know that they had been recorded after the fact (Adolfo Elizaincín, personal communication, April 12, 2009); however, in public areas where we happened to catch people's voices, we did not inform these speakers.

Once a participant signed the consent form, I asked her to fill out the background information form (Appendix B), while I readied my notes and equipment. I was available to field any requests for clarification. I would then talk with her about her answers and record this interaction; this would be her first experience with the voice recorder, and an opportunity for me to teach her how to use it and to determine the best position for her to wear it.

After completing this initial intake procedure, the participant began recording data, discretely wearing a lapel microphone connected to a digital voice recorder. A trial run of this method showed that the recorder's buttons were easily pushed when placed

in a pocket, so I secured a cell-phone holder that prevented most accidental cut-offs. Each woman participated in the study for three to four days, roughly eight hours per day, and received modest monetary compensation at the end of each day.

Taking the ES approach, in which data collection involves capturing contextual features such as the physical setting, the psychological scene and participant characteristics, I accompanied every woman for the first day in order to get a feel for her routine and to familiarize myself with the places and people where and with whom she most interacted. During this time, I documented her interactions with others with field notes, including contextual and non-verbal cues. For the remaining days, in order to minimize the effect of the “observer’s paradox” (e.g., Labov 1972) and increase the naturalness of the data, I generally left the participant on her own, checking in occasionally to ensure that the equipment was working properly, to answer any questions, and to follow up with her about the activities of her day. This loosely follows Travis’ (2005) study of Colombian discourse markers for which she asked her participants to make recordings of their social groups without her present. I explained and left with them copies of the Log (Appendix B), inviting them to use it throughout the day but not requiring it. This was to help them keep track of the people with whom they came in contact and the details of their interactions (time, place, purpose, etc.).

At the end of each day, I collected retrospective verbal reports about each of the people that the women spoke to that day (e.g., relationship to the interlocutor, their perceptions of him/her, if they noticed anything out of the ordinary about the interaction, etc.) (cf. Agar 1980; Félix-Brasdefer 2008). I used the Log as a guide for our daily follow-up/debriefing session. Indeed, this approach satisfied the four criteria outlined in

the previous section, allowing me to make observations and intelligible recordings with minimal intrusion in different domains of interaction: in the home, at social gatherings, in the workplace and during service encounters.

Data Transcription

Conventions Used

In conjunction with an ES-based approach for collecting the data, I took a Conversation Analysis-based (CA) approach for transcribing the recordings. CA's clearest strength is its demand for the attention to detail in the transcription (Lazaraton 2004; Markee 2004; Atkinson and Heritage 1984). In Chapter 1 I suggested that more carefully presented transcriptions would add valuable knowledge and more intricate perspectives regarding the inner workings of a conversation. While details such as intonation and non-verbal cues (in the case of video-recorded data), may be apparent to the researcher, they are not accessible to the audience, unless one makes them so. Another positive feature of CA is that the greater attention to detail draws one's attention to phenomena that one had either not noticed prior or had not thought important. In this way, the researcher is better able to let the data speak for themselves.

The caveat is that a full-blown CA transcript is extremely time consuming and impractical, especially for large bodies of data. While I agree with the CA tenet that the process of transcription is very much a part of the data analysis, for this project—which generated nearly three hundred hours of recorded data—the key was to strike a balance. The first step was to prioritize the recordings based on instances of refusals that I had witnessed or that my participants had told me about during our follow-up sessions; also, I included a recording on my hunch that it was likely to contain refusal

sequences. For each of these recordings, which totaled approximately eighty hours, I produced a general transcript (i.e., the bare bones of who said what and where). Within this general transcript I identified stretches of talk containing refusal sequences and transcribed them in finer detail, according to conventions based predominantly on Jefferson's transcript notation (Atkinson and Heritage 1984) (Table 3-2).

Identifying Refusal Sequences

As previously noted, a refusal is a commissive act that commits the speaker to a certain course of action (Searle 1977). It is typically a dispreferred response that "[fails] to engage in an action proposed by the interlocutor" (Chen et al. 1995: 121). For this study, I take a broad view of the "action proposed by the interlocutor" to the extent that, in some cases, this action could also be described as a rejection or disagreement. The proposed action could be of more explicit nature (e.g., a request for an item) or more implicit in quality (e.g., a statement of analysis subject to approval). One might think of the latter type of refusal more generally as "disagreement" and not what one typically considers for a study on the speech act of refusals; however, in the sense that the participant disallows or contradicts a proposition of another speaker, that disallowance or contradiction is a rejection of that proposition and, therefore, a refusal of it. That stated, I did focus the analysis on propositions tending toward the explicit side.

Refusals typically follow some other turn at speaking or initiating act (e.g., a request), can be direct or indirect, and are often negotiated in interaction, frequently instantiating face-saving maneuvers (Houck and Gass 1996). These maneuvers may take the form of adjunct expressions that serve as supportive facework (Félix-Brasdefer 2008), i.e., mitigating supportive moves (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989; Spencer-Oatey 2000). Other moves, however, serve to increase the impact of the refusal, often (but not

always) negatively, i.e., aggravating supportive moves (ibid.). The entirety of this interaction is what I have termed refusal sequence (cf. “episode” in Gass and Houck (1999)). Due to its negotiated and iterative nature, it follows that more than one refusal can occur within a refusal sequence. In Hymesian terms, we might equate the refusal sequence to a speech event and the refusal to a speech act within the event. For this study, a refusal sequence minimally consists of at least one refusal prompted by a mand, i.e., “a type of speech act, the purpose of which is to persuade or force someone to do something, e.g., a command, request, instruction” (Jackson 2007: 64). As noted above, I have expanded this definition to also include propositions that elicit an interlocutor’s approval or agreement. For this study the following mand types obtained:

- invitations
(e.g., *cuándo me vas a invitar a tomar un café?* “when are you going to ask me out for coffee?”)
- instructions / orders / demands
(e.g., *dámelo que yo lo llamo.* “give it to me, I’ll call him.”)
- requests
(e.g., *se puede ir con el grupo viejo?* “is it possible to go with the old group?”)
- offers
(e.g., *algo más, negrita?* “anything else, dear?”)
- statements / analyses
(e.g., *que yo ya voy a- a traer la yerba.* “so I’m gonna bring the yerba.”)⁴
- suggestions
(e.g., *no será esto?* “couldn’t it be this?”)
- mands (interlocutor or mand type unclear, but uptake indicates a mand)

⁴ In Uruguay, *yerba* or *yerba mate* is a type of loose tea used throughout the day to drink *mate*. Images and descriptions are found at [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mate_\(beverage\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mate_(beverage)). Last accessed on April 23, 2013.

One problem that I have considered is that sometimes mands can be considered for more than one category. For example, the proposition *cuándo me vas a invitar a tomar un café?* (“when are you going to ask me out for coffee?”) could be classified as an invitation, a request for information, or even a suggestion. I recognize that an utterance can more perform multiple functions simultaneously and to different degrees. However, for the purposes of this analysis, I classified this mand as an invitation based on the use of the performative (i.e., *invitar* “to invite”) and based on triangulation with the participant who happened to mention this exchange (without knowing that I was interested in it) stating that the male speaker had effectively asked her out. Unfortunately not all mands possessed such deciding factors. For these, I based their classification on grammatical and prosodic clues (e.g., verbal mood, interrogative inflection) as well as the participant-interlocutor’s uptake (i.e., the interpretation that her response displays). Additionally, I discussed some mands with a co-coder and together we came to a consensus.

I based the method for delimiting the boundaries of the refusal sequence on my subjective perceptions of what constituted sufficient contextual information, and objective observations of natural breaks (participant movement, topic switches, etc.) in the discourse. Due to the context-specific nature of each sequence, their length and content are not necessarily comparable, ranging from two turns at talk (e.g., an offer followed by a direct refusal) to ninety (when Ari negotiates her way out of an order to work on her day off). Also, as stated above, some sequences contain more refusals than others; when the initial mand is negotiated, this tends to generate subsequent refusal acts. If the subsequent act(s) pertained to the initial mand, I considered it/them

to be part of the same refusal sequence. The following discourse between Isabel and her partner Milton is an example of a refusal sequence with multiple mands, refusals, and supportive moves:

(1) Milton requests a tea bag (Isabel 25). REQ = request, REF = refusal, SMM = mitigating supportive move, SMA = aggravating supportive move

1 Milton: (no tenés) té de bolsito? ((REQ 1))

(don't you have) tea bags?

2 Isabel: ((pauses, perhaps looking))

3 Milton: hay [uno que es digestivo no? ((REQ 2))

[there is one that's digestive, isn't there?

4 Isabel: [no. ((REF 1))

[no.

5 Isabel: se: nos terminó:→@ cuando@ vino aquél que estaba medio resfriado, y no compré más. ((REF 2)) tengo que ir a buscar la caja. ((SMM))

we're out (lit. it finished to us):→@ when@ that one (masc.) came who had sort of a cold, and I didn't buy more. I have to go and look for/get the box.

...

6 Milton: y el boldo? no~ ((REQ 3))

and the boldo tea? no?

7 Isabel: no. ((REF 3)) no/ te digo (que) se terminaron todo. ((SMA))

no. no, I tell you (that) they're all gone.

An analysis of the transcripts for the ten participants revealed 275 refusal sequences between them and other adult interlocutors. I obtained another 135 refusal sequences between mothers/caretakers and children (<15 years); however, due to the inherently different nature of adults interacting with children (as opposed to adults), I decided along with my supervisory committee to exclude these data from the present study. Additionally, we decided to exclude another portion of sequences in which I

participated as the mand-giver so as to limit the effect that a non-Rosarian could have upon the results. The final count of refusal sequences totaled 243.

Data Analysis

Methodological Considerations and Rationale behind Approach

The procedure for data analysis derives from combining elements of ES and CA. As a non-native Spanish-speaker and non-resident of the speech community studied, the ES approach was important for gaining insight as to how the participant perceived her interlocutor and, on occasion (when the topic happened to come up during follow-up interviews), what constituted a refusal. This information I used to assess social distance and, to a more limited extent, power relationships. Also, the ethnographic information gleaned from observation and follow-up interviews allowed me to accurately assess, for example, the domain of interaction in which a refusal sequence took place and whether or not there was anything that stood out about the interaction (i.e., if someone was rude, forward, exceptionally polite, etc.). While it would have been ideal to triangulate with the participant and glean her emic perspective on her own refusals (her thought processes, her evaluations of and expectations for the situation, etc.), the need to conceal the fact that I was studying refusals precluded this.

To offset this lack, I employed a modified version of CA transcription procedures in order to discern underlying regularities in these Uruguayans' refusal behavior. Markee and Kasper (2004) contend that CA has the power to illuminate language standards and expectations for interaction, due to its detailed, microanalytic approach. Among other things, this methodology allows the researcher to uncover dynamics of turn-taking, repair, topic management, act sequences as well as "interactional alignments and disengagements" (Kasper and Rose 2002: 60). Analyzing talk from a

CA perspective allows the researcher to gain understanding of the interlocutors' interactional competences on the basis of production alone:

Specifically, analysis can be generated out of matters observable in the data of interaction. The analyst is thus not required to speculate upon what the interactants hypothetically or imaginably understood Instead, analysis can emerge from observation of the conduct of the participants (Heritage and Atkinson 1984: 1).

From a CA perspective, an utterance must be analyzed in its local context, i.e., as it is situated in the transcript. Thus, for the study of a particular speech act, it is insufficient to only look at utterances construed as that act; rather, one must consider the turns at talk that precede and follow these utterances as well. Schegloff writes that

taking sentences in isolation is not just a matter of taking [them] . . . *out* of the context; but that the very composition, construction, assemblage of the sentences is predicated by their speakers on the place in which it is being produced, and it is through *that* that a sentence is context-bound (1984: 52).

Indeed, the microanalysis of the structure of talk brings to light how internal structures, such as the turn-taking system and sequencing of linguistic strategies (see below), reflect the practices for both producing speech behaviors and dealing with those of others (Heritage and Atkinson 1984). Looking at the text in this way allows one to see how constructs like power relations, affective relations and gendered identities are actually oriented to in the course of an interaction. This is in direct opposition to assuming their type, fixedness and relevance *a priori*.

Inherent to the present analysis is the concept of linguistic strategy. The identification and description of linguistic strategies, along with how they were used in the discourse, was central to the coding process. Linguistic strategies are tactics that a speaker may employ to construct discourse within and negotiate a conversational situation and whose use may be subject to polite or impolite interpretation. We may

also call them pragmatic strategies, sentential or utterance forms that “a speaker selects on a particular occasion, and which are recognized by an interlocutor in order to convey pragmatic intent” (Félix Brasdefer 2008: 72). For example, in turn 5 of (1) above, Isabel refuses with various strategies. She blames the hearer/other with the use of the impersonal *se* and by explicitly referring to her step-son (*se: nos terminó: → @ cuando @ vino aquél que estaba medio resfriado*). She does this while giving an overall reason/explanation (*se: nos terminó: . . . y no compré más.*) in which she also includes an admission of having not bought more (*y no compré más*). She then distracts from the offense, saying that she has to look for or get the box that the tea came in (*tengo que ir a buscar la caja*).

Because I was not at liberty to ask the participant why she chose one or more strategies, attending to the transcript was all the more important. In some instances, the micro-analytic approach led to unforeseen insights. For example, in (1) there is possible evidence of priming when the turn-final *no* in line 6 is followed immediately by a turn-initial *no* in line 7. This would indicate that the proposition’s structure—not just its content—played a role in the refusal process (see Chapter 4). Also, delayed responses often indicated (impending) refusals, while quick responses typically accompanied agreements (Pomerantz (1984) also claims this). Had I not attended to pauses and delays within and between turns at talk, I would have missed this detail.

While a CA perspective claims a local view of context that is independent of participant insights and social/extralinguistic variables, these are accounted for in the ES framework, which allows for “thick descriptions” of events/interactions, including the conversational setting and ends (Hymes 1972; Schiffrin 1994). On the basis of this

view, I considered, for example, the domain of interaction—a composite of place, relationship and purpose; this, in fact, emerged as one of the most salient factors influencing refusal behavior (see Chapter 5). Thus, attention to both macro- and microlinguistic detail lent to a more well-rounded analysis; the combined ES/CA approach shed relatively more light on Uruguayan Spanish speaker norms of interaction, from both a holistic (ES) perspective and a locally contextualized (CA) view.

Coding Procedure

The codebook for this project is presented in Appendix C. Previously established coding schemes (i.e., Beebe et al. 1990; Félix-Brasdefer 2008), detailed in Chapter 2, provided a starting point for defining, identifying and coding linguistic strategies. As the coding process progressed, the nature of these data necessitated flexibility, since natural data do not follow a delimited structure designed by a researcher. Recall that the aforementioned studies all dealt with elicited data. Codes for linguistic strategies and others required iterative analysis and the application of multiple codes to some portions of text (e.g., turn 5 of (1)). To assist in this process, I used the program MAXQDA 10 to code the transcripts, organize the coded segments, and perform comparative analyses. Based on Spencer-Oatey's (2000) analysis of speech act and politeness research, I followed a five-step coding process when a refusal was evident and the refusal sequence parameters defined:

- identify the utterance(s) with the intent to mand and those with the intent to refuse and code for mand type;

determine the semantic components involved in these utterances: alerters, head acts and supportive moves. The head act is defined as “the minimal unit or turn that can realize a speech act” (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989: 275) while supportive moves are external to the head act and can be mitigating or aggressive (e.g., positive wishes versus threats) (288);

code the refusal head act as either direct (typical examples: *no*, *no puedo* “I can’t”, *¡andá!* “get outta here!”) or indirect (typical examples: *veremos* “we’ll see”, *no sé* “I don’t know”);

code for upgraders (e.g., intensifiers) and downgraders (e.g., hedges) within the head acts and supportive moves; these can be syntactical, morphological, lexical/phrasal, or having to do with speaker tone;

identify the linguistic strategies (illocutionary domain) involved in the utterances within the refusal sequence (e.g., requesting information, saying no, giving an explanation).

Coding Refusals: an Example

The following is an example of a coded mand and refusal:

(2) To a female client who has entered Rena’s shop (Rena 2)

1 Rena: qué puede ser.

what’ll it be.

2 Clienta: alguna bufanda de ho:mbre o que pueda usar un hombre una ne:gra o algo?

a ma:n’s scarf or one that a man could use a bla:ck one or something?

3 Rena: ay no, creo que no me queda nada/. xxx. había una negra ahí→

ay no, I think that I’m all out (lit. nothing is left to me). xxx. there was a black one over there→

Illustrating the first three steps of the coding process, line 2 constitutes the utterance with the intent to mand, in this case, a request. This utterance in its entirety also forms the request’s head act. Line 3 constitutes a direct refusal of the request, flanked by two mitigating supportive moves or SMMs: *ay no* (head act, direct refusal), *creo que no me queda nada/* (“I think that I’m all out/” (lit. nothing is left to me)) (SMM), *había una negra ahí→* (“there was a black one over there→”) (SMM).

Regarding step four, upgraders and downgraders, I analyzed where these could be interpreted within refusal head acts and supportive moves. They could be lexical, morphological, syntactical or tonal in nature. Within *ay no*: the tone of regret with which it was said softens the impact of *no* (downgrader), while *ay* is itself an emotional

expression that intensifies degree of regret (upgrader); *creo que*: a subjectivizer (or mental state predicate) mitigates the reiteration of the “no” message (downgrader); *no me queda*: the use of *quedar* + [indirect object pronoun] distances Rena from the offense of non-compliance⁵ (downgrader); *nada*: intensifies the negation (upgrader); *había una negra ahí*: (none detected).

With respect to step five, linguistic strategies, I coded each utterance according to natural breaks in the speaker’s flow. I followed strategy names given in the established literature; where not available, I created new ones (e.g., rhetorical form, e.g., *qué querés que haga?* “whaddya want me to do?”). A clarification might be useful here: while the use of supportive moves, upgraders and downgraders are also strategies for negotiating within a refusal sequence, these are different from linguistic strategies. The former are more over-arching or metastrategic; the latter are more utterance-specific, coded according to the illocutionary force conveyed. The same utterance can carry multiple codes. Line 3 contains the following linguistic strategies (multiple codes separated by a comma):

- *ay* emotional expression
- *ay no* no, apology/regret
- *creo que* subjectivizer, hedge
- *no me queda nada* negates proposition (proposition implied)
- *había una negra ahí* alternative

Coding for Domain

In addition to the above, I also coded for the domain in which each of the refusal sequences occurred. Each received two codes, one concerning the orientation of the

⁵ In the expression *no me queda*, the verb acts as a reverse psychological predicate (like *gustar*). In these constructions the agent (my participant, the syntactic subject) is downgraded to the experiencer (indirect object), and relinquishes control over the action, thereby lessening the participant’s share of responsibility for the “offense.” This qualifies it as a syntactic downgrader.

interaction and one for its physical context (Table 3-3). The first code answered the question as to the nature of the talk: domestic-, social- or business/work-oriented. This resulted in 107 domestic-, 45 social- and 91 business/work-oriented refusal sequences (n=243). The second code answered the question as to the physical setting in which the talk took place: domestic, social or business/work. This showed that of the 243 refusal sequences, 96 occurred in a domestic setting, 33 in a social setting and 114 in a business/work setting. These discrepancies are due mostly to the fact that friends and acquaintances often congregated in the participants' houses and visited with each other in shops and stores where one of the interlocutors was working.

Data considered for the domestic domain included interactions recorded at the participants' homes, close family members' homes, in automobiles, and during family-oriented outings. Within the category of domestic-oriented talk, I distinguished between couples talk and other domestic talk. In the social domain, conversations were recorded while visiting friends and attending social events or gatherings (e.g., a get-together among friends, a soccer game, setting up for a party). I also coded as socially-oriented those conversations recorded during work breaks in which no "business" was conducted or discussed. In the workplace domain, the data primarily came from the participants' places of employment and during transactionally ended outings. This included talk at work with colleagues, clients, bosses and subordinates, as well as talk in service and institutional encounters. Within this category, I differentiated between service encounters and general work encounters, also taking power relations into account (cf. Codebook, Appendix C).

In cases where one domain overlapped with another (e.g., talk generated by a couple (domestic) buying clothes assisted by a salesperson (business/work)), I coded them on a case-by-case basis. For example, if the couple was alone in a dressing room with no one present, I classified their interaction as domestically oriented within the physical context of business/work; however, if they were discussing aspects of the purchase with the salesperson, then I classified the exchange as business/work oriented. Trickier was how to code a couple speaking to each other in public when one could not be sure that they were alone. For this conundrum I created two codes: couples-private and couples-public under the domestic domain.

In another example, Mar would drive her shuttle route (business/work domain) with her brother (domestic domain) and friend (social domain). While the van is technically a workplace from which Mar picks up and drops off customers, it is also very much a locus of conversational interaction characteristic of the social domain and, potentially, family matters. For situations like these where the lines were unclear, I followed Agar (1980) in conducting informal ethnographic interviews (where I did not read from a list of questions, but attempted a conversation) in order to glean the participants' perceptions of the situation. In this particular circumstance, Mar reported that she considered these conversations very much social in nature, as opposed to familial or business; for this reason I coded Mar's interactions in the shuttle bus as socially-oriented, unless they related specifically to business (or family) matters.

Secondary Coding and Intercoder Agreement

I randomly selected refusal sequences from each participant, totaling 25 sequences, to be reanalyzed by a second coder. This totaled 10% of the data. We met personally to discuss the codebook and the procedure for coding; I then used MAXQDA

10 to compare the results and calculate a percentage of intercoder agreement. The results indicated agreement of 90% or better for eighteen sequences, 80% or better for six sequences, and 73% agreement for one sequence (Table 3-4). We then discussed the instances on which we disagreed and came to a consensus about each. Though this approach was less stringent than calculating an intercoder reliability coefficient for each code, the agreement achieved inspires confidence that another researcher using the same coding method would achieve similar results.

Qualitative Comparisons and Statistical Analysis

The data analysis software MAXQDA, Version 10 (VERBI Software 2011) provided the platform for coding and making qualitative comparisons. A benefit of using this program is that it allows the coder to assign certain attributes to each refusal sequence (e.g., participant age, education, socioeconomic status, addressee sex), and as many codes as desired to utterances within sequences (cf. Codebook, Appendix C). The coder can then compare these attributes and codes within and across different categories (e.g., domain, age, mand type). Various tools within the software help visualize the relationships between codes: for example, the extent to which they (co)occur in a sequence, are found near each other, and/or overlap. These outputs can easily be exported to a spreadsheet (e.g., Microsoft Excel) for further analysis.

The data also lent to some quantitative statistical analysis. For this I used SPSS Statistics for Windows, Version 21.0 (IBM Corp. 2012). Because exploratory analysis showed that the data were not evenly distributed, I conducted non-parametric bivariate correlation tests using Kendall's Tau-b with two-tailed tests of significance, excluding cases pairwise. This analysis allowed me to determine, for example, which were the linguistic strategies that significantly correlated with the different head act types and

supportive moves. Based on this type of information, I then conducted non-parametric linear regression tests using Statistical Analysis System software (SAS Institute Inc. 2013) to find out which of the significant predictors (e.g., linguistic strategies) accounted for the most variance. For each analysis where applicable, I used the Durbin-Watson test to assure that there was no autocorrelation of the residuals and, therefore, no problems with multicollinearity. Additionally, for nominal variables such as domain, I conducted Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) tests to compare the means of relevant predictors and find possible significant differences across categories. The results of the analysis will be taken up in the next chapters, organized by research question.

Table 3-1. Participant profiles.

Alias	Age	Area	Job	Edurank	Classrank
Ela	19	Pastoreo	homemaker	7	1
Lea	21	Pastoreo	homemaker	10	1
Fabiana	31	Pastoreo	childcare, homemaker	9	1
Isabel	31	Centro	secretary, homemaker	11	2
Ari	33	Pastoreo	program coordinator	11	1
Mar	34	Centro	shop owner/ chauffeur	8	2
Moqui	35	Centro	secretary, homemaker	12	2
Rita	39	Pastoreo	janitor/cook, childcare	6	1
Rena	47	Centro	shop owner	12	2
Ana	61	Centro	direct sales, homemaker	12	2

“Alias” is the nickname created for the purposes of this study; “Age” is the participant’s age at the time of the study; “Edurank” is the number of years of formal education, including technical training; “Classrank” is based on self-classification, where 1=low SES and 2=middle SES.

Table 3-2. Transcription conventions, adapted from Atkinson and Heritage (1984).

Symbol	Description	Example
[simultaneous or overlapping utterance	A: dicen que tenía [gripe H1. B: [la A?
]	marks end of an overlap; typically used when there is more than overlap during a speaker's turn	A: sos de Rosario [porque naciste acá pero tus orígenes [son:-- B: [del Uruguay.] [no:, soy de Rosario.
=	contiguous utterance; does not overlap	A: xxx no era la Gripe A.= B: =no era la gripe?
:	extension of sound or syllable	A: dame:: carne picada?
-	stutter or stammer	A: LA-la-la verdulería me queda a media cuadra/ A: la saqué— B: no no no A: qué gripe.
--	abrupt cutoff	
.	stopping fall in tone, often indicating utterance finality	
,	continuing intonation, not necessarily phrase final	A: cómo andás Isabel, vas a salir a algún lado hoy?
→	level intonation or trailing utterance	A: te tengo acá? para que→
/ (alt. ↑)	rising intonation	A: LA-la-la verdulería me queda a media cuadra/ A: joh. ↓bue(no).
\ (alt. ↓)	falling intonation	
^	Intonation rises then falls	A: si no me lo pagás después^
~	"tag" intonation characterized by a strong rise-fall pattern, typically utterance final	A: se puede probar de ésta~?
?	questioning inflection, not necessarily a question	A: eh?
!	animated or exclaimed utterance	A: gracias! chau!
@	laughter	A: chau. @@@
CAPS	talk that is louder than surrounding talk	A: DE presión?
<quote>	speaker quotes someone or something else, reported talk	A: <AAH traéme!> le digo,
(0.0)	interval between utterances (seconds)	A: un camión le traemos. ya tendrá(n). B: (1.5) y unas botas.
(unsure)	items in doubt	A: un camión le traemos. ya tendrá(n).
(A / B / C)	item in doubt; possible alternatives separated by a slash	A: vos le (comprás / cobrás Tere / cobraste) o yo le compro?
((words))	coder comment	A: ((al hijo chiquito)) hiciste?
xxx	unable to decipher	A: xxx hicimos la torta hicimos la yerba también.
...	stretch/lines of talk omitted	A: vamos Violeta porque estos, estos mirá, Violeta son...chau.

Table 3-3. Refusal sequences by domain: by orientation of talk and physical setting (Domestic, Social, Bus/Work).

	Domestic-oriented		Social-oriented		Bus/Work-oriented		Total	
Domestic	82	77%	7	16%	7	8%	96	40%
Social	9	8%	24	53%			33	14%
Bus/Work	16	15%	14	31%	84	92%	114	47%
Total	107	100%	45	100%	91	100%	243	100%

Table 3-4. Intercoder agreement between researcher and cocoder.

No.	Refusal Sequence	Agreement %
1	Fabiana 2	100
2	Moqui 6	100
3	Mar 9	96
4	Ari 9	95
5	Ela 12	95
6	Lea 10	95
7	Ana 3a	94
8	Fabiana 1	94
9	Mar 19	94
10	Rita 16	94
11	Moqui 18	93
12	Rena 3	93
13	Ana 19	92
14	Isabel 52	91
15	Rena 9	91
16	Ela 5	90
17	Lea 5	90
18	Rita 5	90
19	Ela 1	89
20	Isabel 36	89
21	Rita 10	89
22	Isabel 25	88
23	Rena 4	87
24	Mar 1	82
25	Fabiana 3	73

CHAPTER 4 REFUSAL STRATEGIES

This chapter focuses on the results as they pertain to the first research question: How do female Uruguayan Spanish speakers from Rosario realize the speech act of refusing? The hypotheses are two-fold: Hypothesis 1 is that Rosarian refusals will consist of linguistic strategies that have been previously cited in the research on refusals, albeit, to different extents; Hypothesis 2 is that, in accordance with Márquez Reiter and Placencia's assertion regarding Uruguayan politeness, Rosarian refusals will exhibit more strategies in line with "expressing solidarity, interdependence, [and] affiliation towards the interlocutor" (2005: 190).

Taking the data as a whole, I first give a general description of the results. Then, I demonstrate the participants' preference for (in)directness in the refusal head act and the most important linguistic strategies that surfaced, including upgrading and downgrading. Also, I show the extent to which they employed supportive moves adjunct to the head act—mitigating and aggravating—and the corresponding linguistic strategies that correlated with these. Finally, I identify and discuss the linguistic formulas (i.e., set phrases and templates) that emanated from the data.

General Description of Results

From eighty hours of participant recordings, I extracted and analyzed some 283 refusal sequences (herein, sequences) for this project. I discarded forty sequences, due either to interrater discrepancies or because the sequence did not satisfy the criteria for consideration as defined in Chapter 3, leaving 243 sequences. Recall that since the sequences were negotiated in many instances, it was possible for more than

one mand and mand type to be present. For this reason, there were 370 mands, corresponding with 370 head acts, in the 243 sequences coded.

The most frequent mand types that emanated from the data were suggestions. Declarative statements displaying a speaker's stance on a topic or analysis of a situation also emerged as being subject to refusal, while orders and invitations were present, but the least frequent. A summary of mand types follows:

- suggestions (n = 116)
- statements / analyses (n = 74)
- offers (n = 56)
- requests (n = 52)
- instructions / orders / demands (n = 33)
- invitations (n = 7)
- mands (n = 32)
- total mands, all types (n = 370)

As was highlighted in Chapter 3 (and discussed at length in Chapter 5), 107 sequences (44%) qualified as domestic-oriented talk, 47 (19%) as social-oriented and 89 (37%) as business-oriented. The physical settings ranged from people's homes to public spaces (e.g., the central plaza) to semi-public spaces (e.g., a social club) to purpose-driven gatherings (e.g., a sporting event, a wake) to businesses and worksites. With respect to the participants' area of residence, the Centro group generated 141 (58%) sequences and the Pastoreo group 102 (42%). Though the cleavages along which the data subdivide are unequal, I take this issue into account in the following chapters when I discuss the data in terms of these variables.

To briefly summarize the data presented in the following sections, I now outline some key figures pertaining to the 370 refusal head acts (Figure 4-1). I coded 194 (52%) of these as indirect and 176 (48%) as direct; also, I noted 49 linguistic strategies used in these head acts: 45 of these were found in indirect head acts and 31 in direct

head acts.¹ I obtained a similar number—372—of supportive moves, though heavily stacked on the mitigating side (77%). There were 286 mitigating supportive moves (herein, mitigating moves) and 86 aggravating supportive moves (herein, aggravating moves) in which I identified 53 linguistic strategies: 50 of these were found in mitigating moves and 37 in aggravating moves. In addition, head acts and supportive moves were often semantically strengthened and weakened with the use of upgraders and downgraders. Participants more frequently downgraded than upgraded within indirect head acts and mitigating moves; conversely, they tended to upgrade rather than downgrade within direct head acts and aggravating moves.

(In)Directness in the Refusal Head Act

In this section I discuss the participants' preference for (in)directness in the refusal head act. I present the frequency of indirect and direct refusal head acts, the extent to which they co-occur in refusal sequences, their relationship to mand type and priming effects, and the extent to which they correlate to supportive moves, upgrading and downgrading. I provide a more detailed analysis of the actual linguistic strategies that compose head acts and supportive moves in the following section.

As noted above, out of 370 refusal head acts, I coded 52% as indirect and 48% as direct. However, though participants refused with indirect head acts slightly more often than with direct ones, this does not necessarily indicate a preference for indirectness. (And I do not make the case for one or the other here, but aim to show the extent to which they preferred certain types of head acts relative to certain contextual

¹ Linguistic strategies do not pertain, necessarily, to any overarching category, e.g., the strategy “emotional expression” occurs in both direct and indirect head acts. The same is true for strategies found in supportive moves.

features.) Looking at the data another way, I found that sequences containing only direct head acts outnumbered those solely with indirect head acts; a smaller portion exhibited both direct and indirect head acts within the same refusal sequence (Figure 4-1). So, what are we to make of this seemingly paradoxical situation? A look at certain features of the refusal sequences help to explain this.

Feature One: Number of Refusal Turns at Talk per Sequence

A non-parametric test of two or more independent samples rejects the null hypothesis that the distribution of refusal turns at talk (herein, refusal turns) is the same across categories of sequence type, i.e., indirect-only, direct-only, or both-present ($p < 0.00$). Pairwise comparisons show significant differences between all possible pair combinations. In other words, it is meaningful that the mean number of refusal turns for direct-only sequences was 1.16 with a range of two, while the mean number for indirect-only was 1.49 with a range of six. The mean for sequences with both head act types was 2.68, with a range of three. In sequences with only one refusal turn, the head act tended to be direct. Also, as the number of refusal turns per sequence increased, the more likely it was that the sequence would be of the indirect-only type (Figure 4-2).

Further statistical analysis confirms that the number of refusal turns significantly correlates in a positive direction with both indirect (.512, $p < 0.00$) and direct (.227, $p < 0.01$) head acts, but much more strongly for indirect.² The explanation for this is apparent from the cross-tabulation data (Figures 4-3, 4-4) and supports the argument of the previous paragraph. These data show that as the number of refusal turns per sequence increases, so does the use of indirect head acts. The number of indirect

² Correlation values are given in terms of Kendall's tau-b and a two-tailed test of significance.

head acts per sequence ranges from zero to seven (Figure 4-3), while the number of direct head acts per sequence never exceeds three (Figure 4-4). These results indicate that as participants negotiated more (i.e., generated more head acts per refusal sequence), they were more likely to employ indirect head acts. Sequences containing direct head acts tended to be shorter (i.e., less head acts per refusal sequence).

These differences are significant and add strength to the argument that the longer, more negotiated refusal sequences tend to boast indirect head-acts, while those with direct head acts (especially direct-only) tend to be short and quickly resolved. This leads to the next feature—mand type. To what extent did mand type have to do with the way the participants refused?

Feature Two: Mand Type

When broken down by mand type, we observe some differences in refusal behavior in terms of (in)directness (Tables 4-1 to 4-4). Orders and invitations consistently received more indirect head acts³; both correlated positively with the indirect head act type (.182, $p < 0.01$ for orders; .121, $p < 0.05$ for invitations). Refusals to offers were more often direct. In many of these instances, the use of overt directness also had to do with structural priming, taken up below. Of note is that no mand type correlated significantly with direct head acts, except invitations in the negative direction.

Refusals to requests and statements consisted of more or less equal numbers of indirect and direct head acts at the token and case levels; there was no significant relationship for requests, but a weak correlation between statements and indirect head

³ That is, at both token and case levels of analysis. By token level, I mean that I counted all instances of a variable within each sequence or case; by case level, I mean that I counted if a variable was present or absent in a sequence, regardless of how many times it actually occurred, where absence = 0 and presence = 1.

acts (.126, $p < 0.05$). Suggestions produced more indirect refusal head acts at the token level (.153, $p < 0.01$), but, at the case level, direct refusals emerged as more prevalent (meaning that the additional indirect head acts were involved in more-negotiated sequences). As with orders, I claim that the use of overt directness to refuse suggestions also had to do with lexical priming, which I discuss as a third feature.

In terms of sequence type, there is little to add, except with respect to sequences in which both indirect and direct head acts were present. The both-present type positively correlated with suggestions and statements, and most strongly with statements (suggestions = .124, $p < 0.05$; statements = .266, $p < 0.00$). Non-parametric tests of two or more independent samples retained the null hypothesis that the distribution of suggestions was the same across sequence types, but rejected it for statements ($p < 0.00$). For statements, there were significant differences between direct-only and both-present, and between indirect-only and both-present sequence types ($p < 0.00$ for each).

In sum, the strongest evidence, both qualitatively and quantitatively, points to two findings: 1) the participants of this study tended to refuse orders and invitations using indirect head act strategies, and 2) they refused statements using both head act types, often within the same refusal sequence. The frequency data suggest that refusals to offers favored direct strategies, though this relationship was not significant. Requests and suggestions, like statements, received both indirect and direct head act strategies, but, unlike statements, not as typically within the same sequence (Table 4-5).

Feature Three: Priming Effect

As mentioned above, there is evidence to suggest that direct refusals to certain mandates were influenced by how the mand was linguistically structured. For this reason, I

suggest a third feature—priming effect—that would help shed light on the high frequency of direct refusal head acts and why direct-only refusal sequences tend to be shorter (i.e., one refusal turn) and non-negotiated. To my knowledge, this is not a feature that is readily pointed out in the predominant research on refusal speech acts.

In some instances, an offer, for example, would take the form of *algo más* (“anything else”) or *qué más* (“what else”) as in A below. The rejoinder, B, negates the proposition by employing the same structure, but with the negative counterpart *nada* (“nothing”). Since the participant in B could have just as easily replied *no, nada, gracias* (“no, nothing, thanks”), her repetition of *más* is potentially an example of lexical priming, in which the use of a certain lexical item spurs the subsequent use of the same lexical item (Travis 2007).

((buying produce, Fabiana 2))

A Salesman: *qué más?*
 what else?

B Fabiana: *nada más.*
 nothing else.

((sale closes; participant takes leave and departs))

In these types of exchanges, the refusals are short, non-negotiated, direct, and perfectly politic. One gets the feeling that should an addressee receive an indirect refusal in these types of situations, she or he would find it pragmatically odd.

In another example, now dealing with suggestions, the phrase-final tag *no?* in C is a potential prime for the direct *no* in D:

((participant with her partner in a shop trying on a pair of jeans, Ela 12))

C Roberto: *me queda muy apretado, no?*

it's too tight on me, isn't it ((lit. no))?

D Ela: no:, te queda bien.

no:, it fits you well.

Other options available to the one refusing are present in the data, such as the *sí + pero* [x] template (e.g., hypothetically, *sí pero se agranda después de los usos* “yes but it [the pair of pants] will stretch out after wearing them”). However, her partner's use of *no* to cap his suggestion arguably promotes the participant's selection of the bald-on *no* to begin her refusal.

Likewise, mands structured in terms of yes/no questions, with and without negatively phrased clauses (E, G), tend to receive *no* as a refusal response (F, H):
((participant's partner requests tea, Isabel 25))

E Milton: (no tenés) té de bolsito? hay [uno que es digestivo no?

(don't you have) tea bags? there's [one that's digestive right ((lit. no))?

F Isabel: ((pauses; looking?)) [no]. ((tense pronunciation))

[no].

((at a shop, saleswoman offers to put purchase on the participant's tab, Moqui 44))

G Saleswoman: te lo anoto aquello?=
shall I record it for you?=
=no, lo pago.

H Moqui: =no, lo pago.

=no, I'll pay for it ((now)).

Statistical analysis supports these observations convincingly. Before proceeding, I would clarify that priming effect as a feature of refusal behavior was not something that I set out to look for, but was a phenomenon that emanated organically from the data; in fact, I did not even notice it until well into the analysis process. At that point, I went back to the data and coded for mands and refusals that exhibited possible and/or likely

effects of structural or lexical priming, typically within zero to two clauses of the previous/initial mention.⁴ I took into consideration the repetition of lexical forms and syntactic patterns; I did not account for morphological priming or the subsequent utterance's relationship with the previous mention's tense/aspect/mood qualities. While a definitive study of this topic is outside the bounds of this research project, it presents an area for future research.

I tested the following for potential correlations with the variable for priming effects (Priming): indirect and direct head acts, aggravating and mitigating supportive moves, up- and downgraders, and sequence types (Figure 4-5). Indeed, Priming positively correlated with direct head acts and refusal sequences in which only direct head acts were present, and negatively correlated with indirect HAs and indirect-only RSs. Additionally, there was no significant relationship with supportive moves or up/downgraders, which makes sense, given that 1) direct-only refusal sequences tended to be shorter and less negotiated overall, 2) in the case of structural priming, repeated patterns of use become conventionalized (Bybee et al. 1994), requiring less explanation or modification, and 3) in the case of lexical priming, the repetition of a previous mention is fair-game and likely politic, having been implicitly justified by its use in the turn before and because repetition has been established as a rapport-building strategy in an of itself (Tannen 1987).

To corroborate the correlation statistics, an independent-samples Kruskal-Wallis test rejected the null hypothesis that the distribution of Priming is the same across

⁴ Scholars such as Travis (2007) examine much greater distances (in terms of turns at talk) from the previous mention. Future study with my own data set could revisit the topic and take into consideration more factors, such as verb class and TAM.

sequence types. Pairwise comparisons show that priming effects are significantly different between direct- and indirect-only types and between indirect-only and both-present types (Figure 4-7). Table 4-6 demonstrates the extent which Priming was found in head act and sequence types. As this table shows, Priming occurred much more readily in direct head acts and direct-only sequences than in their indirect counterparts.

In order to discern whether there could have been interaction between Priming and mand type, I also tested for correlations between these. Table 4-7 demonstrates the frequency of Priming by mand type. A substantial number of refusals to requests and suggestions displayed a potential priming effect; but only suggestions resulted statistically correlated to Priming (.152, $p < 0.05$) (Figure 4-6). Thus, it appears that the presence or absence of an observed priming effect goes further than mand type in explaining the participants' choice of (in)directness in the head act. It may be the case, too, that mands—such as suggestions and requests—prompted as many direct head acts as they did because of a priming effect that took place between the speaker and the participant. In fact, 42% of direct refusals to suggestions and 56% of direct refusals to requests showed evidence of lexical or syntactic priming.

Supportive Moves and Head Acts, Upgrading and Downgrading

The most prevalent supportive move was the mitigating move, which appeared in 65% of refusal sequences and in 38% of refusal turns. Thus, participants often softened the refusal head act in the immediate turn, whether refusing indirectly or directly (e.g., as in D above). Statistically, indirect head acts correlated positively with the variable for supportive moves (.145, $p < 0.01$); however, pairwise comparisons did not detect a statistical difference in the distribution of mitigating moves across refusal sequence types. And although neither head act type correlated statistically with

downgraders, mitigating moves and downgraders displayed a strong relationship with each other (.376, $p < 0.01$).

Aggravating moves were less frequent, appearing in 26% of refusal sequences and 13% of refusal turns. The majority of aggravating moves occurred in the domestic sphere of interaction, while the greatest portion of mitigating moves presented in the business domain (this nuance will be further discussed in Chapter 5). Recall that aggravating moves do not necessarily offend or attack the interlocutor, but, by definition, strengthen the refusal head act (e.g., with repetition or reiteration). While the use of aggravating moves was not nearly as typical as the use of mitigating moves, they correlated positively with direct head acts (.283, $p < 0.01$) and, not surprisingly, upgraders (.481, $p < 0.01$). Direct head acts correlated with upgraders as well (.245, $p < 0.00$).

Pairwise comparisons displayed no statistical difference in the distribution of aggravating moves or upgraders between indirect- and direct-only sequence types; they did detect differences for each of these types with the both-present type. In other words, referring to Table 4-8, refusal sequences having both direct and indirect refusal head acts were more likely to contain aggravating moves and upgraders than their homogeneous counterparts. The reason for this is unclear, but likely stems from the fact the both-present type had the largest mean number of refusal turns, indicating more opportunities for head act modification. Another possible explanation is that the largest portion of both-present sequences (18 of 37, 49%) played out in the domestic domain, which is where the majority of aggravating moves occurred. The following is an example taken from a both-present sequence type:

(1) First (direct) refusal from a both-present sequence type with aggravating moves and upgraders, domestic domain, (Ana 15)

((Ana and her partner finishing lunch at home; Ana prefaces this refusal with two SMAs: an emotional expression and a complaint (underlined) and upgrades throughout (underlined))

1 Roger: =vos. ((pauses, mouth full)) (hoy) voy a dormirme esta tarde.

=hey ((lit. you)) ((pauses, mouth full)) (today) I'm gonna take a nap this afternoon.

2 Ana: EH? ((short pause)) AH tengo entonces que ordenar eso. el desbarajuste que hay allá atrás. ((pause, plates clink)) lamento decirte que no vas a tener siesta.

EH? ((short pause)) AH so I have to straighten all that up then ((firewood)). that mess back there. ((pause, plates clink)) I am sorry to tell you that you will not be having a nap.

To summarize, I have found that the participants of this study relied heavily on supportive moves when refusing. Head acts and supportive moves were often semantically strengthened and weakened with the use of upgraders and downgraders, respectively. Mitigating moves correlated closely with downgraders as did aggravating moves with upgraders. Mitigating moves were much more prevalent than aggravating moves; the former weakly correlated with indirect head acts and the latter more strongly with direct. The use of mitigating moves appears to have been prevalent across the board, while aggravating moves were more contextually constrained. How refusals vary according to contextual features is a topic that I will take up in the next chapters.

Linguistic Strategies

In the sections to follow, I report on the linguistic strategies that emanated from the analysis. Definitions and examples of all the strategies for which I coded are found in the codebook (Appendix C). Table 4-9 displays all of the linguistic strategies found in refusal head acts and their frequencies: at the sequence level, as a total number of head acts, as indirect head acts and as direct head acts. Table 4-10 does the same for

mitigating and aggravating moves. Tables 4-11 and 4-12 show the key linguistic strategies for head acts, supportive moves and by mand type.

Several of the strategy codes shown here are combinations of like strategies that, although separate in previous studies, occurred so infrequently that I combined them in order to streamline the codebook and maximize the effect of the variable. For example, subjectivizers (e.g., *me parece que* “it seems to me that”) and understaters (e.g., *un poquito* “a little bit”) (cf. Blum-Kulka et al. 1989) are often used to soften or hedge an utterance; for this reason, I combined hedges, subjectivizers and understaters into one variable (i.e., HedgeSU).⁵ The same can be said for the strategies of claiming common ground and displaying solidarity with the interlocutor (i.e., CCGSolid), since claiming common ground is a type of solidary strategy. I also merged appealers (e.g., *viste?* “you see?”, *ta?* “okay?”, *sabés?* “you know?”) and cajolers (e.g., *viste (que)* “you see (that)”, *sabés* “you know”) into one variable (i.e., AppCaj) given their similar forms and function as hearer-engaging speech items (cf. Blum-Kulka et al. 1989).

Linguistic Strategies: Head Acts

Forty-nine linguistic strategies emanated from the refusal head acts. Indirect and direct head acts shared 27 strategies; eighteen were unique to indirect head acts (e.g., Agree, Alternative) and four to direct head acts (e.g., Negate Proposition, Anticipate). With so many possible strategies, it was crucial to better understand the extent to which a certain strategy was indicative (or not) of a head act type. For this I used non-parametric statistical analysis (Figures 4-9 through 4-14). Bivariate correlation analysis

⁵ Before merging these tokens into one variable, I performed a qualitative analysis to verify that the subjectivizers and understaters included indeed effected a downgrading or hedging force. I did not merge tokens that did not meet this requirement.

(Figure 4-9) showed that indirect head acts positively correlated with twenty-one strategies and negatively correlated with two others (strategies unique to indirect head acts*):

- Positive: Agree*, Alternative*, Appeal to External Support/Party*, App/Caj*, Blame Hearer/Other*, Claim Hardship, Condition*, Confirmation/Acknowledgement, Counter Argument/Correction, Delay Response/Ignore, Discourse Marker, Distract from Offense*, Doubt Hearer*,⁶ HedgeSU, Indefinite Reply*, Postpone, Reason/Explanation, Reassure Hearer, Request Information/Confirmation*, Self-Defense, Topic Switch*;
- Negative: Negate Proposition, No.

To determine which of these correlated strategies were the most indicative of indirect head acts, I performed a non-parametric regression procedure using the correlated head act strategies as the set of predictors to test. Within the model, the parameter estimate (PE) indicates the strength of the each predictor's relationship to the dependent variable and its direction (positive or negative). This model accounted for 69% of the variance⁷ of the variable HAInd. Eight of the correlated strategies from above were significant in the regression model, six in the positive direction (Figure 4-10). From strongest to weakest PE, the predictors showing a correlation in the positive direction were (see Appendix C for full-text examples):

- PE \geq 60: Delay Response/Ignore;
- PE \geq 40: Doubt Hearer* (e.g., *sería yo?* "are you sure it was me?"), Indefinite Reply* (e.g., *veremos* "we'll see"), Alternative* (e.g., *o lo hacemos antes* "or we do it [have the get-together] before then");
- PE \geq 30: Counter Argument/Correction (e.g., *pero hay viento allá abajo* "but it's windy down there", *DOS y veinte son* "it's TWO twenty");

⁶ This factor approached significance ($p = 0.061$) at the head act level, but was significant at the general (LS) level ($p = 0.017$). Also, it was significant ($p = 0.0001$) for the nonparametric regression test using SAS.

⁷ Based on R-Square (non-adjusted).

- PE \geq 20: Request Information/Confirmation* (e.g., *pero es para todo el público en general?* “but is it [the event] for the general public?”).⁸

Strategies such as claiming hardship, distracting from the offense or giving a reason/explanation were not significant in the regression model.

For direct refusal head acts, I followed the same procedure. Figure 4-9 shows that direct head acts correlated with thirteen linguistic strategies. Seven correlated positively and six strategies correlated negatively (strategies unique to direct head acts*):

- Positive: Command, Concession/Disarmer, Emotional Expression, Negate Proposition*, No, Repetition/Reiteration, Rhetorical Form;
- Negative: Agree, Alternative, Discourse Marker, Indefinite Reply, Reassure, Request Information/Confirmation.

The regression model accounted for 77% of the variance for HADir and produced nine significant predictors, three in the positive direction (Figure 4-11). From strongest to weakest PE, these predictors were (see Appendix C for full-text examples):

- PE \geq 60: No (e.g., *no, ay no* “[emotional expression] no”, *la mesa NO* “the table NO/NOT the table”);
- PE \geq 40: Negate Proposition* (e.g., *no puedo* “I can’t”, *nada más* “nothing else”), Command (e.g., *dejale las pantuflas* “leave her slippers on”, *fijate cualquier cosa* “take a look just in case/anyway”).⁹

What is informative about the regression results is that they give almost mutually exclusive lists; no strategy is positively correlated to both indirect and direct head acts. It is also important to note that some indirect-exclusive strategies did not make the cut in the regression model, while some strategies that were common to both indirect and

⁸ The strategies No and Negate Proposition correlated to HAInd in the negative direction.

⁹ The strategies Agree, Reassure, Request Information/Confirmation, Alternative, Indefinite Reply and Discourse Marker correlated to HADir in the negative direction.

direct head acts (e.g., Counter argument/Correction, Command) are now shown to be statistically associated with one or the other head act type.

Table 4-11 summarizes the most salient linguistic strategies into two tiers. Tier 1 strategies are those that were significant in the regression model (i.e., those listed above). Tier 2 strategies are those that both correlated in the positive direction and were frequently observed (i.e., present in 5% or more sequences), but that were not significant in the regression model.¹⁰ The Tier 2 strategies for indirect head acts were: HedgeSU, confirming/acknowledging the interlocutor's proposition, giving a reason or explanation, using discourse markers and claiming hardship. The Tier 2 strategies for direct head acts were less varied: repeating and/or reiterating an utterance and using emotional expressions. These Tier 1 and Tier 2 strategies were the most indicative of the refusal head acts for the data set.

Linguistic Strategies: Supportive Moves

Supportive moves, be they mitigating or aggravating, also drew upon numerous linguistic strategies. Fifty-two strategies emanated from the data: mitigating and aggravating moves shared 33 strategies; sixteen were unique to mitigating moves (e.g., Reassure Hearer, Indefinite Reply, Concede) and three to aggravating moves (i.e., Attack/Threat, Rhetorical Form, Sarcasm) (Table 4-10). As in the previous section, I employed statistical tests in order to better understand the relationships between strategies and supportive moves. Figure 4-9 shows that mitigating moves correlated with thirty linguistic strategies. All correlated in the positive direction (strategies unique to mitigating moves*):

¹⁰ Note that for a strategy to be statistically correlated, it does not have to be among the most frequent.

- Positive: Agree*, Alternative, Apology, AppCaj, Appeal to external party, Blame Hearer/Other, CCGSolid, Claim Hardship, Comprehension/Empathy*, Concede*, Condition, Confirmation/Acknowledgement, Counter Argument/Correction, Distract from Offense*, HedgeSU, Indefinite Reply*, Insist, Joke/Laugh, Justify/Minimize Offense, Pause Filler, Postpone, Reason/Explanation, Reassure Hearer*, Repair*, Repetition/Reiteration, Request Information/Confirmation, Statement of Information, Statement of Principle/Philosophy, Topic Switch*, Wish/Positive Feelings*;
- Negative: None.

The non-parametric regression model, using the above correlated strategies as the set of predictors to test, accounted for 59% of the variance¹¹ of the variable SMM.

Nine of the correlated strategies from above were significant in the model (Figure 4-12).

From strongest to weakest PE, these were (see Appendix C for in-text examples):

- PE > 40: Reassure Hearer* (e.g., *no se preocupe* “don’t worry”), Claim Hardship (e.g., *y . . . no tengo plata* “and . . . I don’t have any money”), Concede (e.g., *es rica la marcela pero . . .* “marcela [an herb] is good but . . .”);
- PE > 30: Appeal to external party (e.g., *yo le pregunto a ver qué hacemos* “I’ll ask him [partner] to see what we’re gonna do”), Alternative (e.g., *hay un treinta y cinco* “there’s a size 35 [instead]”);
- PE > 20: Reason/Explanation (e.g., *porque el tema es el vehículo* “because the thing is the vehicle”), Joke/Laugh (e.g., *así mejor porque entonces la pateo y no pica. @@@* “it’s better that way anyway because then [when] he kicks it it doesn’t hurt. @@@”), Indefinite Reply* (e.g., *en cualquier momento* “any time/whenever”, *capaz que sí* “maybe/possibly”);
- PE ≥ 10: Confirmation/Acknowledgement (e.g., *sí* “yes/yeah”, *y bueno* “well okay”, *claro* “of course”).

Other strategies were not significant in the regression model, though some (e.g., HedgeSU) occurred rather frequently in mitigating moves.

¹¹ Based on R-Square (non-adjusted).

For aggravating moves, I followed the same procedure. Figure 4-9 shows that aggravating moves correlated with seventeen linguistic strategies, all in the positive direction (strategies unique to aggravating moves*):

- Positive: Attack/Threat*, Command, Comprehension/Empathy, Complain, Counter Argument/Correction, Discourse Marker, Emotional Expression, Endearment Term, Joke/Laugh, Negate Proposition, No, Reason/Explanation, Repetition/Reiteration, Rhetorical Form*, Sarcasm*, Self Defense, Statement of Information.
- Negative: None.

The regression model accounted for 52% of the variance of the variable SMA and produced nine significant predictors (Figure 4-13). From strongest to weakest PE, these were (see Appendix C for in-text examples):

- PE > 80: Attack/Threat* (e.g., *no sabes nada* “you don’t know anything”);
- PE ≥ 60: Command (e.g., *pará pará* “stop stop”, *bueno, pagásela* “fine, pay him for it”);
- PE ≥ 30: Negate Proposition (e.g., *no puedo* “I can’t”, Emotional Expression (e.g., *hoh!, ay, TS*), Counter Argument/Correction (e.g., *lleva tiempo cariño* “it takes time dear”);
- PE ≥ 20: No (e.g., *no no no*), Joke/Laugh (e.g., *ni lo repito@ . . . porque no digo disparate* “I’m not even gonna repeat it@ . . . because I don’t say ridiculous stuff”), Endearment Term (e.g., *cariño* “dear”, *m’hijo!* “(my) son!”);
- PE ≥ 10: Complain (e.g., *es una llenada de huevos* “it’s such bullshit”, *ay qué zanahorias grandes* “aw the carrots are so big”).

The remaining strategies were not significant in the regression model, despite relatively high frequencies, e.g., Repetition/Reiteration and Reason/Explanation. Though these were among the most frequent strategies for aggravating moves, they were also common to mitigating moves. As with head acts, the regression results are highly informative in that they give almost mutually exclusive lists; only Joke/Laugh was a significant factor in both regression models. Some strategies unique to either mitigating

or aggravating moves did not show significant p-values in the regression models, while other strategies common to both did, for one or the other.

Table 4-11 shows the strategies most indicative of supportive moves, in terms of Tier 1 and Tier 2 strategies. Tier 1 strategies are those listed above; Tier 2 strategies for mitigating moves included Repetition/Reiteration, HedgeSU, CCGSolid, Counter argument/Correction, Distract and Justify/Minimize offense. Tier 2 strategies for aggravating moves were more limited in number: Repetition/Reiteration, Reason/Explanation, Statement of information and Discourse marker. They best characterize the mitigating and aggravating supportive moves present in these data. The fact that we find some of the same strategies in both mitigating and aggravating moves (e.g., Joke/Laugh, Reason/Explanation) reiterates the viewpoint from Chapter 2 that linguistic expressions cannot be evaluated a priori as inherently polite or impolite with static, pre-formed functions; rather, they “display social processes at work” in the construction and negotiation of (im)politeness (Watts 2003:25).

At risk of falling into a similar trap, the reader will notice that I have categorized most of the linguistic strategies in Table 4-11 either as involvement (+) or independence (-), according to Scollon and Scollon’s framework (2001). This was, primarily, a means by which to evaluate Hypothesis 2: that Uruguayans tend to express solidarity, interdependence and affiliation towards interlocutors. Admittedly, the involvement/independence framework stems from Brown and Levinson’s notions of positive and negative politeness and, by extension, their concepts of positive and negative face, which have been criticized as being irrelevant to certain language groups and eurocentrically biased (cf. Chapter 2). However, with this classification paradigm I

am not suggesting that a particular strategy is more or less polite or even more or less politic. I am suggesting, in line with Scollon and Scollon, that a certain strategy tends to reflect a momentarily expressed emphasis one or another aspect of face—individuality or commonality—regardless of whether the face being projected represents a more individualistic or a more collectivistic idea of “self” (Scollon and Scollon 2001: 46). Also, I recognize that such a paradigm is vulnerable to exceptions as no strategy is any one thing all the time.¹² That said, as Table 4-11 demonstrates, the participants generally relied on involvement or affiliative strategies while refusing, the exception being with indirect head acts for which independence strategies prevailed. This provides evidence in favor of Hypothesis 2, an argument that I will take up more extensively in the discussion section of Chapter 7.

Linguistic Strategies: Mand Type

Taking a step further, a break-down of the head acts and supportive moves by mand type suggests nuances in refusal behavior. This type of analysis is useful for making comparisons with previous studies, since many of them take one or some of these mand types as their focus. Table 4-12 lists the most frequent linguistic strategies for head acts and supportive moves by mand type. It shows, for example, that saying “no” was the most frequently used head act strategy, except for orders and invitations, comprising between 16% and 20% of the total linguistic strategies used in head acts. For orders, the most frequent head act strategy was a counter argument/correction; for invitations, indirect replies garnered the highest percentage. It makes sense, then, that

¹² In fact, scholars are not always in agreement as to what constitutes what; for example, García (1999) categorizes giving reasons/explanations as reflecting independence, while Félix-Brasdefer (2008) views this as involvement.

giving reasons/explanations ranked as the top (or almost top) supportive move strategy for mands such as suggestions, offers and requests, because the formulaic template *no (x) + porque [x]* (discussed below) was highly productive.

Confirmation/acknowledgement was the most prevalent supportive move strategy for orders; this, coupled with counter argument/correction, is indicative of the *sí + pero [x]* template (also discussed below).

Returning to Hypothesis 1, which will be discussed at length in Chapter 7, it is apparent that the participants of this study made use of many strategies set forth in the frameworks of Beebe et al. (1990) and Félix-Brasdefer (2008). However, other prominent strategies, such as counter argument/correction (cf. Ueda 1972), command and emotional expression (cf. Blum-Kulka et al. 1989), claim common ground/solidarity (cf. Brown and Levinson 1987) and appeal to an external party (cf. Rubin 1983), were absent from both of these frameworks. Table 2-1 provides a side-by-side comparison of the classification schemes of Beebe et al., Félix-Brasdefer and the present study, and shows the extent to which they converge. It is clear that the former classification schemes served as an appropriate starting point, but were not sufficiently capable of capturing the complexity of natural data.

Recalling Hypothesis 2, also discussed further in Chapter 7, the participants did exhibit more strategies in line with expressing solidarity and affiliation towards the interlocutor, as opposed to deference and independence. Referring again to Tables 4-11 and 4-12, strategies typically considered to display involvement and/or positive politeness (Scollon and Scollon 2001; Brown and Levinson 1987) outnumbered those indicative of independence and/or negative politeness (ibid.). The only exception

surfaced when analyzing the data by mand type: refusals to invitations consisted more abundantly of independence strategies, such as indefinite replies, appeals to an external party, casting blame, distracting from the offense and employing hedges, subjectivizers and understaters. This is an important finding and suggests that the participants were sensitive to invitations in a way that motivated them to adjust their linguistic behavior to adopt strategies more in line with deference politeness in an effort to respect the face wants of the involved parties.

Formulas

This section addresses the extent to which formulas were present in these data. By formula I mean either a set phrase or a template illustrative of a consistent pattern. The formulaic phrases for which I coded were *ése es el tema/problema* and *el tema es (que)* (“that’s the problem/the problem is (that)”), *lo que pasa es que* (“the thing is that”), *te parece?* (“you think?”), *como quiera(s)* (“however you prefer”), *es lo mismo* (“it’s the same to me”) and *si querés* (“if you want”). The former phrases tended to occur in pre-head act position and served to prepare the hearer for the refusal to come. The latter typically formed part of an indirect refusal and were coded as indefinite replies.

The formulaic templates that emerged from the analysis were, primarily, *sí + pero [x]* (“yes + but [x]”), where *sí* counts as a mitigating move and *pero [x]* equals an indirect head act, and *no (x) + porque [x]* (“no (x) + because [x]”), where *no* equals a direct head act, *(x)* an optional verbal phrase and *porque [x]* a mitigating move. Secondary patterns, which I deemed in many cases to be alternate versions to the above, included *no + pero [x]*—arguably primed by a “no” in the preceding turn at talk in some instances—and *no + si [x]*, where *si* means “since” or “because” and not strictly “if.”

Formulaic Phrases

The frequency of formulaic phrases in the refusal sequences studied here was low, 22 tokens appearing in 7% of refusal sequences (Tables 4-13, 4-14). However, as a participant observer of this speech community, my impressionistic view is that these were expressions that people from this community frequently used in their day-to-day talk, though the impression may not be borne out. Nevertheless, I point them out as examples of strategies that one may employ—or encounter—when negotiating refusal situations. As with the formulaic templates below, these could be taught easily to Spanish-language learners to increase their pragmalinguistic skills.

The first important note of interest is that, while few in number, the majority of these phrases appeared in indirect-only refusal sequences. In these instances the participant made use of these strategies to avoid giving a definite answer or to hedge an otherwise indirect strategy. Formulaic phrases that exclusively appeared with, or as, indirect head acts were:

- *como quiera(s)* (however you prefer) (n = 7);
- *es lo mismo* (it's the same to me) (n = 4);
- *si querés* (if you want) (n = 1).

The following examples illustrate their stand-alone and simultaneous usage:

(2) Formulaic phrase as an indirect head act (Ela 17)

((In a clothing store, Roberto requests Ela's opinion regarding the purchase, which she declines to give))

1 Roberto: te- te parece?

d'you- d'you think?

2 Ela: cómo quiera(s).

however you prefer.

3 Roberto: si queré(s) comprate una de esa(s)
if you want buy yourself one of those

(3) Formulaic phrases as an indirect head act and a hedge within a mitigating move (Rita 12)

((At work, two colleagues: Dona announces to Rita that she will bring the *yerba mate*, as they have run out; Rita counters this statement with an offer to bring it herself))

1 Dona: que yo ya voy a- a [traer la yerba.
so I'm gonna just uh [bring the *yerba*.

2 Rita: [como vos quieras Dona, si vos querés traer yerba traé si
no traigo yo es lo mismo.=

[however you ((emph.)) prefer Dona, if you want to bring
the *yerba* bring it if not I'll bring it myself it's the same to me.=

3 Dona: =a mí me da igual.=
=it makes no difference to me ((emph.)).=

Conversely, the expression *te parece?* (“you think?/are you kidding?”) occurred once as a refusal and in a direct-only sequence. In this particular situation, the participant refuses her mother’s request for a sleeping pill with this attacking, rhetorical formulaic phrase. Isabel’s immediate response (denoted by “= . . . =”) and her choice to upgrade the phrase with *a vos* (“you (emph.)”) set a confrontational tone.

(4) Formulaic phrase coded as a direct head act, non-politic/impolite (Isabel 56)

((At Estevana’s home: Estevana is having a severe panic attack and requests a sleeping pill; her daughter Isabel refuses and bolsters the refusal with aggravating moves reprimanding her, i.e., attacking the hearer; Hilda, Estevana’s friend, happened to be visiting her when the panic attack started))

1 Estevana: xxx una pastilla o algo que me quede dormida hasta mañana.=
xxx a pill or something to make me sleep until morning.=

2 Isabel: =a vos te parece? no sabés si tenés preSIÓN, baja preSIÓN, las papil- las
palpitaciones, no sabés nada.
are you ((emph.)) kidding? you don’t know if you have ((high)) blood PREssure,
low blood PREssure, the palp- the palpitations, you don’t know anything.

3 Hilda: (a ver) xx.

(let's see) xx.

4 Isabel: ((a Estevana)) así que no podés este, ah- vos no sos médico.

((to Estevana)) so you can't uh, ah- you ((emph.)) are not a doctor.

Under these circumstances, the utterance *a vos te parece?* packs a critical and non-politic punch, subject to an impolite interpretation (cf. non-marked usage of *te parece* in line 1 of (2)). This interaction is characteristic of situations of low social distance and/or when one is unconcerned with maintaining face needs, as in an emergent situation.

Expressions with *tema/problema* and *lo que pasa* mitigated both indirect and direct refusals (Table 4-13). Formulaic phrases with *tema/problema* were the most versatile in that they were the only ones to figure in all three sequence types. The observed versions of these phrases were:

- *ése es el tema* (that's the problem) (n = 2);
- *ése es el problema* (that's the problem) (n = 2);
- *el tema es (que)* (the problem is (that)) (n = 3);
- *lo que pasa es que* (the thing is that) (n = 2).¹³

The first two are independent phrases that served as supportive moves in post-head act position (e.g., *sí pero yo voy a las nueve a Barker . . . ése es el problema* “yeah but I go at nine to Barker . . . that's the problem”) (Mar 2)). The latter two occurred in preposition, paving the way for the head act core. The head acts could be either direct or indirect, for example:

- direct, negates proposition: *lo que pasa es que pa'l Pastoreo no puedo ir . . .* “the thing is that to El Pastoreo I cannot go . . .” (Fabiana 3));
- indirect, concession + counter argument: *lo que pasa (es) que podría dejarlo pero . . .* “the thing is that I could leave him but . . .” (Ari 28)).

¹³ The independent phrase *eso es lo que pasa* (that's the thing), similar to *ése es el tema/problema*, is another possible version that I have witnessed, though not present in these data.

The pre-expression had a downgrading effect in that it hinted at a hardship beyond the speaker's control and prepared the listener for the refusal to come.

Formulaic Templates

The formulaic templates that emerged from the data were more numerous than the routinized expressions cited above (Tables 4-13, 4-14). There were 62 tokens of these templates, occurring in 22% of refusal sequences. The *sí + pero [x]* was the most frequent, followed by *no (x) + porque [x]*. In general, the former fell into the indirect-only sequence type, given that *pero [x]*, the head act, was typically a counter argument (an indirect strategy). The latter, with *no* as the first element, was largely restricted to direct-only and both-present sequence types; an exception was when the *no* came not as a refusal, but as an agreement with what the interlocutor had said:

(5) Using “no” to agree, indirect refusal to statement (Moqui 21)

((inside her mother's house, Moqui and her cousin Tuli debate whether one should go outside without a jacket))

1 Tuli: no está tan frío afuera che ahora.
 it's not so cold outside *che* ((solidarity marker)) now.

...

2 Moqui: no, pero hay viento allá abajo.
 no ((it's not so cold implied)), but there's wind down there ((at the soccer field)).

The secondary templates, *no + si [x]* and *no + pero [x]*, also fell among the direct-only and both-present sequence types, but presented fewer tokens overall.

Statistical analysis (Figure 4-14) confirms that the *sí + pero [x]* template positively correlated with indirect head acts, indirect-only sequences, supportive moves and downgraders, and negatively correlated with direct head acts and direct-only sequences. The other templates oriented more to direct strategies, especially *no (x) +*

course, Uruguayans are not the only ones known for using such formulas; anecdotally, one source writes of the prevalence of “*sí pero no*” as a polite refusal strategy among Costa Ricans in their cultural guidebook for that country (Biesanz et al. 1999: 7). Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford consider “yeah but” as a strategic—and relatively more successful—way to preface rejection by native and non-native speakers of English during advising sessions (1991: 46). Also, Pomerantz (1984) refers to this formula as a way to manage a dispreferred turn structure, i.e., disagreement.

Another question regarding formulaic templates is if, and to what extent, mand type mattered. Bivariate correlation revealed two positive relationships: *sí + pero [x]* with suggestions (as in (6)) and *no + pero [x]* with statements (as in (9)) (Figure 4-14). Curiously, the *no (x) + porque [x]* template did not obtain any statistically significant relationship, one explanation being its versatility in that occurrences of it were spread out over many mand types, i.e., suggestions, offers, requests and statements.

To summarize, the participants of this study at times relied on formulaic, set expressions to assist them in negotiating the path of refusal. More often, though, they adjusted routinized templates to fit their needs at the time of the interaction. The analysis suggests that the choice of template is dependent to some degree upon mand type (e.g., *sí + pero [x]* with suggestions, *no + pero [x]* with statements) and priming with respect to the structural and lexical qualities of the mand (e.g., phrasing the mand as a yes/no question, the use of *no* in the mand). Many of the formulas presented here were oriented to the production of indirect refusals. However, some templates (i.e., *no + porque [x]*, *no + sí [x]*, *no + pero [x]*) emerged as routinized patterns of directness. It is precisely through this routinization that the “no” seems to have lost its bald-on-record

force, in that the focus is not so much on the “no” as it is on the subsequent supportive move (reason/explanation, etc.). In Chapter 7 I offer an analysis of “no” (with (8) as an example) as having undergone a process of pragmaticalization; on this view, “no” in certain contexts is not the speaker’s main claim, but serves as an epistemic fragment.

Summary

The participants of this study refused various types of mands: suggestions, statements/analyses, offers, requests, orders/demands, invitations and mands (non-specified). Overall, the average refusal sequence contained 1.52 refusal turns. For the three sequence types (direct-only, indirect-only, both-present), the average number of refusal turns per sequence was significantly different, with direct-only sequences averaging the lowest, followed by indirect-only and both-present. Over fifty linguistic strategies made up the various semantic parts of the refusals, that is, the head acts (indirect and direct) and supportive moves (aggravating and mitigating). For this reason, it was necessary to conduct non-parametric statistical tests in order to determine which of these strategies were the most important to each of these parts. In addition, upgraders and downgraders strengthened and weakened, respectively, both head acts and supportive moves.

With regard to (in)directness in the refusal head act, though I observed more indirect than direct head acts for this subset of data (selected more or less at random from a large body of recordings), I also found that sequences containing only direct head acts outnumbered those featuring only indirect head acts. Three features helped to explain this juxtaposition: the number of refusal turns per sequence, mand type and the effect of priming. First, as the number of refusal turns per sequence increased, so did the use of indirect head acts. The longer, more negotiated refusal sequences

tended to boast indirect head-acts, while those with direct head acts were shorter and more quickly resolved.

Second, in terms of mand type, refusals to offers were more often direct, while those to invitations and orders, indirect. This finding was most convincing because statistical analysis revealed a positive correlation with indirectness as well as a negative correlation with directness. Requests, statements and suggestions were very much divided between direct and indirect head acts; in fact, statements and suggestions positively correlated to the both-present sequence type.

Third, priming also had a significant impact on the refusal and the extent to which participants refused with direct strategies. It was strongly evidenced that both structural and lexical priming in the mand contributed to the way in which the participant then formed her response; often, she would reply with synonymous structure or word choice, despite pragmalinguistically acceptable alternatives. Priming positively correlated with direct head acts and direct-only refusal sequences, and, moreover, displayed a statistically negative relationship with their indirect counterparts. Additionally, there was no significant relationship with supportive moves or up/downgraders, which makes sense for a number of reasons, particularly because direct-only refusal sequences tended to be shorter and less-negotiated overall. More study is needed to determine the extent to which priming was present in these data, according to a series of factors not considered here, and to which it conflated with other variables, such as mand type.

The most salient linguistic strategies for head acts were not only the most frequent, but also those that survived multiple statistical tests (Table 4-11). Indirect

head acts displayed a wide range of strategies, including delaying, doubting, replying indefinitely, presenting counter arguments and giving reasons. Direct head acts were concentrated among fewer strategies, such as saying “no,” negating the proposition and issuing a command. Commands have not been cited previously in the literature as a strategy for refusing; this is likely due to the type of data (elicited/experimental) typically analyzed and points to the benefits of natural data for discovering the richness—and unexpectedness—of linguistic behavior.

The participants also relied heavily on supportive moves when refusing. Mitigating moves were the most prevalent, modifying refusals nearly three times as often as aggravating moves (65% versus 26%). Supportive moves (as well as head acts) were often semantically strengthened and weakened with the use of upgraders and downgraders. Mitigating moves exhibited a strong statistical relationship with downgraders as did aggravating moves with upgraders. Mitigating moves positively correlated with indirect refusal head acts, and aggravating moves with direct. The use of mitigating moves was prevalent across many conceivable categories, while that of aggravating moves was more contextually constrained.

In addition to demonstrating a preference for certain strategies, this chapter also reported on the extent to which formulas—as routinized phrases or templates—emanated from the data. Formulaic phrases obtained lower frequencies than did templates, but were strongly associated with indirect refusals (with some crossover). Participants used *como quiera(s)*, *es lo mismo* and *si querés* most often to avoid a definitive reply, either as a stand-alone head act or in conjunction with other strategies.

Expressions with *tema/problema* and *lo que pasa* served to mitigate refusal head acts, both direct and indirect, either in adjunct position or as internal downgraders.

More often, though, the participants adjusted formulaic templates to fit their needs at the time of the interaction. The *sí + pero [x]* was the most frequent, followed by *no (x) + porque [x]*. The former coalesced with the indirect-only sequence type, and the latter with direct-only and both-present types. The secondary templates, *no + si [x]* and *no + pero [x]*, patterned similarly to *no (x) + porque [x]*, but presented fewer tokens. The analysis suggests that the choice of template is dependent to some degree upon mand type (e.g., *sí + pero [x]* with suggestions, *no + pero [x]* with statements) and priming with respect to the structural and lexical qualities of the mand (e.g., phrasing the mand as a yes/no question, the use of *no* in the mand).

Not surprisingly, participants generally showed themselves to be concerned with maintaining face wants and needs throughout the interactions with their interlocutors; to this effect, they employed a gamut of strategies and formulas that oriented to a greater or lesser degree with mitigation, intensification and (in)directness. Recalling the hypotheses stated at the outset of the chapter, in general, both were confirmed. With respect to Hypothesis 1, the participants employed most of the previously cited refusal strategies, though they displayed a wider range of linguistic tactics than the earlier frameworks allowed. These strategies, cast in the light of Scollon and Scollon's independence/involvement dichotomy, revealed a tendency towards expressions of involvement and affiliation, in line with Hypothesis 2. These claims will be taken up further in the discussion of Chapter 7.

Table 4-1. Mand type by (in)directness (Token Level)

	HAInd		HADir		Total	
Suggestion	61	53%	55	47%	116	100%
Statement	36	49%	38	51%	74	100%
Offer	24	43%	32	57%	56	100%
Request	25	48%	27	52%	52	100%
Order	23	70%	10	30%	33	100%
Invitation	6	86%	1	14%	7	100%
Mand	19	59%	13	41%	32	100%
Total	194	52%	176	48%	370	100%

Table 4-2. Mand type by (in)directness (Case Level)

	HAInd		HADir		Total	
Suggestion	48	52%	52	57%	92	100%
Statement	32	52%	36	59%	61	100%
Offer	18	41%	27	61%	44	100%
Request	25	54%	25	54%	46	100%
Order	16	67%	9	38%	24	100%
Invitation	5	83%	1	17%	6	100%
Mand	13	62%	12	57%	21	100%
Total	157	54%	162	55%	294	100%

Table 4-3. Mand type by refusal sequence type (Token Level)

	Indirect-only		Direct-only		Both		Total	
Suggestion	47	41%	42	36%	27	23%	116	100%
Statement	23	31%	22	30%	29	39%	74	100%
Offer	21	37%	29	52%	6	11%	56	100%
Request	20	38%	20	38%	12	23%	52	100%
Order	19	58%	5	15%	9	27%	33	100%
Invitation	6	86%	1	14%			7	100%
Mand	8	25%	8	25%	16	50%	32	100%
Total	144	39%	127	34%	99	27%	370	100%

Table 4-4. Mand type by refusal sequence type (Case Level)

	Indirect-only		Direct-only		Both		Total	
Suggestion	35	38%	39	42%	18	20%	92	100%
Statement	21	34%	22	36%	18	30%	61	100%
Offer	16	36%	25	57%	3	7%	44	100%
Request	20	43%	19	41%	7	15%	46	100%
Order	13	54%	5	21%	6	25%	24	100%
Invitation	5	83%	1	17%			6	100%
Mand	6	29%	8	38%	7	33%	21	100%
Total	116	40%	119	40%	59	20%	294	100%

Table 4-5. Mand type by observed (✓) and statistical (*) tendency

	Ind-only	Dir-only	Both
Suggestion	✓*	✓	✓
Statement	✓*	✓	✓*
Offer		✓	
Request	✓	✓	
Order	✓*		
Invitation	✓*	-✓*	
Mand	n/a	n/a	n/a

Table 4-6. Priming (Pr) by head act (HA) and sequence (RS) types

	Pr = 0	Pr = 1	Pr = 2	Total	% Pr
HAInd	180	14		194	7%
HADir	122	50	2	176	31%
Total	302	64	2	370	18%
RS Ind-only	84	13		97	13%
RS Dir-only	71	37	1	109	35%
RS Both	22	13	2	37	41%
Total	177	63	3	243	27%

Table 4-7. Priming (Pr) by mand type

	Pr = 0	Pr = 1	Pr = 2	Total	% Pr
Suggestion	87	27	1	116	25%
Statement	66	8		74	11%
Offer	47	9		56	16%
Request	34	16	1	52	35%
Order	31	2		33	6%
Invitation	5	2		7	29%
Mand	32			32	
Total	302	64	2	370	18%

Table 4-8. Supportive moves (SMA, SMM) and down/upgraders (DnG, UpG) as a percentage of sequence (RS) type and refusal turns (RTTs)

	SMA		SMM		DnG		UpG		n, RS
RS Dir-only	26	24%	67	61%	43	39%	41	38%	109
RS Ind-only	14	14%	65	67%	39	40%	30	31%	97
RS Both	22	59%	27	73%	21	57%	23	62%	37
Total	62	26%	159	65%	103	42%	94	39%	243
RTT	49	13%	139	38%	106	29%	100	27%	370

This table reads, e.g., SMAs were present in 26 or 24% of direct-only refusal sequences. Percentages are based on the frequency divided by the n (last column).

Table 4-9. Frequency of linguistic strategies in head acts

	LS	RS	HA	HAInd	LS%	HADir	LS%
1	No	101	116	2	0%	114	34%
2	RepReit	68	75	20	5%	55	16%
3	Counter	52	62	46	11%	16	5%
4	IndefRep	45	58	58	14%		
5	NegProp	44	48		0%	48	14%
6	HedgeSU	33	42	31	7%	11	3%
7	Command	27	30	7	2%	23	7%
8	DelayIgn	24	28	26	6%	2	1%
9	Alt	20	21	21	5%		
10	EmotExp	20	21	9	2%	12	4%
11	PropName	19	20	12	3%	8	2%
12	Reason	16	17	14	3%	3	1%
13	Confirm	15	17	15	4%	2	1%
14	DiscMkr	14	22	21	5%	1	0%
15	ClaimHard	13	13	11	3%	2	1%
16	Joke	12	13	8	2%	5	1%
17	Apology	10	10	3	1%	7	2%
18	RequInfo	9	11	11	3%		
19	EndearTerm	9	10	7	1%	3	1%
20	AttaxThrts	9	10	5	2%	5	1%
21	Postpone	8	8	7	2%	1	0%
22	RhetForm	8	8	3	1%	5	1%
23	AppealX	7	8	8	2%		
24	Blame	7	8	8	2%		
25	Cond	7	8	8	2%		
26	DoubtH	7	8	8	2%		
27	Insist	7	8	6	1%	2	1%
28	Reassure	7	7	6	1%	1	0%
29	StmtInfo	7	7	4	1%	3	1%
30	Distract	5	5	5	1%		
31	LetHoff	4	5	4	1%	1	0%
32	SelfD	4	4	4	1%		
33	AppCaj	3	4	4	1%		
34	PauseFill	3	4	2	0%	2	1%
35	Agree	3	3	3	1%		
36	CCGSolid	3	3	2	0%	1	0%
37	Concede	3	3	3	1%		
38	Sarcasm	3	3	2	0%	1	0%
39	TopicSwx	3	3	3	1%		
40	CompEmp	2	2			2	1%
41	Complain	1	2	1	0%	1	0%
42	Preparator	1	2	1	0%	1	0%
43	AdjStance	1	1			1	0%
44	Anticipate	1	1			1	0%
45	Backch	1	1	1	0%		
46	CommitIndic	1	1	1	0%		
47	Concern	1	1	1	0%		
48	Gratitude	1	1	1	0%		
49	Justify	1	1	1	0%		
	Total	670	764	424	100%	340	100%

LS=linguistic strategy; RS=refusal sequence (i.e., the number of sequences in which the strategy was present within at least one head act); HA=head acts (total); HAInd=indirect head act; HADir=direct head act; LS%=percentage of total linguistic strategies for the respective semantic component.

Table 4-10. Frequency of linguistic strategies in supportive moves

	LS	RS	SM	SMM	LS%	SMA	LS%
1	Reason	63	79	65	10%	14	9%
2	RepReit	62	71	52	8%	19	12%
3	Confirm	37	58	56	8%	2	1%
4	HedgeSU	36	51	49	7%	2	1%
5	CCGSolid	28	32	31	5%	1	1%
6	Counter	27	30	16	2%	14	9%
7	StmntInfo	27	28	22	3%	6	4%
8	Alt	26	26	24	4%	2	1%
9	Reassure	24	29	29	4%		
10	Justify	20	23	20	3%	3	2%
11	Concede	19	19	19	3%		
12	IndefRep	18	20	20	3%		
13	Distract	17	20	20	3%		
14	ClaimHard	16	17	15	2%	2	1%
15	AppCaj	15	23	21	3%	2	1%
16	Blame	15	16	14	2%	2	1%
17	Command	14	15	9	1%	6	4%
18	EmotExp	14	15	6	1%	9	6%
19	Joke	14	15	11	2%	4	2%
20	RequInfo	14	14	10	1%	4	2%
21	Apology	12	15	13	2%	2	1%
22	Complain	11	15	4	1%	11	7%
23	Agree	11	14	14	2%		
24	AppealX	11	12	10	1%	2	1%
25	Cond	10	14	12	2%	2	1%
26	Repair	9	10	10	1%		
27	AttaxThrts	9	9			9	6%
28	PauseFill	8	14	13	2%	1	1%
29	DiscMkr	8	13	9	1%	4	2%
30	Postpone	8	10	9	1%	1	1%
31	StmntPrinc	8	10	7	1%	3	2%
32	No	8	9	3	0%	6	4%
33	Insist	8	8	5	1%	3	2%
34	NegProp	8	8	3	0%	5	3%
35	EndearTerm	7	14	7	1%	7	4%
36	CompEmp	7	8	8	1%		
37	Concern	7	8	7	1%	1	1%
38	AdjStance	7	7	6	1%	1	1%
39	LetHoff	6	6	6	1%		
40	PropName	5	5	2	0%	3	2%

Table 4-10. Continued

	LS	RS	SM	SMM	LS%	SMA	LS%
41	CommitIndic	4	4	4	1%		
42	SelfD	4	4	1	0%	3	2%
43	DelayIgn	3	3	3	0%		
44	DoubtH	3	3	1	0%	2	1%
45	TopicSwx	3	3	3	0%		
46	Wish	3	3	3	0%		
47	RhetForm	2	3			3	2%
48	Gratitude	2	2	2	0%		
49	Sarcasm	2	2			2	1%
50	Anticipate	1	1	1	0%		
51	Compliment	1	1	1	0%		
52	Preparator	1	1	1	0%		
	Total	703	840	677	100%	163	100%

LS=linguistic strategy; RS=refusal sequence (i.e., the number of sequences in which the strategy was present within at least one supportive move); SM=supportive moves (total); SMM=mitigating move; SMA=aggravating move; LS%=percentage of total linguistic strategies for the respective semantic component.

Table 4-11. Key linguistic strategies for head acts and supportive moves in descending order of parameter estimate strength (Tier 1) and frequency (Tier 2)

	HAInd	HADir	SMM	SMA
Tier 1	- Delay/ignore (61.3) - Doubt hearer (47.8) - Indefinite reply (47.7) + Alternative (44.7) + Counter arg (36.6) +/- Request info (23.1)	+ No (62.8) + Negate prop (47.8) + Command (47.4)	+ Reassure (46.7) + Claim hardship (46.4) + Concede (45.4) - Appeal ext party (34.8) + Alternative (34.7) + Reason (27.5) + Joke/laugh (26.3) - Indefinite reply (25.2) + Confirm (15.7)	+ Attack/threat (89.9) + Command (60.4) + Negate prop (38.0) + Emot exp (36.3) + Counter arg (35.3) + No (29.7) + Joke/laugh (24.1) + Endear term (21.3) + Complain (19.8)
Tier 2	- HedgeSU (12%) + Confirm (7%) + Reason (7%) Discourse mkr (7%) + Claim hardship (6%)	+/- Repeat/reit (28%) + Emot exp (7%)	+/- Repeat/reit (16%) - HedgeSU (12%) + CCGSolid (9%) + Statement info (8%) + Counter arg (6%) - Distract (6%) - Justify offense (6%) + AppCaj (5%) - Blame (5%)	+/- Repeat/reit (20%) + Reason (16%) + Statement info (6%) Discourse mkr (5%)

The (n%) is RS%: the percentage of refusal sequences in which strategy is found; (-) considered an independence/negative politeness strategy; (+) considered an involvement/positive politeness strategy; (+/-) a strategy that could be either (Brown and Levinson 1987; Scollon and Scollon 2001; García 1992; Félix-Brasdefer 2008).

Table 4-12. Key linguistic strategies for head acts and supportive moves by mand type, where LS% ≥ 4%

	Suggestions	LS%	Statements	LS%	Offers	LS%
HA	(LS=228)		(LS=141)		(LS=116)	
	+ No	20	+ No	16	+ No	16
	+/- Repeat/reiterate	13	+ Counter arg/corr	16	+/- Repeat/reiterate	16
	+ Counter arg/corr	11	+ Negate proposition	9	+ Command	9
	- Delay/ignore	6	+/- Repeat/reiterate	9	- Indefinite reply	9
	+ Negate proposition	6	- Indefinite reply	6	+ Negate proposition	6
	- HedgeSU	6	+ Command	5	Discourse marker	5
	- Indefinite reply	5	- Delay/ignore	4	+ Alternative	4
	+ Alternative	4	+ Emotional expr	4	+ Counter arg/corr	4
	+ Confirm	4	+ Proper name	4	+ Reason	4
			- HedgeSU	4	+ Condition	4
SM	(LS=145)	LS%	(LS=83)	LS%	(LS=77)	LS%
	+ Confirm	13	+ Counter arg/corr	16	+ Reason	20
	+/- Repeat/reiterate	13	+ Emotional expr	8	+/- Repeat/reiterate	16
	+ Reason	10	+ Statement of info	8	- HedgeSU	9
	+ Counter arg/corr	9	+ Confirm	7	+ Command	7
	- HedgeSU	7	+ Reason	7	- Justify	7
	+ Alternative	5	+ CCGSolid	5	+ Alternative	5
	+ Reassure	5	+ Concede	5	- Appeal to ext party	5
	+ Concede	4	+ Reassure	5	+ Concede	5
			+/- Repeat/reiterate	5	+ Confirm	5
					- Distract from offense	5
HA	Requests	LS%	Orders	LS%	Invitations	LS%
	(LS=109)		(LS=59)		(LS=13)	
	+ No	16	+ Counter arg/corr	10	- Indefinite reply	23
	- Indefinite reply	15	+ Joke/laugh	8	+ No	15
	+/- Repeat/reiterate	10	+ Command	7	- Appeal to ext party	8
	- Apology	7	- HedgeSU	7	- Blame	8
	- HedgeSU	7	- Indefinite reply	7	+ Condition	8
	+ Emotional expr	6	+ No	7	- Distract from offense	8
	+ Negate proposition	6	+/- Repeat/reiterate	5	- HedgeSU	8
	+ Proper name	4			+ Reason	8
					+/- Repeat/reiterate	8
					+/- Request info	8
SM	(LS=55)	LS%	(LS=25)	LS%	(LS=13)	LS%
	+ Reason	15	+ Confirm	9	+ CCGSolid	15
	+/- Repeat/reiterate	12	+/- Repeat/reiterate	9	- HedgeSU	15
	- HedgeSU	10	Discourse marker	6	- Appeal to ext party	8
	+ Alternative	8	- Justify	6	+ Claim hardship	8
	+ Statement of info	8			+ Confirm	8
	- Blame	6			- Gratitude	8
	+ Claim hardship	4			- Indefinite reply	8
	+ Confirm	4			+ Joke/laugh	8
	- Pause filler	4			+ Reason	8
	+ Repair	4			+ Reassure	8

(-) typically an independence/negative politeness strategy; (+) typically an involvement/positive politeness strategy; (+/-) a strategy that could be either (Brown and Levinson 1987; Scollon and Scollon 2001; García 1992; Félix-Brasdefer 2008) ; LS%=percentage of total linguistic strategies for the respective head act.

Table 4-13. Formulaic phrases and templates by sequence type (Token Level)

	Ind-only	Dir-only	Both	Total
Phrase \ como quiera	7			7
Phrase \ tema problema	2	3	2	7
Phrase \ es lo mismo	4			4
Phrase \ lo que pasa	1		1	2
Phrase \ si querés	1			1
Phrase \ te parece		1		1
Total	15	4	3	22
Template \ sí + pero	25		4	29
Template \ no + porque		11	5	16
Template \ no + pero	2	5	6	13
Template \ no + si		3	1	4
Total	27	19	16	62

Table 4-14. Formulaic phrases and templates by sequence (RS) type (Case Level)

	Ind-only	Dir-only	Both	Total	% RS
Phrase \ como quiera	5			5	
Phrase \ tema problema	2	2	1	5	
Phrase \ es lo mismo	2			2	
Phrase \ lo que pasa	1		1	2	
Phrase \ si querés	1			1	
Phrase \ te parece		1		1	
Total	11	3	2	16	7%
Template \ sí + pero	18		3	21	
Template \ no + porque		11	5	16	
Template \ no + pero	2	5	6	13	
Template \ no + si		3	1	4	
Total	20	19	15	54	22%

	Ind-only		Dir-only		Both		Total	
RS	97	40%	109	45%	37	15%	243	100%

	Ind		Dir		Total	
HA	194	52%	176	48%	370	100%
LS	45	92%	31	63%	49	

	SMM		SMA		Total	
SM	286	77%	86	23%	372	100%
LS	49	94%	36	69%	52	

	DnG		UpG		Total	
RS	103	42%	94	39%	243	
HAInd	59	63%	34	37%	93	100%
HADir	35	37%	59	63%	94	100%
SMM	69	80%	17	20%	86	100%
SMA	10	22%	36	78%	46	100%

Figure 4-1. General description of results pertaining to refusal sequence (RS) type, head act (HA) type, supportive move (SM) type, linguistic strategies (LS) and the frequency of downgraders (DnG) and upgraders (UpG) relative to these

RTT * RS Crosstabulation

		RS			Total	
		Both	DIR	IND		
RTT	1					
		Count		95	68	164
		% within RTT		58.3%	41.7%	100.0%
	2					
		Count	20	12	18	49
		% within RTT	40.0%	24.0%	36.0%	100.0%
	3					
		Count	11	3	5	19
		% within RTT	57.9%	15.8%	26.3%	100.0%
	4					
		Count	4		3	7
		% within RTT	57.1%		42.9%	100.0%
	5					
		Count	2		1	3
	% within RTT	66.7%		33.3%	100.0%	
7						
	Count			1	1	
	% within RTT			100.0%	100.0%	
Total						
	Count	37	110	96	243	
	% within RTT	15.2%	45.3%	39.5%	100.0%	

Figure 4-2. Crosstabulation of refusal sequence (RS) type by refusal turns (RTT) per sequence

		RTT * HAInd Crosstabulation							Total	
		0	1	2	3	4	5	7		
RTT	1	Count	94	69					163	
	1	% within RTT	57.7%	42.3%					100.0%	
	2	Count	12	20	18				50	
	2	% within RTT	24.0%	40.0%	36.0%				100.0%	
	3	Count	3	7	4	5			19	
	3	% within RTT	15.8%	36.8%	21.1%	26.3%			100.0%	
	4	Count		1	2	1	3		7	
	4	% within RTT		14.3%	28.6%	14.3%	42.9%		100.0%	
	5	Count				1	1	1	3	
	5	% within RTT				33.3%	33.3%	33.3%	100.0%	
	7	Count							1	
	7	% within RTT						100.0%	100.0%	
	Total	Count	109	97	24	7	4	1	1	243
	Total	% within RTT	44.9%	39.9%	9.9%	2.9%	1.6%	0.4%	0.4%	100.0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error	Approx. T ^b	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	.512	.049	8.377	.000
N of Valid Cases		243			

Figure 4-3. Crosstabulation of indirect head acts (HAInd) by refusal turns (RTT) per sequence. For example, in sequences with two RTTs (n = 49), twenty contained one indirect head act.

RTT * HADir Crosstabulation

		HADir				Total				
		0	1	2	3					
RTT	1	Count	69	94			163			
		% within RTT	42.3%	57.7%			100.0%			
	2	Count	18	20	12		50			
		% within RTT	36.0%	40.0%	24.0%		100.0%			
	3	Count	5	4	7	3	19			
		% within RTT	26.3%	21.1%	36.8%	15.8%	100.0%			
	4	Count	3	1	2	1	7			
		% within RTT	42.9%	14.3%	28.6%	14.3%	100.0%			
	5	Count	1	1	1		3			
		% within RTT	33.3%	33.3%	33.3%		100.0%			
	7	Count	1				1			
		% within RTT	100.0%				100.0%			
	Total	Count	97	120	22	4	243			
		% within RTT	39.9%	49.4%	9.1%	1.6%	100.0%			
				Value	Asymp. Std. Error	Approx. T ^b	Approx. Sig.			
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b			.227	.066	3.302	.001			
N of Valid Cases				243						

Figure 4-4. Crosstabulation of direct head acts (HADir) by refusal turns (RTT) per sequence. For example, in sequences with one RTT (n = 164), in 95 cases the head act was direct.

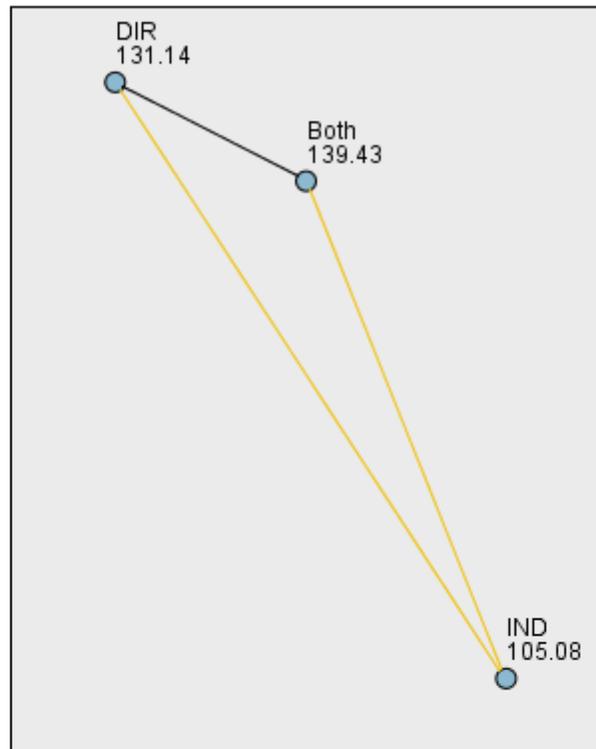
Kendall's tau_b	Priming	Correlation Coefficient	Priming
		Sig. (2-tailed)	1.000
		N	243
	HAInd	Correlation Coefficient	-.150*
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.013
		N	243
	HADir	Correlation Coefficient	.242**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
		N	243
	SMA	Correlation Coefficient	-.002
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.971
		N	243
	SMM	Correlation Coefficient	.058
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.328
		N	243
	DnG	Correlation Coefficient	.074
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.223
		N	243
	UpG	Correlation Coefficient	-.056
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.357
		N	243
	RS_DIRonly	Correlation Coefficient	.151*
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.018
		N	243
	RS_INDonly	Correlation Coefficient	-.253**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
		N	243
	RS_Both	Correlation Coefficient	.136*
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.034
		N	243

Figure 4-5. Correlations between priming and semantic components, down- and upgraders, and sequence (RS) types. One asterisk (*) = correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed); two asterisks (**) = correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Kendall's tau_b			Priming
Priming	Correlation Coefficient		1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)		
	N		243
Invite	Correlation Coefficient		.020
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.755
	N		243
Order	Correlation Coefficient		-.039
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.542
	N		243
Stmt	Correlation Coefficient		-.074
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.235
	N		243
Requ	Correlation Coefficient		.121
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.056
	N		243
Offer	Correlation Coefficient		-.047
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.456
	N		243
Sugg	Correlation Coefficient		.152*
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.014
	N		243

Figure 4-6. Correlations between priming and mand type. One asterisk (*) = correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed); two asterisks (**) = correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Pairwise Comparisons of RS



Each node shows the sample average rank of RS.

Sample1-Sample2	Test Statistic	Std. Error	Std. Test Statistic	Sig.	Adj.Sig.
IND-DIR	26.055	7.575	3.439	.001	.002
IND-Both	34.350	10.487	3.276	.001	.003
DIR-Both	8.295	10.326	.803	.422	1.000

Each row tests the null hypothesis that the Sample 1 and Sample 2 distributions are the same. Asymptotic significances (2-sided tests) are displayed. The significance level is .05.

Figure 4-7. Pairwise comparisons of sequence types as a function of the distribution of Priming.

Kendall's tau_b		HAInd	HADir	SMA	SMM	DnG	UpG
HAInd	Corr. Coeff.	1.000	-.563**	.049	.145**	.086	.011
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000	.404	.010	.140	.856
	N	243	243	243	243	243	243
HADir	Corr. Coeff.	-.563**	1.000	.283**	.032	.042	.244**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.	.000	.579	.478	.000
	N	243	243	243	243	243	243
SMA	Corr. Coeff.	.049	.283**	1.000	-.046	-.026	.481**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.404	.000	.	.424	.656	.000
	N	243	243	243	243	243	243
SMM	Corr. Coeff.	.145**	.032	-.046	1.000	.376**	.028
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.010	.579	.424	.	.000	.618
	N	243	243	243	243	243	243
DnG	Corr. Coeff.	.086	.042	-.026	.376**	1.000	-.008
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.140	.478	.656	.000	.	.885
	N	243	243	243	243	243	243
UpG	Corr. Coeff.	.011	.244**	.481**	.028	-.008	1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.856	.000	.000	.618	.885	.
	N	243	243	243	243	243	243

Figure 4-8. Correlations between head act type (indirect, direct), supportive moves (aggravating, mitigating), downgrading and upgrading. Two asterisks (**) = correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Figure 4-9. Correlations between head act type (indirect, direct), supportive move type (aggravating, mitigating) and the linguistic strategies found in each. One asterisk (*) = correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed); two asterisks (**) = correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

	Kendall's tau_b	HAInd	HADir	Kendall's tau_b	SMA	SMM
HAInd	Corr. Coeff.	1.000	-.563** SMA	Corr. Coeff.	1.000	-.046
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	Sig. (2-tailed)		.424
	N	243	243	N	243	243
HADir	Corr. Coeff.	-.563**	1.000 SMM	Corr. Coeff.	-.046	1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		Sig. (2-tailed)	.424	
	N	243	243	N	243	243
HAAAdjStance	Corr. Coeff.	-.063	.035 SMAAdjStance	Corr. Coeff.	-.027	.100
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.299	.569	Sig. (2-tailed)	.669	.093
	N	243	243	N	243	243
HAAgree	Corr. Coeff.	.147*	-.124* SMAgree	Corr. Coeff.	.053	.263**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.016	.045	Sig. (2-tailed)	.397	.000
	N	243	243	N	243	243
HAAIt	Corr. Coeff.	.257**	-.193** SMAIt	Corr. Coeff.	.085	.254**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.002	Sig. (2-tailed)	.172	.000
	N	243	243	N	243	243
HAAnticipate	Corr. Coeff.	-.063	.035 SMAnticipate	Corr. Coeff.	-.035	.069
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.299	.569	Sig. (2-tailed)	.570	.245
	N	243	243	N	243	243
HAApology	Corr. Coeff.	-.047	.116 SMApology	Corr. Coeff.	.091	.239**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.439	.061	Sig. (2-tailed)	.143	.000
	N	243	243	N	243	243
HAApCaj	Corr. Coeff.	.147*	-.022 SMApCaj	Corr. Coeff.	.034	.236**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.016	.727	Sig. (2-tailed)	.580	.000
	N	243	243	N	243	243
HAAppealX	Corr. Coeff.	.171**	-.061 SMAppealX	Corr. Coeff.	-.029	.188**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.005	.325	Sig. (2-tailed)	.643	.002
	N	243	243	N	243	243
HAAttax	Corr. Coeff.	-.020	.100 SMAttax	Corr. Coeff.	.357**	-.104
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.739	.105	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.080
	N	243	243	N	243	243
HABackch	Corr. Coeff.	.111	.035 SMBlame	Corr. Coeff.	.105	.215**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.068	.569	Sig. (2-tailed)	.092	.000
	N	243	243	N	243	243
HABlame	Corr. Coeff.	.177**	-.041 SMCCGSolid	Corr. Coeff.	.030	.375**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.004	.504	Sig. (2-tailed)	.625	.000
	N	243	243	N	243	243
HACCGSolid	Corr. Coeff.	.003	-.062 SMClaimHard	Corr. Coeff.	.042	.276**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.964	.313	Sig. (2-tailed)	.502	.000
	N	243	243	N	243	243
HAClaimHard	Corr. Coeff.	.186**	-.031 SMCommand	Corr. Coeff.	.235**	.075

	Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.611		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.206
	N	243	243		N	243	243
HACommand	Corr. Coeff.	-.049	.181**	SMCommitIndic	Corr. Coeff.	.015	.099
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.416	.003		Sig. (2-tailed)	.814	.097
	N	243	243		N	243	243
HACommitIndic	Corr. Coeff.	.114	-.071	SMCompEmp	Corr. Coeff.	.195**	.201**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.061	.248		Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.001
	N	243	243		N	243	243
HACompEmp	Corr. Coeff.	-.090	.099	SMComplain	Corr. Coeff.	.333**	-.010
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.141	.109		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.864
	N	243	243		N	243	243
HAComplain	Corr. Coeff.	.091	.105	SMCompliment	Corr. Coeff.	-.035	.069
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.135	.091		Sig. (2-tailed)	.570	.245
	N	243	243		N	243	243
HAConcede	Corr. Coeff.	.092	.141*	SMConcede	Corr. Coeff.	.101	.250**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.130	.023		Sig. (2-tailed)	.107	.000
	N	243	243		N	243	243
HAConcern	Corr. Coeff.	.106	-.071	SMConcern	Corr. Coeff.	.057	.078
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.082	.248		Sig. (2-tailed)	.360	.187
	N	243	243		N	243	243
HACond	Corr. Coeff.	.206**	-.043	SMCond	Corr. Coeff.	.076	.206**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.488		Sig. (2-tailed)	.221	.000
	N	243	243		N	243	243
HAConfirm	Corr. Coeff.	.265**	-.012	SMConfirm	Corr. Coeff.	.069	.357**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.847		Sig. (2-tailed)	.258	.000
	N	243	243		N	243	243
HACounter	Corr. Coeff.	.290**	-.106	SMCounter	Corr. Coeff.	.285**	.122*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.083		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.039
	N	243	243		N	243	243
HADelayIgn	Corr. Coeff.	.297**	-.004	SMDelayIgn	Corr. Coeff.	.034	.085
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.946		Sig. (2-tailed)	.584	.150
	N	243	243		N	243	243
HADiscMkr	Corr. Coeff.	.237**	-.168**	SMDiscMkr	Corr. Coeff.	.172**	.107
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.006		Sig. (2-tailed)	.006	.070
	N	243	243		N	243	243
HADistract	Corr. Coeff.	.160**	-.034	SMDistract	Corr. Coeff.	.024	.307**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.008	.588		Sig. (2-tailed)	.699	.000
	N	243	243		N	243	243

Figure 4-9 Continued

HADoubtH	Corr. Coeff.	.114	-.110	SMDoubtH	Corr. Coeff.	.091	.064
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.061	.075		Sig. (2-tailed)	.145	.280
	N	243	243		N	243	243
HAEmotExp	Corr. Coeff.	.057	.180**	SMEmotExp	Corr. Coeff.	.273**	.075
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.348	.004		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.208
	N	243	243		N	243	243
HAEndearTerm	Corr. Coeff.	.055	.050	SMEndearTerm	Corr. Coeff.	.240**	.102
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.369	.422		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.084
	N	243	243		N	243	243
HAGratitude	Corr. Coeff.	.034	-.071	SMGratitude	Corr. Coeff.	-.050	.056
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.577	.248		Sig. (2-tailed)	.421	.350
	N	243	243		N	243	243
HAHedgeSU	Corr. Coeff.	.164**	-.119	SMHedgeSU	Corr. Coeff.	-.011	.334**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.006	.052		Sig. (2-tailed)	.855	.000
	N	243	243		N	243	243
HAIndefRep	Corr. Coeff.	.483**	-.310**	SMIndefRep	Corr. Coeff.	-.049	.211**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000		Sig. (2-tailed)	.431	.000
	N	243	243		N	243	243
HAInsist	Corr. Coeff.	.091	-.043	SMInsist	Corr. Coeff.	.099	.137*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.136	.488		Sig. (2-tailed)	.112	.021
	N	243	243		N	243	243
HAJoke	Corr. Coeff.	.095	-.073	SMJoke	Corr. Coeff.	.166*	.118*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.118	.234		Sig. (2-tailed)	.008	.047
	N	243	243		N	243	243
HAJustify	Corr. Coeff.	.034	-.071	SMJustify	Corr. Coeff.	-.028	.165**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.577	.248		Sig. (2-tailed)	.654	.005
	N	243	243		N	243	243
HALetHoff	Corr. Coeff.	.056	-.090	SMLetHoff	Corr. Coeff.	-.033	.116
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.355	.144		Sig. (2-tailed)	.593	.051
	N	243	243		N	243	243
HANegProp	Corr. Coeff.	-.232**	.414*	SMNegProp	Corr. Coeff.	.217**	.075
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.206
	N	243	243		N	243	243
HANo	Corr. Coeff.	-.376**	.679**	SMNo	Corr. Coeff.	.171**	.029
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000		Sig. (2-tailed)	.006	.622
	N	243	243		N	243	243

Figure 4-9 Continued

HAPauseFill	Corr. Coeff.	-.053	.039	SMPauseFill	Corr. Coeff.	.069	.181**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.383	.527		Sig. (2-tailed)	.267	.002
	N	243	243		N	243	243
HAPostpone	Corr. Coeff.	.138*	-.104	SMPostpone	Corr. Coeff.	.053	.165**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.024	.094		Sig. (2-tailed)	.396	.005
	N	243	243		N	243	243
HAPreparator	Corr. Coeff.	.106	.105	SMPreparator	Corr. Coeff.	-.035	.092
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.082	.091		Sig. (2-tailed)	.570	.122
	N	243	243		N	243	243
HAPropName	Corr. Coeff.	.072	-.001	SMPropName	Corr. Coeff.	.084	.058
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.237	.983		Sig. (2-tailed)	.180	.328
	N	243	243		N	243	243
HAReason	Corr. Coeff.	.177**	-.091	SMReason	Corr. Coeff.	.124*	.396**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.004	.139		Sig. (2-tailed)	.044	.000
	N	243	243		N	243	243
HAReassure	Corr. Coeff.	.134*	-.150*	SMReassure	Corr. Coeff.	-.007	.315**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.028	.015		Sig. (2-tailed)	.916	.000
	N	243	243		N	243	243
HARepReit	Corr. Coeff.	-.054	.223**	SMRepair	Corr. Coeff.	.037	.204**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.367	.000		Sig. (2-tailed)	.557	.001
	N	243	243		N	243	243
HARequInfo	Corr. Coeff.	.174**	-.181**	SMRepReit	Corr. Coeff.	.160**	.354**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.004	.003		Sig. (2-tailed)	.010	.000
	N	243	243		N	243	243
HARhetForm	Corr. Coeff.	-.016	.136*	SMRequInfo	Corr. Coeff.	.075	.140*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.789	.028		Sig. (2-tailed)	.227	.018
	N	243	243		N	243	243
HASarcasm	Corr. Coeff.	.104	-.022	SMRhetForm	Corr. Coeff.	.158*	-.044
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.088	.721		Sig. (2-tailed)	.011	.458
	N	243	243		N	243	243
HASelfD	Corr. Coeff.	.143*	.040	SMSarcasm	Corr. Coeff.	.182**	-.002
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.019	.521		Sig. (2-tailed)	.004	.979
	N	243	243		N	243	243
HASmtInfo	Corr. Coeff.	-.021	.013	SMSelfD	Corr. Coeff.	.158*	.078
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.735	.837		Sig. (2-tailed)	.011	.190
	N	243	243		N	243	243
HATopicSwx	Corr. Coeff.	.134*	-.022	SMSmtInfo	Corr. Coeff.	.150*	.175**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.028	.721		Sig. (2-tailed)	.016	.003
	N	243	243		N	243	243

Figure 4-9 Continued

SMStmtPrinc	Corr. Coeff.	.055	.163**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.380	.006
	N	243	243
SMTopicSwx	Corr. Coeff.	.015	.155**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.814	.009
	N	243	243
SMWish	Corr. Coeff.	.111	.163**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.077	.006
	N	243	243

Figure 4-9 Continued

Y=HAInd; X=HAvars Corr

The REG Procedure
 Model: MODEL1
 Dependent Variable: rAdHAInd Rank for Variable HAInd

Number of Observations Read 243
 Number of Observations Used 243

Analysis of Variance

Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
Model	22	693573	31526	21.93	<.0001
Error	220	316338	1437.90170		
Corrected Total	242	1009912			

Root MSE 37.91967 R-Square 0.6868
 Dependent Mean 122.00000 Adj R-Sq 0.6554
 Coeff Var 31.08170

Parameter Estimates

Variable	Label	DF	Parameter Estimate	Standard Error	t Value	Pr > t
Intercept	Intercept	1	96.45408	4.26515	22.61	<.0001
HABlame	HABlame	1	12.43969	15.33972	0.81	0.4183
HAClaimHard	HAClaimHard	1	-0.97556	12.43299	-0.08	0.9375
HACond	HACond	1	8.30732	14.82645	0.56	0.5758
HAConfirm	HAConfirm	1	11.55138	11.18149	1.03	0.3027
HACounter	HACounter	1	36.64578	5.29348	6.92	<.0001
HADelayIgn	HADelayIgn	1	61.29197	7.12744	8.60	<.0001
HADiscMkr	HADiscMkr	1	-3.17808	6.81519	-0.47	0.6414
HADistract	HADistract	1	18.45951	23.91849	0.77	0.4411
HADoubtH	HADoubtH	1	47.83830	13.25937	3.61	0.0004
HAHedgeSU	HAHedgeSU	1	4.50700	5.77909	0.78	0.4363
HAIndefRep	HAIndefRep	1	47.68741	5.43927	8.77	<.0001
HANegProp	HANegProp	1	-14.79261	5.80598	-2.55	0.0115
HANo	HANo	1	-22.74503	4.21490	-5.40	<.0001
HAPostpone	HAPostpone	1	27.17185	16.70969	1.63	0.1054
HAReason	HAReason	1	19.00735	11.52122	1.65	0.1004
HAReassure	HAReassure	1	13.55821	15.87550	0.85	0.3940
HAREquInfo	HAREquInfo	1	23.11196	10.49500	2.20	0.0287
HATopicSwx	HATopicSwx	1	20.18800	32.25963	0.63	0.5321
HAAppealX	HAAppealX	1	-7.47804	14.51731	-0.52	0.6070
HAAppCaj	HAAppCaj	1	-0.38098	19.36586	-0.02	0.9843
HAAlt	HAAlt	1	44.73263	9.19128	4.87	<.0001
HAAGree	HAAGree	1	12.51846	28.32114	0.44	0.6589

Figure 4-10. Results of non-parametric regression using SAS, where Y = HAInd and X = all linguistic strategies that correlated with head acts

Y=HADir; X=HAvars Corr

The REG Procedure
 Model: MODEL1
 Dependent Variable: rAdHADir Rank for Variable HADir

Number of Observations Read 243
 Number of Observations Used 243

Analysis of Variance

Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
Model	15	744713	49648	50.04	<.0001
Error	227	225204	992.08745		
Corrected Total	242	969917			

Root MSE 31.49742 R-Square 0.7678
 Dependent Mean 122.00000 Adj R-Sq 0.7525
 Coeff Var 25.81756

Parameter Estimates

Variable	Label	DF	Parameter Estimate	Standard Error	t Value	Pr > t
Intercept	Intercept	1	84.69417	3.37064	25.13	<.0001
HAAttax	HAAttax	1	40.04930	12.68626	3.16	0.0018
HACommand	HACommand	1	47.36678	5.86412	8.08	<.0001
HAConcede	HAConcede	1	34.21979	21.04604	1.63	0.1053
HADiscMkr	HADiscMkr	1	-10.97629	5.28262	-2.08	0.0389
HAEmotExp	HAEmotExp	1	4.19086	7.27926	0.58	0.5654
HAHedgeSU	HAHedgeSU	1	-6.87780	4.29256	-1.60	0.1105
HAIndefRep	HAIndefRep	1	-13.99792	4.12349	-3.39	0.0008
HANegProp	HANegProp	1	47.77634	4.83475	9.88	<.0001
HANo	HANo	1	62.76128	3.92626	15.98	<.0001
HAREassure	HAREassure	1	-27.51085	12.57987	-2.19	0.0298
HAREpReit	HAREpReit	1	-1.69389	4.30208	-0.39	0.6941
HAREquInfo	HAREquInfo	1	-23.93607	7.88470	-3.04	0.0027
HARhetForm	HARhetForm	1	11.98518	14.10385	0.85	0.3963
HAAlt	HAAlt	1	-19.13324	7.16941	-2.67	0.0082
HAAgree	HAAgree	1	-41.10946	19.86648	-2.07	0.0397

Figure 4-11. Results of non-parametric regression using SAS, where Y = HADir and X = all linguistic strategies that correlated with head acts

Y=SMM; X=SMvars Corr

The REG Procedure
 Model: MODEL1
 Dependent Variable: rSMM Rank for Variable SMM

Number of Observations Read 243
 Number of Observations Used 243

Analysis of Variance

Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
Model	30	627956	20932	10.07	<.0001
Error	212	440698	2078.76615		
Corrected Total	242	1068655			

Root MSE 45.59349 R-Square 0.5876
 Dependent Mean 122.00000 Adj R-Sq 0.5293
 Coeff Var 37.37171

Parameter Estimates

Variable	Label	DF	Parameter Estimate	Standard Error	t Value	Pr > t
Intercept	Intercept	1	79.51981	3.98197	19.97	<.0001
SMAgree	SMAgree	1	-23.59695	15.02448	-1.57	0.1178
SMAlt	SMAlt	1	34.71959	11.57996	3.00	0.0030
SMApology	SMApology	1	15.39757	14.28677	1.08	0.2824
SMAppCaj	SMAppCaj	1	-13.37100	9.74087	-1.37	0.1713
SMAppealX	SMAppealX	1	34.82081	15.62631	2.23	0.0269
SMBlame	SMBlame	1	9.16400	13.92250	0.66	0.5111
SMCCGSolid	SMCCGSolid	1	17.67484	10.59280	1.67	0.0967
SMClaimHard	SMClaimHard	1	46.42823	14.00022	3.32	0.0011
SMCompEmp	SMCompEmp	1	-4.49216	19.80755	-0.23	0.8208
SMConcede	SMConcede	1	45.37499	12.99987	3.49	0.0006
SMCond	SMCond	1	-4.98139	14.23314	-0.35	0.7267
SMConfirm	SMConfirm	1	15.66981	6.34624	2.47	0.0143
SMCounter	SMCounter	1	13.38620	9.07963	1.47	0.1419
SMDistract	SMDistract	1	-12.30663	13.39048	-0.92	0.3591
SMHedgeSU	SMHedgeSU	1	7.98552	6.39530	1.25	0.2132
SMIndefRep	SMIndefRep	1	25.20524	12.46923	2.02	0.0445
SMInsist	SMInsist	1	27.29801	18.18836	1.50	0.1349
SMJoke	SMJoke	1	26.26516	12.20658	2.15	0.0325
SMJustify	SMJustify	1	6.14513	10.99163	0.56	0.5767
SMPauseFill	SMPauseFill	1	-5.79846	12.30687	-0.47	0.6380
SMPostpone	SMPostpone	1	-25.96082	15.51312	-1.67	0.0957
SMReason	SMReason	1	27.48755	5.97303	4.60	<.0001
SMReassure	SMReassure	1	46.72801	9.31681	5.02	<.0001
SMRepair	SMRepair	1	18.48897	18.51492	1.00	0.3191
SMRepReit	SMRepReit	1	7.29314	7.32592	1.00	0.3206
SMRequInfo	SMRequInfo	1	24.39789	14.90926	1.64	0.1032
SMStmtInfo	SMStmtInfo	1	8.92672	10.16498	0.88	0.3808
SMStmtPrinc	SMStmtPrinc	1	18.57519	14.45697	1.28	0.2002
SMTopicSwx	SMTopicSwx	1	42.96526	33.75736	1.27	0.2045
SMWish	SMWish	1	-37.22427	39.99959	-0.93	0.3531

Figure 4-12. Results of non-parametric regression using SAS, where Y = SMM and X = all linguistic strategies that correlated with supportive moves

Y=SMA; X=SMvars Corr

The REG Procedure
 Model: MODEL1
 Dependent Variable: rSMA Rank for Variable SMA

Number of Observations Read 243
 Number of Observations Used 243

Analysis of Variance

Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
Model	19	345733	18196	12.47	<.0001
Error	223	325531	1459.77899		
Corrected Total	242	671264			

Root MSE 38.20705 R-Square 0.5150
 Dependent Mean 122.00000 Adj R-Sq 0.4737
 Coeff Var 31.31726

Parameter Estimates

Variable	Label	DF	Parameter Estimate	Standard Error	t Value	Pr > t
Intercept	Intercept	1	99.23275	3.20589	30.95	<.0001
SMAttax	SMAttax	1	89.92941	15.82467	5.68	<.0001
SMCommand	SMCommand	1	60.40201	10.01034	6.03	<.0001
SMCompEmp	SMCompEmp	1	-4.49536	14.72313	-0.31	0.7604
SMComplain	SMComplain	1	19.80926	9.31488	2.13	0.0346
SMConcede	SMConcede	1	11.08521	10.19680	1.09	0.2782
SMCounter	SMCounter	1	35.27496	8.09795	4.36	<.0001
SMDiscMkr	SMDiscMkr	1	-2.14664	9.47662	-0.23	0.8210
SMEmotExp	SMEmotExp	1	36.27011	11.49970	3.15	0.0018
SMEndearTerm	SMEndearTerm	1	21.32928	6.30832	3.38	0.0009
SMGrounder	SMGrounder	1	22.26020	18.27787	1.22	0.2246
SMJoke	SMJoke	1	24.14192	10.06190	2.40	0.0172
SMNegProp	SMNegProp	1	37.96171	14.44245	2.63	0.0092
SMNo	SMNo	1	29.68394	12.75223	2.33	0.0208
SMReason	SMReason	1	2.34426	4.43285	0.53	0.5974
SMRepReit	SMRepReit	1	0.20227	5.25357	0.04	0.9693
SMRhetForm	SMRhetForm	1	15.25053	18.74595	0.81	0.4168
SMSarcasm	SMSarcasm	1	41.66301	29.86571	1.40	0.1644
SMSelfD	SMSelfD	1	1.26372	29.13098	0.04	0.9654
SMStmtInfo	SMStmtInfo	1	7.77961	8.20197	0.95	0.3439

Figure 4-13. Results of non-parametric regression using SAS, where Y = SMA and X = all linguistic strategies that correlated with supportive moves

Figure 4-14. Correlations between formulaic templates and head act type, supportive move type, up/downgraders, sequence type and mand type. One asterisk (*) = correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed); two asterisks (**) = correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

	Kendall's tau_b	sí_pero	no_porque	no_si	no_pero
HAInd	Corr. Coeff.	.314**	-.069	-.078	.020
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.256	.198	.744
	N	243	243	243	243
HADir	Corr. Coeff.	-.234**	.236**	.071	.127*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.252	.040
	N	243	243	243	243
SMA	Corr. Coeff.	.122*	-.036	.061	.004
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.048	.568	.327	.953
	N	243	243	243	243
SMM	Corr. Coeff.	.250**	.211**	.008	.113
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.888	.058
	N	243	243	243	243
DnG	Corr. Coeff.	.140*	.112	.001	.093
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.021	.066	.981	.127
	N	243	243	243	243
UpG	Corr. Coeff.	.023	.047	.014	.022
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.703	.440	.823	.725
	N	243	243	243	243
RS_DIRonly	Corr. Coeff.	-.275**	.128*	.078	-.031
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.047	.223	.634
	N	243	243	243	243
RS_INDonly	Corr. Coeff.	.284**	-.216**	-.105	-.119
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.001	.101	.064
	N	243	243	243	243
RS_Both	Corr. Coeff.	-.007	.118	.035	.205**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.909	.065	.584	.001
	N	243	243	243	243

		sí_pero	no_porque	no_si	no_pero
HARefInvite	Corr. Coeff.	-.055	-.046	-.021	-.037
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.387	.477	.749	.560
	N	243	243	243	243
HARefOrder	Corr. Coeff.	.090	.025	-.042	-.007
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.153	.693	.506	.909
	N	243	243	243	243
HARefStmt	Corr. Coeff.	.090	-.105	.066	.287**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.149	.096	.296	.000
	N	243	243	243	243
HARefRequ	Corr. Coeff.	-.116	-.004	-.062	-.055
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.067	.953	.332	.387
	N	243	243	243	243
HARefOffer	Corr. Coeff.	-.064	.014	-.058	-.098
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.309	.823	.359	.122
	N	243	243	243	243
HARefSugg	Corr. Coeff.	.123*	-.006	.020	.045
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.047	.921	.744	.475
	N	243	243	243	243

Figure.4-14. Continued

CHAPTER 5 DOMAINS OF INTERACTION

Chapter 4 described how the participants of this study refused various types of propositions in terms of in/directness, supportive moves, linguistic strategies, routinized phrases and formulaic patterns. This and subsequent chapters take a detailed look at the contextual features that define each encounter. I divide these features, or variables, into three parts: domains of interaction, participant characteristics, addressee characteristics and relationship. This chapter deals with two aspects pertaining to the domain of interaction: the orientation of the talk (domestic, social, workplace/business) and the physical setting (home, club, transport, etc.).

The results of this chapter show evidence supporting the importance of domain as an extralinguistic variable, though the divide between one domain and another is not always clearly defined. Domains, which mesh speaker ends, interlocutor relationship and physical setting, demonstrate various tendencies with regard to 1) the length of the refusal sequence, 2) semantic strategies (i.e., head acts, supportive moves, up/downgraders), 3) linguistic strategies (e.g., attacking the hearer, joking and/or laughing, saying *no*) and 4) post-refusal small talk. The data suggest that the orientation of the talk trumps the physical setting in which it takes place; however, physical setting displays certain statistically significant differences between categories that could be attributed to aspects such as privacy (i.e., of one's home) and atmosphere (e.g., one that is oriented to specific activities, such as buying and selling). As we will see in the coming sections, some refusal behaviors, such as the use of aggravating moves and the engaging in post-refusal schmoozing, were constrained by domain.

Domain

From Chapter 1, we recall that the concept of domain—defined as a “cluster of social situations typically constrained by a common set of behavioral rules” (Fishman 1972: 452)—relates “specific language choices . . . to general institutions and spheres of activity . . .” (Fishman 1972: 435-436). In other words, domains are “sphere[s] of life in which verbal and non-verbal interactions occur” (Boxer 2002: 4). While the notion of domain-based “behavioral rules,” I think, comes across as inflexible and prescriptive, the idea that I espouse is that there exist some “underlying regularities that seem to govern linguistic use” (Escandell-Vidal 2004: 347). In the sense that domains, and the non-finite set of contexts/scenes/fields that they circumscribe, are said to “enable us to understand that language choice and topic are . . . related to widespread socio-cultural norms and expectations” (Boxer 2002: 4; Fishman 1972: 441), they are useful for helping to understand the way in which community members use language to fulfill particular functions (Boxer 2002).

Based on the above, we may hypothesize that there will be differences in the linguistic behavior of the participants of this (or any) linguistic study, according to the domain of interaction. The question for this chapter, then, is to what extent refusal behavior, i.e., the type of head act (indirect or direct), the use of supportive moves (mitigating or aggravating), the use of internal modifications (downgraders and upgraders), and the use of linguistic strategies and formulas, are dependent upon the domain of interaction in which the conversation occurs. In this section I attend to two facets of interactional domain, 1) the orientation (purposes) of the talk (cf. Hymes’ “ends”) and 2) the physical setting (cf. Hymes’ “setting”) (Hymes 1972). While the two correlate, they do not always coincide; for example, a participant can conduct business

in her home as well as attend to personal matters in a shop or store. In fact, the orientation of the talk and physical setting did not coincide for 21% of these data.

The orientation of the talk is admittedly based on a conflation of the participants' goals/ends and participant-addressee relationship.¹ I classified each refusal sequence into one of three categories—domestic, social, workplace/business (herein, business)—in line with Boxer (2002). The domestic domain is akin to Boxer's family domain in that it circumscribes talk with partners, parents, children and other family members. For this study, it can also include others who form an integral part of the household or have a stake in family affairs (e.g., domestic help, caretakers and long-term guests). The social domain includes interactions with individuals that fall along various points of the social distance continuum. As Boxer explains, "This is the domain of face-to-face interaction with people we are getting to know, people we already know and with whom we have a friendship, and strangers thrown together into contexts of immediate interaction" (2002: 5). In this domain, the ends are often interactional (as opposed to transactional) (Brown and Yule 1983) and involve "small talk" (Schneider 1988; Coupland 2000). The business domain, like Boxer's workplace domain, includes interactions derived from service encounters, institutional encounters and workplace encounters. The talk is typically transactional and embodies specific roles (e.g., agent-client, superior-subordinate) for which scripts curtail uncertainty within the exchange.

The physical setting of the talk was more varied, but, in general, fell in line with similar categories (domestic, social, work, service). For instance, refusals that took place in one's home I classified as having occurred in a domestic setting; refusals that

¹ For example, a couple talking about dinner plans I classified as domestic, but friends talking about dinner plans I classified as social.

took place in the stands at a sporting event I considered to be a social setting; refusals that took place in store were part of a service setting, and so on. I give the full breakdown and classification of facets 1) and 2) in Tables 5-1 and 5-2.

While the above discussion points to the academically held (and logical) notion that people behave differently based on where they are and what they are talking about or doing, there were not clear divides in these data distinguishing one domain from another. What I found were tendencies of certain variables to be more or less distributed with one or two domains differently than they were with another. For example, the participants tended to laugh and joke more in the social domain (though not to the total exclusion of the others); or, they would say *no* to an addressee in the business and domestic domains, but not so much in the social domain. One potential reason for the lack of clear division is that the domains represented here were not vastly different in terms of formality (linguistic or otherwise), or with respect to social structure; with few exceptions, relationships among participants and addressees tended to track horizontally, rather than vertically. Also, people are who they are, and, typically, do not change drastically from one setting to another; it is more likely that they make certain adjustments—consciously or unconsciously—based on their embedded cultural experiences and their on-the-spot assessments of the current situation (cf. Escandell-Vidal 2004). Nevertheless, there did emerge differences in refusal behavior that pointed to the need to take domain into account.

Orientation of Talk

Of the 243 refusal sequences analyzed, there were 107 domestic-, 47 social- and 89 workplace/business-oriented instances of talk. I looked at each of these in terms of the following variables: the number of refusal turns at talk per sequence, indirect and

direct head acts, mitigating and aggravating supportive moves (herein, mitigating and aggravating moves), upgraders and downgraders, and the linguistic strategies as set out in the previous chapters, including the use of post-refusal small talk. I first look at domain as a function of the social-orientation of talk in general, i.e., domestic, social, business. I then distinguish between types of domestic- and business-oriented talk.

Of the variables mentioned above, at the general level, there was no significant difference in the distribution across categories of domain for the number of refusals per sequence, the use of direct head acts or the use of upgraders. There were, however, significant differences in the use of indirect head acts, mitigating moves and downgraders between some domains of interaction: between business and social for indirect head acts (favoring social), and between business and domestic for mitigating moves and downgraders (favoring business). Also, there were detectable differences for certain linguistic strategies and post-refusal small talk.

Semantic strategies (general)

For head acts and refusal sequences as a whole, the participants demonstrated a marked preference for indirect strategies in the social domain, compared to domestic and business. As shown in Tables 5-3 and 5-4, social-oriented talk is the only type that showed a majority percentage of indirect head acts (at token and case levels) and a majority percentage of indirect-only refusal sequences. The participants refused indirectly more often in the social domain than any other, and this difference was significant between the social and business domains ($p < .05$). The refusals in (1) and (3) were produced by the same participant with men older than her, but, contrastingly, in different domains: business and social.

(1) Direct refusal of suggestions during business-oriented talk, service setting (Moqui 39)

((Moqui finalizes an office supply bill with Torquato, a male shop keeper; in discussing in whose name the bill should go, Moqui refutes Torquato's suggestion that the person for whom she works is also the director of a school.))

1 Torquato: @ ((pausa)) la directora del colegio?
@ ((pause)) the director of the school?

2 Moqui: no:, este::→
no:, uh::→

3 Torquato: Antonia?=
=Antonia.=

4 Moqui: =Antonia.=

5 Torquato: =ah, Antonia por eso.
=ah, Antonia right. ((as in, "that's what I said.))

6 Moqui: no, pero no es la directORA. la directora es LuAna.
no, but she is not the diREctor. the director is LuAna.

7 Torquato: LuAna es la directora/ y Antonia qué es entonces,
LuAna is the director/ and what's Antonia then,

8 Moqui: [sí]
[yes]

9 Torquato: pensé que [xx—
I thought that xx—

10 Moqui: [es la: que lleva, la plata[@@
[she's the one that deals with the money @@

11 Torquato: [ahh

12 Torquato: ah la directora es LuAna? yo pensé que era al revés, [que la directora era Antonia.=
ah the director is LuAna? I thought that it was the other way around, that the director was Antonia.=

13 Moqui: [no no no.

14 Moqui: =no, [no

15 Torquato: [ah mirá.

[ah well then. ((lit. look))

(2) Indirect refusal of suggestions during social-oriented talk, social setting (Moqui 32)

((Moqui converses with Ruperto, an older acquaintance, at a wake; in discussing the last time they saw each other, Moqui refuses Ruperto's suggestion that it was she who went to his house to borrow an outfit.))

1 Ruperto: vos estuviste en casa. (eso-) no sé qué— [(creo que:) te- te—
you were at my home. (that-) I don't know what—(I think) to- to you—

2 Moqui: [a dejar-
[to leave-

3 Moqui: a dejar una tarjeta de: Carina. la hija de Lucho y Mireya.
to leave a card from: Carina. the daughter of Lucho and Mireya.

4 Ruperto: sí estuviste/, y después otra cosa, estuviste vos por→ por un pericón me parece.
((pausita)) ...pero hace años te estoy hablando, que hace como seis siete años
capa(z).

yes you were/, and after that for another thing, you ((emph.)) were there for→ for
a *pericón* ((traditional costume)) I think. ((short pause)) ...but I'm talkin' years
ago, it's been like six seven years maybe.

5 Moqui: a:h. no sé, puede ser. (de) eso no me acuerdo.

a:h. I don't know, could be. I don't remember.

6 Ruperto: no te acordás?=
you don't remember?=
=no. sería yo?

7 Moqui: =no. sería yo?
=no. was it me? ((doubtful))

8 Ruperto: yo pensé sí, que eras vos, que xx la hija de J., sí, que eras vos sí. tengo la idea
que- estoy casi seguro que eras vos.

I thought so, yes, that it was you, J.'s daughter, yes, that it was you, yes. I have
the idea- I'm almost positive that it was you.

9 Moqui: o la [sobrina.
or the niece.

- 10 Ruperto: [o yo-
[or I-
- 11 Moqui: o la sobrina que—
or the niece that—
- 12 Ruperto: eh capaz que fue la sobrina [vos.
eh maybe it was the niece [you ((emph.))
- 13 Moqui: [que la que estaba en el almacén de frente. o L. que
es sobrina de xx—
[that the one that was en the store across the
street. or L. who's the niece of xx—
- 14 Ruperto: sí, sí, sí. (sí / si) yo no me acuerdo m'hija, yo no (me / más)- xx (totalmente) que
eras- que eras vos me parecía,=
yeah, yeah, yea, I don't remember dear, I don't (remem)- xx (totally) that it was-
that it was you it seemed to me,=
- 15 Moqui: =mm::=
- 16 Ruperto: =pero no, no me acuerdo.
=but I don't, I don't remember.
- 17 Moqui: (acá), si corren entran.
(here), there coming in in droves. ((referring to guests at wake))
((buzz of voices of those attending the wake))
- 18 Ruperto: sí, e- eso no acuerdo mi'ja vos, eso no me acuerdo. pensé que, que fuiste por
un ((toz fuerte ajena)) vestido, pero no era para vos, no sé pa' QUIén era.
yes, th-that I don't remember dear ((emph.)), I don't remember that. I thought
that, that you went for a ((someone coughs loudly)) dress, but it wasn't for you, I
don't know WHO it was for.
- 19 Moqui: [puede ser sí.
[could be yes.
- 20 Ruperto: [no me acuerdo vos, no me acuerdo bien.
[I don't remember ((emph.)), I don't remember well.
((buzz of voices of those attending the wake))

In the above examples, in (1) Moqui unreservedly claims her identity as expert on the topic of who is charge of what in her work sphere; however, in (2), she is far less assertive and eventually acquiesces to his insistence with an indefinite reply of confirmation in line 19. As far as an explanation for this behavior, one reason that the participants demonstrated this preference relates to Wolfson's "Bulge" theory (1988): given the higher ambiguity of the social sphere, in which people at times are unsure of their role and relationship with respect to another, more face-saving maneuvers—such as not responding bald-on to a proposition—may ensue. This is opposed to domains, precisely such as the domestic- or work-oriented, where relationships and roles are more clearly defined. This is not to say, however, that indirect strategies are categorically more polite than direct ones—they are not (e.g., Fabiana buying produce in (7) displays that directness can be just as polite), but that they were a politic option chosen by the participants in the moment as the exchange played out.

Shifting focus to mitigating moves and downgraders, domestic-oriented talk stands out. As can be seen in Tables 5-6 and 5-7, mitigating moves and downgraders were least frequent for this type of talk, compared to social and business. For example, looking at the adjusted number of tokens of mitigating moves (weighted by indexing the number of refusal sequences per domain to 100), very few occurred in domestic-oriented talk relative to social and business (79 versus 123 and 162). Likewise, mitigating moves appeared in 58% of domestic-oriented sequences (which, note, is still the majority), as opposed to 72% and 71% of social- and business-oriented sequences, respectively. This difference between the domestic- and business-oriented talk types

was statistically significant ($p = .01$).² Examples (3) and (4) below demonstrate mitigated/downgraded refusal behavior as opposed to non-mitigated/non-downgraded behavior by the same participant; the situations are similar in that they both entail rejecting something being offered to her by an older addressee.

(3) Mitigated refusal during business-oriented talk, service setting (Mar 11, 13)

((Mar declines to buy herbs from Berta, a peddler who has entered Mar's shop; then, she refuses to let Berta leave the herbs that she claims Mar's father had requested.))

- 1 Berta: vos sabés que ayer me compraron dos, dos bolsitas mirá a veinte.
you know that yesterday they bought two, two bags from me you see for twenty.
- 2 Mar: a veinte pesos.
for twenty pesos.
- 3 Berta: allá en la peluquería de, de F. la conocés a la muchacha?
over there at F.'s hair salón. you know that girl?
- 4 Mar: ah sí, de F.
ah yes, de F.
- 5 Berta: Fernanda F. no se llama?
Fernanda F. isn't that her name?
- 6 Mar: Fernanda, Fernanda F. es tan simpática. ah de:→ ((pausita))
Fernanda, Fernanda F. she's really nice. ah of:→ ((short pause))
- 7 Mar: bueno otro día pasá porque la verdad que no tengo plata si no te compraba una bolsita.
well alright pass by again another day because honestly I don't have any money if not ((if I did)) I would by a bag from you.
- 8 Berta: ah bueno.
ah okay.
- 9 Mar: chau, otro día—

² Kruskal-Wallis 1-way ANOVA

bye, another day—

10 Berta: quiero hacer, (plata / plantas) sabés pa' qué? ...

I want to make, (money / plants) you know what for? ...

((217 lines of talk omitted, 10 minutes pass))

11 Berta: querés que te deje: →

do you want me to leave you:→

12 Mar: NO no →

13 Berta: eso que quería tu padre?

what your father wanted?

14 Mar: no, llevalo porque él no sé, cuándo va a venir y entonces no no lo tengo, no sé si lo va a querer a eso.

no, take it because he I don't know, when he's going to come back and then I might not have it, I don't know if he's going to want that.

15 Berta: ahh.

16 Mar: ta:?

okay:?

17 Berta: si no te dejaba yo si—

if not I could leave it for you if—

18 Mar: no, vos pasá ahora el, después cuando cobre: →

no, you ((emph.)) pass by later, after I get paid:→

19 Berta: =después de los cobros.

=after pay day.

20 Mar: ahí está que yo te compro algo. [ta?

right because then I'll buy something from you, okay?

21 Berta: [bueno, es la semana que viene.

[okay, that's next week.

22 Mar: la semana que viene. ta?

next week. okay?

23 Berta: bueno.

okay.

(4) Non-mitigated refusal during domestic-oriented talk, domestic setting (Mar 21)

((Mar refuses her father's offer/suggestion that she substitute store-bought milk with fresh (non-pasteurized) milk.))

1 Mar: vos compraste eh leche~?

did you buy eh milk~?

2 Padre: no/ ahh→

3 Mar: no/, para mañana\ ((dice tomando))

no/, for tomorrow\ ((she says while drinking))

4 Padre: hay leche de vaca xxx=

there's ((raw)) cow's milk xxx=

5 Mar: =no^.

A similar trend obtained with downgraders. Adjusted token scores show a large difference between domestic- and business-oriented talk (50 versus 108), though not between domestic and social (50 versus 51 downgraders). However, when considering downgrading strategies as equal to the percentage of refusal sequences in which they appeared, the differences were more pronounced, with the domestic and business domains at the extremes: 33%, domestic; 44%, social; 53%, business. The difference between domestic and business was highly significant ($p < .01$). The examples above demonstrate the presence of downgraders during a business-oriented exchange (e.g., appealers in lines 16, 20, 22 in (3)) and the absence of the same during a domestic-oriented refusal (e.g., line 5 in (4)).

As we will see, relationships characterized by low social distance and high levels of affiliation help explain these differences. While domestic-oriented talk did not positively correlate with the use of direct head acts as I would have expected, the relative lack of mitigating moves and internal softening devices makes sense along the same logical line: it is not as necessary to mince one's words or soften one's technique with those with whom one is close, or, at least, with whom face issues are not a pressing concern (e.g., as in (5) below, lines 2, 4, 10) (cf. Wolfson's "Bulge" theory (1988) further discussed in Chapters 6 and 7). To further this point, Tables 5-6 and 5-7 show that the participants produced the most aggravating supportive moves within domestic-oriented talk, as well as the most upgraders overall. Though these differences between orientation types were not significant, they do support the idea that as intimacy increases, so does the tendency to speak with less constraint.

Semantic strategies (sub-types)

This section concerns trends regarding the number of refusals per sequence, head acts, supportive moves, upgraders and downgraders as a function of sub-types. Only the domestic (DOM) and business (BUS) domains were broken down in this way. The number of refusal sequences per sub-type is given in parentheses:

- DOM: couples talk (public and private) (n = 41)
- DOM: other domestic talk (n = 66)
- BUS: service encounter, participant as the agent (n = 12)
- BUS: service encounter, participant as the client (n = 26)
- BUS: participant speaking to subordinate (n = 26)
- BUS: participant and addressee equal status (n = 23)
- BUS: participant speaking to a superior (n = 2)³

³ Because of the relative lack of refusal sequences in this category, for the purposes of the analysis, I combined this category with "BUS: participant and interlocutor equal status." Qualitatively, there were not remarkable differences in behavior between the two categories.

The results revealed telling correlations for some sub-types (Figure 5-1). Couples talk, for example, positively correlated with aggravating moves (.225, $p < .01$) and upgraders (.150, $p < .05$). At the same time, they negatively correlated with mitigating moves (-.145, $p < .05$) and downgraders (-.186, $p < .01$). In other words, regardless of whether the refusal head act was direct or indirect—and they were nearly equal in number—the level of tentativeness tended to be low or non-existent. Boxer agrees with Wolfson in that “it is with close family members that we are most certain of the relationships and therefore do less of the ‘dance of negotiation’” (2002: 22). An example of this behavior is illustrated in (5), below (aggravating moves and upgraders are underlined).

(5) Aggravated refusal during couples talk, social setting (Lea 6)

((While Lea is helping to set up for a *quinceañera* at the neighborhood social club, Pablo, Lea’s partner, approaches and asks her for change, which she does not have.))

1 Pablo: qué llenura me he agarrado. eh @ ((pausita)) tenés monedas ahí?
man I am so full. eh @ ((short pause)) you have coins on you?

2 Lea: ((otras voces)) no tengo monedas acá. no tengo cambio yo [m’hijo!
((other voices)) I don’t have any coins here. I ((emph.)) don’t have any change son!

3 Pablo: [ah::

4 Lea: pa' qué querés monedas.
w'dya want change for.

5 Pablo: pa´ comprar cigarros m´ hija estoy sin fumar desde hoy al mediodía estoy como loco allá en la casa.
to by cigarettes girl I haven’t smoked since noon I’m going crazy over there at the house.

6 Lea: bueno, ta. fijate en el cajón si no hay monedas?
fine, okay. look in the drawer ((to see)) if there aren’t any coins?

- 7 Pablo: ah! x—
- 8 Lea: ((recordando)) HAY DIEZ PEsos Pablo ahí arriba.
((remembers all of a sudden)) THERE'S TEN PEsos Pablo there on top.
- 9 Pablo: (tengo que) ir hasta la casa de vuelta?
(I have to) go back to the house again?
- 10 Lea: y bueno si yo no tengo la plata, está aLLÁ m'hijo:!
well yeah if I don't have the money, it's over there son!
- 11 Pablo: OH!
- 12 Lea: tomá. ((la llave de la casa?)) manda(la) a la nena.
take this. ((housekey?)) send the girl. ((their daughter))

“Other” domestic talk did not significantly correlate with any of the above variables. However, tests of analysis of variance did attest to significant differences between couples talk, other domestic talk and non-domestic talk for supportive moves, upgraders, downgraders and post-refusal small talk (at the .05 level or better). Other domestic talk included post-refusal small talk significantly less than non-domestic talk (Figure 5-5), and aggravating moves and upgraders significantly less than couples talk. These results affirm the rationale and support the findings of studies (e.g., Fishman 1983; Alberts 1990; De Francisco 1991; Boxer 2002) that analyze couples talk apart from other kinds of talk and as its own category.

Participants in the role of client in a business exchange formed the only sub-category that correlated with direct head acts (data provided by five of ten participants). In this case the correlation was positive (.127, $p < .05$), and speaks to the participants' tendency to say “no” during service encounters (.183, $p < .01$) when confronted with offers, suggestions and requests. And while the direct “no” (the direct strategy used most) was non-tentative, the nature of the mand determined whether the participant

would follow it with any mitigating moves. For example, they would mitigate refusals to requests (e.g., a clerk requests the participant's receipt from a previous transaction) with some sort of tactic, typically an apology or reason/explanation. This was in contrast to refusals to offers, typically of additional merchandise, in which the participant-client refused directly and moved on with little, if any, downgrading or supportive moves. Note the differing refusal styles in two examples by the same participant, Fabiana:

(6) Direct refusal to a request with mitigation, participant as client, service setting (Fabiana 1)

((At a kiosk inside a small supermarket, Fabiana desires to check the balance of her calling card, but is unable to fulfill the female clerk's request for a receipt.))

1 Fabiana: ((approaching counter)) buenos días. ((men conversing))
good morning.

2 Clerk (f): señora.
ma'am.

3 Fabiana: hola mi negra- no me podés decir cuánto me queda, saber más o menos? ((en su tarjeta para hacer llamadas))
hi my dear- you couldn't tell me how much I have left, to know more or less? ((how much she has left on her calling card))

4 Clerk: tiene el papelito?
do you ((formal)) have the little paper?

5 Fabiana: jah. ((expression indicating that she does not have it))

6 Clerk: de la última vez?
from the last time?

7 Fabiana: no. ((en voz chiquita))
no. ((quiet voice))

8 Clerk: no? (dame la cédula). (siempre) guardando el papelito, ya sabés—
no? (give me your ID). (always) keeping the little paper, now you know—

9 Fabiana: sí, no no no, vos sabés que ((pausa)) cuando vine xxx bien con eso lo rompí todo y no- ((pausita)) sinceramente viste, vos disculpá la imprudencia pero→
yeah, no no no, you know that ((pause)) when I came xxx okay with that I tore it up and everything and I didn't ((short pause)) really you know, you ((emph.)) pardon the imprudence but →

10 Clerk: ya te digo en seguida.
I'll let you ((informal)) know in just a moment.

11 Fabiana: te agradezco/.
I thank you/. ((expression of gratitude marked for register))

(7) Direct refusal to an offer without mitigation, participant as client, service setting (Fabiana 2)
((Fabiana at a corner market buying produce; she is attended by a male clerk.))

1 Clerk (m): señora?
ma'am?

2 Fabiana: un kilo de papas/.
a kilo of potatoes/.

3 Clerk: de cuál?
of which?

4 Fabiana: dame la de catorce, me parece que no están→
give me the one for fourteen ((pesos per kilo)), it seems to me that they are not→
((orders using informal command form))

...

5 Clerk: qué más.
what else. ((offer))

6 Fabiana: dos cebollas/. ((pausa)) y:: un morrón verde porque debe- los tiene q- que son grandes.

two onions/. ((pause)) an::d a green pepper because it should- you have
((stuttering effect)) pretty big ones. ((accepts offer; places product order))

...

((beeps of the cash register buttons))

- 7 Fabiana: sírvase.
there you are. ((giving him the money; pays using formal command form))
- 8 Clerk: qué más?
what else? ((offer))
- 9 Fabiana: nada más.
nothing else. ((refuses offer; ends transaction))
((various seconds pass))
- 10 Fabiana: muy bien. graciaS!
very well. thank you:! ((unmarked expression of gratitude))

This dynamic changed, however, in the context of participant-as-agent. Four of the ten participants provided the data for this sub-type, which correlated not with any head act type, but with longer refusal sequences (.138, $p < .05$), more mitigating moves and downgraders (.239 and .251, respectively, $p < .01$). In fact, the average number of refusals per sequence was 2.42, the highest of all sub-types (Table 5-5). These statistical relationships are stronger than the ones for participant-as-client above, and point to efforts on the agents' part to save face with their clients when they could not accommodate her or him. For instance, Rena demonstrates this with a woman seeking to buy a scarf in (8):

(8) Long refusal sequence with mitigation, participant as agent, service setting (Rena 2)
((A female client enters Rena's shop searching for a men's scarf))

- 1 Rena: hola cómo andás?
hi how are you?
- 2 Mujer2: andás bien?
you doing well?
- 3 Rena: bien, vos?

- ((I'm doing)) well, you?
- 4 Mujer2: bie:n.
 goo:d.
- 5 Rena: qué puede ser?
 what can I help you with? ((lit. what could it be?))
- 6 Mujer2: alguna bufanda de hombre o que pueda usar un hombre una ne:gra o algo?
 some kind of men's scarf or that a man could use a bla:ck one or something?
- 7 Rena: → ay no, creo que no me queda nada/. xxx. había una negra ahí→((SMM))
 [[((pausa)]] ahí- ah pero capaz que para hombre no.
 a:y no, I think that I don't have anything left/. xxx there was a black one over
 there→ ((SMM)) ((pause)) there- ah but maybe not for a man.
- 8 Violeta: [hay una negra.]
 [there is a black one.]
- 9 Rena: ((mira la bufanda y verifica)) no no no. no. ésa no es para hombre.
 ((looks at the scarf and verifies)) no no no. no. that one's not for a man.
- 10 Mujer2: xxx
- 11 Rena: ((se ríe)) no, no me queda ninguna!
 ((laughs)) no, I don't have a single one left! ((SMA mitigated by laughter))
- 12 Mujer2: no te queda nada.
 you have nothing left. ((verifying))
- 13 Rena: → no. no [me queda—
 no. I don't have—
- 14 Mujer2: [marrón o algo xxx
 [brown or something xxx
- 15 Rena: → ningun- ninguna ninguna ninguna.
 not a- not a one, not a one, not a one.
- 16 Mujer2: pero qué cosa [xxx

unbelievable xxx ((lit. but what a thing))

- 17 Rena: [se me terminaron. ((SMM)) sí? no hay?
[they ran out on me. ((SMM)) really? there aren't any?
- 18 Mujer2: ay no, en ningún lado.
ay no, nowhere.
- 19 Rena: ahh!
- 20 Mujer2: bueno, [gracias.
well, [thank you.
- 21 Rena: [yo tengo que ir a Montevideo pero hace mucho frío.
[I have to go to Montevideo pero it's so cold.
- 22 Mujer2: sí y el frío no da ganas de ir tampoco.
yeah and the cold doesn't make one in the mood to go either.
- 23 Rena: ((risita)) chau.
((short laugh)) bye.
- 24 Mujer2: qué pases bien. ((sale))
have a good day. ((lit. that you pass (the time/day) well)) ((client leaves))

In this sequence, Rena has no qualms with delivering direct refusals in lines 7, 13 and 15; however, she is careful to soften them with apologetic tones, displays of empathy, laughter, other supportive moves and small talk. The first (line 7), for example, is internally downgraded—the lengthened vowel in *a:y no* imparts an apologetic tone while the negation of the implied proposition (*tenés?* → *no tengo* → *no me queda*) is softened with a subjectivizer (*creo que*) and mitigated syntactically with its form as a reverse psychological predicate.⁴ After visually verifying that there is nothing

⁴ In the expression *no me queda*, the verb acts as a reverse psychological predicate (like *gustar*). In these constructions the agent (my participant/the syntactic subject) is downgraded to the experiencer (indirect object), and relinquishes control over the action, thereby lessening the participant's share of responsibility for the "offense." This qualifies it as a syntactic downgrader.

in stock, the two enter into an exchange of small talk (beginning in line 16). Here, the client complains about the general lack of men's scarves and Rena commiserates, followed by Rena's complaint about the weather with the client commiserating. This indicates that the two are equally interested in supporting each other's face needs; by the end of the interaction, rapport has been maintained and equilibrium restored.

In workplace encounters, there are trends worth mentioning when examining the relationship of these variables with refusals to status equals/superiors, compared with refusals to subordinates. Five participants produced the refusals to status equals/superiors (n=25), but only one participant (Ari, Pastoreo group) produced the refusals to subordinates (n=26), though with various addressees. Refusals to status equals/superiors correlated with mitigating moves (.162, $p < .01$), though not as strongly as the participant-as-agent sub-type. Most of the following examples are refusals to mandates that have a similar (lesser) rank of imposition (R). Refusals more serious in nature (+ R) (e.g., refusing to let one's day off be impinged upon by a work meeting) incurred lengthy negotiation sequences; because of this, I only include part of one here, though the increased rank of imposition makes this example less comparable.⁵ Supportive, rapport-building and downgrading moves are underlined.

(9) Refusal sequence between colleagues of equal status with mitigation, work setting (Rita 14)
((In the kitchen of the Center where Rita works, Velchi/Velita, a teacher, attempts to help herself to the dessert that Rita has made for the staff and children, but Rita refuses.))

1 Velchi: ah no, como (otro / un) poquito de postre.

 ah no, I'll have (another / a) little bit of dessert.

2 Rita: muy bien.

⁵ In selecting examples, my goal was to choose those with as many commonalities as possible, save the variable in question.

very well.

3 Velchi: xxx ((going to serve herself))

4 Rita: ah yo lo saco si querés. ahora yo- yo te lo saco, no te hagas problema.
ah I'll get it if you want. now I- I'll get it for you, don't worry yourself with it.

5 Velchi: esto.
this.

6 Velchi: ay con kiwi y todo.
ay with kiwi and everthing.

7 Rita: ah no, esto es con TODO. qué servicio! ((pausa)) (pues no sé si sabés) que tenemos fondos Velchi. @@

ah no, this is with EVERYTHING. what service! ((pause)) (well I don't know if you know) but we have funds Velchi. @@ ((joking about the Center having money in the budget))

((clinks from Rita serving Velchi))

(10) Refusal sequence between colleagues of equal status with mitigation, work setting (Ari 30)

((Ari blows off her co-worker Vilma's concern that something inappropriate has been caught on the voice recorder; Vilma issues an order with which Ari refuses to comply.))

1 Vilma: decile [a la—
tell [the—

2 Ari: [no importa!
[it's no big deal!

3 Vilma: a la- no! decile—
the- no! tell her—

4 Ari: (no / ni) se dan cuenta que yo lo tengo puesto.
they ((workers)) don't (even) realize that I have it ((the mic)) on.

5 Vilma: ((silbidos)) no, pero vos decile a la norteamericana que venga que yo le explico después lo que es eso.

((whistles)) no, but you ((emph.)) the the Northamerican woman to come and I'll explain to her later what that means.

- 6 Ari: ayer le explicaban—
yesterday they were explaining to her—
 ((laughter, unintelligible voices))
- 7 Ari: no importa—
it doesn't matter—
 ((various people talking at once))
- 8 Ari: no importa! ((silbidos)) ayer le explicaban todas las formas de usar pedo.
it doesn't matter! ((whistles)) yesterday they were explaining to her all the ways
to use the word "pedo" ((fart)).

(11) Refusal sequence to a superior with mitigation, + R, work setting (Ari 28)

((Ari is approached by a superior colleague Triza, who informs her that she will have to come in to work on her scheduled day off.))

- 1 Triza: mañana, mañana tenés que ir a la escuela porque, xxxcito/
 tomorrow, tomorrow you have to go to the school because, xxx ((dim. suffix))/
 2 Ari: pero, digo:, no pueden hacerme esto (pues digo)=
 pero, I mean:, (you plural / they) can't do this to me (well I mean)=
 3 Triza: =y a mí tampoco.
 =and to me either.
 4 Ari: ((pausa)) pero le digo, hace veinte días me dijeron, (tomá) el día libre, yo xxx—
 ((pause)) but I tell you ((formal)), twenty days ago (you plural / they) told me,
 (take) the day off, I xxx—
 5 Triza: es que yo te, yo te, yo te te comprendo perfectamente.
 it's that I, I, I- I understand you ((informal)) perfectly.
 6 Ari: ta digo vengo. [pero:--
ok I mean I'll come. bu:t—
 7 Triza: [pero lo vas a tener en otro momento.
 [but you're gonna have it ((day off)) at another time.

8 Ari: sí sí sí yo sé lo que me decís, pero digo que, ya porque, ah yo ya había comunicado mañana A. se va a Montevideo hoy y él mañana no hay na- no estaba, porque [se:→ yo tenía] libre y ta bueno ta.

yeah yeah yeah I know what you're telling me, but I mean that, already because, ah I had already let (them) know tomorrow A. ((her partner)) is going to Montevideo today and he tomorrow there is no- ((no one to babysit her nephew, which she had promised to do since she had the day off)), because...I had off and okay fine okay.

9 Triza: [sí sí está bien sí]

[yeah yeah that's fine yeah]

((negotiation continues for another fifty turns))

Thus, refusals to status equals and superiors often generated sequences with multiple refusals that were often mitigated in some way. This was in contrast to the refusal behavior of the participant, Ari, speaking to various subordinates. While participants (including Ari) felt the need to attenuate and negotiate refusals to colleagues and superiors, Ari's refusals to the workers that she managed were shorter, generating significantly fewer refusals (averaging 1.12 refusals per sequence, the lowest of all sub-types), and favored directness. Examples (12) and (13) illustrate.

(12) Refusal sequence without mitigation, participant to subordinate, work setting (Ari 2)

((A male worker states that he will accompany Ari and Vilma to a meeting with their boss to discuss an issue about which all of the workers are concerned.))

1 Ari: ((a unos trabajadores)) nosotros vamos a hablar con este hombre?

((to a group of workers)) we ((emph.)) are going to speak with this man?

2 Vilma: ((a los mismos)) vamos a ver con (Dardito) a ver si vino...

((to the same workers)) we're going to see (Dardito) to see if he's gotten here yet...

((omit 4 lines))

3 Worker: yo voy con ustedes, xxx.

I am going with you, xxx.

4 Ari: no.

no.

5 Vilma: no mi amor. te agradezco.

no my dear. I thank you.

(13) Refusal sequence with some degree of mitigation, participant to subordinate, work setting (Ari 8)

((During the issuing of work-regulation footwear, a female worker requests a lighter shoe as opposed to a boot. A male coworker, possibly the same as in (12), reaffirms Ari's stance.))

1 Susana: (che) pero, no habrá un treinta y siete más liviano como el de aquella?

(hey ((affiliative))) but, might there not be a ((size)) thirty-seven that's lighter like that one that she's got?

2 Ari: NO no no.

NO no no.

3 Worker: son todos así Susana.

they're all the same Susana.

((unintelligible voices))

4 Ari: se ve que un número viene bota, el treinta y siete viene bota.

it looks like one number comes in a boot, size thirty-seven comes in a boot.

Linguistic strategies and post-refusal small talk

Now focusing on the way in which the orientation of talk related to specific linguistic strategies, I found that fifteen differed significantly across some category or categories of domain, such as saying "no," delaying response/ignoring hearer and joking/laughing. For each of these strategies, Tables 5-8 and 5-9 show the raw token number, the adjusted token number, and the percentage of refusal sequences in which the strategy appeared (RS%). Also, the code name listed indicates if a particular strategy was different as a feature of head acts (HA), supportive moves (SM), refusal

turns at talk (RTT) or in general, throughout the entire refusal sequence. Figure 5-2 displays the strategies and how they arrange around the different orientations of talk.

A striking observation is the degree to which business-oriented talk diverged from the other domains. Out of the fifteen strategies in which I found significant differences, business talk was salient in fourteen of them. The exception was giving an indefinite reply (e.g., *no sé, puede ser* “I don’t know, could be”; *voy a ver qué hago mañana* “I’ve gotta see what I’m doing tomorrow”), which was most prevalent in the social-oriented talk and differed significantly from the domestic domain. Also, business- and social-oriented talk shared the making of solidary claims (e.g., *sabés que, viste, che*) (CCGSolid in Fig. 5-2) as opposed to domestic-oriented talk.

There were various differences between business-oriented talk on the one hand, and other types of talk on the other. Participants postponed (e.g., *la semana que viene pasá*) and offered conditions (e.g., *si me la- si me la pudieran traer sí, si no no pue:do*) as supportive moves more than in domestic or social talk. They also tended to apologize (e.g., *sinceramente viste, vos disculpá la imprudencia*) and say “no” much more than in social-oriented talk; for the “no” strategy, this difference was significant at several levels of analysis (i.e., HA, RTT and RS). Conversely, in social-oriented talk, the participants tended to insist (e.g., *no! no! vamos . . . ya que vamos, vamos “no! no! let’s go . . . now that we’re going, let’s go”*) and make jokes/laugh more than in business-oriented talk.

Business- and domestic-oriented talk did not differ significantly where “no” was concerned. This could be for several possible reasons: not only might this be an example supportive of Wolfson’s “Bulge” theory (1988), which I have referenced before,

but also a result of the co-occurrence of low social distance in the domestic domain (e.g., couples talk) and the politic nature of refusing with “no” in the business domain. The latter can be viewed as a function of power-defined roles in the workplace (e.g., Ari to subordinates) and a fulfillment of Grice’s maxim of quantity in service encounters (e.g., *algo más? no, nada más.*) (cf. Watts 2003 and Grice 1975).

Between the business and domestic domains, additional differences obtained. In addition to making solidaritous claims, participants agreed more (e.g., *bueno traé* “fine bring [it],” *sí porque . . .* “yes because . . .”), repeated/reiterated (e.g., *pará pará* “stop stop”), claimed hardships beyond their control (e.g., *sabés qué no tengo plata* “you know what I don’t have any money”; *porque no estoy muy ducha con la computadora* “because I’m not any good with the computer”) and hedged (e.g., *capaz que* “maybe,” *un ratito* “a little while”) more often. Conversely, during domestic-oriented exchanges, participants were more likely to attack the hearer in some way (e.g., *a vos te parece?* “do you really think?”), ignore or delay their response to the hearer, and address the hearer with endearment terms (e.g., *m’hijo* “my son,” *amor* “love,” *cariño* “dear”) (often sarcastically or showing frustration within an aggravating move).

Comparing social-oriented and domestic-oriented talk, strategies correlating with indirect refusals and mitigating moves figured more prominently in social talk. Strategies correlating with direct refusals and aggravating moves had a greater presence in domestic talk. During social-oriented refusals, participants replied indefinitely, joked/laughed, and made solidary claims moreso than in domestic ones. The only strategy that significantly favored domestic talk was the use of endearment terms (which correlated with aggravating moves and was highly significant); however,

the participants attacked, delayed their response/ignored the hearer, failed to agree and used “no” more frequently, though these differences were not significant.

In addition to the linguistic strategies employed to refuse, the participants’ propensity to engage in small talk following the refusal turn proved to be salient. The sequences in (14) and (15), woman-to-man and woman-to-woman in the social sphere, exemplify occurrences of post-refusal small talk (underlined).

(14) Refusal to invitation followed by small talk, social-oriented talk, social setting (Mar 3)

((In the plaza, Mar and Santi run into each other. After some interaction, Santi (indirectly) invites her to go out for coffee, which she refuses with an indefinite reply; understanding Mar’s response as a refusal, Santi recovers with small-talk.))

- 1 Santi: =cuándo me vas a invitar a tomar un café.=
=when are you going to invite me out for coffee.=
- 2 Mar: =en cualquier [momento. @ @ @
=anytime @ @ @
- 3 Santi: [eh bueno.
[eh okay.
- 4 Mar: @ @ en cualquier momento, en cualquier momento. ((voz risuena))
@ @ anytime, anytime ((smile voice)).
- 5 Santi: entonces, la la, este:: la invito yo primero.=
so then, you ((formal)), you, uh:: I ((emph.)) will invite you first.=
- 6 Mar: =bueno. vamos a ver entonces. [nos vem-- ((voz risuena))
=okay. we’ll see then. [see yo— ((smile voice))
- 7 Santi: [bueno che y hay algo de las elecciones?
[so *che* ((affiliative alerter)) and any news about the elections?
- 8 Mar: todo ahí tranquilo quedó.=
everything’s calmed down.=

9 Santi: =tranquilo, se murió todo ya.

=calmed down, everything's died down already.

10 Mar: se murió todo.

everything's died down.

11 Santi: xxx

12 Mar: no, pero todos los comités, todo se sacaron. y bueno. quedamos. ((fades))

no, but all the committees, everything's (been disbanded?). and well. that's how it is. ((voice trails))

13 Santi: bueno, vamos a ver qué es lo que pasa de aquí a octubre (a ver).

well, we'll see what happens from now until October (we'll see).

14 Mar: nos vemos! hasta luego!

see you! see you later!

(15) Refusal to advice (suggestions) followed by small talk, social-oriented talk, domestic setting (Lea 1)

((At Lea's house, before parting: Violeta suggests that Lea not worry about going back to the social club for party set-up, since her daughter, Celeste, is not feeling well. Lea ascents in non-committal fashion (and goes back to the club anyway).))

1 Violeta: pero no te sientas mal si querés decirles que no vayas para- para cuidarla a ella. porque hay bastantes manos [allá haciendo las cosas y:

but don't feel bad if you wanna tell them that you're not gonna go to- to take care of her. because there are enough hands over there doing everything a:nd

2 Lea: [sí:

[ye:s

3 Lea: yo ahora cuando (vuelvo) lleve las mesas, le digo.

In a bit when (I go back) to take the tables, I'll tell (her / them).

4 Celeste: NO [ma(ma).

5 Lea: [Celeste, shh.

6 Violeta: acordate de lo que hablamos, te [acordás?

remember what we talked about, remember?

- 7 Lea: [sí
[yes
- 8 Violeta: todo lo que hablamos durante el almuerzo?
everything that we talked about during lunch?
- 9 Lea: ((pausa)) ahora tenés bajada, Viole. no tenés que subir el repecho. @@
((pause)) now you get to go downhill, Viole. you don't have to go up the big hill.
@@
- 10 Violeta: sí, menos mal.
yeah, thank goodness ((lit. less bad)).
- 11 Lea: bueno, nos vemos esta noche Viole. ((beso; luego a Celeste)) dale un beso a Violeta.
okay, see you tonight Viole. ((kisses cheek; then to Celeste)) give Violeta a kiss.

The use of post-refusal small talk was significantly different across all possible category pairings (dom-soc, dom-bus, soc-bus)—the only strategy to do so (Table 5-10, Figure 5-4). It is notable, then, that the participants engaged in post-refusal small talk most during social-oriented and least during domestic-oriented exchanges. This corroborates work on small talk, which maintains that small talk serves to build rapport among speakers and, in so doing, serves to restore or maintain harmonic relations (Schneider 1988; Coupland 2000; Boxer 2002). In the social sphere, where relationships may be ambiguous or tenuous, it is then logical that speakers would engage in small talk more, because of that uncertainty. In the domestic sphere, where relationships are more well-defined, established and stronger, face-saving and rapport-maintaining manoeuvres are not so necessary and are, perhaps, even superfluous in some situations (cf. Boxer 2002).

In the business sphere—where post-refusal small talk was more frequent than in domestic sequences, but less prevalent than in social ones—this reasoning could go

either way. On the one hand, in a business transaction, both parties typically understand their roles as agent, client, etc. and the actions that they must take to complete the business at hand in a politic fashion; in this vein, an “all-business” approach would render small talk less necessary and, therefore, less prevalent. On the other, clients/customers stand to benefit from interactional talk that “greases the wheels,” potentially obtaining a more felicitous result. Moreover, a pleasant exchange in which good feelings are generated ensures a more positive business or work experience and, perhaps, a repeat customer or stronger social relations. Boxer found this to be true in her study of indirect complaints; interactions with “strangers” (which included service encounters) engaged in complaint-based small talk “with the end of establishing some kind of commonality, albeit brief, that makes encounters more pleasant” (1993: 121). Consider the exchange in (16). Post-refusal small talk, initiated by the participant, Isabel, in line 5 does just this:

(16) Refusal to offer followed by small talk, participant as client, service setting (Isa 7a)

((At a small produce shop, Isabel completes her purchase with a male clerk by refusing a final offer of product; she then launches into small talk with the shop owner, with whom her partner does business.))

1 Clerk: nada más Isabel?=
nothing else Isabel? =

2 Isabel: =no ((tenso)).
=no ((tense vowel)).
((pause))

3 Isabel: no nada más ((relajado)).
no nothing else ((relaxed vowel)).

4 Clerk: muy bien.=
very well.=

- 5 Isabel: =ta? ((al dueño del almacén)) tu nena Juan?
 =okay? ((to shop owner standing by)) your daughter Juan?
- 6 Juan: bien de bien.
 fine just fine.
- 7 Isabel: bien? bueno, me alegro.
 fine? well, I'm glad.

As the above depicts, in a small town such as the one in which the data were collected, it was rare that the participants ever dealt with total strangers; often they did business or worked with people that they either knew outside of that context and/or encountered on a regular basis within that context (cf. Milroy's (1980) discussion of multiplex social networks in which people are linked to others in multiple capacities). In this respect there is overlap between the business and social domains.

Physical Setting

As set forth at the beginning of this chapter, the second facet of domain is that of the physical setting, which I now analyze in a similar fashion. Recalling Table 5-1, the participants realized refusals in various physical settings. Domestic, workplace (herein work), and service settings comprised the majority. Domestic settings were the participant's home, and also their parent(s)' and in-laws' homes. Work settings were those in which the participant participated as an employee within a hierarchical structure (i.e., with superiors, equal status colleagues, subordinates). These included program headquarters, project work sites and facilities, such as kitchens and classrooms. Service settings were primarily shops and stores, including the participant's own (where applicable), and the refreshment kiosk at a soccer field. Other settings in which refusal sequences occurred were: a social club, in public (e.g., on the plaza, in the street), a

sporting event (i.e., soccer game), institutional (i.e., hospital), transport (i.e., taxi, shuttle van) and a vigil/wake.

In all, there were nine physical setting classifications, which I then grouped into four categories: domestic, work, service and social (Table 5-1). The rationale behind this step was to determine if, by grouping them, significant differences could be obtained. The domestic and work settings comprised their own categories (n = 94 and 56 sequences, respectively), while service included service and institutional settings (n = 56).⁶ For the social setting, I grouped together social club, public, transport, sporting event and vigil/wake (n = 37). As Table 5-2 shows, the physical setting and the orientation of the talk were usually commensurate (79% of the time), but not always. For example, over a quarter of the talk occurring in a social setting was domestic-oriented (e.g., Lea refusing Pablo at the social club in (5)), while the service setting was home to both domestic- and social-oriented talk, which made up a third of the activity in this setting.

The question is whether the physical setting in itself had any bearing on the way in which these women refused. While certain aspects of the participants' talk were obviously dependent upon place (e.g., shouting in soccer stands versus whispering at the funeral parlor), statistical analysis at various levels revealed few significant differences between one setting and another. In the following paragraphs, I will refer to Tables 5-11 through 5-16 to highlight the major trends and significant differences.

⁶ The "institutional" setting originally made up its own category (n = 5), but due to the small number of sequences and the often transactional nature of hospital encounters in this data set, I included these sequences with "service." Also, Boxer (2002) includes institutional encounters within the workplace domain.

Refusals and semantic strategies

The first finding of interest concerns the number of refusal turns at talk by setting category.⁷ In Table 5-11 we see that the refusal sequences carried out in the social setting averaged the highest number of refusal turns (1.86), while the work setting averaged the lowest (1.27). This difference was statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) and suggests more negotiation in social settings and less in work settings (e.g., Mar in (14) compared to Ari in (12)). The overall average for the number of refusal turns per sequence was 1.52, similar to those obtained for the domestic and service settings.

Secondly, the social setting also generated the highest proportion of indirect refusals compared to the others, and the highest percentage of presence within refusal sequences (68%) (Table 5-12).⁸ The domestic setting followed, while the work and service settings demonstrated the least number of indirect head acts and the least percentage of presence within refusal sequences. One reason that the domestic setting boasted higher numbers of indirect head acts—as opposed to the lower frequency for domestic-oriented talk shown in the previous section—is because participants at times engaged in business-related phone conversations while at home. Thus, the nature of the talk, the medium of communication and the participant-addressee relationship had more to do with the preference for indirect head acts than the physical setting.

An example is the exchange between Ana and Isaz, a female work colleague of equal power status, which is negotiated for several minutes and generates six refusal

⁷ No significant difference was obtained without grouping the settings into categories.

⁸ In order to make the counts in the “indirect” column comparable, I adjusted each count by indexing the number of refusal sequences in that category to 100. For example, there were 37 refusal sequences in the social setting. Dividing 100 by 37 yielded a “weight” of 2.70270. Multiplying 42 (the count of indirect head acts in the social setting) by the weight equals 114.

head acts. All are indirect (lines 9, 16, 22, 38), except for two (lines 24, 30) that surface toward the end after some degree of insistence on the part of Isaz that Ana become an active member again of their direct sales group.

(17) Business-related refusal in the domestic setting, favoring indirect head acts (Ana 16-18)

((While at home, Isaz unexpectedly calls Ana on the telephone.))

1 Ana: sí HOLA:

yes HELLO:

2 Isaz: xxx

3 Ana: quién habla.

who's speaking.

4 Isaz: xxx

5 Ana: ISAZ, cómo estás!

ISAZ, how are you!

6 Isaz: xxx

7 Ana: yo estoy bien. estaba- estaba: resolviendo cosas para llamar para: dar una respuesta. este: andan bien ustedes?

I'm well. I was- I wa:s figuring things out to call to: give an answer. you all doing well?

8 Isaz: xxx

9 Ana: → he recibido los mensajes sí, las promociones, todo eso lo hemos recibido. este:, pero: estoy en otras, en otros proyectos y este: como que está medio suspendido todo. todo en el aire tengo. por eso no he querido, ni siquiera: mm, hacerme oír porque no sé qué:, no sé todavía las respuesta que les ten- les tengo para dar.

I've gotten your messages yes, the promotions, we've gotten all of that. uh:, but I'm involved in other things, in other projects and uh: like everything's kind of on hold. I have ((emph.)) got everything up in the air. that's why I haven't wanted, not even mm, to make myself heard because I don't know what, I don't know yet what answer I can give you ((plural)).

10 Isaz: xxx

- 11 Ana: claro. lo que me interesaría/, cuando vuelva a haber un: este:, un:: cómo se llama?
of course. what would interest me/, when that ((course)) comes around again
u::h what's it called?
- 12 Isaz: xxx
- 13 Ana: el curso (de) esteticista integral de nuevo/, completar ese ciclo. eso Sí me gustaría hacerlo/- mm-
the complete estetician course/, complete that series. that I WOULD like to do/-
mm-
- ...
- 14 Ana: pero si ustedes dan a- dan de nuevo el ciclo, lo hago den-, lo hag- lo completo para no estar molesTANdo a RosArio.
but if you all give that series again, I will do- I will do- it in its entirety so I'm not BOTHering Rosario ((the sales leader)).
- 15 Isaz: xxx
- 16 Ana: → porque ahora en este momento me hace- se me hace un poco difícil ir.
because at this time it's a little difficult for me to go.
- 17 Isaz: xxx
- 18 Ana: y de qué.
and of what.
- 19 Isaz: xxx
- 20 Ana: AH: mirá.
AH: no kidding ((lit. look)).
- 21 Isaz: xxx
- 22 Ana: → AH de pronto, las- cuando vayan a hacer las evaluaciones/, me pongo al día con los temas/—
AH maybe, the- when you go to do the evaluations again/, I'll get myself up to speed on the topics/—
- ...
- 23 Isaz: xxx

24 Ana: → AHÍ está, pero no no. yo no, no, no puedo.

EXACTly, but no no. I can't, I-I can't.

25 Isaz: xxx

26 Ana: claro, proba- nos mantenemos en contacto entonces yo tengo el teléfono de Rosario, y yo la voy a llamar. pero no quise, porque también quiero mandarle:: este mi:: mi mail que todavía no lo tengo registrado.

right, we'll try- we'll keep in touch so I have Rosario's number, and I'm gonna call her. but I didn't want, because I also want to send he::r uh my:: my email (that / because) I still don't have it (registered / signed up).

...

27 Isaz: xxx

28 Ana: pero eso es semanal? ((pausa)) o acumulativo.

but is that weekly? ((pause)) or accumulative.

29 Isaz: xxx

30 Ana: → AH no. sí sí sí, pero no. ya hoy no no (da) porque no:, ya te digo estoy TO-tal-mente→ casi desvinculada @@ en este tema→ por ahora, por ahora porque tengo todo. y estoy bajando: toda la:: la parte del catálogo que lo quiero tener encarpetao. eso no cambia excepto alguna promoción.

AH no. yeah yeah yeah, but no. now today does- doesn't work because I do:n't, I'm telling you right now I am TO-tal-ly→ almost out @@ of the loop→ for now, for now because I have everything. and I'm downloadi:ng the:: whole catalogue part because I want to have it in a folder. that doesn't change except if there's some promotion.

31 Isaz: xxx

32 Ana: por este mes.

for this month.

33 Isaz: xxx

34 Ana: bueno, pero yo después ya lo voy a poder ir este: voy a poder ir interiorizando con la computadora.

okay, but I'm later I'm gonna be able to u:h I'm gonna be able to take it all in with the computer.

35 Isaz: xxx

36 Ana: claro. ((suena el timbre)) porque:—

right. ((doorbell rings)) becau:se—

37 Isaz: xxx

38 Ana: → sí, porque si hay alguna variación/, entonces c- yo lo- porque no estoy muy a- ducha con la computadora, no estoy nada ducha entonces yo tengo que esperar que esté mi hijo para que me, me ayude. ...

yes, because then if there's any kind of change/, then w- I-((stutters)) because I'm not very a- adept at the computer, I'm not at all adept so I have to wait for my son to be here for him to- to help me. ...

Just as the heightened use of indirect head acts in the domestic setting was likely due, not to the physical setting, but to other factors as we have just seen, so was the elevated number of direct head acts for the social setting (second only to service). This had to do with the fact that participants refused mands issued by their partner and other family members in these settings, often with bald-on tactics. In fact, though the data show that direct head acts occurred in 59% of refusal sequences in social settings (Table 5-12), domestic-oriented talk contributed most of these.

The work and service settings displayed instances of indirectness more commensurate with their respective activities. As shown in Table 5-12, these settings produced results similar to each other, with the lowest adjusted counts and per-sequence percentages. When taken together, the difference in the distribution of indirect head acts between the work/service settings and the social setting approached statistical significance ($p = 0.067$). For direct head acts, there was no such finding at any level (setting, setting category or joint category) for any setting or category. So while the service setting exhibited the highest percentage of presence of direct head acts in refusal sequences (68%), this was not significantly different than the 57% obtained in the work and domestic settings. It is of interest to note, however, that direct head acts figured in over half of the refusal sequences for all settings, supporting the

idea that there was not one setting that favored the use of direct refusals over another. While there might have been signs of some significant differences in the distribution of indirect head acts among setting categories, these were weak and, for direct head acts, non-existent. It is, therefore, likely that the physical setting in itself did not play a significant role in the realization of (in)directness in these data.

I come to a similar conclusion with respect to the use of downgraders and upgraders in refusal sequences. The adjusted counts of Table 5-14 show that the use of downgraders was similar for the domestic, social and work settings ($n = 61-70$); also, all of these figured in less than half of their respective refusal sequences (35-49%). The service setting boasted the most downgraders ($n = 96$, adjusted) and the highest percentage (50%), but the extent to which it differed from other physical settings was not significant. For upgraders, the domestic and social settings produced like adjusted counts ($n = 72, 76$) and percentages (43%, 49%), while the work and service settings performed similarly ($n = 41$; 34%, 29%). Still, these differences in upgrader distribution were not significant, even between the social and service settings (i.e., 49% versus 29%). Thus, while the participants used downgraders and upgraders in every setting, they used them to a lesser extent across setting types than, for example, mitigating moves (as shown below), and did not display a preference or dispreference for their use that was convincingly dependent upon their physical surroundings.

The findings regarding aggravating moves tell a different story. At several levels of analysis, the distributions of aggravating moves across certain categories of physical setting were significantly different: namely, the work-social and work-domestic comparisons. Participants employed aggravating moves in the work setting significantly

less than in the social setting (in 9% of sequences versus 41%, $p > 0.05$) and in the domestic setting (9% versus 30%, $p > 0.05$) (Table 5-15).

Despite significant differences, I would caution a conclusion of causation. It is more likely that the lack of overlap of domestic-oriented talk in the work setting had more to do with this result. As shown in Table 5-2, domestic talk, which made up 87% of the refusal sequences in the domestic setting, comprised over a quarter of those in the social and service settings, but was largely absent in the work setting. Recall, for example, that couples talk, a sub-type of domestic-oriented talk, correlated convincingly with aggravating moves (.230, $p < 0.01$). It is likely that the significant differences in aggravating moves across settings have also to do with the orientation of the talk.

A final point is that mitigating moves were prevalent in all settings. Unlike aggravating moves, downgraders and upgraders, only mitigating moves achieved a majority percentage of presence in refusal sequences for every single setting category (64-70%) (Table 5-15). None of the other strategies achieved a majority in any setting. So while we may not be able to distinguish significant distributional differences among settings, this finding does corroborate the view that these participants favored the use of mitigating moves, more than other semantic strategies, whilst refusing an addressee.

Linguistic strategies and post-refusal small talk

In answer to the question of which, if any, linguistic strategies showed a tendency to appear in one setting over another, Table 5-16 summarizes the key strategies most worthy of mention. For head act strategies, four strategies obtained significant distributional differences: alternative (e.g., *si no, ponemos otro día* “if not, we can do it another day”), confirmation/ acknowledgement (e.g., *sí, pero no no* “yes, but no no no”), jokes/laughs (e.g., *estoy TO-tal-mente* → *casi desvinculada @@ en este tema* “I’m TO-

tal-ly→ almost out of the loop @@ on this topic”) and “no.” For RTT strategies, that is, strategies appearing anywhere within a refusal turn at talk, there were also four:

alternative, jokes/laughs, *no*, and statement of information, for example:

A Jenifer: . . . tiene frío ella, poné la estufa.
. . . she ((emph.)) is cold, turn the heater on.

B Isabel: está abajo la estufa@=
the heater ((emph.)) is downstairs@=

In addition to statements of information, apologizing (e.g., *pero no lo hice, perdóneme* / “but I didn’t do it [yet], forgive me!”) and attacking the hearer (e.g., *TS. ((scolding)) tenés que ir a la hora que empiece* “TS. you have to go when [the party] starts”) achieved significance at the level of the refusal sequence. No supportive move strategies displayed significant differences by setting, nor was the distribution of post-refusal small talk significantly different between any setting categories.

Based on pairwise comparisons in which significant differences obtained, and the frequencies given in Table 5-16, the social and service settings exhibited the most tendencies regarding “doing” certain linguistic strategies. Figure 5-3 depicts this graphically. Employing confirmation/acknowledgement (e.g., Moqui in (2)), jokes/laughter (e.g., Mar in (14)), and statements of information (e.g., Lea in (5)) happened significantly more in the social setting than in the others, especially more than in the domestic setting, where all occurred significantly less. Giving an alternative, apologizing and saying “no” were indicative of the service setting (e.g., Fabiana in (6), Rena in (2)). Ela exemplifies all three of these strategies in the exchange shown in (18) below. The key utterances are underlined, with comments in double parentheses:

(18) Linguistic strategies: alternative, apology and “no”; participant as client, service setting (Ela 6, 21)

((In a clothing store with her partner Roberto, Ela forgets to bring the receipt that the saleswoman (S.woman) requests; later, she is unable to provide a number to a land line requested by the cashier.))

1 S.woman: vos trajiste el bol – el—
did you ((emph.)) bring the rec- the—

2 Ela: el—
the—

3 S.woman: recibito?
little receipt?

4 Ela: AY el último no. ((AY con tono de lamento))
AY the last one no. ((AY said with lamenting/apologetic tone))

5 S.woman: ((exhales))

6 Roberto: [no lo trajiste?
[you didn't bring it?

7 Ela: [me olvidé. me olvidé (d)el último recibo/=
[I forgot. I forgot the last receipt/= ((reason/excuse subject to apologetic interpretation))

8 S.woman: =cuándo lo pagaste negrita/.
=when did you pay it dear/.

((the saleswoman takes them to the cashier to verify Ela's payment history and Ela is able to continue without the receipt; after she and Roberto make their selections, they return to the counter to pay with credit))

9 Cashier: ((por teléfono)) hola, buenas tarde(s). ((pausa)) “La uruguaya de Rosario” por un crédito? . . . ((a Ela?)) teléfono fijo tené(s)?

((on telephone)) hello, good afternoon. ((pause)) “La uruguaya de Rosario” for a credit? . . . ((to Ela, probably)) do you have ((emph.)) a landline?

10 Ela: [no.

11 Roberto: [no.

12 Cashier: ((reporting back on tele.)) no.

13 Roberto: no no

14 Cashier: ((a Ela y/o Roberto)) y de algún familiar, el del traba- de algún trabajo, algo?
((to Ela and/or Roberto)) of a family member, a work num- from a job, anything?

15 Ela: ((a Roberto)) n- el del CENtro dale.
((to Robert)) n- the number of the CENtro give her. ((alternative))

In terms of statistical significance, participants refused with alternatives more in the service than in the domestic and work settings. Also, the service setting fostered the use of apologies to a greater extent than in social settings. In contrast, the domestic setting was home to increased use of attacking utterances (though this use differed significantly only from the work setting).⁹

The “no” strategy was most prevalent in the service setting at the level of both head acts and refusal turns; also, it appeared in over half of the refusal sequences for this category. This was significantly different from the social setting, in which the “no” strategy occurred the least. The frequencies of “no” in the domestic and work settings were intermediate and not significantly different from the service or social settings.

These trends are not to say, however, that the physical setting was the factor that most influenced the use of these strategies. Social-oriented talk also aligned with joking/laughter, just as business-oriented refusals produced the most “no” strategies. So, while it seems that the orientation and the physical setting mutually affected each other, I believe that the data lean more toward the orientation of the talk as having the greater explanatory power of the two. That said, it also makes perfect sense for there to

⁹ An explanation for this is that domestic-oriented talk occurred in all settings; however, it occurred in the work setting the least (i.e., least amount of overlap).

be more face-enhancing maneuvers such as joking, laughter and confirming the hearer in the social setting, where interactions are more public and varied, and for there to be a propensity for face-threatening acts (e.g., attacking the hearer) in the domestic setting, a private space typically reserved for intimates. Also, it is logical for there to be more alternative-proposing and instances of “no” in service settings where people are constantly choosing one item over another, suggesting solutions and refusing offers of product, among other possibilities.

Summary

The results from this chapter demonstrate that the variable of domain, as a mesh of physical place, addressee relationship¹⁰ and speaker ends, is important to the study of speech act and pragmatic research. Though the data did not show clear-cut divisions between one domain and another, this is not surprising, given that social interaction is “messy,” especially within multiplex social networks (Milroy 1980). Friends show up at the shop, work colleagues—who might also be family members—call at home and couples hash out conflicts in public spaces. Nonetheless, it appears that there exists a uniquely positioned variable called domain that—while fuzzy around its metaphorical edges—is different from power, social distance, rank of the offense (Brown and Levinson 1987) and transactional talk versus interactional talk (Brown and Yule 1983). Because, in addition to these concepts, there is something more that brings it all together: speaker ends or goals filtered through the lens of past experiences and a working knowledge of what the current situation requires. This is domain and the *habitus* embodied within it.

¹⁰ Interlocutor relationship is a key object of analysis in the next chapter.

The data have shown that, while nuanced, the domain of interaction is indeed a relevant factor for consideration. In the case of refusals in Uruguay, domains displayed significant tendencies with regard to the length of refusal sequences, certain semantic and linguistic strategies, as well as post-refusal small talk. I have shown statistically and with transcribed dialogue that lengthier sequences (read more refusal turns) occurred in social settings and at a higher-than-average rate in socially-oriented talk, while the work setting and certain types of business-oriented exchanges produced the least. It should not go unnoticed that, in terms of sub-types, the greatest—and only significant—difference in refusal sequence length was between participant-as-agent and participant-to-subordinate, the former favoring longer sequences and latter favoring shorter. This was likely due to a combination of perceived face needs, speaker ends and differing degrees of role certainty.

The semantic strategies that obtained significant differences were indirect head acts, mitigating moves, aggravating moves and downgraders, though only the findings for aggravating moves complemented each other in terms of both the orientation of the talk and the physical setting. Socially-oriented talk favored indirect head acts, while their use was disfavored in business-oriented refusals. Business talk, on the other hand, showed more mitigating moves and attenuation with downgraders than in domestic talk. This leads to the most convincing empirical findings—those regarding aggravating moves. For this data set, aggravating moves were most indicative of the domestic domain and, specifically, to the sub-type of couples talk. Couples talk employed aggravating strategies significantly more than participants speaking to subordinates and even more than non-couples' domestic-oriented talk. Analysis of the

physical setting showed work settings as the least likely place for aggravating moves, while domestic and social settings were the most likely. Since social settings were often loci for couples talk, this makes sense.

Of the many possible linguistic strategies that the participants could have used (and did), a handful proved to be identifying features of a domain with respect to at least one other. These concern the alignment of the orientation of talk with the physical setting. For the domestic domain, it was attacking the hearer; for the social it was joking and/or laughter. For the business domain (work setting) it was to *not* attack the hearer, while for the business domain (service setting), saying “no” and apologizing were characteristic strategies. This is not to say that the participants did not employ other strategies (giving a reason, repeating/reiterating, confirming/acknowledging, etc.) in abundance, or even that these strategies were absent in the other domains. What I am speaking of are tendencies that clearly favored one domain over another, post-refusal small talk being a clear example. Post-refusal small talk—present in all domains—thrived in the social domain, but was least favored in the domestic.

These findings lead to two working conclusions: 1) that the data point to the orientation of the talk as trumping the physical setting in which it takes place and 2) that the “Bulge” theory is still relevant to a certain extent. I come to the first conclusion based on findings such as those with post-refusal small talk: the differences were only significant when comparing small talk use across categories of talk orientation; there were no differences across categories of physical setting. This is not to say that the physical setting does not influence the nature or flow of the talk; setting creates an atmosphere and provides the place for things to happen. Aspects of privacy, for

example, and the orientation to certain activities such as buying and selling, event set-up and the like are relevant to the exchange. A shortcoming of this research is that I was unable to control for many variables, which, had it been possible, might have allowed me to hone in on the physical setting and investigate this notion further.

The second working conclusion is that Wolfson's "Bulge" theory provided explanatory power in many instances along the way. The findings on small talk and aggravating moves, for example, can be explained easily with this theory: it is with those with whom our relationship is less certain that we do the most work; conversely, we feel free to eschew the dance of negotiation and facework with our intimates. Of course, her theory was based upon her observations of middle-class America. It is interesting that Uruguay is often characterized as having one of the largest middle classes in Latin America; anecdotally, Uruguayans are known for and celebrate their informality—both in physical aspect and manner as well as speech—that fosters an atmosphere of solidarity and less social division.¹¹ Based on my interactions in this community, I would say that this observation generally holds. Nevertheless, her theory is not watertight as Boxer has pointed out, whose studies on complaints contradict Wolfson's stance on the work we do with strangers. Taking domain into consideration can help reconcile these two points of view; I discuss this at length in Chapter 7.

Some last observations to end this chapter are also two-fold. First, studies such as this one demonstrate how mixing methods of analysis can prove useful. Quantitative methods inform qualitative research and vice versa. The use of both tools helps to tease out nuances from the data. Second, and finally, this study shows the value of

¹¹ http://abcnews.go.com/ABC_Univision/News/uruguay-president-jose-pepe-mujicas-frugal-vacation-viral/story?id=18239957 accessed on January 24, 2013.

studying the spontaneous interactions of the same speaker in different contexts. As postulated at the beginning, people do not drastically change, typically, from one social encounter to the next; they adjust. These data, which include transcribed dialogue from the same participant operating under varying conditions, help uncover with greater certainty the underlying regularities that tend to govern linguistic use among women in Rosario, Uruguay.

Table 5-1. Physical setting by setting category (in number of refusal sequences)

	Domestic	Social	Work	Service	Total
Domestic	94 100%				94 39%
Club		13 35%			13 5%
Public		11 30%			11 4%
Sports event		4 11%			4 2%
Transport		5 14%			5 2%
Vigil		4 11%			4 2%
Work			56 100%		56 23%
Hospital				5 9%	5 2%
Service				51 91%	51 21%
Total	94 39%	37 15%	56 23%	56 23%	243 100%

Table 5-2. Physical setting by orientation of talk (in number of refusal sequences)

Physical setting	Orientation of talk:			Total
	dom-oriented	soc-oriented	bus-oriented	
Domestic	82 87%	7 7%	5 5%	94 99%
Social	10 27%	27 73%		37 100%
Work	1 2%	8 14%	47 84%	56 100%
Service	14 25%	5 9%	37 66%	56 100%
Total	107 44%	47 19%	89 37%	243 100%
Setting = Orient.	82	27	84	193 79%

Table 5-3. Head act type by orientation of talk (token level, adjusted, percentage of refusal sequences (RS) in which present)*

	dom-oriented	soc-oriented	bus-oriented	Total
Indirect	77	53	64	194
Indirect (adj)	82	25	57	
Indirect RS%	56%	70%	46%	
Direct	76	27	73	176
Direct (adj)	81	13	65	
Direct RS%	61%	45%	67%	
Total				370

*adjusted score achieved by indexing number of sequences per category to 100; RS% based on case level counts (not shown)

Table 5-4. Refusal sequence type by orientation of talk

	dom-oriented	soc-oriented	bus-oriented	Total
RS_INDonly	42	26	29	97
	39%	55%	33%	40%
RS_DIRonly	47	14	48	109
	44%	30%	54%	45%
RS_Both	18	7	12	37
	17%	15%	13%	15%
Total	107	47	89	243
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 5-5. Orientation of talk (incl. sub-types) by refusal turns (RTT) and mean RTT

	RTT	RS	Mean RTT
Orientation of talk:			
Dom-oriented	153	107	1.43
Couples	61	41	1.49
Other dom.	92	66	1.39
Soc-oriented	80	47	1.70
Bus-oriented	137	89	1.54
Part. as agent	29	12	2.42
Part. as client	39	26	1.50
Part. equal/as SUB	40	25	1.60
Part. to SUB	29	26	1.12
Total	370	243	1.52

Table 5-6. Aggravating and mitigating supportive moves by orientation of talk

token level	dom-oriented	soc-oriented	bus-oriented	Total
SMA	48	16	21	85
SMA (adj)*	45	34	24	
SMA RS%*	31%	28%	17%	
SMM	84	58	144	286
SMM (adj)	79	123	162	
SMM RS%	58%	72%	71%	

*achieved by indexing number of sequences (RS) per category to 100; RS% based on case level counts (not shown)

Table 5-7. Downgraders and upgraders by orientation of talk

token level	dom-oriented	soc-oriented	bus-oriented	Total
DnG	53	24	96	173
DnG (adj)*	50	51	108	
DnG RS%*	33%	45%	53%	
UpG	75	26	41	142
UpG (adj)*	70	55	46	
UpG RS%	39%	40%	36%	

*achieved by indexing number of sequences (RS) per category to 100; RS% based on case level counts (not shown)

Table 5-8. Linguistic strategies (I)* by orientation of talk

	dom-oriented	soc-oriented	bus-oriented
HADelayIgn	20	4	4
HADelayIgn (adj)	21	2	4
HADelayIgn RS%	17%	6%	3%
HAInsist	3	5	
HAInsist (adj)	3	2	
HAInsist RS%	3%	9%	
HAJoke	7	6	
HAJoke (adj)	7	3	
HAJoke RS%	6%	13%	
HANo	51	12	53
HANo (adj)	55	6	47
HANo RS%	42%	23%	51%
SMAgree	1	2	11
SMAgree (adj)	1	1	10
SMAgree RS%	1%	4%	9%
SMCCGSolid	6	8	18
SMCCGSolid (adj)	6	4	16
SMCCGSolid RS%	5%	17%	17%
SMCond	2		12
SMCond (adj)	2		11
SMCond RS%	2%		9%
SMJoke		9	6
SMJoke (adj)		4	5
SMJoke RS%		17%	7%
SMPostpone	1		9
SMPostpone (adj)	1		8
SMPostpone RS%	1%		8%
SMRepReit	19	16	36
SMRepReit (adj)	20	8	32
SMRepReit RS%	18%	30%	33%

*HA = head act (a count of the strategy in HAs only);

SM = supportive move (a count of the strategy in SMs only);

RTT = refusal turn at talk (a count of the strategy within entire RTT)

Table 5-8. Continued

	dom-oriented	soc-oriented	bus-oriented
RTTDelaylgn	23	6	6
RTTDelaylgn (adj)	25	3	5
RTTDelaylgn RS%	20%	11%	6%
RTTEndearTerm	19		2
RTTEndearTerm (adj)	20		2
RTTEndearTerm RS%	11%		2%
RTTHedgeSU	20	12	40
RTTHedgeSU (adj)	21	6	36
RTTHedgeSU RS%	15%	21%	28%
RTTJoke	7	10	2
RTTJoke (adj)	7	5	2
RTTJoke RS%	6%	21%	2%
RTTNo	52	13	54
RTTNo (adj)	56	6	48
RTTNo RS%	42%	23%	51%

*HA = head act (a count of the strategy in HAs only);

SM = supportive move (a count of the strategy in SMs only);

RTT = refusal turn at talk (a count of the strategy within entire RTT)

Table 5-9. Linguistic strategies (II)* by orientation of talk

	dom-oriented	soc-oriented	bus-oriented
Agree	1	6	15
Agree (adj)	1	3	13
Agree RS%	1%	11%	12%
Apology	7		17
Apology (adj)	7		15
Apology RS%	6%		12%
Attax	13	2	3
Attax (adj)	14	1	3
Attax RS%	9%	4%	1%
CCGSolid	8	10	23
CCGSolid (adj)	9	5	20
CCGSolid RS%	6%	21%	20%
ClaimHard	5	8	19
ClaimHard (adj)	5	4	17
ClaimHard RS%	4%	15%	15%
DelayIgn	23	6	7
DelayIgn (adj)	25	3	6
DelayIgn RS%	20%	11%	7%
EndearTerm	24		2
EndearTerm (adj)	26		2
EndearTerm RS%	11%		2%
IndefRep	22	28	28
IndefRep (adj)	24	13	25
IndefRep RS%	17%	34%	22%
Insist	7	6	1
Insist (adj)	7	3	1
Insist RS%	6%	11%	1%
Joke	10	14	8
Joke (adj)	11	7	7
Joke RS%	7%	28%	9%
No	53	14	55
No (adj)	57	7	49
No RS%	42%	26%	49%
RepReit	46	32	73
RepReit (adj)	49	15	65
RepReit RS%	34%	51%	51%

*This table displays the count of each strategy within the entire refusal sequence (includes HAs, SMs, RTTs).

Table 5-10. Post-refusal small talk by orientation of talk

	dom-oriented	soc-oriented	bus-oriented
Small talk	22	27	32
Small talk RS%	21%	57%	36%

Table 5-11. Physical setting by refusal turns (RTT), sequences and mean RTT

Physical setting	RTT	RS	Mean RTT
Domestic	142	94	1.51
Social	69	37	1.86
Work	71	56	1.27
Service	88	56	1.57
Total	370	243	1.52

Table 5-12. Physical setting by head act type (token level, adjusted count, percentage of presence in refusal sequences)*

Physical setting	Head act type:					
	indirect	adjusted	RS%	direct	adjusted	RS%
Domestic	76	81	60	66	70	57
Social	42	114	68	27	73	59
Work	38	68	50	33	59	57
Service	38	68	45	50	89	68
Total	194			176		

*adjusted count achieved by indexing number of sequences (RS) per category to 100; RS% based on case level counts (not shown)

Table 5-13. Refusal sequence type by physical setting

	Domestic	Social	Work	Service	Total
RS_INDonly	40	15	24	18	97
	43%	41%	43%	32%	40%
RS_DIRonly	38	12	28	31	109
	40%	32%	50%	55%	45%
RS_Both	16	10	4	7	37
	17%	27%	7%	13%	15%
Total	94	37	56	56	243
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 5-14. Downgraders and upgraders by physical setting

Physical setting	Down/upgrading internal to head act:					
	downgraders	adjusted*	RS%	upgraders	adjusted	RS%
Domestic	57	61	35	68	72	43
Social	23	62	49	28	76	49
Work	39	70	43	23	41	34
Service	54	96	50	23	41	29
Total	173			142		

*adjusted count achieved by indexing number of sequences (RS) per category to 100; RS% based on case level counts (not shown)

Table 5-15. Aggravating and mitigating supportive moves by physical setting

Physical setting	Supportive moves adjunct to head act					
	SMM	adjusted*	RS%	SMA	adjusted	RS%
Domestic	108	115	64	37	39	30
Social	36	97	65	22	59	41
Work	69	123	64	7	12	9
Service	73	130	70	19	34	23
Total	286			85		

*adjusted count achieved by indexing number of sequences (RS) per category to 100; RS% based on case level counts (not shown)

Table 5-16. Linguistic strategies by physical setting category

	Domestic	Social	Work	Service
HAAIt	4	3	2	12
HAAIt (adj)	4	8	4	21
HAAIt RS%	4%	8%	4%	20%
HAConfirm	6	8	1	2
HAConfirm (adj)	6	22	2	4
HAConfirm RS%	5%	19%	2%	4%
HAJoke	3	7	2	1
HAJoke (adj)	3	19	4	2
HAJoke RS%	3%	16%	4%	2%
HANo	48	10	21	37
HANo (adj)	51	27	37	66
HANo RS%	44%	27%	36%	54%
RTTAIt	11	5	5	15
RTTAIt (adj)	12	14	9	27
RTTAIt RS%	12%	14%	7%	25%
RTTJoke	4	8	4	3
RTTJoke (adj)	4	22	7	5
RTTJoke RS%	4%	19%	7%	5%
RTTNo	49	10	21	39
RTTNo (adj)	52	27	37	70
RTTNo RS%	44%	27%	36%	54%
RTTStmntInfo	8	10	7	1
RTTStmntInfo (adj)	9	27	12	2
RTTStmntInfo RS%	9%	24%	13%	2%
Apology	9		2	13
Apology (adj)	10		4	23
Apology RS%	7%		4%	14%
Attax	13	1		4
Attax (adj)	14	3		7
Attax RS%	11%	3%		4%
StmntInfo	12	12	8	7
StmntInfo (adj)	13	32	14	12
StmntInfo RS%	11%	30%	14%	13%

HA = head act (a count of this strategy in HAs only); RTT = refusal turn at talk (a count of this strategy within entire RTT); strategies without a prefix display the count within the entire refusal sequence

	Kendall's tau_b	Couples	Other dom	Part as client	Part as agent	Part equal	Part as SUB	Part to SUB
RTT	Corr. Coeff.	-.023	-.064	.039	.138*	.033	.055	-.158*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.705	.301	.524	.025	.594	.368	.010
	N	243	243	243	243	243	243	243
HAInd	Corr. Coeff.	.001	-.021	-.084	-.019	.048	.034	-.127*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.993	.731	.170	.757	.426	.579	.036
	N	243	243	243	243	243	243	243
HADir	Corr. Coeff.	.012	-.015	.127*	.118	-.050	-.026	.011
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.841	.803	.040	.055	.417	.675	.857
	N	243	243	243	243	243	243	243
SMA	Corr. Coeff.	.225**	-.057	-.009	-.040	-.094	.066	-.105
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.363	.885	.526	.131	.289	.094
	N	243	243	243	243	243	243	243
SMM	Corr. Coeff.	-.145*	-.085	-.031	.239**	.162**	.082	-.095
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.015	.153	.602	.000	.006	.168	.108
	N	243	243	243	243	243	243	243
DnG	Corr. Coeff.	-.186**	-.038	.053	.251**	.099	.047	-.039
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.539	.389	.000	.104	.442	.528
	N	243	243	243	243	243	243	243
UpG	Corr. Coeff.	.150*	-.075	-.112	.083	.001	-.067	-.014
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.014	.221	.069	.176	.983	.277	.816
	N	243	243	243	243	243	243	243

Figure 5-1. Correlations between domain sub-types, refusal turns and semantic strategies. "Dom" = domestic; "Part" = participant; "SUB" = subordinate. One asterisk (*) = correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed); two asterisks (**) = correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

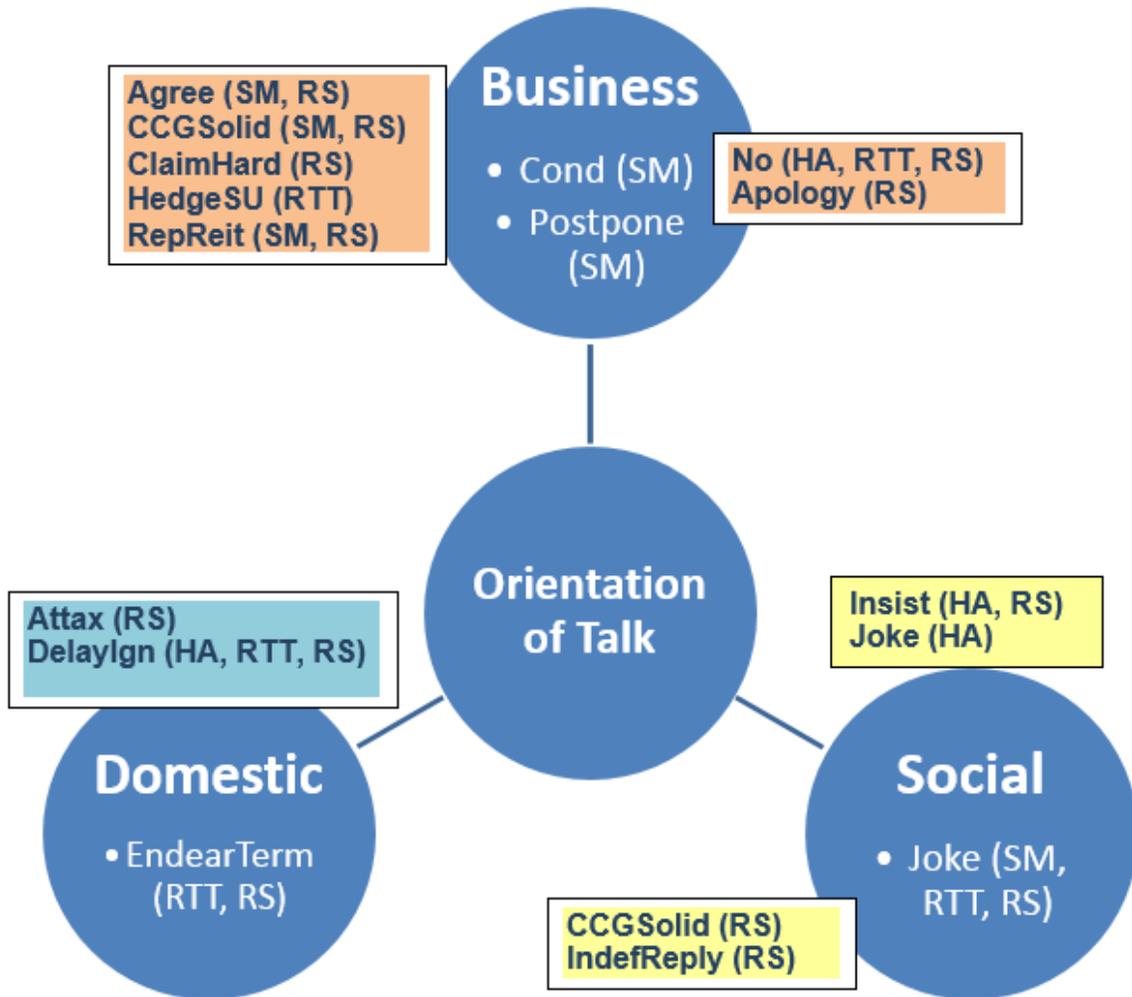


Figure 5-2. Domains according to the orientation of talk and the linguistic strategies associated with them. All were significant at the .05 level or better. HA=head act, as occurring in head acts; SM=supportive move, as occurring in supportive moves; RTT=refusal turn at talk, as occurring in refusal turns at talk; RS=refusal sequence; as occurring in the (entire) refusal sequence. An example of how to read this figure is: in socially oriented talk, participants tended to joke and laugh in SMs, RTTs and RSs more than any other domain; also, they tended to joke/laugh in the HA more than in business-oriented talk.

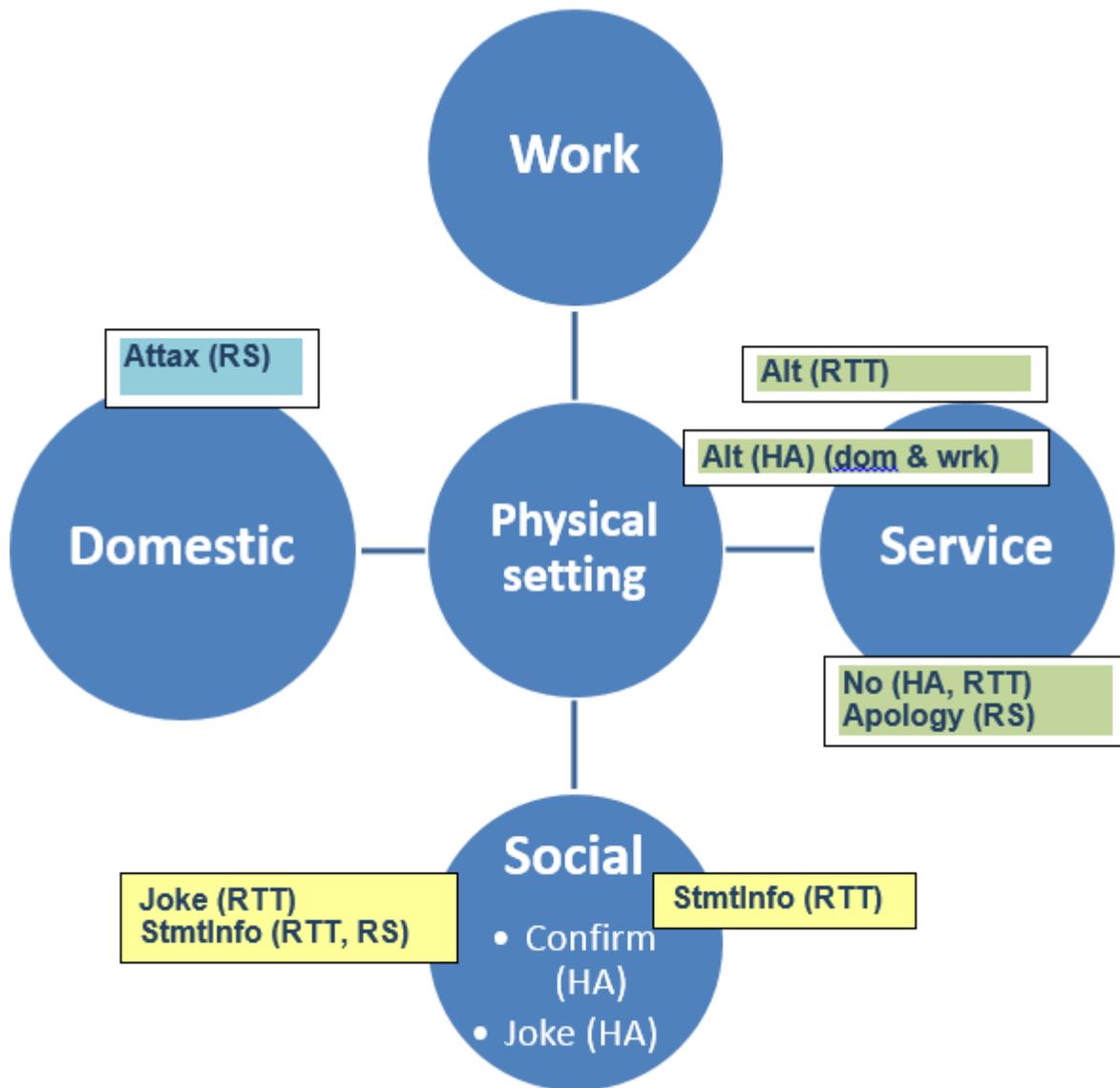
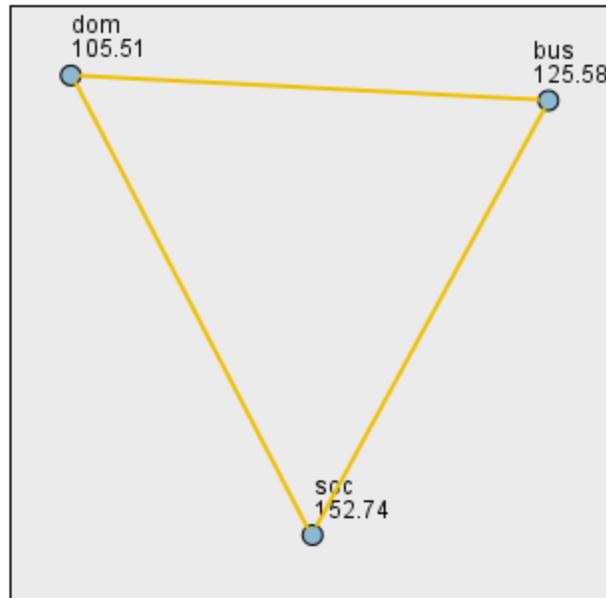


Figure 5-3. Domains according to the physical setting and the linguistic strategies associated with them. All were significant at the .05 level or better. HA=head act, as occurring in head acts; RTT=refusal turn at talk, as occurring in refusal turns at talk; RS=refusal sequence; as occurring in the (entire) refusal sequence. An example of how to read this figure is: in service settings, participants tended to give an alternative in the refusal HA more than in work and domestic settings; also, they tended to give alternatives in some part of the RTT more than in work settings.

Pairwise Comparisons of Domain



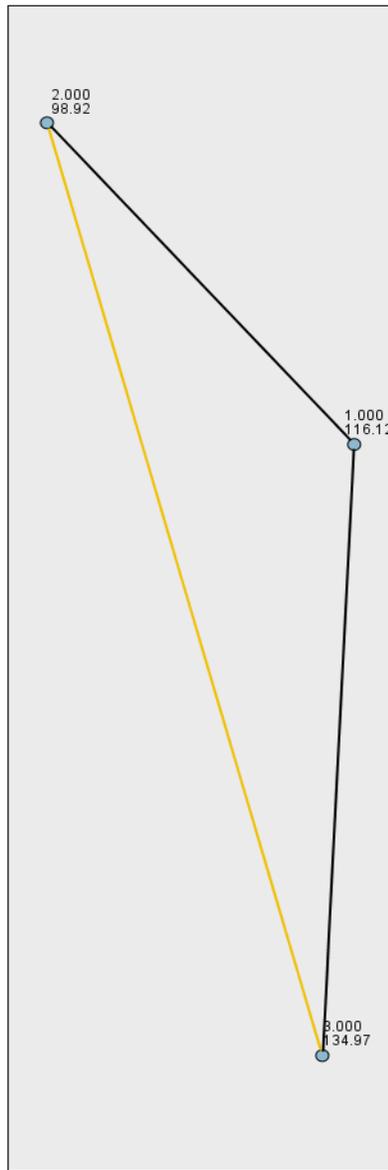
Each node shows the sample average rank of Domain.

Sample1-Sample2	Test Statistic	Std. Error	Std. Test Statistic	Sig.	Adj.Sig.
dom-bus	20.070	8.326	2.410	.016	.048
dom-soc	-47.231	10.156	-4.650	.000	.000
bus-soc	-27.160	10.465	-2.595	.009	.028

Each row tests the null hypothesis that the Sample 1 and Sample 2 distributions are the same. Asymptotic significances (2-sided tests) are displayed. The significance level is .05.

Figure 5-4. Pairwise comparisons of domain types (orientation of talk) as a function of the distribution of post-refusal Small Talk (Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test).

Pairwise Comparisons of Domestic domain by category, where 1 = couples, 2 = other domestic, 3 = not domestic



Each node shows the sample average rank of Domestic domain by category, where 1 = couples, 2 = other domestic, 3 = not domestic.

Sample1-Sample2	Test Statistic	Std. Error	Std. Test Statistic	Sig.	Adj.Sig.
2.000-1.000	17.198	11.541	1.490	.136	.409
2.000-3.000	-36.046	8.706	-4.140	.000	.000
1.000-3.000	-18.849	10.340	-1.823	.068	.205

Each row tests the null hypothesis that the Sample 1 and Sample 2 distributions are the same. Asymptotic significances (2-sided tests) are displayed. The significance level is .05.

Figure 5-5. Pairwise comparisons of talk orientation sub-types as a function of the distribution of post-refusal Small Talk, where 1=couples, 2=other domestic, 3=non-domestic talk (Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test).

CHAPTER 6 PARTICIPANT CHARACTERISTICS AND OTHER SOCIAL VARIABLES

Chapter 5 dealt with the relevance of domain as an extralinguistic variable and described how the participants of this study refused, according to the domain of interaction in which the exchange took place. This chapter shifts the focus of the discussion from domains to the personal characteristics of the speakers. I divide these characteristics, or social variables, by type into two sections, which provide the overall structure to the chapter.

The first section deals with variables pertaining to the participant: age, years of formal education, socioeconomic status and neighborhood of residence. The second section examines social variables as they pertain to the addressee and the relationship of this person with the participant: sex, age, education, socioeconomic status, power, role (e.g., parent, sibling, friend), frequency of contact, level of familiarity (i.e., how well they knew each other), level of trust, and the number of contexts in which they have contact.

Participant Characteristics

This section considers the extent to which participant characteristics contributed to how the participants refused. The characteristics examined are: age, years of formal education, socioeconomic status and neighborhood of residence, of which the first two had a greater effect on strategy choice.

Participant Age

As stated in Chapter 3, the participants ranged in age from 19 to 61 years (Table 3-1). Without a hard-and-fast rule for classifying different age groups/generations (cf. Silva-Corvalán 2001), the method for delineating the age groups was based, first, on

sorting the participants by age decades (twenties, thirties, forties, etc.), and then on comparisons with other studies that took age into account. The groups based on age decade closely corresponded with those of Chapman et al. (1983, cited in Silva-Corvalán 2001: 259), who studied *yeísmo* in Covarrubias: 25 and under, 26 to 40, 41 to 60 and 61 and over.¹ Given that only one participant fit in the last category (Ana, 61 years), I reduced the categories to three: 25 and under, 26 to 40, 41 to 61. I will refer to these categories as younger, middle and older, respectively. Table 6-1 details the number of participants and refusal sequences per age category. The majority of the data (68%) come from women in the middle range (26 to 40), with the rest equally distributed between the younger and older groups.

This section reveals how the data compared across age groups for refusals per sequence, semantic components, down/upgrading and linguistic strategies. Because age has proven to be a salient extralinguistic factor (e.g., Labov 1972; Wolfram 2003; Milroy 1980; Silva-Corvalán 2001), the question here is to what extent the selection of refusal strategies can be attributed to participant age.

Bivariate correlation analysis and the Kruskal-Wallis one-way ANOVA test aided in locating significant differences in the distribution of direct head acts, supportive moves and downgraders between some categories of age. There were no significant differences regarding refusals per sequence, indirect head acts or upgraders.

For head act type, two complementary trends emerged that held up in differing degrees to analysis by domain (Table 6-2, Figure 6-1). First, as age increased, indirect-only refusal sequences decreased (44% → 28%); also, the percentage of refusal

¹ Source cited as: Chapman, P., A. Dubra, F. Martínez-Gil and D. Tritica. 1983. *El yeísmo en Covarrubias*. Non-published manuscript, University of Southern California, Los Angeles.

sequences containing an indirect head act decreased (62% → 50%). Second, as age increased, direct-only refusal sequences increased (38% → 50%); likewise, the percentage of refusal sequences containing a direct head act increased (56% → 73%). This last difference was significant between the older and middle groups ($p < 0.05$). Thus, the older group favored the use of direct head acts, while the younger groups tended toward indirect.

Also, when making intra-age group comparisons (i.e., reading Table 6-2 vertically, rather than horizontally), the younger always displayed greater proportions of indirectness; the middle about the same for indirect- and directness; and the older more directness. This is not to say that all groups did not use both direct and indirect strategies—in fact, the data show that both head act types achieved at least 50% presence in the refusal sequences of every age group—but that the above trend was confirmed.

Though these trends were salient at the general level, they were not always consistent once the domain of interaction was considered. On average, the younger group realized more refusal sequences per participant in the social domain relative to the middle and older groups, while the middle and older groups interacted much more within the business domain (Figure 6-2). We recall from Chapter 5 that socially oriented talk aligned more with indirect head acts, while business oriented exchanges disfavored indirectness in the head act. As can be seen in Figures 6-3 and 6-4, only refusals made in the domestic domain exhibited the pattern described above. While this domain accounts for a large portion (44%) of the data, we still must recognize that 56% distributed differently in some respects. For instance, in the social domain the middle

age group used more indirect and fewer direct head acts than expected. In the business domain, the percentage of indirect strategies for the older age group was oddly high—since by all other accounts they typically used relatively fewer indirect strategies; conversely, all age groups employed direct strategies (in 66% to 73% of refusal sequences), with little difference between them.

We can see how the distribution of head acts by age and the orientation of talk lent to non-significant differences across age groups for indirect head acts and to significant differences for direct head acts between the middle and older groups. Figure 6-3 shows that patterns across age groups for indirect head acts are inconsistent. In Figure 6-4, however, we see that the older age group employed direct head acts more often than the middle group across every category of domain. Let us take some examples from the data:

(1) Direct refusal to offer; older age group, Centro, domestic domain (Ana 9)

((At home, Ana refuses her mother's offer of *mate*.)

1 Ana's mother: este Ana (vas a tomar)
 uh Ana (are you going to drink)

2 Ana: no mamá no tomo más. ((pausa con m. de coser)) es la segunda vez
 que se apronta hoy. a mí me gusta tomarlo en seguida que..que termino
 de de desayunar. ((m. coser))

no mom I'm not drinking anymore. ((pauses while sewing machine runs))
it's the second time it's been prepared today. I ((emph.)) like to drink it
right after that..that I finish ea- eating breakfast. ((sewing machine))

(2) Indirect refusal to offer; middle age group, Centro, domestic domain (Mar 4)

((At home, Mar refuses her mother's suggestion of lunch.)

1 Mar's mother: no vas a comer?

aren't you going to eat?

2 Mar: sí mamá, pero no me da el tiempo para comer. ya son la una y pico.
 yeah mom, but I don't have time to eat. It's already after one.

The above examples (1) and (2) illustrate this pattern in the domestic domain. The orientation of talk, setting, participant-addressee relationship and conversational topic are the same/similar, but ages of the participants are different. Ana is 61 while Mar is 34 at the time of data collection. Syntactically, both mothers arguably prime their daughter's response by asking a yes/no question. One could hypothesize that the mand in (2), which includes the negative particle *no*, might exert an even stronger influence toward a *no* response; however, this is not the case. Even with such a leading question, Mar answers her mother with the *sí + pero [x]* formula. Ana, on the other hand, responds with a direct *no*, followed by a negation of the proposition (*no tomo más*). Both downgrade the refusal with the endearment term *mamá*, and follow it with mitigating moves, in both cases, reasons/explanations.

Regarding mitigating moves and downgraders, the middle group used both of these strategies more than the younger group ($p < 0.05$) (Table 6-2, Figure 6-5). This finding was corroborated by bivariate correlation analysis, which showed significant correlations in the positive direction for mitigating moves (.142, $p < 0.01$) and downgraders (.128, $p < 0.05$) as age increased. An examination of the data by domain (i.e., orientation of talk) shows that this pattern holds across all domains of interaction for both variables (Figures 6-7, 6-8). In other words, no matter what the orientation of the talk, the figures show that the middle group always mitigated and downgraded their refusals more than the younger group. The same can almost be said for the younger and older groups (younger less, older more), except for the older group's relatively

sparse use of downgraders in the social domain. The following examples, (3) and (4), illustrate these findings:

(3) Mitigated refusals to offers; middle age group, Centro, business domain (Moqui 43)

((In a clothing store in the Centro, Moqui declines a selection of coats presented by a saleswoman.))

1 Vendedora: algo más?

anything else?

2 Moqui: ((sonidito)) y después me mostrás precios de camperas como para Zaqueo...

((noise)) and after [this] you can show me prices of coats like for Zaqueo...

((omit 6 lines))

3 Moqui: mm! ((sorprendida)) en la vidriera hay una pero debe ser chica.

mm! ((surprised at the lack of selection)) en the display case there's one but it must be small.

((pause 6 seconds, voices heard but unintelligible))

4 Moqui: sí y tie- sale [trescientos—

yes and it ha- costs three hundred—

5 Vendedora: [no, diez y seis ((talle))

[no, sixteen ((referring to the size))

6 Moqui: a ver dejá- que la voy a mirar de [acá/

let's see let- I'm gonna take a look at it from here/

7 Vendedora: [(sale) tres diez contados.

[(it costs) three hundred and ten ((pesos)) cash.

8 Vendedora: [xxx, grande.

[xxx, big.

9 Moqui: [ésa no es reversible, no?

[that one's not reversible, is it?

10 Vendedora: no.

11 Other fem.: no.

((Moqui gives no verbal response; she seems to be waiting; breathing is heard as well as sounds in general from within the store))

((after several seconds, the saleswoman returns with two? coats to show Moqui; one is from the display))

12 Moqui: ésta es?
this is the one?

13 Vendedora: ésa ahí.
that one there.

14 Moqui: qué talla-? ((pausita)) [diez y seis?
what size-? ((short pause)) sixteen?

15 Vendedora: [xx diez y seis.
[xx sixteen.

16 Vendedora: diez y seis, pero no es el diez y seis diez y seis.
sixteen, but it isn't the normal sixteen ((lit. sixteen sixteen)).

17 Moqui: S:í. porque te iba a decir que no le queda muy grande esto.
Ye:ah. because I was gonna say wouldn't this be really big on him.

18 Vendedora: no, ésta es como [(para xx grandes)—
no, this one is like (for big xx)—

19 Moqui: [y esto se debe enganchar fácil tal vez, no? ((pausita)) pensar
que yo tengo una que tenía chiquitita xx- cuando estaba en lo Reina/. y me ha
durado, la tiene sanita, y la usa. ta, voy a ver tres diez entonces.=
[and this must hook/zip easily maybe, right? ((short pause)) to
think that I have one that I had really small xx- when I was working for Rena/.
and it has lasted me, he has it in good shape, and he uses it. ok. I'll see three
ten then.=

20 Vendedora: =tres diez.=
=three ten.=

21 Moqui: =ta. (me) voy a ver, que lo tengo [que traer.
=ok. I'll see, I have to bring him in.

22 Vendedora: [(tenés / tiene) que traer y probársela.
[you have to bring ((him)) and try it on him.

23 Moqui: mm. sí. cosa que le quede grande.
mm. yeah, in case it's too big on him.

((referring to offer of coat #2))

24 Moqui: y ésta así no tiene capucha. y no, es finita también.
and this one doesn't have a hood. and no, it's a little thin too.

25 Vendedora: es finita. ((pausa)) es fina.
it's a little thin. ((pause)) it's thin.

26 Moqui: ta, sería ésa entonces [como- y aquella es/ con rojo.=
ok, it would be that one then like- and that one is/ with red.=

27 Vendedora: [ésa =con rojo.
[that one =with red.

28 Moqui: ta.
ok.

29 Vendedora: es igu- es la misma/, pe- el mismo talle y todo/. distinto: la combinación.
it's equ- it's the same/, bu- the same size and everything/. different combination.

30 Moqui: bueno. ta. entonces, eh aquello te pago.
okay. fine. so, uh I'll pay that other thing.

((declines the coats and procedes to the register to pay an installment from other purchases))

(4) Less mitigated refusals to offers; younger age group, Pastoreo, business domain (Ela 15, 16)

((In a clothing store in the Centro (different from (3)), Ela declines a selection of coats presented by a saleswoman.))

1 Ela: ((a Roberto)) voy a vichar las camperas.
((to Robert)) I'm gonna take a look at the coats.

2 Roberto: ((a la vendedora)) una campera de mujer.
((to the saleswoman)) a coat for a woman.

((footsteps))

3 Vendedora: éstas son largas.
these are long.

4 Ela: sí, ésas no.
yeah, those no.

5 Ela: [@@

6 Vendedora: [@@

7 Vendedora: no te ves con ésas?
you don't see yourself with those?

8 Ela: no.=

9 Vendedora: =después éstas/
=then these/

10 Ela: ((non-verbal refusal; shakes her head 'no,' according to Ela))

11 Vendedora: preparate por ahí porque: es lo que tengo en campera(s) porque no va quedando nada de nada de nada. xxx

prepare yourself beca:use that's what I have in coats because not much of anything anything is left. xxx

((pause 3 seconds; voices of others in the store are heard))

12 Vendedora: no sé si viste algUna má(s) en vidriera/
I don't know if you saw ANYthing else in the window display/

13 Ela: no, no miré mucho las vidrieraS. ((pausa)) no. ((tenso))
no, I didn't look much at the displayS. ((pause)) no. ((tense pronunciation))

((Robert asks Ela a question about what she wants to buy and they begin to discuss))

In (3) and (4), both Moqui and Ela are in the market for coats, but refuse to buy the ones presented to them buy their respective female sales associates. In the case of

Moqui, the sales associate is roughly the same age as she, but with Ela the sales associate is relatively older. Both Moqui and Ela have had previous contact with the sales associates, though given Moqui's use of specific referents (lines 2, 19), it may be that there is less social distance between them, compared to Ela and her counterpart. In these situations, Moqui is from the Centro and is operating within her area of residence, while Ela, from the Pastoreo, is not. While these contextual features might have had an effect at the individual level, at the aggregate level there were no significant differences in refusal behavior based on the participants' neighborhood of residence, the relative age of the addressee or the number of contexts in which the two reportedly interact (to be taken up further in subsequent sections).

What we do see in these examples, however, is Moqui's tendency to employ more and varied strategies than Ela, who displays a preference for shorter, direct responses. In lines 9 and 14 Moqui requests information about the products, and in line 17 she employs strategies of agreement, giving a reason/explanation and, in doing so, claims common ground and solidarity with the saleswoman. In line 19, among other strategies, she compliments aspects of the coat and enters into small talk to a degree (reminiscing about another coat), before refusing indirectly with an indefinite reply (*voy a ver tres diez entonces*). Lines 20-30 demonstrate a similar gamut of strategies while refusing a second coat, culminating in line 26 with a statement of conditional acceptance (*ta, sería ésa entonces*).² Ela, on the other hand, refuses directly with *no* in line 4, reiterates with *no* in response to the associate's joking question (lines 7-8) (coded as an aggravating move, downgraded with laughter), and refuses another offer

² I also coded the use of the conditional mood (*sería*) as a downgrader, in that is a head act-internal way of lessening the speaker's commitment to the action of buying the coat.

with a non-verbal shake of the head in line 10.³ Unlike Moqui, she does not ask questions, engage in small talk, return to the display to see if there is anything else that might please her (lines 12-13) or use any tactic to otherwise lessen her commitment to her displayed stance.

Aggravating moves showed the opposite trend. The younger participants produced more of these compared to any other age group, both in terms of adjusted counts and percentage of presence within refusal sequences (Table 6-2). The difference between the younger and middle groups was significant ($p < 0.05$), and the younger participants consistently achieved higher percentages of aggravating moves across domains (Figure 6-6). Ela's terse *nos* in lines 8 and 13 of (4), above, are two examples of aggravating moves produced by a younger participant in the business domain. The example below, recalled from Chapter 5, shows additional instances of aggravating moves in the domestic sphere of interaction.

(5) Aggravated refusal during couples talk, younger age group, social setting (Lea 6)

((While Lea is helping to set up for a *quinceañera* at the neighborhood social club, Pablo, Lea's partner, approaches and asks her for change, which she does not have.))

1 Pablo: eh @ ((pausita)) tenés monedas ahí?

eh @ ((short pause)) you have coins on you?

2 Lea: ((otras voces)) no tengo monedas acá. no tengo cambio yo [m'hijo!

((other voices)) I don't have any coins here. I ((emph.)) don't have any change boy!

...

9 Pablo: (tengo que) ir hasta la casa de vuelta?

(I have to) go back to the house again?

³ This was reported as such by the participant in a follow-up interview with me.

10 Lea: y bueno si yo no tengo la plata, está aLLÁ m'hijo!
well yeah if I don't have the money, it's over there son!

Though in general the younger group also employed aggravating moves to a greater extent than the oldest group, no significance obtained; as Figure 6-6 shows, in the business domain, it was the older participants who produced the most aggravating moves. Rena provides two examples in lines 4 and 6 of (6). The same figure attests to the reluctance of the middle age group to use aggravating moves, except in the domestic domain (e.g., (7)) where the levels of tentativeness are lowest (cf. Chapter 5).

(6) Aggravated refusal to offer, older age group, business domain (Rena 10)

((In a fabric store in the Centro, Rena declines a cotton fabric presented by a saleswoman.))

1 Vendedora: ta. no, porque hay un algodón xxx pero es para nena.

ok. no, because there's a cotton fabric xxx but it's for a girl.

2 Rena: a ver? puedo ver si- qué tenés.

let's see? I can see if- what do you have.

3 Vendedora: doscientos diez (sale).

(it costs) two hundred ten.

4 Rena: QUÉ?

WHAT?

5 Vendedora: doscientos diez=

two hundred ten=

6 Rena: =AH no! yo le estoy buscando algo barato y me mostrás →

=AH no! I'm looking for something cheap and you show me → ((smile voice?))

(7) Aggravated refusal during couples talk, middle age group, domestic domain (Isabel 25)

((At home during lunch, with Isabel's sister and the researcher present, Isabel refuses Milton's requests for tea bags.))

1 Milton: (no tenés) té de bolsito?
(don't you have) tea bags?

((pause, Isabel perhaps looking))

3 Milton: hay [uno que es digestivo no?
[there is one that's digestive, isn't there?

4 Isabel: [no.

5 Isabel: se: nos terminó:→@ cuando@ vino aquél que estaba medio resfriado...
we're out (lit. it finished to us):→@ when@ that one came who had sort of a cold...((referring to Milton's son, her stepson))

...

6 Milton: y el boldo? no~
and the boldo tea? no?

7 Isabel: no. no/ te digo (que) se terminaron todo.
no. no/ I tell you (that) they're all gone.

Age also showed some significant effects with regard to the selection of specific linguistic strategies. These are explained below, listed in Table 6-3 and shown in Figure 6-9. The younger participants showed a propensity to use the addressee's proper name during exchanges, along with endearment terms and utterances that attacked the hearer in some way. These strategies are indicative of relationships characterized by low social distance between the participant and her interlocutor. A cross-tabulation of relationship measures with age groups reveals that the younger age group achieved the highest percentage of refusal sequences in the following areas: contact with the addressee everyday or multiple times a day (72%), knowing her or him well to very well (72%), trusting the addressee quite a bit to very much (59%) and interacting with her or him in three or more contexts (74%). What this means is that the association of using

proper names, endearment terms and attacking utterances is not solely linked to age, but also tied to the fact that these refusal sequences were products of closer-knit relationships more so than those of the other groups. Also, as the section on the effect of socioeconomic status will show, the more frequent use of proper names also has to do with socioeconomic class.

The use of hedges, subjectivizers and understaters (HedgeSU) was the only strategy characteristic of the middle age group. This coincides with the finding above that those of the middle group used supportive moves and, specifically, downgraders to a greater extent than those of the younger group. Silva-Corvalán (2001) suggests that people in their professional/social-status establishing years are more cautious or tentative in their speech, because they have more to gain through successful interactions and more to lose should an exchange be deemed infelicitous. While this hypothesis would need to be tested more rigorously, it is the case that the refusal sequences of the middle age group occurred least in the domestic domain, relative to the younger and older groups, and the most in the business domain. It is likely, then, that there was some interaction between age and domain categories, an issue taken up further in Chapter 7.

The older age group had the most linguistic strategies significantly associated with it. The use of *no*, emotional expressions (e.g., *ah!*, *ay!*), pause fillers (e.g., *eh*, *este*) and displays of comprehension/empathy were indicative of this age category. Within refusal turns, the older participants employed alternatives (e.g., *o si no . . . lo hacemos antes* “or if not . . . we could do it before”) significantly more than the younger ones, and likewise with postponements (e.g., *cuando vayan a hacer las evaluaciones*)

within whole sequences. The use of *no* is not surprising given that the older age group was also associated with direct head acts, as shown above. Again, domain likely plays a part in this result as the older participants operated principally in the domestic (47%) and business-related realms (38%), both of which were more conducive to the use of direct refusal strategies. This was in contrast to the social sphere (15%), where indirect refusal strategies were the most prevalent.

But regarding displays of comprehension/empathy and postponements, these were produced by only one participant each (the former by Rena and the latter by Ana). This, therefore, could simply be a product of their individual personality and idiolect. In contrast, however, is the fact that there were no recorded instances of comprehension/empathy or postponement in the data for the youngest participants. This could either also be a product of idiolect or indicative of a behavior that is acquired over time. Four participants in their thirties used these strategies, though each to a lesser extent than the two oldest participants.

With respect to emotional expressions (as occurring in head acts) and pause fillers (as occurring in supportive moves), these were present in all age categories. However, they occurred much more often in the data of the older group, given the relative number of refusal sequences. While this could also have to do with the conversational style of the older participants, it is less likely that these types of strategies—which are not typically freestanding principal components of head acts or supportive moves—are as dependent on contextual variables (e.g., domain). In this sense, they could be markers indicative of an older generation, but further study is needed in order to make such a claim.

Participant Years of Formal Education

Compared with age, the number of years of formal education yielded fewer significant differences in terms of the overarching strategies (head act type, etc.), but more in the way of other linguistic strategies. Recalling from Table 3-1, the participants ranged from having completed six to twelve years of formal education. The method for delineating the education groups was based on milestones in the Uruguayan educational system. The end result corresponded with three categories: primary school completed, but not *ciclo básico* (i.e., six to nine years); *ciclo básico* completed, but not secondary school or specialized training (i.e., UTU) (i.e., ten to eleven years); and secondary school or specialized training completed (i.e., twelve or more years). I refer to these categories as primary, mid-range and secondary, respectively. Table 6-1 details the number of participants and refusal sequences per education category. The majority of the data (40%) come from women in the primary range, with the rest equally distributed between the mid-range and secondary groups (30% each).

This section deals with how the data compare by education groups in terms of overarching refusal strategies and the more specific linguistic strategies. We know that previous studies have found education level to be an important extralinguistic factor in the areas of phonetics and phonology (e.g., Labov 1972; Fontanella de Weinberg 1979; Silva-Corvalán 2001). The question here is to what extent the selection of refusal strategies can be attributed to participant education level. One hypothesis is that there would be little to no difference between groups, because this analysis does not take into consideration issues typically correlated to years of formal education, such as prescriptive versus non-prescriptive grammatical constructions or the realization (or not) of certain phonological features (e.g., /s/ in coda position).

In terms of overarching semantic categories, this hypothesis was, for the most part, confirmed. The Kruskal-Wallis one-way ANOVA test resulted in only one significant difference: the distribution of mitigating moves was greater for the primary education group than for the mid-range group. There were no significant differences for education level for the number of refusals per sequence, head act types, aggravating moves, downgraders or upgraders. Table 6-4 reveals how similar frequencies obtained for these strategies. On the other hand, examining the data by education level revealed significant differences in the distribution of post-refusal small talk, the *sí + pero* [x] formula and several other linguistic strategies (discussed below), only two of which were also significant for age: pause fillers and emotional expressions.

Concerning mitigating moves, we saw above that as participant age increased, so did the use of this strategy, the one exception being in the social domain where the middle age group garnered the highest percentage. In fact, the middle age group always used mitigating moves more than the younger group. What we find among categories of education level, however, is different. The mid-range group always used mitigating moves the least, even when controlled for the domain of interaction (Table 6-4, Figures 6-10, 6-11). The difference was significant between the mid-range and primary groups.

It is relevant to ask the question whether participant age or years of formal education better explain the use of mitigating moves, since both revealed significant differences between categories. A first point is that it is difficult to tell, because the categories for age and years of formal education are strongly correlated (.544, $p=0.00$). Specifically, there was considerable overlap in the participant make-up of age and

education-level groups. (For example, most of the participants in the younger and older categories remained in the least and most educated groups, respectively.) However, a closer look suggests that participant age makes the stronger argument. Table 6-5 shows how mitigating moves are distributed according to a cross-tabulation of age and education groups. Holding education level constant, the percentage of refusal sequences in which mitigating moves were present always increased as age increased. Conversely, holding participant age constant, the mid-range education group still displayed the lowest RS percentages for mitigating moves, but with less margin and comparable by fewer categories of age. Thus, while neither case is rock solid, participant age is the more convincing metric, until further study can fill in the gaps for which there were no data.

Nevertheless, organizing the data by years of formal education does prove useful on other counts. The *sí + pero* [x] formula proved to be most salient among those of the primary education group. Notably, the mid-range group employed this formula the least overall (Table 6-4, Figure 6-10) and neither the mid-range nor the secondary group employed it in the social domain (Figure 6-12). The fact that the primary group employed this formula more than the mid-range group was significant ($p = 0.01$), and corresponds with the association of this category with the Confirmation/Acknowledgement and Counter Argument/Correction strategies (discussed below).

The most cogent finding has to do with how the data were distributed for post-refusal small talk by education and domain. As Figure 6-13 so neatly illustrates, small talk maintains the general trend on both counts. In other words, not only did the

participants (across all education groups) engage in small talk the most in the social domain and the least in the domestic domain (as shown in Chapter 5), but also the pattern for education groups held across all categories of domain. The primary group always engaged in post-refusal small talk the most; the mid-range group always engaged in it the least. According to the Kruskal-Wallis one way ANOVA, the differences between the mid-range group and the primary and secondary groups were both significant ($p < 0.01$). These findings suggest that the use of post-refusal small talk was both domain and education-level sensitive for the participants of this study.

The linguistic strategies that showed a possible sensitivity to participant education level totaled eighteen; these demonstrated significant differences across categories at one or more levels (i.e., head act, supportive move, refusal turn, whole sequence) (Table 6-6). Eight of these (Insist and Statement of Information at the HA level; Agree, Doubt Hearer and Proper Name at the SM level; Pause Filler at the RTT level; Adjust Stance and Backchannel at the level of the whole sequence) occurred very infrequently and did not appear in more than 9% of refusal sequences for any category of education. These include the two strategies that also exhibited significant differences across age groups and, as we will see below, socioeconomic status/neighborhood of residence: Pause Filler and Proper Name. Tables 6-3, 6-6 and 6-8 suggest that these two strategies were most sensitive to socioeconomic status. I will discuss these further in the next section. The remaining six were not significant strategies for age or socioeconomic status and their infrequency suggests that they were less prominent features of refusals for these speakers.

The other strategies were predominantly associated with one education group or another. The primary group claimed common ground/made solidary utterances more than either of the other two, and employed confirmation/acknowledgement, counter argument/correction, appealer/cajoler and reason/explanation strategies the most as well, but significantly moreso than the mid-range group. The propensity to confirm/acknowledge and respond with counter arguments corresponds with the finding, presented above, that the primary group most consistently used the *sí + pero* [x] formula, where *sí* represents confirmation/acknowledgement and *pero* [x] the counter argument.

The mid-range group, in turn, delayed response to/ignored the hearer significantly more than the primary and secondary groups. The use of this strategy contributed strongly to this group's having the highest RS percentage for indirect head acts out of the three (Table 6-4). Also, the mid-range participants issued commands and repeated/reiterated moreso than either group, but only the difference with the secondary group was significant. These two strategies were salient features of the direct head acts produced by the mid-range group.

The secondary group resulted in the least number of associated linguistic strategies: emotional expressions (in head acts), requests for information/confirmation and statements of information (both in supportive moves). Though they employed these strategies to a greater extent than the other two groups, significance was detected with only one or the other. Thus, the most educated participants requested information/confirmation in the course of a refusal significantly more than the least

educated; while their heightened use of emotional expressions and statements of information differed significantly from the mid-range group.

Taking strategies into account that do not obtain significance in any other contextual area but education, such as requesting information (secondary group) and claiming common ground (primary group), begs the question as to whether their use is indicative of a certain education level, or if there are other factors at play. I have chosen these two strategies as examples, because they exhibited a consistently increasing or decreasing pattern across categories as education level respectively increased or decreased. It is apparent from Figures 6-14 and 6-15 that certain patterns hold even when controlling for domain. Requesting information/confirmation as a supportive move was always used most by the most educated participants. This occurred most strikingly in the business domain, though in the domestic and social domains, there was not much difference in usage between the most educated and mid-range groups. There were no examples of this strategy at all for the primary group in these domains. Thus, these results suggest that that requesting information during a refusal is possibly both education- and domain-sensitive.

Regarding claiming common ground/solidarity, this strategy also appears to be education level- and domain-sensitive. As Figure 6-15 shows, the least educated participants used this strategy the most in all domains, with the downward stair-step pattern occurring in the domestic and business domains. The social domain was the only domain that saw the mid-range group produce less tokens than the secondary group. In terms of domain sensitivity, the primary and secondary groups employed this strategy the most in the social domain (36% and 20% of the respective sequences),

while all groups dispreferred the use of this strategy in the domestic domain (under 10% for every category of education).

Participant Socioeconomic Status and Neighborhood of Residence

The women participating in the study reported their socioeconomic status (SES) as either middle or lower, which corresponded to the Centro/Pastoreo division with five in each group. For this reason, I evaluate the participant's SES and neighborhood of residence as the same measure. With this I do not mean that the two measures are, in reality, equivalent, but that the one-to-one correspondence is an artifact of those who participated in the study and their evaluations of themselves. I will refer to them in this section as belonging to either the Centro or Pastoreo group. Table 6-1 gives the number of refusal sequences per neighborhood of residence. The majority of the data (58%) come from women from the Centro, with the rest (42%) from the Pastoreo.

This section compares the data by SES/neighborhood of residence in terms of overarching semantic and specific linguistic strategies. Previous studies have found SES to be an important extralinguistic factor for phonetic variation (e.g., Labov 1972; Cedergren 1973; Samper Padilla 1990; Silva-Corvalán 2001; Carvalho 2004). The question, then, is to what extent the selection of refusal strategies can be attributed to a lower or middle SES background. The hypothesis is that there would be clear differences in refusal behavior based on SES, indicative of two speech communities: those from the Pastoreo, with lower SES and denser network ties due in part to financial limitations (Milroy 1980), would display relatively more affiliative/involvement strategies, including directness; those from the Centro, with higher SES and less dense network ties due in part to financial mobility (*ibid.*), would employ relatively more deferent/independence strategies, including indirectness.

Compared with participant age and education level, SES/neighborhood of residence stood out, not in the differences, but in the similarities between the two groups; thus, overall, the above hypothesis was rejected. A look at Table 6-7 reveals how similar the figures were for the mean length of refusal sequences, refusal sequence types, head act types, supportive moves, downgraders, upgraders and small talk. In fact, no significant differences obtained for these variables, despite the fact that age, education level and neighborhood of residence all strongly correlated with each other ($\tau\text{-}b > .500, p < 0.001$).

However, seven linguistic strategies did prove to be salient at certain levels of analysis (Table 6-8, Figure 6-17). Using bivariate correlations and the Kruskal-Wallis one-way ANOVA test, I located significant differences in the distribution of the following: delay response to/ignore hearer, *no*, use hearer's proper name, self-defense, distract from the offense, pause filler and request information/confirmation.⁴

Utterances defending oneself (*Pastoreo*), distracting from the offense and pause fillers (*Centro*) occurred so infrequently that they did not account for even 10% of the refusal sequences in either group; however, the strategy of pause fillers presents a somewhat special case. The use of pause fillers at the level of the refusal turn at talk proved significant for different categories of age, education level and SES/neighborhood of residence. While the older age group garnered the highest RS percentage for this strategy (13%), the difference was not categorical as it was with SES/neighborhood of residence: all of the participants who interspersed their refusals with pause fillers were

⁴ Request information/confirmation was significant at the level of the whole refusal sequence only. This is in contrast to education level, which also achieved significant differences with this variable at the (more rigorous) level of supportive moves.

from the *Centro*. Looking at this strategy by neighborhood and by age, I found that four of the five *Centro* participants produced pause fillers in their refusal turns at talk, the majority of the tokens (ten of thirteen, 77%) by the two oldest participants, and the rest (three of thirteen, 23%) by two participants in their thirties. (Recall that there were no participants from the younger age group from the *Centro*.) In terms of education level, three of the four participants were among the most educated (eleven of thirteen tokens, 85%), while the other was from the mid-range group (two of thirteen, 15%). Most instances of pause fillers occurred in business-oriented talk (eight of thirteen), with the others distributed almost equally between the social (three) and domestic (two) domains. This finding, if borne out with further study, would indicate a slightly increased air of tentativeness in the refusals on the part of more educated, perhaps older, middle class *Centro* women. Nevertheless, I would classify a strategy such as this that appears in only 3% of refusal sequences as less characteristic of Rosarian refusals, but as indicating a need on the part of the speaker to buy time to think, phrase and/or rephrase her argument while maintaining the floor. What was striking about this was, from my own impressions from having spent time in these areas, that pause fillers seemed ubiquitous in face-to-face interaction. An actual evaluation of their talk, however, proved otherwise, at least where refusals were concerned.

With regard to the more prominent linguistic strategies that obtained significant differences—saying “no,” delaying response/ignoring the hearer and requesting information/confirmation—all were associated with the *Centro* group (Figure 6-17). *No* and delaying/ignoring were indicative of direct and indirect head acts, respectively. While *no* was the preferred direct strategy for both neighborhoods of residence (as

opposed to negating the proposition and issuing commands), it won out even more strongly in the *Centro* group. Most occurred in domestic-oriented talk (37 of 64 refusal sequences with *no*, 58%), and over a third in business-oriented talk (20 of 64 refusal sequences, 31%), where this strategy was employed significantly more than in social-oriented exchanges.

Instances of delaying/ignoring the hearer were provided by three of the five *Centro* participants, but the majority was contributed by one woman in her thirties, particularly when dealing with her mother and younger sister. Thus, it is not surprising that this strategy presented primarily during domestic-oriented talk; only once did it occur in social-oriented talk and not at all in business-oriented interactions. Despite the domain imbalance, it was one of the most frequent indirect head act strategies for the *Centro* women; counter arguments/corrections were the only strategy that compared in frequency for indirect head acts (though not significantly more relative to the *Pastoreo* group). Requesting information/confirmation was more prevalent among *Centro* participants at the level of the whole refusal sequence, with no significant differences with respect to domain.

As far as strategies associated with the *Pastoreo* group, only one proved salient—that of using the addressee's proper name during the refusal exchange. Of course, to use her or his proper name, the speaker had to know the hearer's name, which indicates some degree of familiarity between them. As shown in the previous section on age, the younger participants (both from the *Pastoreo*) showed a propensity to use their addressee's proper name and often interacted with people whom they knew well. A similar comparison, based on the distribution of proper names in the head act

by SES/neighborhood of residence and domain, reveals more convincing results. Figure 6-18 demonstrates that both *Centro* and *Pastoreo* participants utilized this strategy in the domestic domain (where one finds the most intimate relationships), but also that only the *Pastoreo* participants realized this strategy in the social and business domains. This lends to the argument that the extended use of proper names in refusals (i.e., in domains other than domestic) is potentially a marker for SES and/or neighborhood of residence for the participants of this study.

The paragraphs above expounded upon the differences detected between the *Pastoreo* and *Centro* groups. What follows below is a comparison of two refusal sequences—one from each group—that are remarkably similar in terms of strategy selection to illustrate the major point of this section: SES/neighborhood of residence was not a strong predictor for the types of refusal behaviors encountered.

(8) Refusing to babysit, business domain, Pastoreo (Fabiana 3)⁵

(While at home, Fabiana receives a phone call from her boyfriend's mother Tesina, asking her to babysit a little girl (relationship unknown))

((cell phone ringing))

1 Fabiana: hola?

hello?

2 Tesina: xxx

...

3 Fabiana: cómo anda Tesina. ((*usted* form))

how are you ((f.)) Tesina.

4 Tesina: xxx no la encontraba.

xxx I couldn't find you ((f.)).

⁵ f. = formal address, inf. = informal address

- 5 Fabiana: CLARo, porque no ve ((*usted*)) que me llama al número que no es. que—
Right, because don't you ((f.)) see that you call me at the wrong number. what—
- 6 Tesina: xxx ((inquires as to what Fabiana is doing?))
- 7 Fabiana: eeh, yo estoy trabajando/.
eeh, I am working/.
- 8 Tesina: xxx ((mand coded as a REQUEST))
- 9 Fabiana: [mmm,
- 10 Tesina: [xxx
- 11 Fabiana:→ no, no puedo no, si me la- si me la pudieran traer sí, si no no pue:do Tesina.
no, I can't no, if she to me- if they could bring her to me yes, if not I ca:n't Tesina.
- 12 Tesina: (y cualquier cosa) vos hasta qué hora trabajás?
(and just in case) you ((inf.)) until what time do you work?
- 13 Fabiana: eh yo trabajo hasta la una porque llevo a la nena al jardín.
eh I work until one because I take the girl to school.
- 14 Tesina: ah y después que hacés.
ah and what are you ((inf.)) doing after that.
- 15 Fabiana: y claro estoy- ando caminando además. ((implies hardship))
and right I'm- I'm on foot as well.
- 16 Tesina: ah no (después) te la llevo. (no trabajás más?)
ah no (afterwards) I'll take her to you. (you don't work anymore ((that day))?)
- 17 Fabiana: eh no, hasta el otro día no.
eh no, not until the next day no.
- 18 Tesina: xxx ((MAND, possible offer))
- 19 Fabiana:→ AAHí está, yo veo cómo me organizo y si no cualquier cosa le mando un mensaje, sabés Tesina? porque laa— ((combines *usted* and *vos* forms))
THERE you go, I'll see how I can organize things and if not whatever happens I'll send you ((f.)) a message, you ((inf.)) know Tesina?

20 Tesina: xxx que trabajar xxx ((MAND))

xxx to work xxx

21 Fabiana:→ aahí está. lo que pasa es que pa— ((formula))

the:re you go. the thing is that to—

22 Tesina: xxx

23 Fabiana:→ lo que pasa es que pa'l Pastoreo no puedo ir porque Helén ((daughter)) andaba con FIEBRE. la tengo que dejar solita yo acá a Helén,

the thing is that to the Pastoreo I can't go because Helén has been with a FEVER. I ((emph.)) would have to leave her, Helén, all by herself,

24 Tesina: a cuál, a Helén?

who, Helén?

25 Fabiana: seGUro andaba con cantidad de fiebre y todo no sabe usted. ha pasado re mal.

exACTly she had a really high fever and everything you ((f. emph.)) have no idea. she's been having a really tough time.

26 Tesina: xxx

27 Fabiana: ese es el tema. ((formula))

that's the thing.

28 Tesina: [xxx

29 Fabiana: [cómo anda Yasmine ahora porque el otro día la cuidé yo pues y estaba re congestionada pobreCl:ta.

[how is Yasmine doing now because the other day I watched her and she was super congested poor THl:ng.

((both proceed with small talk, eight turns omitted))

30 Fabiana: pobreCl:ta, sí el otro día me la trajeron temprano a mí. este—

poor THl:ng, yeah the other day they brought her to me ((emph.)) early. uh—

31 Tesina: xxx ((MAND))

32 Fabiana:→ CLARo que el tema es que se me complica hoy para ir para allá arriba. porque (la Cona) no tiene en que andar!

Rl:ght the thing is that it's complicated for me today to go up there. because (Cona) doesn't have any transportation!

- 33 Tesina: (no no!) xxx
- 34 Fabiana: AY seguro. ahí está.
AY exactly. there you go.
- 36 Fabiana: Sí: sí sí.
YE:s yes yes.
- 37 Tesina: xxx
- 38 Fabiana:→ seguro sí- si no me pega el grito a mí y veo como hago, ta~? ((*usted* form))
exactly yes- if not give ((*inf.*)) me ((*emph.*)) a call and I'll see what I can do,
okay~?
- 39 Tesina: xxx
- 40 Fabiana: bueno Tesi, un BESO. ((pre-close, first attempt))
alright then Tesi, a KISS.
- 41 Tesina: xxx ((MAND))
- 42 Fabiana:→ claro, ((rápido)) ahí ta yo cualquier cosa veo cómo hago, ta? ((raised))
right, anything comes up I'll see what I can do, okay?
- 43 Tesina: xxx
- 44 Fabiana: bueno Tesi → ((second attempt))
alright Tesi →
- 45 Tesina: xxx te podés quedar ahí ((possible offer, not coded))
xxx you ((*inf.*)) can stay there
- 46 Fabiana: seguro s—
right y—
- 47 Tesina: xxx ((asks about a male family member))
- 48 Fabiana: no: no está porque también anda atacado del pecho horrible del asma.
no: he's not here because he too has something horrible in his chest from the
asthma.
- 49 Tesina: xxx

50 Fabiana: AY es que este tiempo Tesina/ anda horrible todo. ((alternates between shortened and longer forms of her name, Tesi/Tesina))

AY it's that with this weather Tesina/ everything's doing terrible.

51 Tesina: xxx

52 Fabiana: imponente. bueno Tesi, un beso chau chau. ((third attempt, close))

unbelievable. alright Tesi, a kiss bye bye.

(9) Refusing to return to the sales team, business domain, Centro (Ana 16-18)

(While at home, Ana receives a phone call from her (former) colleague Isaz, asking her to return to their direct sales team that deals with skin care products and training)

1 Ana: ((answers phone)) Sí HOLA:

Yes HELLO:

...

2 Ana: ISAZ, cómo estás!

ISAZ, how are you!

3 Isaz: xxx

4 Ana: yo estoy bien. estaba- estaba: resolviendo cosas para llamar para: dar una respuesta. este: andan bien ustedes?

I'm well. I was- I was figuring things out in order to call to: give an answer. uh: you all doing well?

5 Isaz: xxx ((MAND))

6 Ana: → he recibido los mensajes sí, las promociones, todo eso lo hemos recibido. este:, pero: estoy en otras, en otros proyectos y este: como que está medio suspendido todo. todo en el aire tengo. por eso no he querido, ni siquiera: mm, hacerme oír porque no sé qué:, no sé todavía la respuesta que les ten- les tengo para dar.

I've gotten the messages yes, the promotions, all of that we have received. u:h, bu:t I'm working on other things, on other projects and u:h like everything's kind of up in the air. I've got everything up in the air. that's why I haven't wanted, not eve:n mm, to make myself heard because I don't kno:w, I still don't know the answer that I'll have for you ((pl.)).

7 Isaz: xxx

- 8 Ana: claro. lo que me interesaría/, cuando vuelva a haber un: este:, un:: cómo se llama?
of course. what would interest me/, when there's a: u:h, a:: what's it called? again
- 9 Isaz: xxx
- 10 Ana: el curso (de) esteticista integral de nuevo/, completar ese ciclo. eso Sí me gustaría hacerlo/- mm- ...pero no, no di las evaluaciones.
the comprehensive esthetician course again/, complete that cycle. that I WOULD like to do/- mm- . . . but I didn't (take/turn in) the evaluations.
- ...
- 11 Ana: solamente eso. pero me gustaría darlas. pero—
only that. but I would like to give them ((in the sense of taking an exam or rendering a final evaluation of some sort)). but—
- 12 Isaz: xxx ((possibly mand related))
- 13 Ana: sí pero no lo(s) querían para enviar todos juntos a México?
yes but didn't they want them to send all of them together to Mexico?
- 14 Isaz: xxx ((MAND))
- 15 Ana: → pero si ustedes dan a- dan de nuevo el ciclo, lo hago den-, lo hag- lo completo para no estar molesTANdo a RosArio.
but if you all do the course cycle again, I'll do it-, I'll do- I'll do the whole thing so as not to be BOTHering RosArio.
- 16 Isaz: xxx
- 17 Ana: → porque ahora en este momento me hace- se me hace un poco difícil ir.
because right now at this time for me- it's a little difficult for me to go.
- ...
- 18 Isaz: xxx ((MAND))
- 19 Ana: → AH de pronto, las- cuando vayan a hacer las evaluaciones/, me pongo al día con los temas/—
AH maybe, the- when evaluation time comes around again/, I'll get up to date on the material/—
- 20 Isaz: xxx

((background voices))

...

21 Ana: sí sí. es el integral el que yo-
yes yes. it's the comprehensive one that I-

...

22 Isaz: xxx ((MAND))

23 Ana: → AHÍ está, pero no no. yo no, no, no puedo.
THERE you go, but no no. I can't ((negation particle reiterated)).

24 Isaz: xxx

25 Ana: claro, proba- nos mantenemos en contacto entonces yo tengo el teléfono de Rosario, y yo la voy a llamar. pero no quise, porque también quiero mandarle:: este mi:: mi mail que todavía no lo tengo registrado.

of course, proba- we'll keep in touch so I have Rosario's number, and I ((emph.)) am going to call her. but I didn't want to ((call before)), because also I want to send he::r uh my:: my email which I still don't have set up.

26 Isaz: xxx

27 Ana: CLARo, porque—
Rlght, because—

28 Isaz: xxx

...

29 Ana: ahí está.
exactly.

30 Isaz: xxx ((MAND))

31 Ana: → pero eso es semanal? ((pausa)) o acumulativo.
but is that weekly? ((pause)) or accumulative.

32 Isaz: xxx

33 Ana: → AH no. sí sí sí, pero no. ya hoy no no (da) porque no:, ya te digo estoy TO-tal-mente→ casi desvinculada @@ en este tema→ por ahora, por ahora porque tengo todo. y estoy bajando: toda la:: la parte del catálogo que lo quiero tener encarpetao. eso no cambia excepto alguna promoción.

AH no. yeah yeah yeah, but no. today won't work because I don't, I can tell you now that I am TO-tal-ly → almost out of the loop @@ on this → for now, for now because I have everything. and I'm downloading all of the: the catalogue because I want to have it saved in a file. that doesn't change except if there's some promotion.

34 Isaz: xxx

35 Ana: por este mes.
for this month.

36 Isaz: xxx ((MAND? not coded))

37 Ana: → bueno, pero yo después ya lo voy a poder ir este: voy a poder ir interiorizando con la computadora.

okay, but later I'll be able to go about u:h I'll be able to internalize ((the information)) with the computer.

38 Isaz: xxx

39 Ana: claro. ((timbre)) porque:—
right. ((doorbell rings)) because:—

40 Isaz: xxx ((MAND))

41 Ana: → sí, porque si hay alguna variación/, entonces c- yo lo- porque no estoy muy a- ducha con la computadora, no estoy nada ducha entonces yo tengo que esperar que esté mi hijo para que me, me ayude. pero recién llegó:, o me la trajeron de- la que habíamos encargado a la:, a nuestra: este:, a- a la chica que está:, acá ahora haciendo una tesis/, que convivió con nosotros hace unos años y ahora volv- volvió para hacer la tesis. es de este:: mm

yes, because if there's some kind of variation/, then w- I it- because I'm not very good with the computer, I'm not good at all so then I have to wait for my son to be here so he can, can help me. but just recently it arrived, or they brought it to me from- the one we had asked for from, the, ou:r u:h, the the girl that's here, here now doing a thesis/, that lived with us some years ago and now returned to do her thesis. she's from u:h mm

42 Isaz: xxx

43 Ana: sí:: de mm solamente con mm lo va a hacer con doce mujeres de acá de Rosario entonces, te podés imaginar. con- este convocar gente para arriba y para abajo: como que: nos llevA: prácticamente todo el día.

ye::s of mm only with mm she's going to do it with twelve women from here from Rosario so, you ((inf.)) can imagine. with- uh recruiting people all over the PLA:ce, it's li:ke it tA:kes us practically the whole day.

- 44 Isaz: xxx
- 45 Ana: por favor! porque me interesa también, y quiero hacer el el, quiero este terminar con la carpeta también para: poder este:, para poder tener mm algo para mostrAR, porque viste que no tengo ahora mucho material.
- please! because it interests me too, and I want to make the the, I want uh to finish with the file as well in order: to be able to u:h, to be able to have mm something to shOW, because you see now I don't have a lot of material.
- 46 Isaz: xxx=
- 47 Ana: =BUEno. un beso. chau chau. saludos a todas las muchachas por ahí. (pre-close, first attempt)
- =OKAY well. a kiss. bye bye. say hi to all the girls for me.
- 48 Isaz: xxx
- 49 Ana: → bueno. ((second attempt, then adds)) de- mirá que no fue:: mala:: por, es que- es que quería tener una respuesta: que ahora quedó en el aire todavía.
- alright then. de- look it was no::t for a ba::d, it's just—it's just that I wanted to have an answer: because everything's still up in the air.
- 50 Isaz: xxx
- 51 Ana: @@ chau, chau. ((closes))
- @@ bye, bye.

The above refusals are different in certain respects (e.g., the order in which in/direct head acts first appear, simultaneous use of *usted* and *vos* forms and repeated use of the addressee's proper name by Fabiana (but not Ana), mand-related requests for information/confirmation and pause fillers by Ana (but not Fabiana)). And while it has been a goal for this research to point out differences between the groups that could be attributed to SES/neighborhood of residence, the general conclusion is that, for the most part, their refusal behavior was very similar. The above conversations illustrate this point well. They are surprisingly similar in terms of contextual and social features, semantic strategies, internal modification and some linguistic strategies. Both exchanges occurred when the participant received a phone call while at home; both

were with women who were quite persistent in their transactional goals; both were with women of the same relative coercive power⁶ and socioeconomic background; neither of the addressees were particularly close in terms of most of the social distance factors; and both conversational partners were limited to what they could hear only, so they had to make their words count.

In terms of refusal behaviors, each conversation illustrated many of the most frequent (and some less frequent) linguistic strategies for head acts and supportive moves (recalling Tables 4-9 and 4-10). Both sequences contained direct and indirect refusals, up- and downgraders as well as supportive moves within and outside of the refusal turn at talk. Taking head acts for example, though they differed in when they took the direct approach, both employed *no* and negation of the proposition (*no puedo*) with repetition/reiteration:

11 Fabiana: no, no puedo no, si me la- si me la pudieran traer sí, si no no pue:do Tesina.
no, I can't no, if she to me- if they could bring her to me yes, if not I ca:n't Tesina.

23 Ana: AHÍ está, pero no no. yo no, no, no puedo.
THERE you go, but no no. I can't ((negation particle reiterated)).

Additionally, with indirect head acts, they both implied or claimed hardship as a reason for not complying with their addressee's wants. While Fabiana favored the use of formulas such as *el tema es que* and *lo que pasa es que* to engage the hearer and soften the refusal (while Ana did not), both displayed instances of downgrading claims of hardship with the use of the impersonal *se*:

⁶ "Coercive power : if a person, A, has control over negative outcomes (such as demotion, allocation of undesirable tasks) that another person, B, wants to avoid, A can be said to have coercive power over B" (Spencer-Oatey 2009: 35). Both Fabiana and Ana are on equal terms with Tesina and Isaz in this respect. It may be the case that the two pairs differ in "legitimate power," which is based on role/status, since Tesina is the mother of Fabiana's partner, and because there is no such familial relationship between Ana and Isaz. See also the section on Relative Power, where this is further explained.

32 Fabiana: CLARo que el tema es que se me complica hoy para ir para allá arriba. porque (la Cona) no tiene en que andar!

Right the thing is that it's complicated for me today to go up there. because (Cona) doesn't have any transportation!

17 Ana: porque ahora en este momento me hace- se me hace un poco difícil ir.

because right now at this time for me- it's a little difficult for me to go.

In addition, both Fabiana and Ana referred to other people and their situations in order to appeal to the benevolent understanding and empathy of the hearer. The next examples of dialogue show this and also how the participants made use of appealers/cajolars (*no sabe usted, te podés imaginar*) to decrease social distance and get the hearer “on board” with their point of view:

23 Fabiana: lo que pasa es que pa'l Pastoreo no puedo ir porque Helén ((daughter)) andaba con FIEBRE. la tengo que dejar solita yo acá a Helén,

the thing is that to the Pastoreo I can't go because Helén has been with a FEVER. I ((emph.)) would have to leave her, Helén, all by herself,

24 Tesina: a cuál, a Helén?

who, Helén?

25 Fabiana: seGUro andaba con cantidad de fiebre y todo no sabe usted. ha pasado re mal.

exACTly she had a really high fever and everything you ((f. emph.)) have no idea. she's been having a really tough time.

41 Ana: ...a- a la chica que está:, acá ahora haciendo una tesis/, que convivió con nosotros hace unos años y ahora volv- volvió para hacer la tesis. es de este:: mm

...the the girl that's he:re, here now doing a thesis/, that lived with us some years ago and now retur- returned to do her thesis. she's from u::h mm

42 Isaz: xxx

43 Ana: sí:: de mm solamente con mm lo va a hacer con doce mujeres de acá de Rosario entonces, te podés imaginar. con- este convocar gente para arriba y para abajoO: como que: nos llevA: prácticamente todo el día.

ye::s of mm only with mm she's going to do it with twelve women from here from Rosario so, you ((inf.)) can imagine. with- uh recruiting people all over the PLA:ce, it's li:ke it tA:kes us practically the whole day.

In several instances, both participants confirmed/acknowledged the hearer as the first step of the refusal process (e.g., *sí, claro, seguro, ahí está*):

42 Fabiana: claro, ((rápido)) ahí ta yo cualquier cosa veo cómo hago, ta? ((raised))
right, anything comes up I'll see what I can do, okay?

27 Ana: CLARo, porque—
RIght, because—

They also warded off the imposition of the addressee by giving indirect replies with vague references to future actions (e.g., calling someone, sending someone a text message):

25 Ana: claro, proba- nos mantenemos en contacto entonces yo tengo el teléfono de Rosario, y yo la voy a llamar.
of course, proba- we'll keep in touch so I have Rosario's number, and I ((emph.)) am going to call her.

19 Fabiana: AAHí está, yo veo cómo me organizo y si no cualquier cosa le mando un mensaje, sabés Tesina?
THERE you go, I'll see how I can organize things and if not whatever happens I'll send you ((f.)) a message, you ((inf.)) know Tesina?

Another similarity was that both participants engaged in small talk (Fabiana, lines 29-30; Ana, lines 41-45). While it is tempting to overlook these lines as unnecessary chit-chat (I did, in fact, omit these lines for the sake of space), important work is being done. Not only did this allow the participants and addressees space to talk about something else (i.e., distract from the offense), but also it gave them an opportunity display agreement on common topics, and to do relational work in general, greasing the wheels of interaction.

Finally, the pre-close and closing rituals were comparable, in which the discourse marker *bueno* signalled the move. As we saw in both conversations, this could be subverted by either of the addressees in which case the conversation would continue

until the next attempt at wrapping up. The close was, in both cases, with a *beso* and *chau*, though Ana also sent greetings and Fabiana addressed her interlocutor by name (which she often did throughout, unlike Ana).

47 Ana: =BUEno. un beso. chau chau. saludos a todas las muchachas por ahí.
 =OKAY well. a kiss. bye bye. say hi to all the girls for me.

40 Fabiana: bueno Tesi, un BESO. ((pre-close, first attempt))
 alright then Tesi, a KISS.

52 Fabiana: ... bueno Tesi, un beso chau chau. ((third attempt, close))
 ... alright Tesi, a kiss bye bye.

The above examples lend to a qualitative analysis that emphasizes the similarities, rather than the differences, between the Centro and Pastoreo groups. This, in turn, supports the general lack of significant differences between groups for refusal strategies purported by the quantitative tests. On the other hand, the above conversations exemplify some of the tendencies toward certain linguistic strategies by the Pastoreo and Centro speakers. Fabiana, from the Pastoreo, demonstrated use of the addressee's proper name throughout her refusal sequence, while Ana made requests for information and interspersed her utterances with pause fillers, which were two strategies characteristic of the Centro participants.

Addressee Characteristics

This section takes into account the characteristics of the various addressees with whom the participants interacted and their affect on refusal strategy selection. There were a total of 96 unique participant-addressee pairs. The characteristics that I examine are: the sex of the addressee, the relative age, education level and socioeconomic status of the addressee compared with the participant, the power

relationship between the two (business domain only) and factors pertaining to social distance: their relationship (sibling, parent, friend, etc.), frequency of contact, level of familiarity, level of trust and contexts of contact. The general findings are that, for these data, the sex of the addressee and factors relating to social distance (various, and in different ways) most affected the selection of refusal strategies.

Addressee Sex

Table 6-9 shows that out of the 243 refusal sequences analyzed for this study, 144 were refusals to women, 98 were refusals to men and one was a refusal to a mixed group consisting of both women and men. For the purposes of this section, I excluded the latter refusal sequence from the analysis. Regarding refusals to women, these 144 sequences were produced by 57 distinct female-female dyads. Likewise, the 98 refusals to men were generated by 37 female-male dyads. The number of times that a participant engaged in a refusal sequence with the same addressee ranged from one to 26 times (i.e., Isabel with her sister, Jenifer); after this, the most frequent pairing occurred twelve times (i.e., between Moqui and her partner, Andrés) (Table 6-10).⁷ The majority of participants engaged in a refusal sequence with an addressee only once: the median and mode were both one per dyad. The mean number of refusal sequences with any given addressee was 2.55.

This section seeks to reveal how refusals to women may have differed from refusals to men. Much research to date has shown that speakers relate differently to

⁷ Concerning this range, I randomly sampled the data set using SPSS, selecting 80% of all cases; the results of the statistical analysis returned the same significant differences as with the whole data set. Also, I tried the analysis after excluding thirteen randomly selected refusal sequences between Isabel and her sister (which reduced count from 26 to 12 sequences); again, the results were nearly the same as with the whole data set, except that the use of downgraders with women became even more pronounced (gaining significance) and post-refusal small talk with women became more equal to that with men (losing significance among Centro participants).

members of the same and opposite sex (e.g., Labov 1972; Tannen 1990; Holmes 1989, 1995; Wagner 2000; Silva-Corvalán 2001). The question here is to what extent the selection of refusal strategies can be attributed to the sex of the addressee.

The frequencies of the major semantic strategies by addressee sex are given in Table 6-11. Overall, woman-to-woman refusals were characterized by the presence of indirect head acts, mitigating moves and downgraders. Woman-to-man refusals boasted more direct head acts, aggravating moves, upgraders and post-refusal small talk. The Kruskal-Wallis one-way ANOVA test located significant differences only in the distribution of mitigating and aggravating moves: the participants used mitigating moves significantly more with other women ($p < 0.01$), and aggravating moves significantly more with men ($p < 0.01$).

Looking at the data by the extralinguistic variables of domain and SES/neighborhood of residence, other patterns emerged, but generally followed the trends above. Examining the data in this fashion reduces the risk that these differences are merely idiosyncratic. Let us take each major strategy in turn. The percentages indicate the RS% (Tables 6-11, 6-12) with significant p-values in parentheses.

Participants tended to employ more indirect head acts when refusing women during business-oriented talk ($p < 0.05$), domestic-oriented talk and within the Centro group. In the social domain and in the Pastoreo group, a greater percentage of refusals to men contained indirect head acts; however, the percentage was high for both women and men (64% versus 79% in the social domain; 54% versus 61% in the Pastoreo group). Regarding direct head acts, though no significant differences obtained, these were always directed more toward men, except in the Pastoreo group where the

percentages were nearly equal (59% with women versus 58% with men). Ari provides examples of direct refusals to men and indirect refusals to women in the workplace.

(10) Direct refusals to men at work, a subordinate and superior, Pastoreo (Ari 2, 6)

(While at work, Ari refuses a male subordinate's offer to accompany her and her colleague Vilma to a meeting with their boss Edgar; then, Ari refuses a statement by her boss insinuating a potentially poor management of building materials.)

1a Male Wrkr: yo voy con ustedes, xxx.

I'll go with you all, xxx.

2a Ari: no.

no.

3a Vilma: no mi amor. te agradezco.

no my dear. thank you.

1b Edgar: xxx (pueden ser cien y me llevan) setenta.

xxx (there could be a hundred and they take from me) seventy ((blocks))

2b Ari: no, no (no)

no, no (no)

(11) Indirect refusals to women at work, a subordinate and superior, Pastoreo (Ari 10, 28)

(While at work, Ari refuses a female subordinate's request/complaint for a work shoe in her size, and a coworker of superior status who informs her that she will need to work on her day off.)

1a Terisa: (yo) pedí treinta y seis, no hay ni treinta y siete/

2a Ari: (2.0) no veo nada, no viene mi vida (dice con) algunos números.

(2.0) I don't see anything, it doesn't come my dear (it says in) some sizes.

1b Triza: pero lo vas a tener en otro momento.

but you'll have it ((the day off)) at another time.

- 2b Ari: sí sí sí yo sé lo que me decís, pero digo que, ya porque, ah yo ya había comunicado...
 yeah yeah yeah I understand what you're telling me, but I mean, now because, ah I had already told...
- 3b Triza: vos te podés organizar igual? o:
 are you gonna be able to figure it out? or:
- 4b Ari: veré lo organizaré. pero ta. digo, no no—
 I'll see I'll figure it out. but ok. I mean, no no—

From these examples it is apparent that in the case of the refusals to men, the propositions were neither as personal nor weighty as Ari's situation with Triza or as sensitive, even, as having to deny Terisa the work shoes in her size for which she had been anxiously waiting. Thus, it may be in this case that what looks like an effect of gender is more an artifact of the circumstances surrounding the refusal, in that the participants engaged in more sensitive topics with women than with men.

Turning now to supportive moves, the data consistently followed the overall pattern of aggravating moves with men, mitigating moves with women. Aggravating moves were more present in refusals to men in the business domain, even though they were not used very much in this domain with either women or men. In the domestic domain, the use of aggravating moves toward men was most prominent, and the difference between groups was highly significant ($p < 0.01$). Aggravating moves were also used more toward men in the social domain, the Centro group ($p < 0.01$) and the Pastoreo group. Mitigating moves showed the opposite trend; these were almost always employed more so when refusing women. This difference was significant in the business domain ($p < 0.05$) and for the Pastoreo group ($p < 0.05$). The social domain was

exceptional: here, the RS% for mitigating moves was so high for both sexes, that there was little difference between the two groups (71% with women versus 74% with men).

(12) Aggravated refusal of food to adult son, domestic domain, Centro (Ana 14b)

(While at home gathered around the lunch table, Ana refuses her son's offer of marinated cow's tongue, which was the second offer.)

1 Ana: [y voy a probar—

[and I'm gonna try—

2 Dario: [xxx hicimos xxx ((ofreciendo lengua))

[xxx we made xxx ((offering the marinated tongue))

3 Ana: el suflé. no quise Dario, no quise. ((pausa)) lo probé allá y nada más:

the soufflé. I didn't want it Dario, I didn't want it. ((pause)) I tried it over there ((at their butcher shop)) and no moRE.

(13) Mitigated refusal of drink to adult "daughter," domestic domain, Centro (Ana 5)

(At home in the morning, sewing and drinking *mate*, Ana refuses *mate* served by Violeta, who had previously lived with Ana; Ana's mother Ester is also present.)

1 Violeta: ((offers mate to Ana))

2 Ana: sí. este:m. no me des más, mate porque, ya estoy satisfecha. y Estercita?

yes. e:hm. don't give me anymore, *mate* because, I'm content. and Estercita?

As with aggravating moves, the participants modified their refusals with upgraders more often with men (e.g., *no quise* Dario, *no quise* from line 3 of (12)). This pattern held most significantly in the domestic domain ($p < 0.01$), and also in both Centro and Pastoreo groups. Upgraders were not found so much in business-oriented refusals, where slightly more were directed toward women (37% with women versus 32% with men). However, they did occur in half the social-oriented refusals to women (50% with women versus 26% with men), though this difference was not statistically significant. Conversely, similar to mitigating moves, the participants downgraded their

refusals to women more so than to men (e.g., *mi vida* and *pero ta. digo* in lines 2a and 4b of (11)). This pattern bore out in the business and domestic domains, and in the Centro and Pastoreo groups ($p < 0.05$ for the latter). Again, in the social domain, the opposite occurred (39% with women versus 53% with men), but was not significant.

Post-refusal small talk, the last strategy examined in this section, tended to be more present in refusals to men (Table 6-12). This was true for domestic- and social-oriented talk, and for the Centro group. More small talk with men for the Centro participants obtained significance ($p < 0.05$); however, it was lost after rerunning the analysis with a reduced number of sequences between Isabel and her sister.⁸ But even with this adjustment, the Centro participants still engaged in post-refusal small talk more often with men (43% versus 30%). One aspect of this trend is that men would often initiate the small talk with the participant. In the social and domestic refusals of the Centro group, two-thirds of the small talk (8 out of 12 sequences) was initiated by the male addressee.⁹ This tendency did not hold in the business domain or with the Pastoreo group; in both cases, small talk with men and women was nearly equal.

To sum up this section on the potential effects of the sex of the addressee, the strongest and most convincing results were those pertaining to aggravating and mitigating moves. The fact that, for example, the participants always employed aggravating moves more so with men, regardless of domain and SES/neighborhood of residence, points to an effect of the addressee's sex on how the participants refused.

Likewise with mitigating moves: save the social domain, in which the use of mitigating

⁸ Choosing the even-numbered sequences between Isabel and Jenifer reduced the number of sequences for this pair from 26 to 12. Another dyad, Moqui-Andres, a woman-to-man pair, also had 12 sequences in the domestic domain. In this way, the two pairings balanced each other out in terms of number and sex.

⁹ This figure was 56% (9 out of 16) with female addressees.

moves exceeded 70% for both sexes (a possible ceiling effect), the participants always used this strategy more with women. The weakest tendency had to do with post-refusal small talk. Even though small talk with men was generally more frequent, the fact that the frequencies fell consistently within the 30 to 40% range, except for certain domains regardless of addressee sex (low for domestic, high for social), with virtually no significant differences between groups, signals a greater effect of the domain rather than if the addressee was a man or a woman.

Of moderate strength were the findings on indirect and direct head acts, upgraders and downgraders. The effects of other factors were also evident, such as domain (particularly social-oriented talk that often defied overall patterns), and the extent to which the refusal was personal to the participant or regarding sensitive matters. It is not clear if SES/neighborhood of residence had an effect, given that the Pastoreo data ran contrary to the Centro (and overall) data for head act type. However, the relatively consistent patterns for male and female addressees, coupled with the significant differences obtained in certain categories, indicate that the addressee sex played a role in the selection of these strategies, suggesting a correlation between women, indirect head acts and downgraders on the one hand, and men, direct head acts and upgraders on the other.

Relative Age

Relative age refers to whether the participant perceived her interlocutor to be older, younger or of the same age. This section deals with the extent to which the selection of refusal strategies can be attributed to the relative age of the addressee. One hypothesis is that the interactions will depict a kind of hierarchical politeness system in which the older addressee, considered superordinate, will use involvement

strategies to speak to the younger addressee; the younger addressee, with subordinate status, will use independence strategies in speaking to the older addressee.

Relative age information was gleaned for 213 refusal sequences, with data missing for thirty sequences. Sixty (28%) were with addressees deemed younger, 37 (17%) with addressees considered the same age, and 116 (54%) with people perceived as older. The respective numbers of addresses were 17, 16 and 38, totaling 71 (Table 6-9). The range and mode were the same as for addressee sex: 25 and one. The median was two and the mean number of refusal sequences per dyad was three.

The frequencies of the major semantic strategies by relative age are shown in Table 6-13. There were no significant differences between age groups for any of these strategies, although aggravating moves and post-refusal small talk maintained certain patterns when broken down by domain and the participants' neighborhood of residence (Table 6-14). Aggravating moves, for example, were the most frequent with addressees of the same age in all domains and for both the Centro and Pastoreo areas. In all but the social domain, aggravating moves were the least frequent with relatively younger addressees. These differences approached significance for the domestic domain ($p=0.059$). Post-refusal small talk patterned the same, occurring most with addressees of the same age, and least with those deemed younger. These differences approached significance for the overall data set ($p=0.053$), and achieved significance for the refusal sequences of the Centro group: small talk with younger addressees was significantly less than with same-aged ($p<0.01$) and older addressees ($p<0.01$). The Pastoreo group was the only subset to produce a dissimilar pattern. Participants from the Pastoreo

engaged in post-refusal small talk most with younger addressees, followed by those of the same age and, lastly, with those older than them.

Indirect head acts, supportive moves and downgraders produced the least consistent results. This suggests that, for these strategies, the relative age of the addressee was not a key predictor of refusal strategy selection. Direct head acts and upgraders, however, were almost always used least with those perceived as younger, the only exception being with upgraders in the social domain. Because this pattern was so consistent, it is difficult to ignore. But looking at Table 6-14 we see that the difference is not as pronounced between the relative age categories for some subsections as it is for others. Taking direct head acts for example, the difference between the younger and same relative age groups never exceeds 7% in the business, domestic and Centro subsections, but within the social domain and Pastoreo group, the differences range between 27% and 40%. These more drastic differences are found in subsets with the least number of representative refusal sequences, making them more susceptible to the idiosyncrasies of a few interactional exchanges. What these data do point to is a level of certainty among participants and addressees of the same age—and often of older age—that permitted them to refuse more frankly in the case of direct head acts, and more intensely in the case of upgraders.

One of the noticeable things about the data set is that, even though the addressees are split into older, younger and same groups, there were only a few instances in which the age discrepancy was very large, i.e., with a much younger person or with a much older person. This was especially the case outside of the domestic sphere (the domestic sphere being inherently different because of the

familiarity involved). It is probable that starker divisions in age would have lent a clearer picture of the effect of this factor on refusal behavior.

Nine refusal sequences with three much older addressees (three sequences per each) speak to this possibility: Moqui with Ruperto (intermediate social distance, social domain), Rena with a retired female client, and Mar with Berta (high social distance, business domain). Two characteristics stand out in all of these exchanges: more formal/less familiar forms of address (i.e., *usted* forms) on the part of the younger participants (not vice versa) and the tolerance that they displayed toward these older addressees who were either delving into the participants' personal business (Ruperto), insisting upon their proposition and refusing to leave (Berta), or telling the participant how to do her job (retired client). In all of these situations there was an air of respect that permeated the exchange, particularly from the younger participant to the older one. Such asymmetrical use of face strategies resembles what would we expect to find in a hierarchical politeness system, as hypothesized above.

Also, looking at the major strategies in comparison with the category of older age for the whole data set, the strategies that are typically more subject to a "polite" interpretation are emphasized in these nine sequences: comparatively, there were more indirect head acts and less direct head acts; there were half as many sequences with aggravating moves and over 20% more presence of mitigating moves. Upgraders were relatively less and the percentage of downgraders doubled. The occurrence of post-refusal small talk almost doubled as well (Table 6-15). Thus, these nine sequences appear to confirm the hypothesis regarding relative age.

The aggregated data, however, do not give as clear of a picture of the effect of relative age on the realization of refusals. This is because the categories were not really representative of marked differences in the ages of the interlocutors. It was the selected sequences in which the addressees were known to be much older than the participant that revealed heightened levels of formality, respect and refusal strategies indicative of a hierarchical politeness system.

Still, the data signal some areas that were possibly affected by addressee age. Participants' use of aggravating moves seems the most likely area, favoring use with addressees of the same age, though this is conflated with the domestic domain (and low social distance) in that a greater relative percentage of partners fell into this category. Participants' use of direct head acts and upgraders could have also been affected by the relative age of the addressee, though these results were possibly idiosyncratic and produced no significant differences. Like with aggravating moves, they were employed most often with addressees of the same age and least often with those younger than them. Indirect head acts, mitigating moves and downgraders patterned the most inconsistently by domain and participant neighborhood of residence. For all of these strategies, the effects of domain and, to a lesser extent, neighborhood of residence could be seen to exert an influence on the distribution of strategy frequencies. More study focused on data with greater age discrepancies would probably reveal clearer patterns than what I have been able to show here.

Relative Education Level

Relative education level refers to whether the participant perceived the addressee to be more formally educated, less formally educated or as equally educated as she. The question, then, is whether the relative education level of the addressee

contributed to the selection of refusal strategies. The hypothesis is that it would have an effect, because the more educated one is, the more expert power one might be perceived to have over a less educated individual (Spencer-Oatey 2009), causing the lower status interlocutor to display more deference/independence and/or attenuation, and the higher status person to be more assertive and/or less tentative.

This information was gleaned for 220 refusal sequences, with data missing for 23 sequences (Table 6-9). Eighty-four (38%) were with addressees deemed less educated, 49 (22%) were with same-level addressees, and 87 (40%) were with people perceived as more educated. The respective numbers of addresses were 45, 14 and 22, totaling 81. The range and mode for refusal sequences per addressee were 25 and one. The median was two and the mean number of sequences per dyad was 2.72.

The frequencies of the major semantic strategies by relative education level are shown in Table 6-16. There were no significant differences between groups for any of these strategies, indicating that relative education level was not a strong predictor for refusal behavior. In fact, during follow-up interviews, it was often difficult for the participants to answer questions regarding the addressee's education level. A common response was a quizzical look and the phrase *ni idea* ("no idea"). At least on the surface, the relative education level of the addressee was not something that these women took notice of.

Looking more closely, however, the distribution of indirect head acts, mitigating moves and post-refusal small talk consistently oriented to specific patterns, even when broken down by domain and the participants' neighborhood of residence. The patterns for head acts and mitigating moves were supportive of the hypothesis stated at the

outset. For example, indirect head acts (often reflective of deference/independence) were more frequent when refusing an addressee perceived to be more educated; this pattern obtained for all five subsets (business, domestic, social, Centro, Pastoreo). The incidence of mitigating moves (frequently attenuating) also rose as relative education level increased, with the exception of the Centro group, where they plotted like a “Bulge.” That is, the RS% for the less and more educated groups was 66%, while the equally educated group achieved 78%. But note that the percentage of presence of mitigating moves was high for all relative education levels. This was not only true for the Centro group, but for the other subsets as well: over 50% for all categories of relative education level for every subset. Thus, it is more likely that the participants employed mitigating moves in spite of relative education levels rather than because of them. One possible exception is that the residents of the Pastoreo used mitigating moves to a much greater extent with more educated addressees (77%) than with less educated addressees (53%)—a difference which approached significance ($p=0.051$).

With respect to post-refusal small talk, the tendency was to engage in this more with equally educated addressees. The Centro group, for example, resorted to small talk with those of equal education more so than with those of higher education status ($p<0.01$). The only subset for which this was not true was the social domain, in which post-refusal small talk with those of equal education status occurred least. However, this is not to say that it rarely took place; in fact, the RS% for all education categories in the social domain exceeded 50% with a range of just 6% (Table 6-17). Thus, this discrepancy can easily be attributed to the influence of domain, recalling that post-refusal small talk in the social domain was significantly more common.

The conclusion regarding relative education level is that it demonstrated possibilities for having influenced refusal behavior, with some patterns in line with what we would expect for asymmetric status relationships, but that it was a weak predictor for these data overall. Fewer consistent patterns among subsets (relative to other extralinguistic factors) and no significant differences (save for post-refusal small talk) provide the rationale for this analysis. Also relevant is that participants generally had a difficult time describing the level of education of the addressees relative to theirs. A more targeted analysis aimed at studying this variable might yield different results, especially in academic settings where those with superior levels of formal education leverage expert power and status over others within a hierarchically structured environment that is based on degrees earned.

Relative Socioeconomic Status

Relative socioeconomic status (SES) refers to whether the participant perceived her interlocutor to be of the same, lower or higher economic class. Because in the background information form all participants indicated the existence of economic classes in their country, this question tapped their tacit understanding of class and how they viewed themselves in relation to others with whom they came into contact. This section, therefore, deals with the extent to which the relative SES of the addressee affected the selection of refusal strategies.

I obtained this information for 225 refusal sequences, with data missing for eighteen sequences. Table 6-9 shows that the great majority of refusal sequences were with addressees considered to be of the same SES: 203 (90%) were with addressees considered to be of the same status; eight (4%) were with addressees perceived to be of a lower economic status, and fourteen (6%) of a higher status. The

respective numbers of addressees were 72, 5 and 7, totaling 84.¹⁰ Thus, it is apparent that, overall, the relative SES of the addressee could not have played a major role in the selection of refusal strategy choice, because very few addressees were deemed to be of a different SES. Even when broken down by the participants' neighborhood of residence, the percentage of same-SES addressees equaled 85% or more.

The frequencies of the major semantic strategies by relative SES are shown in Table 6-18. Despite the pronounced differences in the number of cases per group, the RS% for many strategies was nearly equal across SES categories. The biggest differences between groups concerned mitigating moves, downgraders and post-refusal small talk. For all three categories, the participants used these strategies to a significantly greater extent with those perceived to be of a lower SES ($p < 0.05$, $p < 0.01$, $p < 0.01$, respectively). In the case of small talk, the participants also engaged in this more with higher-SES addressees than with those of the same SES ($p < 0.05$).

Table 6-19 breaks down the distribution further. The majority (103 out of 203) of same-SES sequences took place in the domestic domain, followed by the business (65) and social domains (35). For the domestic domain, there were only same-SES addressees. The social domain showed very little distribution over the three SES groups, with only one instance of a lower-SES addressee and four of a higher SES. In the business domain there is the most possibility for inter-SES comparisons: the percentage of same-SES addressees is the lowest (79%), and there are seven to ten sequences in each of the other SES categories.

¹⁰ The range and mode were 25 and one; the median was one and the mean number of refusal sequences per addressee was 2.68.

The patterns of frequency in the business domain mirrored the overall patterns for all strategies (Table 6-19). Likewise, they obtained significance between groups for downgraders and post-refusal small talk. That is, in business-related exchanges the participants downgraded their refusals to a greater extent with those perceived to be of lower SES, and tended to engage in post-refusal small talk with those *not* of their same SES. Nevertheless, a qualitative examination of the refusal sequences of those of a lower SES (there were only eight) does not lend to an interpretation of class-influenced refusal behavior for mitigating moves and downgraders. Exceptions to this were Mar's exchanges with Berta, the low-income herb-peddler of advanced age referenced in the previous section. There I mentioned that Mar exhibited patience with Berta, whose recurring visits to Mar's shop to sell herbs were lengthy and somewhat bothersome, based on Mar's recorded comments to a friend after Berta left. What was salient in these exchanges was the issue of money: how much things cost, the lack of money and ways to make it (lines 7-11, 14-15, 16-19, 22-28).

(14) Mitigated refusals to lower SES addressee, business domain, Centro (Mar 11)

(At her shop, Mar is visited by an herb peddler of advanced age. The issue of money is a salient topic. Mitigating moves are underlined.)¹¹

- 1 Berta: a vos te gusta la marcela?¹²
 do you ((emph.)) like *marcela* ((a medicinal plant used in tea))?
- 2 Mar: es rica la marcela pero n:o tomo yo mucho mate de yuyo.
 marcela is good but I ((emph.)) do:n't drink much herbal tea.

¹¹ The exchange began several lines before with Mar initially greeting Berta with the *usted* form of address. At this point in the conversation a rapport has been established with Berta having referred to Mar as her *amiga*, and the two are mutually using the colloquial *vos* forms of address.

¹² About this herb, which does not seem to have an English translation except for its scientific name: http://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Achyrocline_satureioides, accessed on December 22, 2013.

- 3 Berta: ah. ((pausita)) tengo un poquito de cedrón acá también.
ah. ((short pause)) I have a little bit of verbena here too.
- 4 Mar: sí pero—
yes but—
- 5 Berta: escasísimo, no hay.
very rare, there isn't any around.
- 6 Mar: este/—
uh/—
- 7 Berta: sabés cuánto sale la planta esa?
do you know how much that plant goes for?
- 8 Mar: cuánto sale?
how much is it?
- 9 Berta: de cedrón?
verbena?
- 10 Mar: [cuánto?
[how much?
- 11 Berta: [que es lo que compraron a— setenta y cinco pesos.
[that's what they bought it at— seventy five pesos ((about \$3.50)).
- 12 Mar: ahh. y dónde hay plantas de cedrón?
ahh. and where are there verbena plants?
- 13 Berta: eh en la- en lo de- en lo de cómo es Ardiola ahí donde han puesto plantas.
eh in the- in- in what's that place called Ardiola that's where they've put plants ((for sale)).
- 14 Mar: AHH. mirá vos. setenta y cinco pesos sale una planta de cedrón?
AHH. look at that. seventy five pesos is what a verbena plant goes for?
- 15 Berta: sí.
ye:s.

...

16 Berta: vos sabés que ayer me compraron dos, dos bolsitas mirá a veinte.
you know yesterday they bought two from me, two baggies, you see, at twenty.

17 Mar: a veinte pesos.
twenty pesos.

18 Berta: allá en la peluquería de, de F. la conocés a la muchacha?
over there in the salón of, of F. do you know her the girl ((who owns it))?

...

19 Mar: Fernanda, Fernanda F. es tan simpática. ah de:→ ((pausita)) bueno otro día
pasá porque la verdad que no tengo plata si no te compraba una bolsita.
Fernanda, Fernanda F. she's so nice. ah o:f→ ((short pause)) well come back
another day because the truth is that I don't have any money if not ((if that
weren't the case then)) I would buy a baggie from you.

20 Berta: ah bueno.
ah okay.

21 Mar: chau, otro [día—
bye, another [day—

22 Berta: [quiero hacer, (plata / plantas) sabés pa' qué? para comprarle sí,
ese:, esa planta de cedrón.
[I want to make (money / plants) you know what for? to buy you
yes, that, that verbena plant.

23 Mar: esa planta pa—
that plant fo—

24 Berta: para tener vos, para vender.
so you can have it, to sell.

25 Mar: claro.
of course.

26 Berta: pa- pa- para ganar setenta y cinco también.
to- to- to earn seventy five too.

27 Mar: bueno pero tenés que pasar más cerca de, de- después del primero. la semana que viene porque ahora, nadie ha cobrado, nadie tiene plata.

okay but you have to come by closer to, to- after the first. next week because now, nobody's gotten paid, nobody has money.

28 Berta: nadie ha cobrado. ((pausita)) nosotros cobramos ya el, el el, el sábado es primero ya.

nobody's gotten paid. ((short pause)) we get paid now on, on on, on Saturday is the first already.

...

29 Mar: =por eso. (después de / puede) la semana que viene pasá, que yo te voy a comprar algo.

=exactly. (after / perhaps) this coming week stop by, because I'm gonna buy something from you.

In the end Mar pledges to “buy something” from Berta after the next pay period (line 29). This does not mean that just because money is a salient topic, that this qualifies the sequence as one influenced by relative SES. What it shows is that because of Mar’s privileged position relative to Berta’s, she agrees “buy something” from her. It is evident from this and subsequent interaction that Mar sympathizes with Berta’s economic situation and negotiates the refusal situation in an effort to preserve Berta’s face. The linguistic strategies that Mar used to mitigate her refusals were numerous and included making concessions, confirming and acknowledging the hearer, postponing with a future promise to comply, giving a condition of past acceptance, giving reasons, claiming hardship and reassuring the hearer. Thus it is reasonable to presume that the relative SES of the addressee affected the way Mar refused.

Another difference worthy of mention concerns post-refusal small talk. A review of these sequences did not reveal any obvious influence of the addressee’s SES; however, the refusal sequences with Berta did contain instances of post-refusal small

talk (e.g., lines 7-19), which, as mentioned above, arguably exhibited an SES effect. In most non-equal SES cases in which small talk occurred, there were other noticeable factors at play: power, social distance and the nature of the topic. Power and social distance will be taken up in the next sections. Regarding the nature of the topic, it was salient that in nearly all of the non-domestic refusals involving money—specifically, requiring money from the participant—there was post-refusal small talk (or mid-refusal small talk as a delaying tactic). Mar with Berta was one example, but Moqui, Rena (Centro group), Ela and Rita (Pastoreo group) produced this behavior as well.

Take, for example, the exchange between Fancy (the school psychologist), Rita, and her sister Martola (both auxiliary staff). Fancy arrives at the kitchen where Rita and Martola are working and informs them that she has bought birthday gifts for two of their colleagues and what their share of the cost is. They are both taken off-guard and, after some confusion about the cost (lines 9-11), Rita offers an alternative (line 12) and concedes that she is unprepared to pay her what she is asking (line 14):

(15) Post-refusal small talk to higher SES addressee, social-oriented talk in work setting, Pastoreo (Rita 4)

(In the kitchen of the educational center where they work, Rita and Martola (co-workers and sisters) are confronted by Fancy (higher educational level and SES, equal power status) who has bought gifts and expects payment. Rita is not prepared and refuses with an alternative. Post-refusal small talk is underlined.)

- 1 Fancy: buenos días, cómo andan chicas. andan bien? ((besos))
 good morning, how are you girls doing. doing well? ((kisses))
- 2 Martola: bien y vos?
 good and you?
- 3 Fancy: bien. ((beso))
 good. ((kiss))
- 4 Fancy: chiquilinas yo ya les compré a: Laurana el regalo y a em [Catalina.

girls I already bought the: gift for Laurana and uh Catalina.

5 Martola: [para Catalina.

[for Catalina.

6 Fancy: ya está. compré. un buzo cada una/, uno negro para Laurana y uno celeste con (unos prolijitos) a Catalina (irá bonito con el pelo).

that's that. I bought. a sweater for each/, a black one for Laurana and a sky blue one with (some adornments) for Catalina (that will go well with her hair).

7 Martola: sí.

ok. ((lit. yes))

8 Fancy: ciento: cuatro cada uno.

one hundre:d four each one.

9 Martola: ((pausita)) ciento cuatro pesos?= ((incrédula))

((short pause)) a hundred and four pesos?= ((incredulous))

10 Fancy: =ciento cuatro cada uno. no! los dos regalos.

=a hundred and four for each one ((of you)). no! for both gifts.

11 Martola: ahh! ((comprendiendo))

ahh! ((comprehending))

...

12 Rita: o yo tengo cien pesos ahí ahora no te doy- después te doy cuatro porque no tengo—

or I have a hundred pesos over there now I can't give you- later I will give you four because I don't have—

13 Fancy: ta!

ok!

...

14 Rita: =yo no te había traído porque me acordé justo hoy y ya digo ya.

=I ((emph.)) hadn't brought it for you because I just now remembered today and now I mean now ((it's too late)).

15 Fancy: ya está. [ya—

that's okay/it's settled. now—

16 Rita: [ya queda pronto.

[now it's taken care of.

17 Fancy: porque yo le llamo a Dona y yo, < yo voy a (estar) a la vuelta hoy.> ah! xxx
((justificando su compra de los regalos))

because I call Dona and I ((say)), < I'm gonna be right by there ((where getting the gifts)). > ah! xxx ((justifying her getting the gifts))

18 Martola: sí Fancy no te hagas problema ahora xxx

yes ((I understand)) Fancy don't worry about it now xxx

...

19 Rita: =mejor mejor! así ya queda solucionado viste.

=it's better better! that way it's all been taken care of you see.

Thus, the nature of the proposition—Fancy informing them of and expecting their immediate payment (lines 6, 8)—caused an awkward situation among the women. The fact that Fancy was of a higher SES relative to Rita (in addition to being older and more educated) likely compounded the discomfort. It is reasonable to believe that this awkwardness triggered the ensuing small talk (lines 17-19) once the transactional talk was over in an effort to reestablish equilibrium between the interlocutors.

When viewing the data by the participants' neighborhood of residence, one notices a split: within the Centro group only same and lower SES levels can be compared; within the Pastoreo group, only same and higher SES levels can be compared. This indicates that the participants of this study either generally operated within same-class networks, lived in a town in which class distinctions were not very pronounced, or did not perceive the addressee's SES to be a salient factor, despite the existence of class differences. It was clear from the follow-up interviews that there were instances in which a participant considered her addressee to be more or less financially

well-off, but great class discrepancies were largely absent. In the case of the Pastoreo, the addressees of a higher SES were almost always work colleagues, some in a position of authority. For the Centro participants, the addressees of a lower SES typically worked in the service sector (e.g., the bread counter in a local supermarket) or were people of retirement age who worked in some capacity to supplement their sparse income (e.g., Berta and the retired female client mentioned in the section on relative age). This is not to say that notable socioeconomic discrepancies are absent in Uruguay—certainly, they exist; it is just that these data from a smaller town in the southwest region did not reflect these divisions.

It is difficult to compare the data within the participants' neighborhood of residence, because of the split described above. If we were to plot the relative SES data on a curve for each semantic strategy, the left half of the curve (representing lower to same SES) would always only reflect Centro data, and the right half (representing same to higher SES) would always only reflect Pastoreo data. Thus, the statistical significance reported above pertaining to the overall patterns actually represents patterns based on the participants' neighborhood of residence. Specifically, those from the Centro used mitigating moves, downgraders and post-refusal small talk more with those from a lower SES ($p < 0.01$ for all three factors), while those from the Pastoreo tended to engage in post-refusal small talk with those from a higher SES ($p < 0.01$).

The only point of comparison between the two areas of residence is the data for the same-SES category. The RS% for each strategy reveals strikingly similar results, with all respective percentages being within five points of each other. The only

exception was the use of mitigating moves. The Centro group used 11% more mitigating moves than the Pastoreo with same-SES addressees.

To conclude regarding relative SES, the data demonstrate some possibilities for it having influenced refusal behavior in cases of unequal status. The selection and use of mitigating moves, downgraders and post-refusal small talk showed signs of sensitivity to relative SES, but also to other factors such as power, social distance and the nature of the topic. The data are largely reflective of the neighborhood of residence of the participant, in that the relative SES categories are co-correlated with this variable. Also, the fact that 90% of the data as a whole were generated with people of the same relative SES precludes this social factor from having had anything but a marginal effect on the way the participants refused overall. More data are needed from different relative socioeconomic classes to make further claims about the impact of this factor.

Relative Power

Relative power (a.k.a. status) refers to whether the participant was in a position of same, lower or higher power than her interlocutor. According to Brown and Gilman, “one person may be said to have power over another in the degree that he is able to control the behavior of the other. Power is a relationship between at least two persons, and it is nonreciprocal in the sense that both cannot have power in the same area of behavior” (1960: 225). Various studies in politeness and speech act literature point to the importance of this variable for explaining certain types of linguistic behavior (e.g., pronoun choice, the wording of requests, apology strategy choice, refusal strategy choice) (Brown and Gilman 1960; Brown and Levinson 1987; Blum-Kulka et al. 1985; Olshtain 1989; Holmes 1990; Félix-Brasdefer 2008).

In this section I deal with power as it pertains to the workplace and, thus, the business domain. It was for this domain that I was able to collect data most consistently. This kind of power encompasses various types of power, such as reward power (control over positive outcomes), coercive power (control over negative outcomes), expert power (knowledge or expertise that another wants) and legitimate power (the power to expect certain things of another because of one's role/status) (French and Raven 1959). The question, therefore, is to what extent the relative power of the addressee affected the selection of refusal strategies in the business domain.

I obtained this information for 85 refusal sequences, with data missing for four sequences. In the workplace, placement into one of the three categories depended on the organization's hierarchical structure. In service encounters, agents and clients were generally placed into the equal-power category, given that the power of the agent to provide a service was typically counterbalanced by the client's choice to provide the agent with business. There were exceptions to this in certain circumstances where a client needed the agent to go outside of the normal protocol; thus, the agent wielded a kind of reward power over the client.

Table 6-9 shows that the majority of refusal sequences were with addressees considered to be of the same relative power and that very few were refusals to superiors: 52 (61%) with addressees of equal power; 28 (33%) with addressees of lower power, and five (6%) with addressees of higher power. The respective numbers of addresses were 23, 24 and 5, totaling 52, with the majority of the sequences (69%) being generated by those from the Pastoreo.¹³ Given the very low number of refusal

¹³ The range and mode were 5 and one; the median was one and the mean number of refusal sequences per addressee was 1.63.

sequences with those in a higher power position, the data do not lend to robust comparisons of the different power levels; however, some observations can be made.

From a frequency standpoint (Table 6-20), as relative power decreased, the percentage of sequences containing direct head acts increased. As relative power increased, so did indirect head acts, the mean number of refusals per sequence, mitigating moves and post-refusal small talk. The increase in refusals per sequence was statistically significant between the lower and same power groups ($p < 0.01$) and the lower and higher power groups ($p < 0.01$). Also, mitigating moves increased significantly between the lower and same power groups ($p < 0.05$).

The reason for these trends was due in part to the nature and topic of the refusal. Two participants, Ari and Moqui, produced refusals to addressees of lower power. In general, these exchanges were perfunctory and maximally transactional, as when Ari replies with *no* to the male worker's offer to accompany her to a meeting in (10) and Moqui responds with *todavía no. demoran un ratito* ("not yet. they'll be a little while") to a male underling's request for fried dough at a soccer kiosk. Sequences with those of the same and higher relative power were often more involved. We recall Moqui's longer refusal sequence with a sales associate of equal power as she deliberated on coats in (3), Rita's negotiation with Fancy regarding money in (15) and Ari's lengthy interaction with a colleague of superior power concerning a highly face-threatening issue in (11). The increased social distance possibly contributed to the shortened sequences with subordinates as well. It seems logical that longer refusal sequences would allow for greater opportunity for more and various refusal strategies, and that more involved, less perfunctory situations would lend themselves to participation in small talk, especially if

there was some motivation to maintain and build rapport (e.g., maintaining good client-agent relationships, recovering from not complying with a superior's asseveration or greasing the wheels of interaction with someone who has power over a desired good¹⁴).

Surprisingly, aggravating moves also increased as relative power increased, though the differences between groups were not significant. Because the total number of refusal sequences to superiors was so small, the RS% seems large at 40%, but it is only representing presence in two out of five sequences (the use of aggravating moves in the other power levels was under 20%). A qualitative analysis of the data shows that in neither sequence did the aggravating moves take a non-politic turn with the addressee, but were more of an intensification of the participants' reasoning process (as opposed to an attack on the hearer). For instance, in the sequence between Ari and Triza in which Triza informs her that she will have to work on her planned day off, Ari follows up her indirect refusal (*pero, digo, no pueden hacerme esto* "but, I mean:, they can't do this to me") with the intensifying (i.e., aggravating), self-defending counter argument, *pero le digo, hace veinte días me dijeron, (tomá) el día libre* "but I tell you (f.), twenty days ago they told me, (take) the day off." Triza's response is one of empathy (*es que yo te, yo te, yo te te comprendo perfectamente* "it's that I, I, I understand you perfectly") rather than offense, allowing a politic interpretation of Ari's previous move.

Likewise, Mar debates with her boss (also her father) about how to allocate their business vehicles, one of which is not working. He suggests that he take a smaller truck so that they can get the larger vehicle running that she would then use. She

¹⁴ Ari's exchange with Edgar in (10) involved an attempt on her part to obtain permission to work on a project, which had been cancelled due to protocol issues; following the hashing out of this issue, they engaged in post-refusal small talk.

indirectly refuses this with a counter argument (*y pero si ahora no lo (precisás vos / precisamos) papá*: “and but if right now (you / we) don’t need it dad”), and immediately follows with a second, intensifying counter argument (i.e., aggravating move): *YO: tengo que llevar una sola a Barquer, por qué quiero el micro* “I: only have to take one person to Barquer, why do I want the van.” Her reasoning expresses concern about using too large a vehicle for the required task and, by implication, the risk and expense incurred. From a business standpoint this makes sense and her superior/father eventually agrees with her (*ah bueno* “ah okay”). Noting the non-tentative manner with which Mar voices her position, this likely had to do with the highly affiliative relationship/low social distance relationship between her and her father, and is an example of how domains of interaction can and do overlap.

Downgraders and upgraders were anomalous in the sense that they did not follow a steady progression of increase or decrease. Table 6-20 shows that, in general, the participants used downgraders more often than upgraders, regardless of relative power. Also, they tended to use downgraders with addressees of equal power (56%, equal-power sequences), and upgraders across the board (35-40%, all categories).

The most common downgraders with same-power addressees included hedges/subjectivizer/understaters, with *capaz que* (“maybe”), the adverbial *no más* (“just, only”) and *digo* (“I mean”) as the most frequent instantiations, and the no-fault *se* (e.g., *no me queda* “none are left to me;” *se me complica* “it makes things complicated for me”). Diminutive forms, laughter, softening emotional expressions, appealers/cajolars (e.g., *viste* “you see,” *ta?* “okay?”) and various softening tones (e.g., relaxed and/or elongated vowels) appeared repeatedly as well. In contrast to these

downgraders, a different downgrading strategy emerged with those of unequal (lower) status: an endearment term (e.g., *mi vida* “my dear (lit. life)”). Thus, this type of downgrading could possibly be reflective of power differences between the interlocutors.

Upgraders were fewer in occurrence and in type. With equal power addressees, six types stood out: intensifying emotional expressions (e.g., AY), a raised voice, repetition/reiteration, marked emphasis on certain syllables (e.g., *TO-tal-mente* “TO-tal-ly”), intensifying lexical items and phrases (e.g., *la verdad que* “truthfully,” *sinceramente* “sincerely”) and lexical items that could be viewed as insulting (e.g., *esto es espantoso* “this is frightful/horrible”). With non-equal status addressees, this last category of upgraders was absent and points to a potential effect of power and/or social distance: more forthright linguistic behavior is often indicative of a more affiliative relationship in which power or status is less salient.

In addition, several linguistic strategies found in head acts and supportive moves showed possible sensitivity to relative power. For instance, giving alternatives and the use of discourse markers increased in head acts as relative power increased. Neither was present in the refusal head acts to addressees of inferior power. Within supportive moves, strategies that correlated (also positively) were agreements, apologies, confirmations/acknowledgements, counter arguments and repetition/reiteration. Of these, only one instance of confirmation/acknowledgement and two of repetition/reiteration were found in sequences with lower-status addressees. The remaining tokens of were found mostly with those of the same-power group (not surprising, given that the majority of the refusal sequences fell into this category), but also in sequences with higher-status addressees.

Of particular interest are apologies, because in established coding paradigms (e.g., Beebe et al. 1990), apologies figure in as a prominent refusal strategy. But, in these data they did not. In the 89 refusals in the business domain, there were just seventeen utterances coded as apologies anywhere in the sequence. In only two of them were there any kind of apologetic performatives (*pero no lo hice, perdóneme* “but I didn’t do it, forgive me (f.)” (Rena 4); *sinceramente viste, vos disculpá la imprudencia pero* → “sincerely you know, pardon the imprudence but →” (Fabiana 1)). The rest were subject to interpretation based on coding schemes from apology speech act research (e.g., Olshtain and Cohen 1983). Thirteen of the seventeen tokens were produced during service encounters, including the two cited above. Within supportive moves, there were ten tokens, seven of which were with same-power addressees, one with an addressee of higher power and two for which the relative power data were missing. Besides the performatives mentioned, the rest were primarily acknowledgements of responsibility (e.g., *me olvidé. me olvidé del ultimo recibo* “I forgot. I forgot the last receipt” (Ela 6)) and explanations or accounts (e.g., *mirá . . . es que quería tener una respuesta*: “look . . . it’s that I wanted to have an answer [for you]” (Ana 18)). The overall lack of apologies in these data—both for the business domain and as a whole—was surprising and points to a potential pragmatic difference between these speakers and those of other speech communities and language groups.

The major conclusion of this section is that the data support Brown and Levinson’s (1987) theory of politeness regarding power and (in)directness. Where the participant was in a power position over the addressee, there was more direct (i.e., bald-on-record) refusal head acts, fewer mitigating moves, less post-refusal small talk

and, therefore, shorter refusal sequences. Where the participant was in a position of equal or less power, the opposite was true: we found more indirect, less bald-on-record refusals, more mitigating moves, downgraders, post-refusal small talk and, as a result, lengthier refusal sequences. The idea behind this theory is that, as one's position fluctuates relative to the status of the interlocutor, so does the risk involved regarding the prerogatives of the power-holder (rewards, consequences, etc.). The riskier the situation, the more a speaker will resort to tactics that mitigate face threats, in this case rejection. Such tactics can be realized by indirectness as well as external and internal modifiers that downgrade the speaker's stance, in an effort to preserve the interlocutors' face. The data were also illustrative of Scollon and Scollon's (2001) hierarchical politeness system: those of superior power used language expressing involvement (e.g., direct speech, fewer distancing strategies) and those in subordinate positions used language expressing independence (e.g., indirect speech, attenuation). Additionally, it was noted that the (non)tentativeness with which a refusal was delivered was not equivalent to (in)directness, and that the degree of tentativeness could be influenced by the participant-addressee relationship, the level of trust and contexts of contact. These and other facets of social distance are the focus of the next section.

Social Distance

This section deals with to what extent the selection of refusal strategies can be attributed to the social distance between the participant and her addressee. There are many points to make about this variable; first, a definition is in order: social distance is "a dimension of variation relating to the level of intimacy between participants in an interaction, on a scale from 'distant' to 'intimate'" (Jackson 2007: 89). It is presumed

that the more “intimate” the relationship, the greater the degree of solidarity, as opposed to power or status, between interlocutors (Jackson 2007).

Second, as is evident from the above definition, from a theoretical standpoint, social distance is a key factor for determining the linguistic strategies one will employ in any given exchange. Brown and Levinson (1987) brought this to the forefront with their theory of politeness in which “distance,” along with “power” and “ranking,” was said to determine the “weightiness” of an imposition, and therefore the strategic path that an interlocutor would take to negotiate a particular situation. The notion of social distance has been taken up in subsequent works (e.g., Milroy 1980; Herbert 1986; Wolfson 1988; Boxer 1993; Holmes 1995; Scollon and Scollon 2001) and incorporated in the methodological design of many experimental studies (e.g., Blum-Kulka et al. 1984; Mir 1992; García 1999; Wagner 1999; Márquez Reiter 2000; Félix-Brasdefer 2008). It is fully accepted that social distance plays an important role in conversational interaction; the question is how and to what extent for any given group of people.

Third, however, is the problem of operationalizing this construct into a measurable quantity. (The same can also be said for relative power.) In experimental studies, this is less of a problem, because the relationships are controlled, if not contrived (another issue altogether). But in everyday, spontaneous face-to-face interactions in which people communicate with others with whom they share varied and nuanced relationships, it is a challenge not only to categorize these relationships, but also to “score” them in terms of social distance. In the literature, typical operationalizations of social distance include ranges of categories, such as: intimates,

status-equal friends, co-workers, acquaintances, status unequals,¹⁵ strangers (Wolfson 1988; 1989); intimates, friends, strangers (Boxer 1993); and + Distant, - Distant (Félix Brasdefer 2008). While these categorizations seem objective enough, they are simplistic and lack the ability to accommodate nuance. By simplistic I do not necessarily mean that the researchers should add more categories to their scheme—all research requires a certain reduction of data to be manageable—but that they are simplistic in their underlying assumptions. In the above categorization schemes, it is assumed that 1) all friends, for example, are equally trustworthy and therefore meritorious of the same confidence, and 2) that there is an inherent and, by implication, universal order to these categories in terms of less-to-more social distance, without actually measuring them by alternate means to see if this is so.

Fourth, noting the necessity of taking social distance into account and the problems associated with doing so, I have given my best attempt in approaching this multi-faceted variable. In the follow-up sessions with the participants, I asked them to characterize their relationship with each of their various addressees in terms of five measures: role (partner, friend, boss, colleague, etc.), frequency of contact, level of familiarity (knowing), level of trust and the number of contexts in which the two interacted.¹⁶ Answers to the first question resulted in eleven categories listed in Table 6-21. For the questions pertaining to contact, knowing and trusting the addressee, I employed a Likert scale to gather participant input, while for the question concerning contexts of interaction I allowed a free response (Appendix B).

¹⁵ Note the conflation of power and social distance in the categories of status-equal friends and status unequals.

¹⁶ This last question speaks to Milroy's (1980) research regarding simplex versus multiplex social networks.

After compiling and examining the results for all participant-addressee dyads, I reduced the responses to each of the latter four questions into one of three categories, ranging from a least score of 1 (little to no contact, not knowing the addressee well or at all, little to no trust, one context of interaction) to a most score of 3 (daily contact to multiple interactions a day, knowing the addressee very well/intimately, very much trust, three or more contexts of interaction). The score of 2 included intermediate responses such as some contact, knowing the addressee more or less well, trusting the addressee some to quite, and two contexts of interaction. Given that I was trying to construct five measures with the plan to study them both independently and together, my goal was to reduce the data in a way that would maintain important differences, while being manageable. (A binary (i.e., +/-) system would have been too reductionist, while more categories would have made comparisons unwieldy.)

After several attempts to effectively combine all five measures, I developed the following variables: 1) a composite social distance score (min. 4, max. 12) derived from adding the scores of the latter four questions,¹⁷ 2) an average distance-intimacy score, which averaged the composite social distance score for each of the eleven categories of role (based on a cross-tabulation that revealed the role and score for each refusal sequence)¹⁸ and 3) a role-distance measure, which rounded the average distance-intimacy score to the nearest whole number in order to create three categories that could be compared by a non-parametric independent samples test (Tables 6-22, 6-23).

¹⁷ This idea came from Milroy's (1980) scoring system for social networks.

¹⁸ I then divided this average by four (for the four questions) in order to replicate the three-part scale of each of the social distance variables: contact, know, trust, contexts.

These three categories parallel the categories for the four social distance measures, where 1 corresponds to most distance and 3 to most intimacy.

Tables 6-23 and 6-24 show how the various roles divided into the categories 1 through 3, and the number of refusal sequences per each. Agents, workplace subordinates and “other” business-related addressees (e.g., clients, superiors) fell into the least intimate category. Acquaintances, equal-status work colleagues and I as the researcher classified as mid-range in terms of distance/intimacy. Friends, surprisingly, garnered the second highest average score, placing this role just below that of partner as most intimate, followed by “other” family, parents and siblings.¹⁹ In this way, I established a replicable, more-rigorous basis for ordering the roles along the social distance continuum (more distant to more intimate).

Tables 6-25 through 6-31 give the results for the five individual social distance measures and the composite role-distance measure. Individually, each obtained some significant differences for one or more semantic strategies. For addressee relationship (a.k.a. role), participants employed mitigating moves significantly more with those in “other” business roles than with partners (93% versus 52%, $p < 0.01$) or workplace subordinates (93% versus 50%, $p < 0.01$). The same was true for downgraders between “other” business addressees and partners (67% versus 21%, $p < 0.05$). Also, they engaged in post-refusal small talk to a significantly greater extent with acquaintances more so than with siblings (70% versus 15%, $p < 0.01$), but not significantly more with friends (70% versus 55%). These findings corroborate the notion that increased social

¹⁹ Based on qualitative evaluation, the category of subordinate (1.5) was rounded down to one and the category of sibling (2.5) up to three.

distance triggers increased efforts to attend to face needs, but that the type of relationship must also be taken into account.

Regarding frequency of contact, participants used more downgraders when refusing those with whom they interacted the least (63% versus 38%, $p < 0.01$); this was also the case with those whom they trusted the least (52% versus 31%, $p < 0.05$). The table for “contact” (Tables 6-26) reveals linear patterns that follow Brown and Levinson’s view of social distance, where there is an expectation of more potentially face-saving strategies (e.g., indirect head acts, mitigating moves and downgraders) with those of less contact and, by implication, greater social distance; and, conversely, more potentially non-face-saving strategies (e.g., bald-on rejections, aggravating moves and upgraders) with those of more contact/less social distance. For “trust” (Table 6-28) the data fell more in line with Wolfson’s “Bulge” theory. This theory predicts more potentially face-saving strategies with those of intermediate levels of trust and, by implication, the greatest levels of uncertainty in the relationship; and, conversely, more potentially non-face-saving strategies with those on the extreme ends of the trust spectrum, which are representative of the most certain relationships.

Contexts of contact revealed little by way of significant differences, except that refusals to addressees with whom the participant shared two interactional contexts more often contained indirect head acts than those with whom the participant shared only one (63% versus 47%, $p < 0.05$). This seems counterintuitive, except that the roles most often categorized as sharing one context (e.g., subordinates, agents) were all pertinent to the business domain. We recall that in the business domain there was a tendency to disfavor indirect head acts, especially with workplace subordinates and in

service encounters. In this way, the domain of interaction and the relative power of the addressee played into this result. The data (Table 6-29) displayed some patterns similar to “contact” and some similar to “trust,” but were overall less consistent.

How well a participant knew her interlocutor appears to have had the greatest singular impact on the selection of refusal strategies, and adhered to the “Bulge” theory for four of eight measures (Table 6-27): mean refusal turns at talk, indirect and direct head acts and mitigating moves.²⁰ Indirect head acts, aggravating moves, downgraders and upgraders all displayed significant differences by categories of “know.” With those whom they knew a moderate amount they employed more indirect head acts than with those whom they knew little to not at all (65% versus 47%, $p < 0.05$). Besides conforming to a “Bulge” pattern, we can attribute a large part of this result to the effect of the business domain, in which direct head acts dominated in service encounters and with subordinates despite lower levels of intimacy. As expected, knowing someone very well/intimately resulted in more aggravating moves (36% versus 18%, $p < 0.05$), more upgraders (49% versus 34%, $p = 0.050$) and fewer downgraders (32% versus 55%, $p < 0.05$) than knowing someone little to not at all. In this respect the intimate end of the role-distance measure conflated with the domestic domain in that all roles, except for “friend,” were partners or family members. These strategies (aggravating moves, downgraders and, marginally, upgraders) plus post-refusal small talk, conformed more to Brown and Levinson’s theory of social distance than to the “Bulge.”

²⁰ The eight measures were: mean RTT, RS% for indirect head acts, direct head acts, supportive moves (2), downgraders, upgraders and post-refusal small talk. The pattern for upgraders was so marginal between the least and intermediate levels that I considered it as not conforming to the “Bulge”.

While these results shed light on the individual impact that each of the social distance measures had on the realization of refusals, a more comprehensive view of the social distance variables is also warranted. For this, I now turn to the average distance-intimacy score and the role-distance measure to give an overall picture of the effect of social distance on the major refusal strategies.²¹

Using the average distance-intimacy score assigned to each refusal sequence based on the addressee's role, I detected various significant correlations (Figure 6-19). As distance increased, so did the use of mitigating moves and downgraders; conversely, as intimacy increased, so did the use of aggravating moves and upgraders. Overall, the average distance-intimacy score did not correlate with the number of refusals per sequence, the (in)directness of head acts or instances of post-refusal small talk. The role-distance measure produced corroborative results in terms of category comparisons. Recall that 1 is most distant, 2 intermediate and 3 most intimate. For (in)directness, the intermediate category boasted more indirect head acts than the most distant category ($2 > 1$, $p < 0.01$), and vice versa for direct head acts ($1 > 2$, $p < 0.05$). Again, the effects of the business domain and the certainty of relationships reflected by the lower relative power of many addressees help explain these results.

Supportive moves followed the expected patterns: mitigating moves were more prevalent in higher distance scenarios and aggravating moves in those of greater intimacy. Refusals to intimates displayed fewer mitigating moves than refusals to intermediates ($2 > 3$, $p < 0.05$) and more aggravating moves ($3 > 2$, $p < 0.05$). Post-refusal

²¹ An added benefit is that these two measures reincorporate cases for which data were missing ($n=9$) by calculating an average for the category of interlocutor (using the cases for which no social distance data were missing, $n=234$) and applying that average to the previously excluded cases, based on their interlocutor category.

small talk, on the other hand, formed a “Bulge” pattern in which it occurred significantly more with those of the intermediate role-distance category than with those of the other categories ($2>1$, $p<0.05$; $2>3$, $p<0.01$).

Holding constant the domain of interaction, I detected further correlations and differences between categories. For business-related refusals, the use of direct head acts correlated negatively with the average distance-intimacy score ($-.196$, $p<0.05$). In other words, the use of direct head acts tended to favor a high distance/low intimacy environment in the business domain. We recall this being the case, especially when participants would refuse offers of goods during service encounters. The average distance-intimacy scores in the business domain ranged from 1.2 to 2.8, with the majority at 1.5 and below (Figure 6-20).

In the domestic domain, the positive correlations between intimacy, aggravating moves and upgraders were stronger than for the overall data set. The relationship measured at $.271$ ($p<0.01$) for aggravating moves and $.222$ ($p=0.010$) for upgraders. The average distance-intimacy score for this domain ranged from 1.6 to 3.0, with the majority at 2.5 and higher. While, potentially, there are still nuances to be teased out even among the most intimate relationships, these stronger correlations are supportive of the importance of domain for explaining certain linguistic phenomena.

In the social domain, where the average distance-intimacy scores were the most evenly distributed between 1.2 and 2.8, the majority falling between 1.6 and 2.6 inclusively, two notable relationships emerged: the strongest measure for upgraders at $.308$ ($p<0.01$) and a stronger, but negatively correlated, result for small talk ($-.238$) that approached significance ($p=0.053$). These findings reiterate what has been posited

before about social distance, particularly in the social domain where relationships can be less certain: the less distance there is between the participants of an exchange, the less need there will be to do the “dance of negotiation” (Boxer 2002: 22), resulting in, for example, an increased use of upgraders. On the other hand, the more distance there is, the more participants might feel it necessary to engage in face-affirming and rapport-building acts, such as small talk (Coupland 2000; Boxer 2002).

The role-distance measure did not produce as many significant differences as with the average distance-intimacy score in terms of domains. The only significant difference that held up to this method was for post-refusal small talk in the social domain, which underscored the finding of less small talk with intimates ($2 > 3$, $p < 0.01$). However, this analysis still displayed several patterns of interest, including strong support for the “Bulge” theory. (The frequencies for the major semantic strategies by role-distance distance measure and domain are shown in Tables 6-30 and 6-31.)

The RS% for the major strategies form the data points for the charts in Figures 6-21 to 6-26, herein referred to as the “Bulge” charts. Overall, the data based on the role-distance measure patterned according to the “Bulge” theory (Figure 6-21). All formed a noticeable bulge (i.e., “Λ”) at the mid-range, except for upgraders and downgraders, which conformed more to Brown and Levinson’s linear view of social distance. Direct head acts, aggravating moves and upgraders, which often (though not always) indicated less tentative/more aggressive speech, would be less expected theoretically at the mid-range. Therefore, the line connecting the data points had to form the inverse shape (i.e., “V”) in order to be considered supportive of the theory.

Business-oriented refusals conformed least to the “Bulge” and not at all to Brown and Levinson’s view (Figure 6-22). For domestic-oriented refusals there were no data for the “distant” category (Figure 6-23), so only comparisons could be made between the mid-range and intimate categories.²² With the exception of indirect head acts—which increased slightly with intimacy rather than decreased—all strategies can be said to have fulfilled the predictions of either theory, since both predict less relational work with intimates than with those of intermediate social distance. Of note is that even within the domestic domain there were greater and lesser levels of intimacy.

Social-oriented refusals, on the other hand, were the most supportive of the “Bulge” theory (Figure 6-24). All strategies patterned according to Wolfson’s predictions except for upgraders. Upgrading conformed, instead, to Brown and Levinson’s theory in which social distance maps linearly, i.e., as intimacy increases, so do strategies more apt to threaten face.

To illustrate, I present the following two examples from the social and domestic domains of interaction. Though they differ in certain respects (e.g., age and education level of the participant), they give a clear picture of the effects of social distance on refusal behavior. The first is example (14) from Chapter 5 (reprinted for convenience) in which Mar refuses an invitation by a male acquaintance, Santi, their relationship being one of mid-range social distance. In the second example, Ana refuses an “invitation” (i.e., offer) from her husband Roger, with whom she shares an intimate relationship.

(16) Refusal to invitation by male acquaintance, mid-range social distance, social-oriented talk, public setting, Centro (Mar 3)

²² “Mid-range” in the domestic domain included long-term house guests, generally considered part of the family, domestic help and acquaintances cast in a caretaker role of another family member.

((In the plaza, Mar and Santi run into each other. After some interaction, Santi indirectly invites her for coffee, which she refuses with an indefinite reply.))

- 1 Santi: =cuándo me vas a invitar a tomar un café.=
=when are you going to invite me out for coffee.=
- 2 Mar: =en cualquier [momento. @@@
=anytime @@@
- 3 Santi: [eh bueno.
[eh okay.
- 4 Mar: @@ en cualquier momento, en cualquier momento. ((voz risuena))
@@ anytime, anytime ((smile voice)).
- 5 Santi: entonces, la la, este:: la invito yo primero.=
so then, you ((formal)), you, uh:: I ((emph.)) will invite you first.=
- 6 Mar: =bueno. vamos a ver entonces. [nos vem-- ((voz risuena))
=okay. we'll see then. [see yo— ((smile voice))
- 7 Santi: [bueno che y hay algo de las elecciones?
[so *che* ((affiliative alerter)) and any news about the elections?
- 8 Mar: todo ahí tranquilo quedó.=
everything's calmed down.=
- ((post-refusal small talk continues for various lines more))

(17) Refusal to invitation/offer by male partner, intimates, domestic-oriented talk, private setting, Centro (Ana 19)

((At home, after lunch, Roger and Ana are in the kitchen. Roger "invites" her with some tea left over in the pot from the morning, but she refuses directly with repeated *nos*.)

- 1 Roger: vos querés también? ((té))
you ((emph.)) want some too? ((tea))
- 2 Ana: Sí/::\.

YE::\S.

3 Roger: ((mirando la tetera)) pero no queda nada. ((té ya hecho))
((looking in pot)) but there's none left. ((tea already made))

4 Ana: hay que hervir agua.=
((we)) have to boil wáter.=

5 Roger: =yo te invito, te invito [con esto o vos hacés más.
=I invite you, I invite you with this or are you gonna make more. ((referring to a scant amount left))

6 Ana: [no::, no no no:, si mamá también to:ma y Viole tal vez también. /agregamos! agregamos /agua. yo no tengo agua caliente para lavar.=
[no::, no no no:, ((lit if)) mom also will drink some and Viole perhaps too. /let's add! let's add some /water. I don't have any hot water to wash ((dishes)).
((noise of pots clanking))

7 Roger: =no calentaste?
=you didn't heat up ((water))?
((followed by more noise of pots clanking))

In (16) we see the effects of mid-range social distance on Santi's invitation and Mar's refusal. Santi's invitation is indirect to the point that it casts Mar in the role of the inviter and him as the invitee (line 1). Mar's response is also indirect: two indefinite replies involving conventionalized postponements (lines 4, 6), both downgraded by laughter and smile voice, and also mitigated by the vague agreement indicated by the discourse marker *bueno* (line 6). The uncertainty of the relationship is underscored by the engagement in small talk launched with a topic shift immediately following the second refusal (lines 7-8).

The refusal and subsequent interaction in (17) is quite different. Roger's two propositions (lines 1, 5) are direct to the point of using a performative (*yo te invito* "I

invite you”). Though direct, the formalized style of the performative is open to polite interpretation, displaying Roger’s desire to attend to Ana. Ana refuses this second proposition with a bald-on *no*, upgraded by vowel elongation and repetition (line 6). But unlike Mar’s more vague mitigation tactics, Ana mitigates by giving specific reasons (*si mamá también to:ma* “Mom also will drink some”) and justifying her insistence upon boiling additional water by claiming hardship (*yo no tengo agua caliente para lavar* “I don’t have any hot water to wash [dishes]”).²³ Of final note is the post-refusal interaction, indicative of their intimate relationship: in contrast to Santi’s topic shift into small talk, Roger’s reaction was to ask, almost incredulously, if she had not already heated up the water for washing dishes (line 7). To this Ana gives no audible response.

I now briefly examine these data by the participants’ neighborhood of residence. Due to the somewhat distinct make-up of addressee roles within the Centro and Pastoreo groups, each made unique contributions toward the tendencies of certain strategies. (Note that this was not as evident when taking the different social distance measures individually.) As the average distance-intimacy score increased, there was a slight tendency for participants from the Pastoreo to use more indirect head acts (.187, $p < 0.05$), presumably because of the direct-heavy subordinate role found on the more distant side of the continuum. Also, they were somewhat more likely to use aggravating moves (.175, $p < 0.05$) and upgraders (.200, $p < 0.05$) as intimacy increased. There were no significant differences among role-distance categories for the Pastoreo group.

The Centro group, on the other hand, displayed more relationships correlating in the negative direction. As social distance increased, those from the Centro were more

²³ My impression of her tone was that it was animated and solidary, rather than aggressive or impatient. Also for this reason I coded them as mitigating moves.

likely to refuse using mitigating moves (-.185, $p < 0.01$), modify with downgraders (-.249, $p < 0.01$) and participate in post-refusal small talk (-.236, $p < 0.01$). Also, various differences between role-distance categories obtained significance. (In)directness in Centro head acts echoed the pattern of the overall data set at the same levels of significance, indicating a “Bulge” pattern. Mitigating moves were the least prevalent in the most intimate category ($3 < 1$ and $3 < 2$, $p < 0.05$), as were downgrading and post-refusal small talk ($3 < 1$ and $3 < 2$, $p < 0.01$).

The “Bulge” charts for the Pastoreo and Centro groups (Figures 6-25, 6-26) show moderate support for this theory and some support for Brown and Levinson’s view of social distance. The strongest support for the “Bulge” came from the Centro group for which five of the seven strategies fit the prescribed pattern: indirect and direct head acts, aggravating moves, downgraders (though not as strongly) and post-refusal small talk. The remaining two, mitigating moves and upgraders, followed the linear view of social distance. In the Pastoreo group four of the seven obtained: direct head acts, aggravating/mitigating moves and post-refusal small talk. Only upgraders followed the linear view; in fact, upgraders plotted according to this view in every “Bulge” chart, except for that of the business domain.

To conclude this section, the major point is that social distance played a strong part in how the participants of this study refused. Like many studies before, the present study contrasted distance with intimacy along a simplified continuum and plotted out how the major refusal strategies patterned according to various measures. Unlike other studies, however, it attempted to more rigorously and accurately establish the place of relationships/roles along that continuum, instead of solely relying on assumptions a

priori. While the role-distance measure is not perfectly reflective of the many nuances within a role category—a shortcoming that can be minimized with more fine-tuning, but not eradicated—it did prove to be a useful tool to guide the discussion on social distance and to uncover some provocative patterns pertaining to two relevant theories: Wolfson’s “Bulge” and Brown and Levinson’s linear view of social distance.

The five measures that constituted the role-distance aggregate contributed to the variance in refusal behavior and to our understanding of social distance. Viewing the data by role category showed that increased social distance often triggered increased efforts to attend to face-needs and interpersonal rapport, but that this was not independent of relationship type. In other words, as we saw with friends and siblings, two intimate roles could incur the same strategy, but to a different extent. Frequency of contact and level of trust proved somewhat predictive of refusal strategy behavior, though in different ways. “Contact” followed the pattern predicted by Brown and Levinson’s view and “trust” that of Wolfson’s “Bulge.” Contexts of contact provided less consistent results and did not seem to be as strong of a predictor as initially hypothesized, likely because of the interaction of this factor with the variables for domain and relative power. The extent to which the participant knew the addressee was the most salient of the five measures, in terms of correlations and significant differences. Regarding theory, the way in which the data plotted for “know” supported Wolfson to a greater extent than Brown and Levinson. Thus, for these five measures, “role” and “know” were the stand-out factors when examined individually.

Examining the refusal patterns within various slices of data pointed primarily to the importance of domain for understanding the inner-workings of social distance.

Different domains displayed markedly different trends by role-measure category. The social domain was the most supportive of the “Bulge” theory. All strategies patterned according to Wolfson’s predictions except for upgraders, which consistently plotted according to Brown and Levinson’s linear view. These data corroborate the conclusions of Chapter 5 in which I posit that taking a domain-based approach would help reconcile Wolfson’s and Boxer’s opposed assertions regarding social distance (taken up further in Chapter 7). Also, further research could investigate the extent to which the refusal strategies themselves are sensitive to the distance-intimacy continuum.

Summary

This chapter has covered much ground with regard to the many extralinguistic and social factors that could be predicted to play a role in the realization of refusal behavior. The characteristics of the participant, those of the addressee and the relationship between the two all affected how the various refusal sequences played out. Because factors conflated, e.g., age and education level, socioeconomic status and power), it was not always possible to isolate one or the other and tell how that factor specifically affected the linguistic outcome. For this reason, I took a mixed-methods approach to signal trends least likely to be idiosyncratic and most likely to be attributable to particular characteristic(s).

In the first section, I dealt with variables pertaining to the participant: age, years of formal education and socioeconomic status/neighborhood of residence. In the second section, I examined social variables pertaining to the addressee and the relationship of this person with the participant: the addressee’s sex, relative age, education level and socioeconomic status, relative power (business domain only) and factors relating to social distance. These factors included the addressee’s role relative

to the participant, frequency of contact, level of familiarity, level of trust, and the number of contexts in which they interacted.

The general findings are that the participant's age and education level were significantly related to refusal behavior, and that age was the stronger predictor of the two. Age was seen to covary with head act type, supportive moves, downgraders and specific linguistic strategies. Education level was most significantly linked to the distribution of post-refusal small talk, and other linguistic strategies such as requesting information and claiming common ground. Socioeconomic status/neighborhood of residence was not a strong predictor for the types of refusal behaviors encountered, although some linguistic strategies stood out, like the use of proper names for the lower SES. The extended use of proper names in refusals (i.e., in domains other than domestic) was considered to be a potential marker for SES and/or neighborhood of residence for the participants of this study. Though the reported patterns for age, education level and SES/neighborhood of residence were consistent across domains, the effects of domain and social distance were still evident.

Regarding addressee characteristics, the analysis suggests that factors pertaining to social distance and the sex of the addressee accounted for the most variance in refusal behavior. The next most influential factor was, arguably, relative power (as analyzed within the business domain), followed by relative age, education level and socioeconomic status. For the latter four factors, there were gaps in the data for some categories that made it difficult to ascertain patterns across groups, though qualitative analyses of highlighted refusal sequences revealed potential effects (e.g., Mar's refusal behavior with Berta). But, as was frequently mentioned over the course of

the chapter, the domain of interaction was frequently salient, as were other social variables. For instance, the way the data would pattern for one variable (e.g., relative age) would point to the concomitant effects of another (e.g., social distance).

Recalling differences potentially caused by distinct orientations to male and female addressees, it was noteworthy that female addressees received a greater relative percentage of tactics typically associated with “face-watching” (my term) (i.e., indirect head acts, mitigating moves and downgraders), while male addressees received a greater relative portion of utterances often considered to be “face-threatening” or, at least, unconcerned with face-needs (i.e., direct head acts, aggravating moves and upgraders). Of course, I reject the notion that these strategies are inherently one or the other: For example, not every upgrader was “face-threatening,” as when Fabiana intensified her apology with *sinceramente*, which was quite face-concerned. But to speak of trends regarding women, men and politeness, Holmes found that “New Zealand women tended to use the hedging and boosting devices analysed as politeness strategies more often than men” (1995: 113). Does this also suggest that women would also use more of these “devices” with other women? And, by implication, that women are generally more polite when refusing women than with men? Though these data might lend themselves in part to this interpretation, further research is in order. I discuss this question further in Chapter 7.

Regarding social distance, my attempt to unpack this variable led to an investigation of the role category, frequency of contact, level of trust, level of familiarity and number of interactional contexts shared with each addressee. Examining the various role categories in conjunction with the other factors proved most insightful in two

respects: 1) for the development of a measure of social distance that projected fewer preconceived assumptions regarding distance/intimacy onto a particular role and 2) for comparing the extent to which the data upheld either of two established theoretical views of social distance, i.e., Wolfson's "Bulge" (1988) and Brown and Levinson's (1987) linear view. In the first case, this measure was quite useful for honing in on significant patterns in a manageable way, though more fine-tuning is in order to better incorporate relational nuance. In the second, Wolfson's "Bulge" was applicable more often than Brown and Levinson's view, although these findings were constrained by both the domain of interaction and the refusal strategy itself. Thus, examining refusal patterns along various lines underscored the importance of domain for understanding the inner-workings of social distance, and also pointed to the need to investigate the extent to which individual refusal strategies are sensitive to distance, intimacy and the space in between.

Table 6-1. Age, formal education and socioeconomic status of participants by number of participants and refusal sequences (RS)

	Participants		RSs	
Age				
18 to 25	2	20%	39	16.0%
26 to 40	6	60%	164	67.5%
41 to 61	2	20%	40	16.5%
Total	10	100%	243	100%
Education (years)				
6 to 9	4	40%	65	26.7%
10 to 11	3	30%	104	42.8%
12+	3	30%	74	30.5%
Total	10	100%	243	100%
SES/Barrio				
1/Pastoreo	5	50%	102	42%
2/Centro	5	50%	141	58%
Total	10	100%	243	100%

Table 6-2. Refusal turns, sequences, sequence types and strategies by participant age group

	18 to 25	26 to 40	41 to 61
RTT	61	244	65
RS	39	164	40
Mean RTT	1.56	1.49	1.63
RS_INDonly	17	69	11
	44%	42%	28%
RS_DIRonly	15	74	20
	38%	45%	50%
RS_Both	7	21	9
	18%	13%	23%
HAInd	32	137	25
HAInd (adj)	82	84	63
HAInd RS%	62%	55%	50%
HADir	29	107	40
HADir (adj)	74	65	100
HADir RS%	56%	58%	73%
SMA	24	42	20
SMA (adj)	62	26	50
SMA RS%	41%	21%	30%
SMM	26	208	52
SMM (adj)	67	127	130
SMM RS%	51%	67%	73%
DnG	12	129	32
DnG (adj)	31	79	80
DnG RS%	26%	46%	43%
UpG	28	83	31
UpG (adj)	72	51	78
UpG RS%	41%	36%	45%
Small talk	8	72	16
Small talk RS%	21%	44%	40%

Table 6-3. Linguistic strategies by participant age group

	18 to 25	26 to 40	41 to 61
HAAttax	4	3	2
HAAttax (adj)	10	2	5
HAAttax RS%	10%	2%	3%
HAEmotExp	2	10	9
HAEmotExp (adj)	5	6	23
HAEmotExp RS%	3%	6%	23%
HAEndearTerm	4	4	2
HAEndearTerm (adj)	10	2	5
HAEndearTerm RS%	10%	2%	5%
HANo	11	75	30
HANo (adj)	28	46	75
HANo RS%	28%	41%	58%
HAPropName	7	12	1
HAPropName (adj)	18	7	3
HAPropName RS%	18%	7%	3%
SMCompEmp		4	4
SMCompEmp (adj)		2	10
SMCompEmp RS%		2%	10%
SMPauseFill	1	2	11
SMPauseFill (adj)	3	1	28
SMPauseFill RS%	3%	1%	13%
SMPropName	3	2	
SMPropName (adj)	8	1	
SMPropName RS%	8%	1%	
RTTAlt	7	18	11
RTTAlt (adj)	18	11	28
RTTAlt RS%	18%	10%	25%
RTTEmotExp	5	13	13
RTTEmotExp (adj)	13	8	33
RTTEmotExp RS%	8%	8%	28%
RTTNo	11	78	30
RTTNo (adj)	28	48	75
RTTNo RS%	28%	41%	58%
RTTPauseFill		3	10
RTTPauseFill (adj)		2	25
RTTPauseFill RS%		2%	13%
RTTPropName	8	16	1
RTTPropName (adj)	21	10	3
RTTPropName RS%	21%	9%	3%

Table 6-3. Continued

	18 to 25	26 to 40	41 to 61
CompEmp		7	7
CompEmp (adj)		4	18
CompEmp RS%		3%	13%
EmotExp	7	17	14
EmotExp (adj)	18	10	35
EmotExp RS%	13%	10%	28%
HedgeSU	4	74	20
HedgeSU (adj)	10	45	50
HedgeSU RS%	10%	29%	30%
PauseFill	1	4	13
PauseFill (adj)	3	2	33
PauseFill RS%	3%	2%	13%
Postpone		12	6
Postpone (adj)		7	15
Postpone RS%		5%	13%
PropName	10	16	1
PropName (adj)	26	10	3
PropName RS%	23%	9%	3%

Table 6-4. Refusal turns, sequences, sequence types and strategies by years of formal education

	6 to 9	10 to 11	12+
RTT	104	158	108
RS	65	104	74
Mean RTT	1.60	1.52	1.46
RS_INDonly	30	41	26
	46%	39%	35%
RS_DIRonly	28	44	37
	43%	42%	50%
RS_Both	7	19	11
	11%	18%	15%
HAInd	62	84	48
HAInd (adj)	95	81	65
HAInd RS%	57%	58%	50%
HADir	42	74	60
HADir (adj)	65	71	81
HADir RS%	54%	61%	65%
SMA	18	39	29
SMA (adj)	28	38	39
SMA RS%	22%	27%	27%
SMM	105	96	85
SMM (adj)	162	92	115
SMM RS%	71%	59%	70%
DnG	66	56	51
DnG (adj)	102	54	69
DnG RS%	48%	37%	46%
UpG	37	64	41
UpG (adj)	57	62	55
UpG RS%	40%	38%	36%
<i>sí + pero</i> [x]	15	7	7
<i>sí + pero</i> [x] RS%	17%	4%	8%
Small talk	42	20	34
Small talk RS%	65%	19%	46%

Table 6-5. Mitigating moves by participant age and education level

Age:	Edu level:			Total SMM RS (age)	Total SMM RS% (age)
	primary	mid-range	secondary		
25 & below RS	21	18		39	
25 & below	16	10			
25 & below (adj)	76	56			
25 & below (case)	12	8			
25 & below RS%	57%	44%			51%
	primary	mid-range	secondary		
26 to 40 RS	44	86	34	164	
26 to 40	89	86	33		
26 to 40 (adj)	202	100	97		
26 to 40 (case)	34	53	23		
26 to 40 RS%	77%	62%	68%		67%
	primary	mid-range	secondary		
41 to 61 RS			40	40	
41 to 61			52		
41 to 61 (adj)			130		
41 to 61 (case)			29		
41 to 61 RS%			73%		73%
Total RS (edu)	65	104	74		
Total RS% (edu)	71%	59%	70%		

Table 6-6. Linguistic strategies by years of formal education

	6 to 9	10 to 11	12+
HACommand	8	19	3
HACommand (adj)	12	18	4
HACommand RS%	11%	16%	4%
HAConfirm	9	2	6
HAConfirm (adj)	14	2	8
HAConfirm RS%	12%	2%	7%
HACounter	25	16	21
HACounter (adj)	38	15	28
HACounter RS%	31%	13%	24%
HADelayIgn	1	23	4
HADelayIgn (adj)	2	22	5
HADelayIgn RS%	2%	18%	5%
HAEmotExp	4	5	12
HAEmotExp (adj)	6	5	16
HAEmotExp RS%	6%	4%	16%
HAInsist	6	2	
HAInsist (adj)	9	2	
HAInsist RS%	8%	2%	
HARepReit	18	40	17
HARepReit (adj)	28	38	23
HARepReit RS%	28%	36%	18%
HASmtInfo		7	
HASmtInfo (adj)		7	
HASmtInfo RS%		7%	
SMAgree	7	2	5
SMAgree (adj)	11	2	7
SMAgree RS%	9%	1%	5%
SMApCaj	14	3	6
SMApCaj (adj)	22	3	8
SMApCaj RS%	12%	3%	5%
SMConfirm	26	15	17
SMConfirm (adj)	40	14	23
SMConfirm RS%	25%	9%	16%
SMDoubtH			3
SMDoubtH (adj)			4
SMDoubtH RS%			4%
SMPropName	4	1	
SMPropName (adj)	6	1	
SMPropName RS%	6%	1%	
SMReason	28	22	28
SMReason (adj)	43	21	38
SMReason RS%	35%	18%	28%
SMReqInfo	1	4	8
SMReqInfo (adj)	2	4	11
SMReqInfo RS%	2%	4%	11%
SMStmtInfo	5	8	14
SMStmtInfo (adj)	8	8	19
SMStmtInfo RS%	8%	7%	19%

Table 6-6. Continued

	6 to 9	10 to 11	12+
RTTAlt	12	8	16
RTTAlt (adj)	18	8	22
RTTAlt RS%	17%	8%	20%
RTTCommand	11	26	5
RTTCommand (adj)	17	25	7
RTTCommand RS%	12%	19%	5%
RTTConfirm	28	13	16
RTTConfirm (adj)	43	13	22
RTTConfirm RS%	26%	9%	18%
RTTDelayIgn	3	26	6
RTTDelayIgn (adj)	5	25	8
RTTDelayIgn RS%	5%	21%	8%
RTTEmotExp	7	8	16
RTTEmotExp (adj)	11	8	22
RTTEmotExp RS%	11%	6%	19%
RTTPauseFill		2	11
RTTPauseFill (adj)		2	15
RTTPauseFill RS%		2%	8%
AdjStance	2	8	
AdjStance (adj)	3	8	
AdjStance RS%	3%	8%	
Backchannel			3
Backchannel (adj)			4
Backchannel RS%			4%
CCGSolid	21	12	8
CCGSolid (adj)	32	12	11
CCGSolid RS%	25%	11%	9%
Command	13	28	5
Command (adj)	20	27	7
Command RS%	15%	20%	5%
Confirm	40	20	24
Confirm (adj)	62	19	32
Confirm RS%	32%	12%	23%
DelayIgn	4	26	6
DelayIgn (adj)	6	25	8
DelayIgn RS%	6%	21%	8%
RequInfo	4	16	21
RequInfo (adj)	6	15	28
RequInfo RS%	5%	13%	22%

Table 6-7. Refusal turns, sequences, sequence types and strategies by socioeconomic status/neighborhood of residence

	1/Pastoreo	2/Centro
RTT	149	221
RS	102	141
Mean RTT	1.46	1.57
RS_INDonly	43	54
	42%	38%
RS_DIRonly	44	65
	43%	46%
RS_Both	15	22
	15%	16%
HAInd	80	114
HAInd (adj)	78	81
HAInd RS%	57%	54%
HADir	69	107
HADir (adj)	68	76
HADir RS%	58%	62%
SMA	34	52
SMA (adj)	33	37
SMA RS%	24%	27%
SMM	113	173
SMM (adj)	111	123
SMM RS%	61%	69%
DnG	70	103
DnG (adj)	69	73
DnG RS%	38%	45%
UpG	61	81
UpG (adj)	60	57
UpG RS%	40%	37%
Small talk	39	57
Small talk RS%	38%	40%

Table 6-8. Linguistic strategies by socioeconomic status/neighborhood of residence

	1/Pastoreo	2/Centro
HADelayIgn	7	21
HADelayIgn (adj)	7	15
HADelayIgn RS%	5%	13%
HANo	37	79
HANo (adj)	36	56
HANo RS%	35%	46%
HAPropName	13	7
HAPropName (adj)	13	5
HAPropName RS%	13%	4%
HASelfD	4	
HASelfD (adj)	4	
HASelfD RS%	4%	
RTTDelayIgn	8	27
RTTDelayIgn (adj)	8	19
RTTDelayIgn RS%	6%	18%
RTTDistract	2	14
RTTDistract (adj)	2	10
RTTDistract RS%	2%	9%
RTTNo	37	82
RTTNo (adj)	36	58
RTTNo RS%	35%	46%
RTTPauseFill		13
RTTPauseFill (adj)		9
RTTPauseFill RS%		6%
DelayIgn	8	28
DelayIgn (adj)	8	20
DelayIgn RS%	6%	18%
Distract	7	24
Distract (adj)	7	17
Distract RS%	6%	14%
PropName	17	10
PropName (adj)	17	7
PropName RS%	15%	6%
RequInfo	9	32
RequInfo (adj)	9	23
RequInfo RS%	7%	18%

Table 6-9. Addressee characteristics by no. of addressees, no. of refusal sequences (RS) and by participant socioeconomic status/neighborhood of residence

	Total addressees		Total RS		1/Pastoreo addressees		RS		2/Centro addressees		RS	
Sex												
Female	57	58%	144	59.3%	34	65.4%	63	61.8%	23	57.5%	81	57.4%
Male	38	41%	98	40.3%	18	34.6%	38	37.3%	20	50.0%	60	42.6%
Mixed group	1	1%	1	0.4%	1	1.9%	1	1.0%				
Total	96	100%	243	100.0%	53	101.9%	102	100.0%	43	107.5%	141	100.0%
Missing												
Relative Age												
Younger	17	24%	60	28%	6	21%	13	18%	11	26%	47	33%
Same	16	23%	37	17%	6	21%	7	10%	10	23%	30	21%
Older	38	54%	116	54%	16	57%	52	72%	22	51%	64	45%
Total	71	100%	213	100%	28	100%	72	100%	43	100%	141	100%
Missing			30				30					
Relative Education												
Lower	45	56%	84	38%	29	63%	43	45%	16	46%	41	33%
Same	14	17%	49	22%	4	9%	26	27%	10	29%	23	18%
Higher	22	27%	87	40%	13	28%	26	27%	9	26%	61	49%
Total	81	100%	220	100%	46	100%	95	100%	35	100%	125	100%
Missing			23				7				16	
Relative SES												
Lower	5	6%	8	4%					5	14%	8	6%
Same	72	86%	203	90%	41	85%	82	85%	31	86%	121	94%
Higher	7	8%	14	6%	7	15%	14	15%				
Total	84	100%	225	100%	48	100%	96	100%	36	100%	129	100%
Missing			18				6				12	

Table 6-9. Continued

	Total addressees		Total RS		1/Pastoreo addressees		RS		2/Centro addressees		RS	
Relative Power (Business domain only)												
Lower	24	46%	28	33%	22	61%	26	46%	2	13%	2	7%
Same	23	44%	52	61%	10	28%	27	47%	13	81%	25	89%
Higher	5	10%	5	6%	4	11%	4	7%	1	6%	1	4%
Total	52	100%	85	100%	36	100%	57	100%	16	100%	28	100%
Missing			4								4	
Social Distance (Role-distance measure)												
More distant	50	52%	75	31%	31	58%	42	41%	19	44%	33	23%
Intermediate	16	17%	33	14%	7	13%	12	12%	9	21%	21	15%
More intimate	30	31%	135	56%	15	28%	48	47%	15	35%	87	62%
Total	96	100%	243	100%	53	100%	102	100%	43	100%	141	100%
Missing												

Table 6-10. Addressee's alias and sex

	Female	Male	Total
Aliana	1		1
Antonella	1		1
Besina	1		1
cajera	1		1
cocinera	1		1
Dependiente	1		1
Eliana	1		1
Fancy	1		1
Hilda	1		1
Monica	1		1
Mujer bufanda	1		1
mujer trab10	1		1
mujer trab11	1		1
mujer trab12	1		1
mujer trab2	1		1
mujer trab3	1		1
mujer trab4	1		1
mujer trab5	1		1
mujer trab6	1		1
mujer trab7	1		1
mujer trab8	1		1
mujer trab9	1		1
Pati	1		1
Susana	1		1
Tesina	1		1
Vende telas2	1		1
vendedor/a3	1		1
Violeta	1		1
Violeta	1		1
Zina vende	1		1
Bala		1	1
chico1		1	1
chico2		1	1
Edgar		1	1
hombre		1	1
hombre trab3		1	1
hombre trab4		1	1
hombre trab5		1	1
hombre trab6		1	1
hombre trab7		1	1
hombre trab8		1	1
Hombre verdul		1	1
Juan dueno		1	1
novio		1	1

Table 6-10. Continued

	Female	Male	Total
Pablo trab		1	1
Pato		1	1
Penia carni		1	1
taxista		1	1
Tuli		1	1
Besi	2		2
Chunga	2		2
Ela	2		2
Terisa	2		2
Triza	2		2
vendedor/a2	2		2
Violeta	2		2
Cabrera		2	2
Chiano		2	2
hombre trab2		2	2
Negro vende		2	2
Pedro		2	2
Santi		2	2
Victor		2	2
Berta	3		3
cunada	3		3
Enfermera jubilada	3		3
Gisel	3		3
Isaz	3		3
Josefa	3		3
Nivea	3		3
Topo	3		3
Velita	3		3
Violeta	3		3
Violeta	3		3
carnicero2		3	3
hombre trab1		3	3
Pademar		3	3
Ruperto		3	3
Torquato vende		3	3
Dona	4		4
Mademar	4		4
Vende telas	4		4
Dario		4	4
Abuela Ester	5		5
Vilma	5		5
Pademar		5	5
Roger		5	5
Estevana	6		6

Table 6-10. Continued

	Female	Male	Total
vendedora	6		6
Milton		6	6
Martola	7		7
Pablo		7	7
Roberto		11	11
Andres		12	12
Jenifer	26		26
Total sequences	144	98	242
Total addressees	57	38	95
mean			2.55
median			1
mode			1
range			25

Table 6-11. Refusal turns, sequences, sequence types and strategies by addressee sex

	Female	Male	Missing
RTT	222	147	
RS	144	98	1
Mean RTT	1.54	1.50	
RS_INDonly	61	35	
	42%	36%	
RS_DIRonly	61	48	
	42%	49%	
RS_Both	22	15	
	15%	15%	
HAInd	122	71	
HAInd (adj)	85	72	
HAInd RS%	58%	51%	
HADir	100	76	
HADir (adj)	69	78	
HADir RS%	58%	64%	
SMA	33	53	
SMA (adj)	23	54	
SMA RS%	19%	36%	
SMM	202	82	
SMM (adj)	140	84	
SMM RS%	71%	57%	
DnG	120	52	
DnG (adj)	83	53	
DnG RS%	48%	34%	
UpG	72	70	
UpG (adj)	50	71	
UpG RS%	33%	45%	
Small talk	51	45	
Small talk RS%	30%	39%	

Table 6-12. Refusal turns, sequences, sequence types and strategies for addressee sex by domain and participant neighborhood of residence

	Female	Male	Missing
Business domain			
RS	63	25	1
HAInd	33	7	
HAInd RS%	52%	28%	
HADir	41	19	
HADir RS%	65%	76%	
SMA	11	5	
SMA RS%	17%	20%	
SMM	47	15	
SMM RS%	75%	60%	
UpG	23	8	
UpG RS%	37%	32%	
DnG	37	9	
DnG RS%	59%	36%	
Small talk	23	9	
Small talk RS%	37%	36%	
Domestic domain			
RS	53	54	
HAInd	32	28	
HAInd RS%	60%	52%	
HADir	30	35	
HADir RS%	57%	65%	
SMA	9	24	
SMA RS%	17%	44%	
SMM	35	27	
SMM RS%	66%	50%	
UpG	11	31	
UpG RS%	21%	57%	
DnG	21	14	
DnG RS%	40%	26%	
Small talk	6	16	
Small talk RS%	11%	30%	
Social domain			
RS related\RS	28	19	
HAInd	18	15	
HAInd RS%	64%	79%	
HADir	12	9	
HADir RS%	43%	47%	
SMA	7	6	
SMA RS%	25%	32%	
SMM	20	14	
SMM RS%	71%	74%	

Table 6-12. Continued

	Female	Male	Missing
UpG	14	5	
UpG RS%	50%	26%	
DnG	11	10	
DnG RS%	39%	53%	
Small talk	14	13	
Small talk RS%	50%	68%	
Centro			
RS	81	60	
HAInd	49	27	
HAInd RS%	60%	45%	
HADir	46	41	
HADir RS%	57%	68%	
SMA	15	23	
SMA RS%	19%	38%	
SMM	59	38	
SMM RS%	73%	63%	
UpG	26	26	
UpG RS%	32%	43%	
DnG	40	24	
DnG RS%	49%	40%	
Small talk	21	26	
Small talk RS%	26%	43%	
Centro (Jen. =12)			
RS	67	60	14
SMM	51	38	
SMM RS%	76%	63%	
Small talk	20	26	
Small talk RS%	30%	43%	
Pastoreo			
RS	63	38	1
HAInd	34	23	
HAInd RS%	54%	61%	
HADir	37	22	
HADir RS%	59%	58%	
SMA	12	12	
SMA RS%	19%	32%	
SMM	43	18	
SMM RS%	68%	47%	
UpG	22	18	
UpG RS%	35%	47%	
DnG	29	9	
DnG RS%	46%	24%	
Small talk	22	12	
Small talk RS%	35%	32%	

Table 6-13. Refusal turns, sequences, sequence types and strategies by the relative age of the addressee

Relative age	Younger	Same	Older	Missing
RTT	88	61	187	
RS	60	37	116	30
Mean RTT	1.47	1.65	1.61	
RS_INDonly	28	13	44	
	47%	35%	38%	
RS_DIRonly	23	16	54	
	38%	43%	47%	
RS_Both	9	8	18	
	15%	22%	16%	
HAInd	48	33	97	
HAInd (adj)	80	89	84	
HAInd RS%	62%	57%	53%	
HADir	40	28	90	
HADir (adj)	67	76	78	
HADir RS%	53%	65%	62%	
SMA	13	18	50	
SMA (adj)	22	49	43	
SMA RS%	18%	41%	28%	
SMM	57	55	148	
SMM (adj)	95	149	128	
SMM RS%	65%	65%	68%	
DnG	36	34	87	
DnG (adj)	60	92	75	
DnG RS%	37%	41%	44%	
UpG	29	25	76	
UpG (adj)	48	68	66	
UpG RS%	32%	46%	40%	
Small talk	15	20	51	
Small talk RS%	23%	46%	35%	

Table 6-14. Refusal turns, sequences, sequence types and strategies for relative age by domain and participant neighborhood of residence

Business domain	Younger	Same	Older	Missing
RS	10	18	36	30
HAInd	4	12	15	
HAInd RS%	40%	67%	42%	
HADir	6	12	25	
HADir RS%	60%	67%	69%	
SMA	1	6	6	
SMA RS%	10%	33%	17%	
SMM	8	12	29	
SMM RS%	80%	67%	81%	
DnG	5	10	20	
DnG RS%	50%	56%	56%	
UpG	2	9	12	
UpG RS%	20%	50%	33%	
Small talk	4	8	15	
Small talk RS%	40%	44%	42%	
Domestic domain				
RS	40	13	54	
HAInd	27	6	27	
HAInd RS%	68%	46%	50%	
HADir	22	8	35	
HADir RS%	55%	62%	65%	
SMA	7	6	20	
SMA RS%	18%	46%	37%	
SMM	26	7	29	
SMM RS%	65%	54%	54%	
DnG	15	3	17	
DnG RS%	38%	23%	31%	
UpG	12	5	25	
UpG RS%	30%	38%	46%	
Small talk	5	5	12	
Small talk RS%	13%	38%	22%	
Social domain				
RS	10	6	26	
HAInd	6	3	20	
HAInd RS%	60%	50%	77%	
HADir	4	4	12	
HADir RS%	40%	67%	46%	
SMA	3	3	6	
SMA RS%	30%	50%	23%	
SMM	5	5	21	
SMM RS%	50%	83%	81%	
DnG	2	2	14	
DnG RS%	20%	33%	54%	
UpG	5	3	9	
UpG RS%	50%	50%	35%	
Small talk	5	4	14	
Small talk RS%	50%	67%	54%	

Table 6-14. Continued

Centro	Younger	Same	Older	Missing
RS	47	30	64	
HAInd	28	15	33	
HAInd RS%	60%	50%	52%	
HADir	28	19	40	
HADir RS%	60%	63%	63%	
SMA	8	11	19	
SMA RS%	17%	37%	30%	
SMM	31	20	46	
SMM RS%	66%	67%	72%	
DnG	19	11	34	
DnG RS%	40%	37%	53%	
UpG	14	11	27	
UpG RS%	30%	37%	42%	
Small talk	7	14	26	
Small talk RS%	15%	47%	41%	
Pastoreo				
RS	13	7	52	30
HAInd	9	6	29	
HAInd RS%	69%	86%	56%	
HADir	4	5	32	
HADir RS%	31%	71%	62%	
SMA	3	4	13	
SMA RS%	23%	57%	25%	
SMM	8	4	33	
SMM RS%	62%	57%	63%	
DnG	3	4	17	
DnG RS%	23%	57%	33%	
UpG	5	6	19	
UpG RS%	38%	86%	37%	
Small talk	7	3	15	
Small talk RS%	54%	43%	29%	

Table 6-15. Refusal turns, sequences, sequence types and strategies of much older addressees (n=3) compared with overall and Centro data

	Female	Male	Total	Overall	Centro
RS	6	3	9	116	64
HAInd	3	3	6	62	33
HAInd RS%	50%	100%	67%	53%	52%
HADir	4	1	5	72	40
HADir RS%	67%	33%	56%	62%	63%
SMA	1	0	1	32	19
SMA RS%	17%	0%	11%	28%	30%
SMM	6	2	8	79	46
SMM RS%	100%	67%	89%	68%	72%
DnG	5	3	8	51	34
DnG RS%	83%	100%	89%	44%	53%
UpG	3	0	3	46	27
UpG RS%	50%	0%	33%	40%	42%
Small talk	3	3	6	41	26
Small talk RS%	50%	100%	67%	35%	41%

Table 6-16. Refusal turns, sequences, sequence types and strategies by the relative education level of the addressee

Relative education	Lower	Same	Higher	Missing
RTT	119	71	135	
RS	84	49	87	23
Mean RTT	1.42	1.45	1.55	
RS_INDonly	31	18	39	
	37%	37%	45%	
RS_DIRonly	44	26	33	
	52%	53%	38%	
RS_Both	9	5	15	
	11%	10%	17%	
HAInd	57	33	78	
HAInd (adj)	68	67	90	
HAInd RS%	48%	47%	62%	
HADir	62	38	57	
HADir (adj)	74	78	66	
HADir RS%	63%	63%	55%	
SMA	33	21	26	
SMA (adj)	39	43	30	
SMA RS%	27%	27%	24%	
SMM	85	57	100	
SMM (adj)	101	116	115	
SMM RS%	60%	67%	69%	
DnG	54	39	44	
DnG (adj)	64	80	51	
DnG RS%	44%	45%	33%	
UpG	60	29	38	
UpG (adj)	71	59	44	
UpG RS%	44%	37%	31%	
Small talk	30	24	29	
Small talk RS%	31%	41%	28%	

Table 6-17. Refusal turns, sequences, sequence types and strategies for relative education level by domain and participant neighborhood of residence

Business domain	Lower	Same	Higher	Missing
RS	36	18	20	15
HAInd	13	6	11	
HAInd RS%	36%	33%	55%	
HADir	25	13	13	
HADir RS%	69%	72%	65%	
SMA	6	4	4	
SMA RS%	17%	22%	20%	
SMM	22	14	16	
SMM RS%	61%	78%	80%	
DnG	18	13	7	
DnG RS%	50%	72%	35%	
UpG	15	5	4	
UpG RS%	42%	28%	20%	
Small talk	12	8	7	
Small talk RS%	33%	44%	35%	
Domestic domain				
RS	33	21	50	3
HAInd	17	11	30	
HAInd RS%	52%	52%	60%	
HADir	22	12	29	
HADir RS%	67%	57%	58%	
SMA	12	6	14	
SMA RS%	36%	29%	28%	
SMM	17	12	31	
SMM RS%	52%	57%	62%	
DnG	11	5	16	
DnG RS%	33%	24%	32%	
UpG	16	10	14	
UpG RS%	48%	48%	28%	
Small talk	6	7	7	
Small talk RS%	18%	33%	14%	
Social domain				
RS	15	10	17	5
HAInd	10	6	13	
HAInd RS%	67%	60%	76%	
HADir	6	6	6	
HADir RS%	40%	60%	35%	
SMA	5	3	3	
SMA RS%	33%	30%	18%	
SMM	11	7	13	
SMM RS%	73%	70%	76%	
DnG	8	4	6	
DnG RS%	53%	40%	35%	
UpG	6	3	9	
UpG RS%	40%	30%	53%	
Small talk	8	5	10	
Small talk RS%	53%	50%	59%	

Table 6-17. Continued

Centro	Lower	Same	Higher	Missing
RS	41	23	61	16
HAInd	16	10	39	
HAInd RS%	39%	43%	64%	
HADir	27	17	34	
HADir RS%	66%	74%	56%	
SMA	11	8	16	
SMA RS%	27%	35%	26%	
SMM	27	18	40	
SMM RS%	66%	78%	66%	
DnG	20	12	21	
DnG RS%	49%	52%	34%	
UpG	16	11	20	
UpG RS%	39%	48%	33%	
Small talk	16	13	11	
Small talk RS%	39%	57%	18%	
Pastoreo				
RS	43	26	26	7
HAInd	24	13	15	
HAInd RS%	56%	50%	58%	
HADir	26	14	14	
HADir RS%	60%	54%	54%	
SMA	12	5	5	
SMA RS%	28%	19%	19%	
SMM	23	15	20	
SMM RS%	53%	58%	77%	
DnG	17	10	8	
DnG RS%	40%	38%	31%	
UpG	21	7	7	
UpG RS%	49%	27%	27%	
Small talk	10	7	13	
Small talk RS%	23%	27%	50%	

Table 6-18. Refusal turns, sequences, sequence types and strategies by the relative socioeconomic status of the addressee

Relative SES	Lower	Same	Higher	Missing
RTT	17	305	23	
RS	8	203	14	18
Mean RTT	2.13	1.50	1.64	
RS_INDonly	4	77	6	
	50%	38%	43%	
RS_DIRonly	4	92	6	
	50%	45%	43%	
RS_Both		34	2	
		17%	14%	
HAInd	10	154	13	
HAInd (adj)	125	76	93	
HAInd RS%	50%	55%	57%	
HADir	7	151	10	
HADir (adj)	88	74	71	
HADir RS%	50%	62%	57%	
SMA	2	80	4	
SMA (adj)	25	39	29	
SMA RS%	25%	28%	21%	
SMM	21	216	24	
SMM (adj)	263	106	171	
SMM RS%	100%	62%	86%	
DnG	12	137	11	
DnG (adj)	150	67	79	
DnG RS%	88%	40%	36%	
UpG	3	129	5	
UpG (adj)	38	64	36	
UpG RS%	38%	40%	29%	
Small talk	9	67	11	
Small talk RS%	75%	29%	57%	

Table 6-19. Refusal turns, sequences, sequence types and strategies for relative socioeconomic status by domain and participant neighborhood of residence

Business domain	Lower	Same	Higher	Missing
RS	7	65	10	7
HAInd	3	30	5	
HAInd RS%	43%	46%	50%	
HADir	4	45	6	
HADir RS%	57%	69%	60%	
SMA	2	12	2	
SMA RS%	29%	18%	20%	
SMM	7	43	8	
SMM RS%	100%	66%	80%	
DnG	7	32	4	
DnG RS%	100%	49%	40%	
UpG	3	25	2	
UpG RS%	43%	38%	20%	
Small talk	6	21	5	
Small talk RS%	86%	32%	50%	
Domestic domain				
RS		103		4
HAInd		58		
HAInd RS%		56%		
HADir		63		
HADir RS%		61%		
SMA		33		
SMA RS%		32%		
SMM		59		
SMM RS%		57%		
DnG		33		
DnG RS%		32%		
UpG		42		
UpG RS%		41%		
Small talk		20		
Small talk RS%		19%		
Social domain				
RS	1	35	4	7
HAInd	1	23	3	
HAInd RS%	100%	66%	75%	
HADir		18	2	
HADir RS%		51%	50%	
SMA		12	1	
SMA RS%		34%	25%	
SMM	1	23	4	
SMM RS%	100%	66%	100%	
DnG		17	1	
DnG RS%		49%	25%	
UpG		14	2	
UpG RS%		40%	50%	
Small talk		18	3	
Small talk RS%		51%	75%	

Table 6-19. Continued

Centro	Lower	Same	Higher	Missing
RS	8	121		12
HAInd	4	65		
HAInd RS%	50%	54%		
HADir	4	78		
HADir RS%	50%	64%		
SMA	2	36		
SMA RS%	25%	30%		
SMM	8	80		
SMM RS%	100%	66%		
DnG	7	51		
DnG RS%	88%	42%		
UpG	3	46		
UpG RS%	38%	38%		
Small talk	6	36		
Small talk RS%	75%	30%		
Pastoreo				
RS		82	14	6
HAInd		46	8	
HAInd RS%		56%	57%	
HADir		48	8	
HADir RS%		59%	57%	
SMA		21	3	
SMA RS%		26%	21%	
SMM		45	12	
SMM RS%		55%	86%	
DnG		31	5	
DnG RS%		38%	36%	
UpG		35	4	
UpG RS%		43%	29%	
Small talk		23	8	
Small talk RS%		28%	57%	

Table 6-20. Refusal turns, sequences, sequence types and strategies by the relative power of the addressee, business domain

Relative power	Lower	Same	Higher	Missing
RTT	31	83	11	
RS	28	52	5	4
Mean RTT	1.11	1.60	2.20	
RS_INDonly	8	17	2	
	29%	33%	40%	
RS_DIRonly	18	27	1	
	64%	52%	20%	
RS_Both	2	8	2	
	7%	15%	40%	
HAInd	11	37	8	
HAInd (adj)	39	71	160	
HAInd RS%	36%	48%	80%	
HADir	20	46	3	
HADir (adj)	71	88	60	
HADir RS%	71%	67%	60%	
SMA	4	14	3	
SMA (adj)	14	27	60	
SMA RS%	11%	19%	40%	
SMM	22	95	12	
SMM (adj)	79	183	240	
SMM RS%	54%	77%	80%	
DnG	13	70	8	
DnG (adj)	46	135	160	
DnG RS%	43%	56%	40%	
UpG	13	25	3	
UpG (adj)	46	48	60	
UpG RS%	39%	35%	40%	
Small talk	5	24	4	
Small talk RS%	18%	40%	60%	

Table 6-21. Addressee's relationship to the participant by role category

Relationship of addressee	Role category											Total
	agent	aquaint	colega	friend	otherbus	otherfam	parent	partner	PI	sib	subord	
agente	30											30
amiga/o				4								4
cliente					7							7
colega de trabajo			13									13
colega de trabajo, amiga				7								7
conocida/o		6										6
cunada						3						3
cunada/o						6						6
hermana/o										32		32
hermana/o, colega de trabajo										7		7
hija/o						6						6
madre							18					18
other					2							2
padre							5					5
pareja									42			42
PI									10			10
primo							1					1
sobrina								2				2
politica								1				1
sobrina/o												1
subordinate											30	30
suegra							1					1
superior					3							3
vecina/o		4										4
vendedora ambulante						3						3
Total	30	10	13	11	15	20	23	42	10	39	30	243

Table 6-22. Role category by composite social distance (CSD) score

Role category	Composite social distance (CSD) score: (Contact + Know + Trust + Contexts)										Total	Total CSD Score
	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12			
agent	10	14	2	2	1						29	144
otherbus	6	1	4		2						13	69
subord			29	1							30	181
aquaint	4		2		1	3					10	63
colega		3	1	1	5						10	68
PI				5		3					8	62
sib						27		3	9		39	384
parent				6		3			14		23	237
otherfam					2	4	5		8		19	198
friend						1	3		7		11	123
partner									42		42	504
	20	18	38	15	11	41	8	3	80		234	2033

Table 6-23. Role category by average distance-intimacy (Avg D-I) score and role-distance measure, where '1' is most distant and '3' is most intimate

	Avg D-I Score	Avg D-I Score/4	Role-Distance Measure
agent	5.0	1.2	1
otherbus	5.3	1.3	1
subord	6.0	1.5	1
aquaint	6.3	1.6	2
colega	6.8	1.7	2
PI	7.8	1.9	2
sib	9.8	2.5	3
parent	10.3	2.6	3
otherfam	10.4	2.6	3
friend	11.2	2.8	3
partner	12.0	3.0	3
Total/median	8.7	2.2	2

Table 6-24. Refusal sequences by role category, role-distance measure and number of addressees

Role category	Role-distance measure			Total	No. of addressees
	1	2	3		
otherbus	15			15	9
agent	30			30	16
subord	30			30	25
aquaint		10		10	5
PI		10		10	5
colega		13		13	6
friend			11	11	4
otherfam			20	20	10
parent			23	23	5
sib			39	39	5
partner			42	42	6
Total	75	33	135	243	96
No. of addressees	50	16	30	96	

Table 6-25. Refusal turns, sequences, sequence types and strategies by addressee role

Addressee role	1 = agent	2 = otherbus	3 = subord	4 = aquaint	5 = colega	6 = PI	7 = sibling	8 = parent	9 = otherfam	10 = friend	11 = partner
RTT	45	30	34	21	20	16	56	29	36	20	63
RS	30	15	30	10	13	10	39	23	20	11	42
Mean RTT	1.50	2.00	1.13	2.10	1.54	1.60	1.44	1.26	1.80	1.82	1.50
RS_INDonly	6	5	11	5	7	8	16	8	8	7	16
	20%	33%	37%	50%	54%	80%	41%	35%	40%	64%	38%
RS_DIRonly	18	9	17	3	4	2	14	14	8	2	18
	60%	60%	57%	30%	31%	20%	36%	61%	40%	18%	43%
RS_Both	6	1	2	2	2		9	1	4	2	8
	20%	7%	7%	20%	15%		23%	4%	20%	18%	19%
HAInd	15	15	15	15	12	14	30	14	18	15	31
HAInd (adj)	50	100	50	150	92	140	77	61	90	136	74
HAInd RS%	40%	40%	43%	70%	69%	80%	64%	39%	60%	82%	57%
HADir	30	15	19	6	8	2	26	15	18	5	32
HADir (adj)	100	100	63	60	62	20	67	65	90	45	76
HADir RS%	80%	67%	63%	50%	46%	20%	59%	65%	60%	36%	62%
SMA	13	5	5	3	2		6	10	10	2	30
SMA (adj)	43	33	17	30	15		15	43	50	18	71
SMA RS%	33%	20%	13%	10%	15%		15%	30%	40%	18%	45%
SMM	29	47	22	14	25	18	44	19	24	15	29
SMM (adj)	97	313	73	140	192	180	113	83	120	136	69
SMM RS%	70%	93%	50%	70%	85%	90%	67%	61%	60%	73%	52%
DnG	21	33	13	10	10	6	31	12	14	5	18
DnG (adj)	70	220	43	100	77	60	79	52	70	45	43
DnG RS%	50%	67%	43%	70%	46%	40%	44%	39%	40%	45%	21%
UpG	8	9	13	3	9	3	15	18	21	5	39
UpG (adj)	27	60	43	30	69	30	38	78	105	45	93
UpG RS%	20%	47%	37%	30%	54%	20%	28%	35%	60%	36%	52%
Small talk	13	12	8	11	7	7	6	6	5	8	13
Small talk RS%	37%	53%	27%	70%	46%	70%	15%	26%	20%	55%	29%

Table 6-26. Refusal turns, sequences, sequence types and strategies by frequency of contact with the addressee

Contact	Least = 1	Int = 2	Most = 3	Missing
RTT	59	101	205	
RS	35	61	144	3
Mean RTT in RS	1.69	1.66	1.42	
RS_INDonly	19	21	57	
	54%	34%	40%	
RS_DIRonly	12	24	71	
	34%	39%	49%	
RS_Both	4	16	16	
	11%	26%	11%	
HAInd	39	51	102	
HAInd (adj)	111	84	71	
HAInd RS%	66%	61%	51%	
HADir	20	50	103	
HADir (adj)	57	82	72	
HADir RS%	46%	66%	60%	
SMA	5	21	59	
SMA (adj)	14	34	41	
SMA RS%	11%	26%	28%	
SMM	60	78	146	
SMM (adj)	171	128	101	
SMM RS%	71%	69%	63%	
DnG	44	48	79	
DnG (adj)	126	79	55	
DnG RS%	63%	43%	38%	
UpG	12	32	97	
UpG (adj)	34	52	67	
UpG RS%	26%	33%	43%	
Small talk	21	22	53	
Small talk RS%	46%	30%	33%	

Table 6-27. Refusal turns, sequences, sequence types and strategies by level of familiarity with addressee

Know	Least = 1	Int = 2	Most = 3	Missing
RTT	108	134	121	
RS	74	81	84	4
Mean RTT in RS	1.46	1.65	1.44	
RS_INDonly	24	38	32	
	32%	47%	38%	
RS_DIRonly	39	28	41	
	53%	35%	49%	
RS_Both	11	15	11	
	15%	19%	13%	
HAInd	50	79	60	
HAInd (adj)	68	98	71	
HAInd RS%	47%	65%	51%	
HADir	58	55	61	
HADir (adj)	78	68	73	
HADir RS%	68%	53%	62%	
SMA	17	24	44	
SMA (adj)	23	30	52	
SMA RS%	18%	22%	36%	
SMM	96	108	77	
SMM (adj)	130	133	92	
SMM RS%	64%	73%	60%	
DnG	61	64	48	
DnG (adj)	82	79	57	
DnG RS%	55%	43%	32%	
UpG	30	43	69	
UpG (adj)	41	53	82	
UpG RS%	34%	32%	49%	
Small talk	31	35	26	
Small talk RS%	35%	32%	30%	

Table 6-28. Refusal turns, sequences, sequence types and strategies by level of trust toward addressee

Trust	Least = 1	Int = 2	Most = 3	Missing
RTT	136	108	117	
RS	89	68	80	6
Mean RTT in RS	1.53	1.59	1.46	
RS_INDonly	31	31	31	
	35%	46%	39%	
RS_DIRonly	46	23	38	
	52%	34%	48%	
RS_Both	12	14	11	
	13%	21%	14%	
HAInd	67	62	59	
HAInd (adj)	75	91	74	
HAInd RS%	48%	66%	53%	
HADir	69	46	58	
HADir (adj)	78	68	73	
HADir RS%	65%	54%	61%	
SMA	25	18	42	
SMA (adj)	28	26	53	
SMA RS%	21%	21%	35%	
SMM	113	90	74	
SMM (adj)	127	132	93	
SMM RS%	63%	74%	60%	
DnG	76	50	44	
DnG (adj)	85	74	55	
DnG RS%	52%	44%	31%	
UpG	44	31	66	
UpG (adj)	49	46	83	
UpG RS%	35%	31%	49%	
Small talk	40	25	25	
Small talk RS%	36%	29%	30%	

Table 6-29. Refusal turns, sequences, sequence types and strategies by number of interactional contexts shared with addressee

Contexts	1	2	3 +	Missing
RTT	116	58	185	
RS	79	30	126	8
Mean RTT in RS	1.47	1.93	1.47	
RS_INDonly	26	15	52	
	33%	50%	41%	
RS_DIRonly	42	11	52	
	53%	37%	41%	
RS_Both	11	4	22	
	14%	13%	17%	
HAInd	53	39	96	
HAInd (adj)	67	130	76	
HAInd RS%	47%	63%	59%	
HADir	63	19	89	
HADir (adj)	80	63	71	
HADir RS%	67%	50%	59%	
SMA	19	14	52	
SMA (adj)	24	47	41	
SMA RS%	19%	30%	29%	
SMM	101	56	118	
SMM (adj)	128	187	94	
SMM RS%	66%	73%	62%	
DnG	62	36	70	
DnG (adj)	78	120	56	
DnG RS%	52%	47%	36%	
UpG	32	23	85	
UpG (adj)	41	77	67	
UpG RS%	33%	43%	40%	
Small talk	36	16	38	
Small talk RS%	38%	37%	28%	

Table 6-30. Refusal turns, sequences, sequence types and strategies by role-distance measure

Role-distance measure	Distant = 1	Mid = 2	Intimate = 3	Missing
RTT	109	57	204	
RS	75	33	135	
Mean RTT in RS	1.45	1.73	1.51	
RS_INDonly	22	20	55	
	29%	61%	41%	
RS_DIRonly	44	9	56	
	59%	27%	41%	
RS_Both	9	4	24	
	12%	12%	18%	
HAInd	45	41	108	
HAInd (adj)	60	124	80	
HAInd RS%	41%	73%	59%	
HADir	64	16	96	
HADir (adj)	85	48	71	
HADir RS%	71%	39%	59%	
SMA	23	5	58	
SMA (adj)	31	15	43	
SMA RS%	23%	9%	31%	
SMM	98	57	131	
SMM (adj)	131	173	97	
SMM RS%	67%	82%	61%	
DnG	67	26	80	
DnG (adj)	89	79	59	
DnG RS%	51%	52%	36%	
UpG	30	15	98	
UpG (adj)	40	45	73	
UpG RS%	32%	36%	42%	
Small talk	33	25	38	
Small talk RS%	36%	61%	25%	

Table 6-31. Refusal turns, sequences, sequence types and strategies for role-distance measure by domain and participant neighborhood of residence

Business domain	Distant = 1	Mid = 2	Intimate = 3	Missing
RS	64	12	13	
HAInd	25	8	8	
HAInd RS%	39%	67%	62%	
HADir	47	6	7	
HADir RS%	73%	50%	54%	
SMA	13	2	1	
SMA RS%	20%	17%	8%	
SMM	42	10	11	
SMM RS%	66%	83%	85%	
DnG	33	6	8	
DnG RS%	52%	50%	62%	
UpG	22	6	4	
UpG RS%	34%	50%	31%	
Small talk	20	4	8	
Small talk RS%	31%	33%	62%	
Domestic domain				
RS		4	103	
HAInd		2	58	
HAInd RS%		50%	56%	
HADir		2	63	
HADir RS%		50%	61%	
SMA			33	
SMA RS%			32%	
SMM		3	59	
SMM RS%		75%	57%	
DnG		2	33	
DnG RS%		50%	32%	
UpG			42	
UpG RS%			41%	
Small talk		2	20	
Small talk RS%		50%	19%	
Social domain				
RS	11	17	19	
HAInd	6	14	13	
HAInd RS%	55%	82%	68%	
HADir	6	5	10	
HADir RS%	55%	29%	53%	
SMA	4	1	8	
SMA RS%	36%	6%	42%	
SMM	8	14	12	
SMM RS%	73%	82%	63%	
DnG	5	9	7	
DnG RS%	45%	53%	37%	
UpG	2	6	11	
UpG RS%	18%	35%	58%	
Small talk	7	14	6	
Small talk RS%	64%	82%	32%	

Table 6-31. Continued

Pastoreo	Distant = 1	Mid = 2	Intimate = 3
RS	42	12	48
HAInd	18	8	32
HAInd RS%	43%	67%	67%
HADir	28	5	26
HADir RS%	67%	42%	54%
SMA	7	1	16
SMA RS%	17%	8%	33%
SMM	23	10	29
SMM RS%	55%	83%	60%
DnG	18	3	18
DnG RS%	43%	25%	38%
UpG	13	4	24
UpG RS%	31%	33%	50%
Small talk	10	6	18
Small talk RS%	24%	50%	38%
Centro			
RS	33	21	87
HAInd	13	16	47
HAInd RS%	39%	76%	54%
HADir	25	8	54
HADir RS%	76%	38%	62%
SMA	10	2	26
SMA RS%	30%	10%	30%
SMM	27	17	53
SMM RS%	82%	81%	61%
DnG	20	14	30
DnG RS%	61%	67%	34%
UpG	11	8	33
UpG RS%	33%	38%	38%
Small talk	17	14	16
Small talk RS%	52%	67%	18%

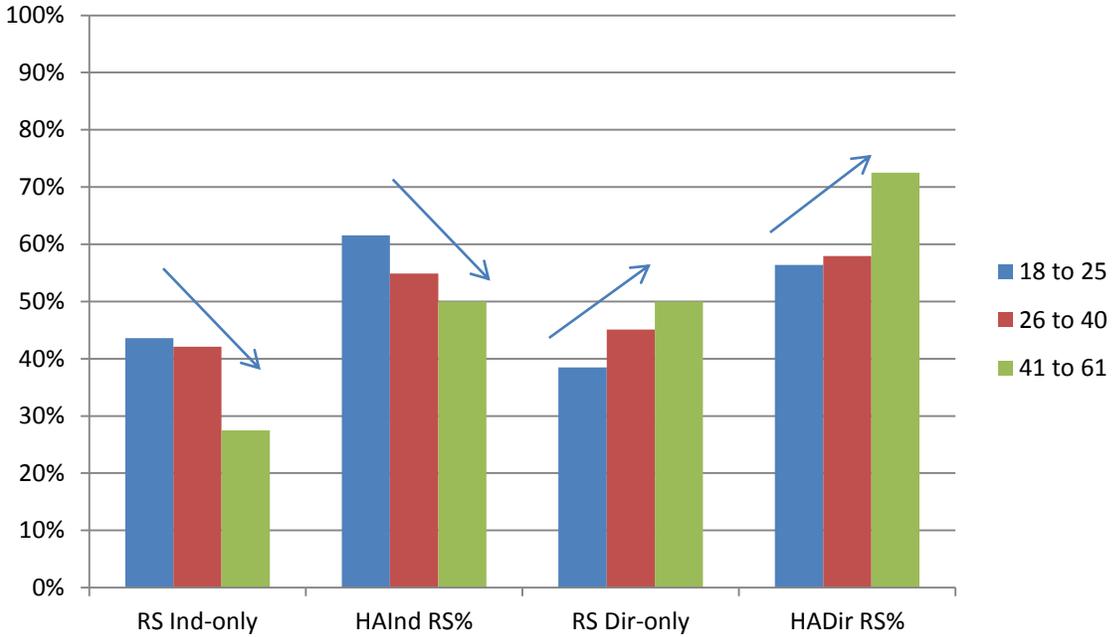


Figure 6-1. The two trends: the percentage of indirect- and direct-only refusal sequences (RS Ind-only, RS Dir-only) and the percentage of refusal sequences containing indirect and direct head acts (HA Ind RS%, HA Dir RS%) by participant age group

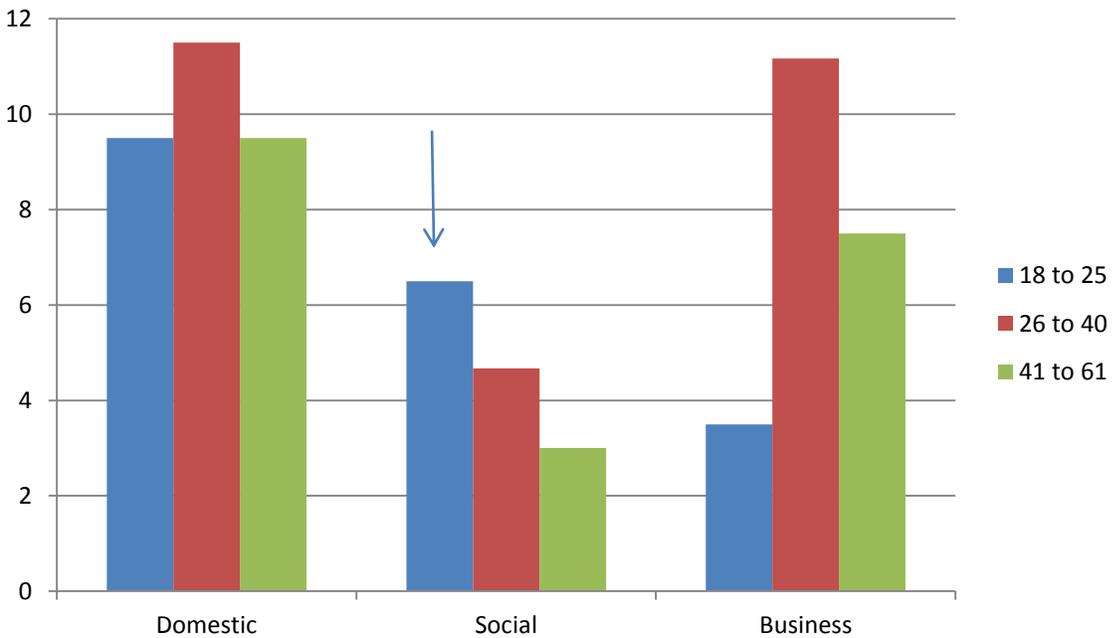


Figure 6-2. Average number of refusal sequences per participant by age group and orientation of talk

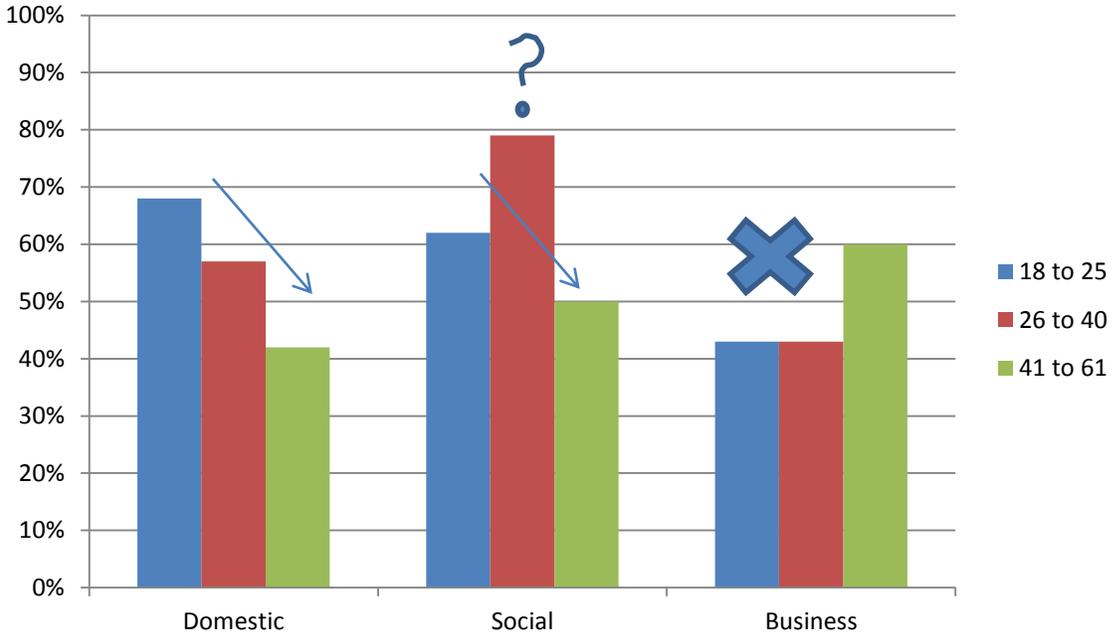


Figure 6-3. Indirect head act RS% by participant age group and orientation of talk

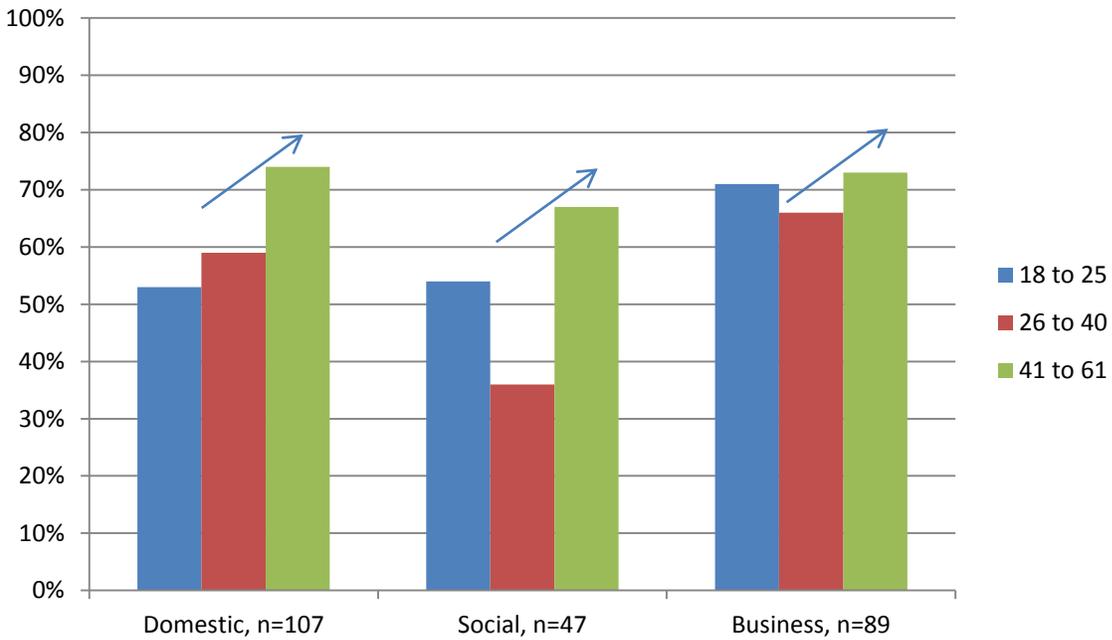


Figure 6-4. Direct head act RS% by participant age group and orientation of talk

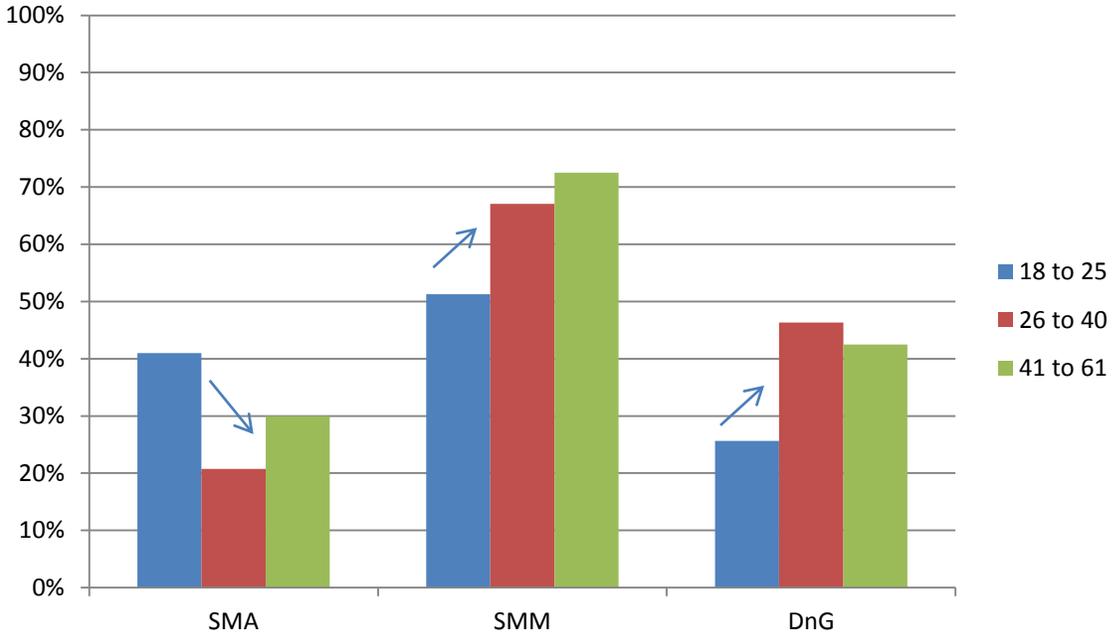


Figure 6-5. The percentage of refusal sequences containing aggravating moves (SMA), mitigating moves (SMM) and downgraders (DnG) by participant age group

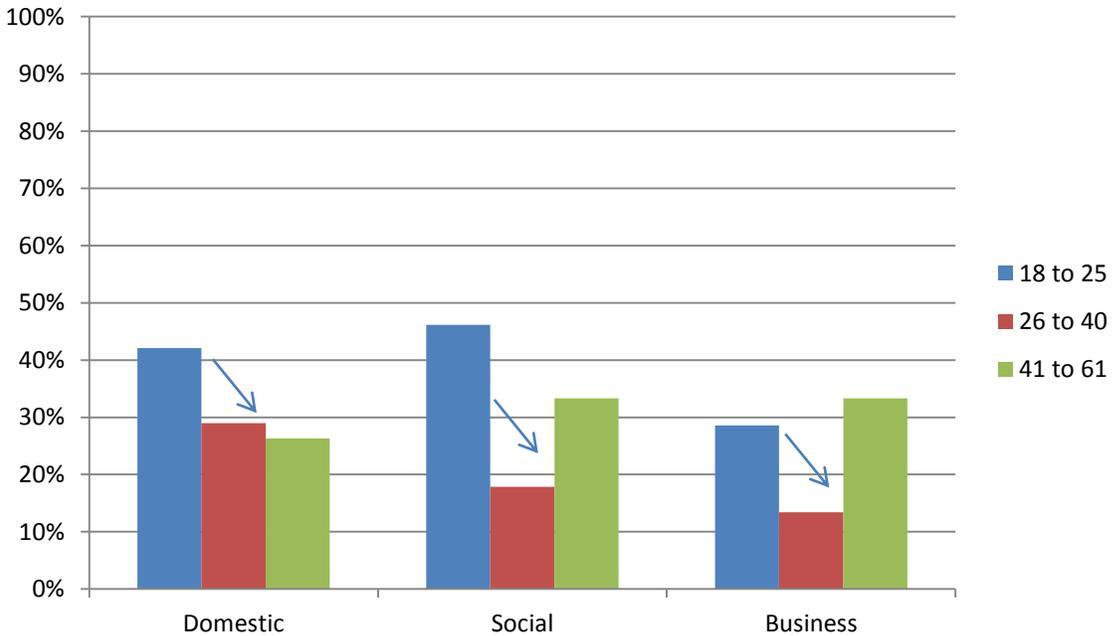


Figure 6-6. SMA RS% by participant age group and orientation of talk

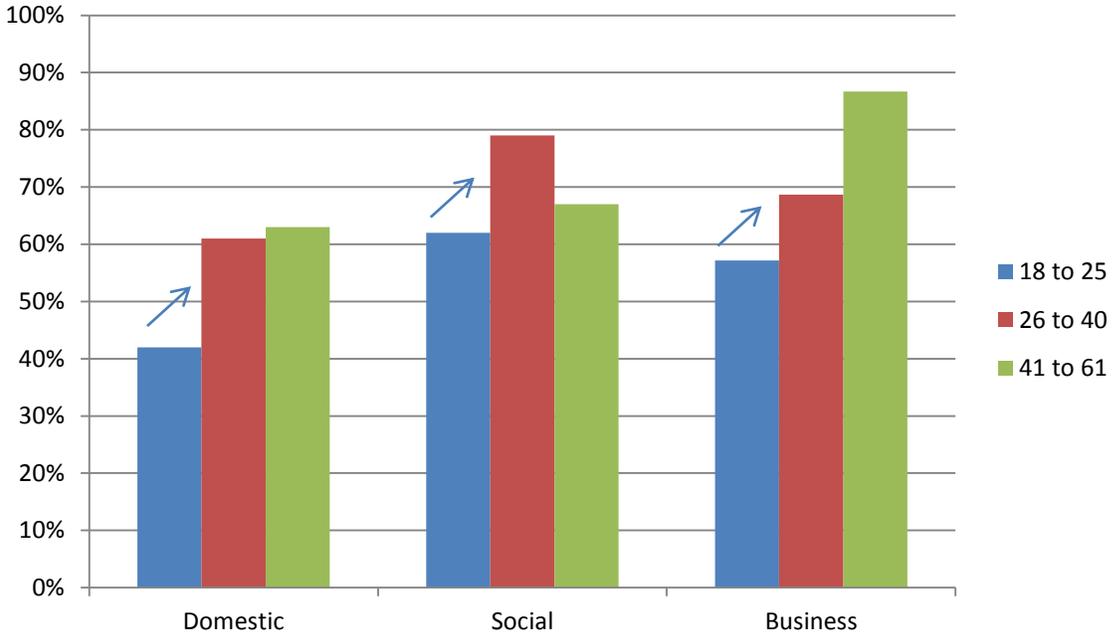


Figure 6-7. SMM RS% by participant age group and orientation of talk

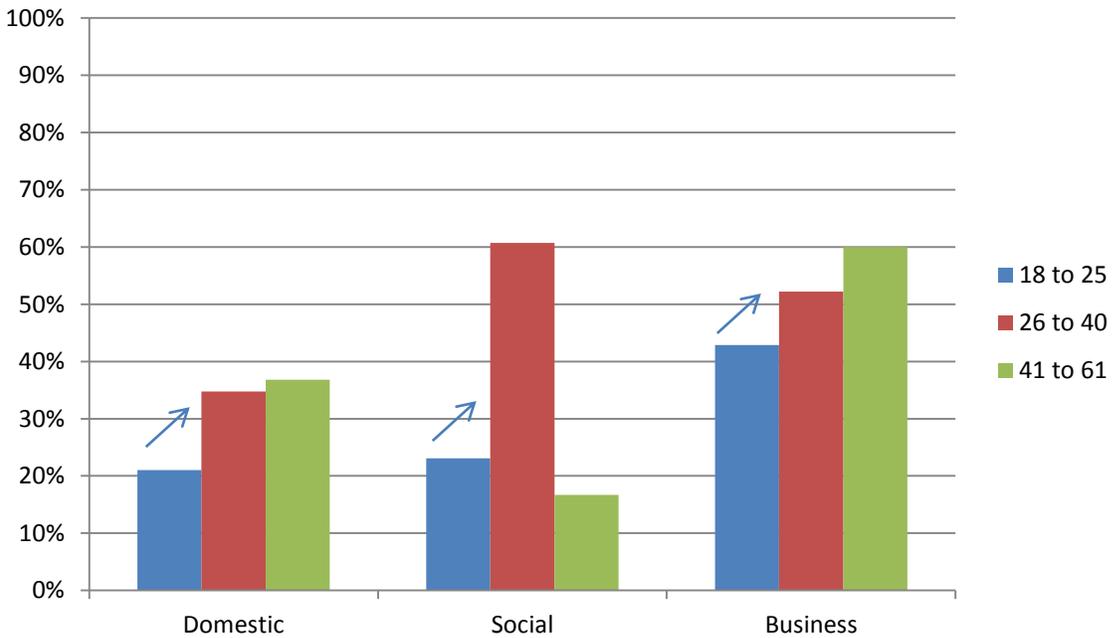


Figure 6-8. DnG RS% by participant age group and orientation of talk

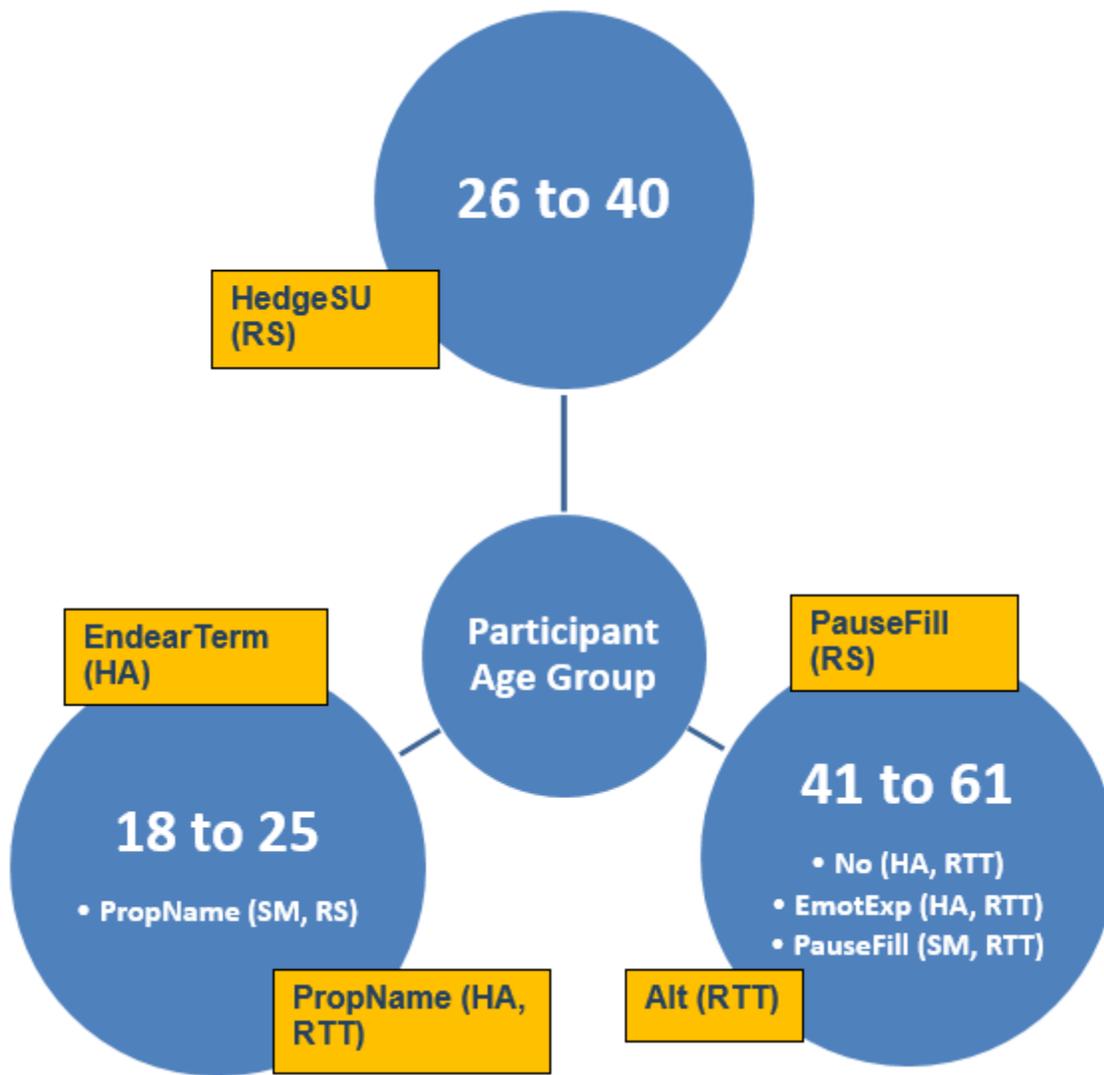


Figure 6-9. Participant age groups and the linguistic strategies associated with them. All were significant at the .05 level or better. HA=head act, as occurring in head acts; SM=supportive move, as occurring in supportive moves; RTT=refusal turn at talk, as occurring in refusal turns at talk; RS=refusal sequence; as occurring in the entire refusal sequence. An example of how to read this figure is: Participants aged 18 to 25 used proper names in supportive moves and refusal sequences in general significantly more than any other age group; they used proper names in head acts and refusal turns at talk more than those aged 41 to 61, and they used endearment terms and attack strategies more than those aged 26 to 40.

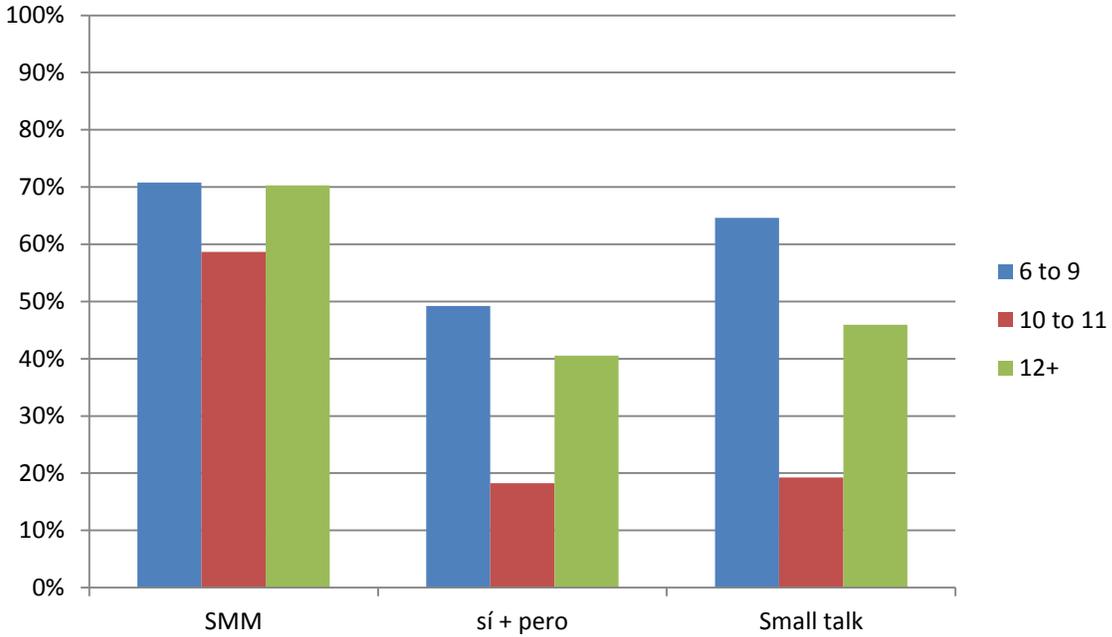


Figure 6-10. The percentage of refusal sequences containing mitigating moves (SMM), the formula *sí + pero* [x] and post-refusal small talk by participant education level

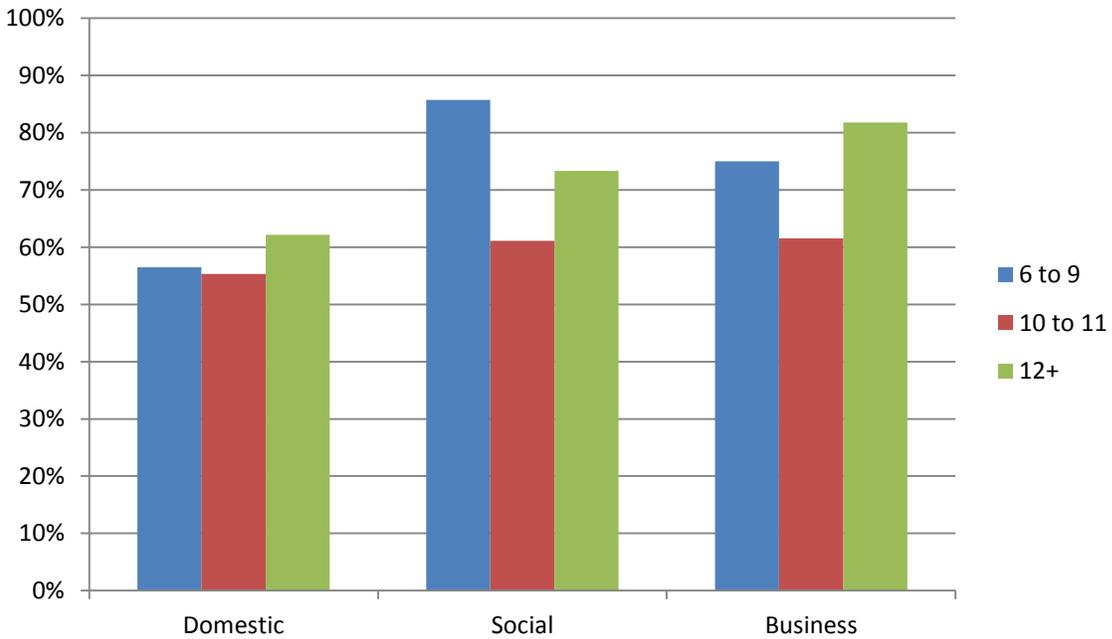


Figure 6-11. SMM RS% by participant education level and orientation of talk

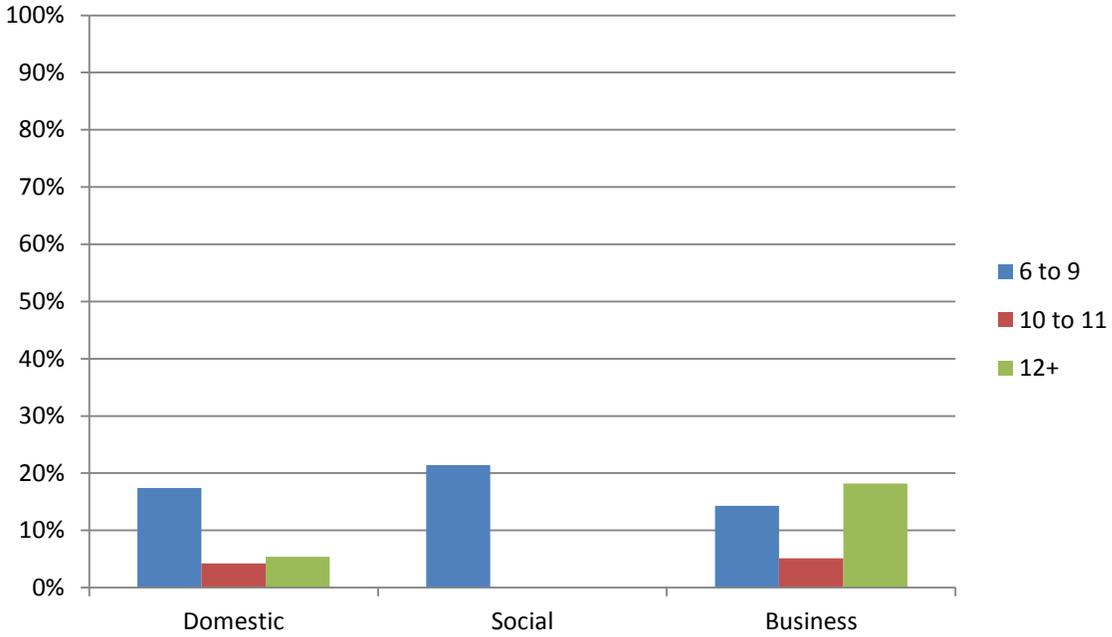


Figure 6-12. The formula *sí + pero* RS% by participant education level and orientation of talk

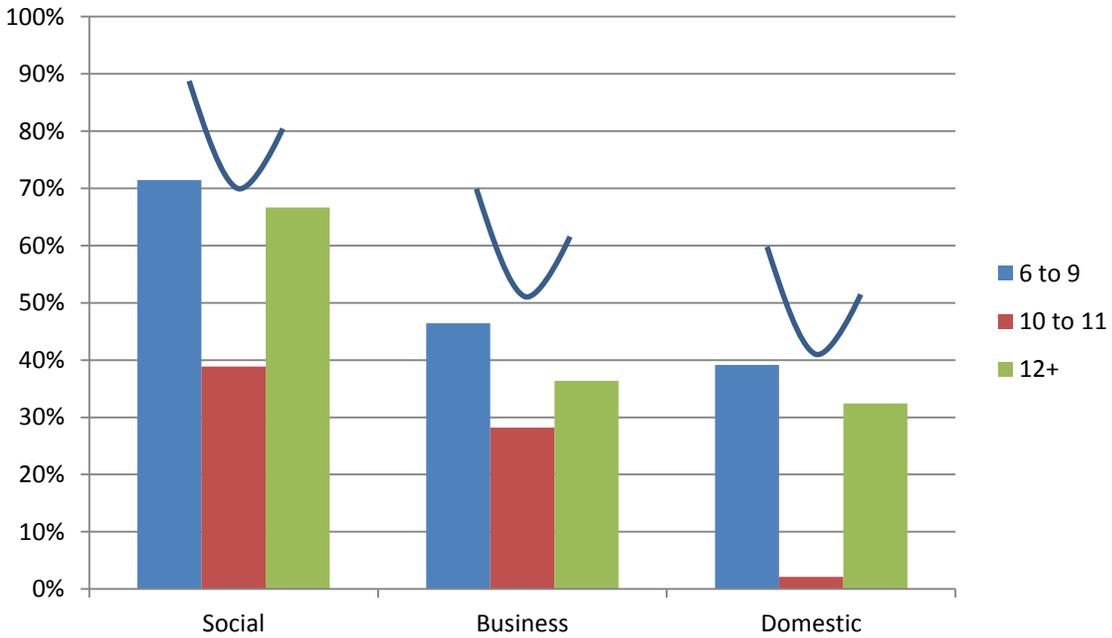


Figure 6-13. Small talk RS% by participant education level and orientation of talk

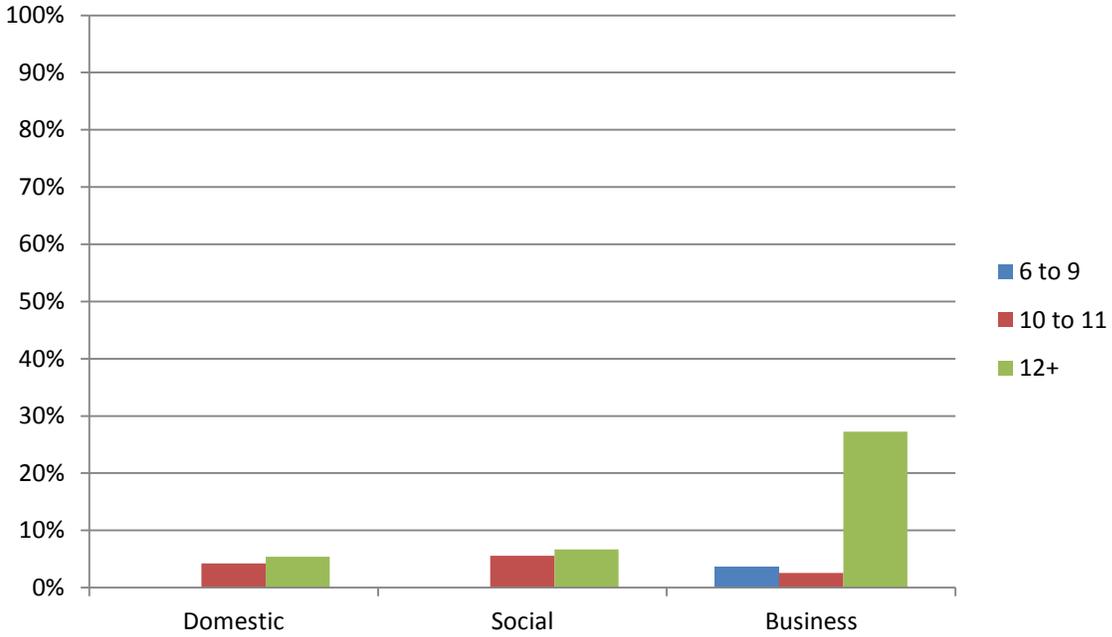


Figure 6-14. Percentage of SM ReqlInfo in refusal sequences by participant education level and orientation of talk

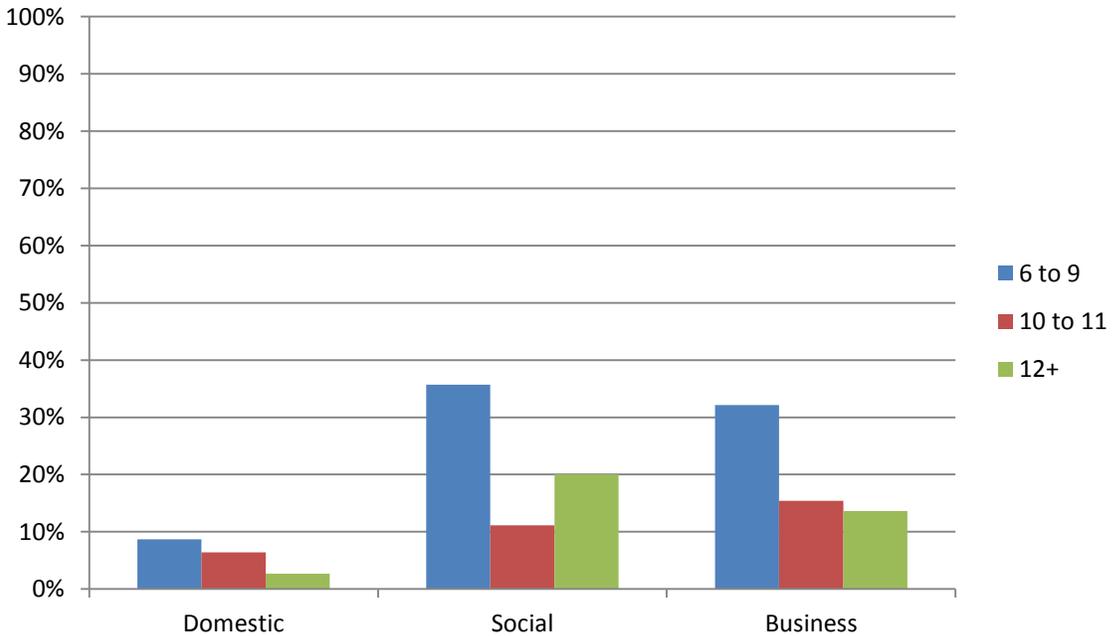


Figure 6-15. Percentage of CCGSolid in refusal sequences by participant education level and orientation of talk

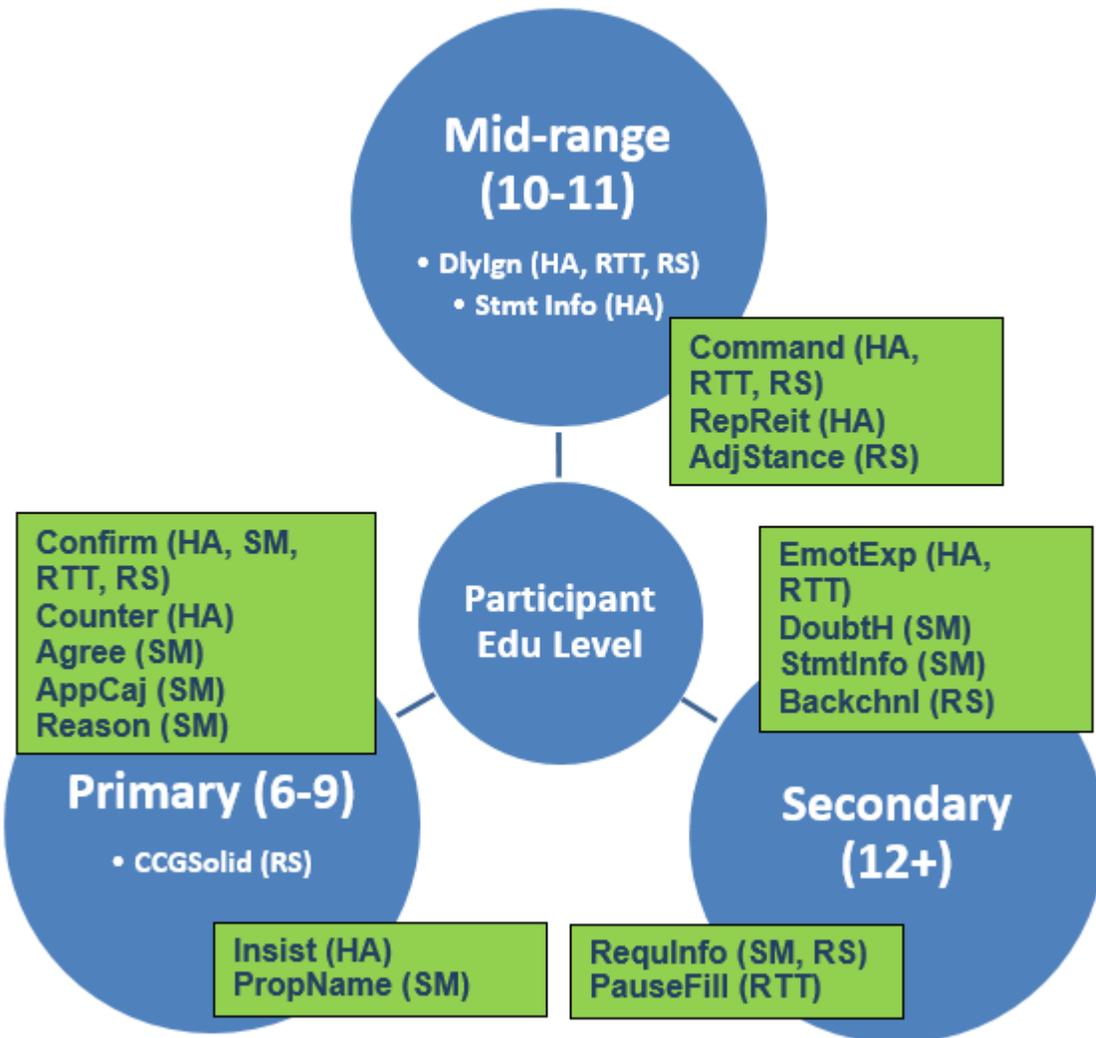


Figure 6-16. Participant education levels and the linguistic strategies associated with them. All were significant at the .05 level or better. HA=head act, as occurring in head acts; SM=supportive move, as occurring in supportive moves; RTT=refusal turn at talk, as occurring in refusal turns at talk; RS=refusal sequence; as occurring in the entire refusal sequence.

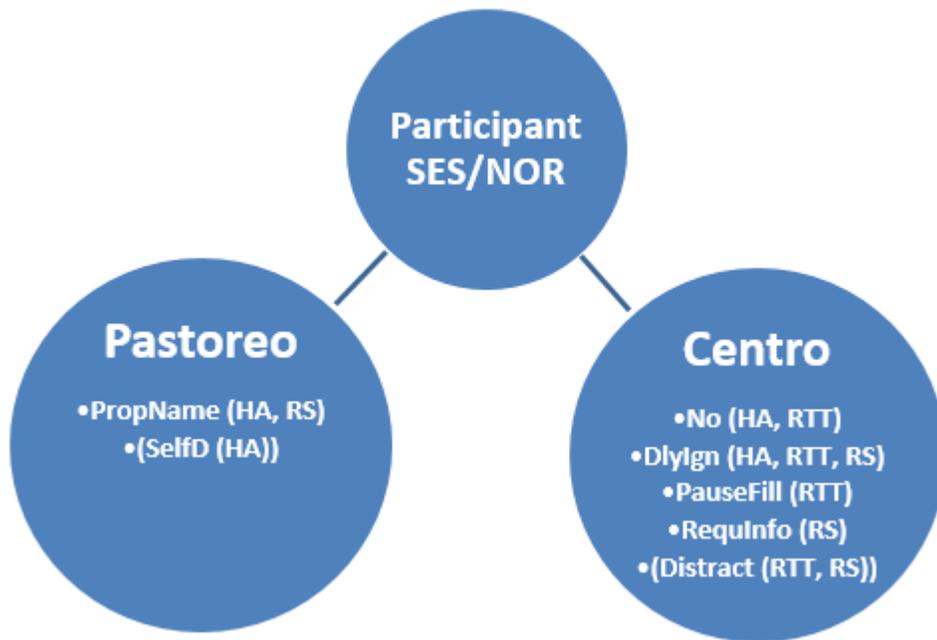


Figure 6-17. Participant socioeconomic status/neighborhoods of residence and the linguistic strategies associated with them. All were significant at the .05 level or better. HA=head act, as occurring in head acts; RTT=refusal turn at talk, as occurring in refusal turns at talk; RS=refusal sequence; as occurring in the entire refusal sequence.

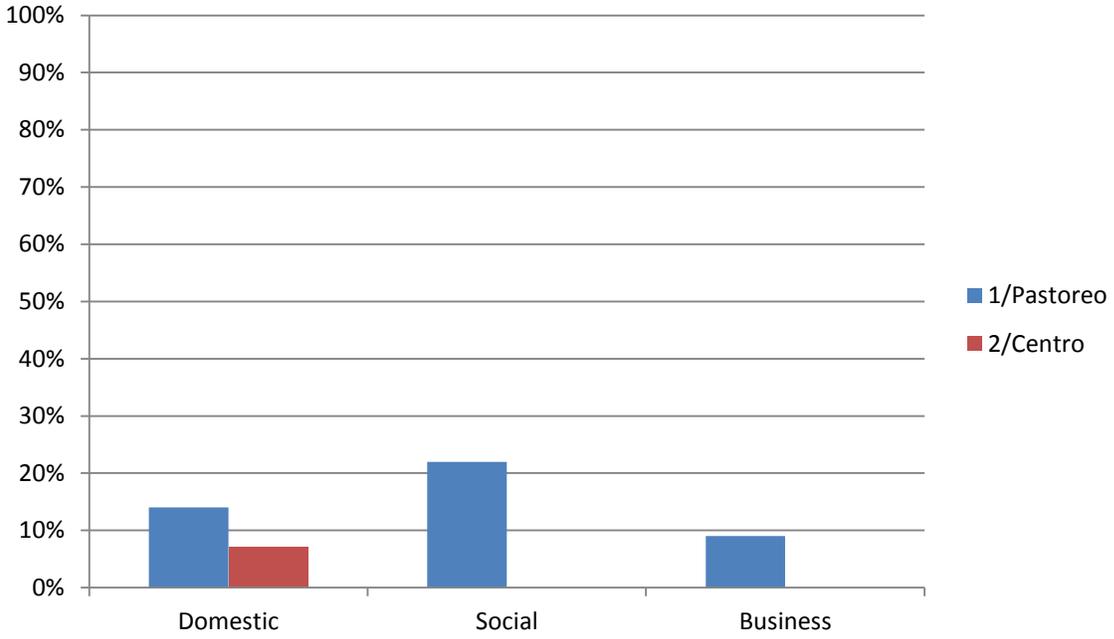


Figure 6-18. Percentage of PropName in refusal sequences by participant SES/neighborhood of residence and orientation of talk

	Kendall's tau_b	Avg distance-intimacy score
Avg distance-intimacy score	Correlation Coefficient	1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	
	N	243
number of refusal turns at talk within refusal sequence	Correlation Coefficient	-.003
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.950
	N	243
number of indirect head acts within refusal sequence	Correlation Coefficient	.081
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.123
	N	243
number of direct head acts within refusal sequence	Correlation Coefficient	-.062
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.244
	N	243
number of aggravating supportive moves within refusal sequence	Correlation Coefficient	.134*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.013
	N	243
number of mitigating supportive moves within refusal sequence	Correlation Coefficient	-.104*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.044
	N	243
number of downgraders within refusal sequence	Correlation Coefficient	-.163**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.002
	N	243
number of upgraders within refusal sequence	Correlation Coefficient	.150**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.005
	N	243
number of times interlocutors engage in small talk within refusal sequence	Correlation Coefficient	-.101
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.064
	N	243

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Figure 6-19. Bivariate correlation of the Average Distance-Intimacy score with refusal turns and major strategies.

		orientation of the talk * Avg DI score										
		Avg distance-intimacy score										Total
		1.2	1.3	1.5	1.6	1.7	1.9	2.5	2.6	2.8	3.0	
orientation of the talk	bus	26	12	26	0	11	1	6	2	5	0	89
	dom	0	0	0	1	0	3	30	31	0	42	107
	soc	4	3	4	9	2	6	3	10	6	0	47
Total		30	15	30	10	13	10	39	43	11	42	243

		participant's neighborhood of residence * Avg DI score										
		Avg distance-intimacy score										Total
		1.2	1.3	1.5	1.6	1.7	1.9	2.5	2.6	2.8	3.0	
participant's neighborhood of residence	Centro	21	12	0	10	3	8	28	33	3	23	141
	Pastoreo	9	3	30	0	10	2	11	10	8	19	102
Total		30	15	30	10	13	10	39	43	11	42	243

Figure 6-20. Domains and participant neighborhood of residence by Average Distance-Intimacy scores.

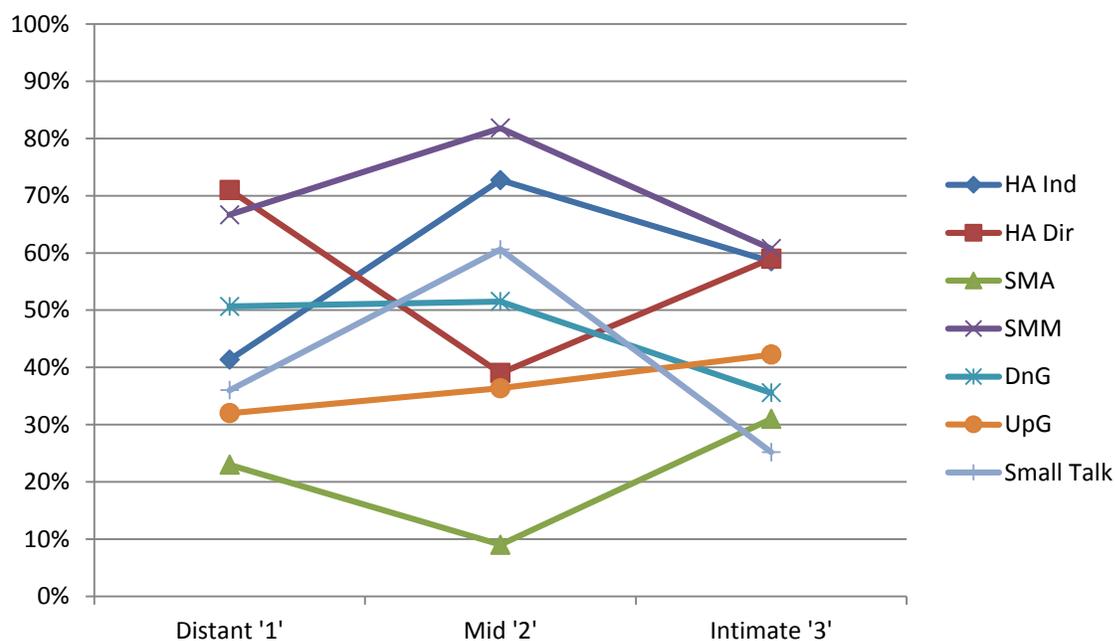


Figure 6-21. Overall data (n=243): Role-distance measures of major semantic strategies and post-refusal small talk. All conform to the “Bulge” theory, except upgraders and downgraders. These conform more to Brown and Levinson’s linear view of social distance.

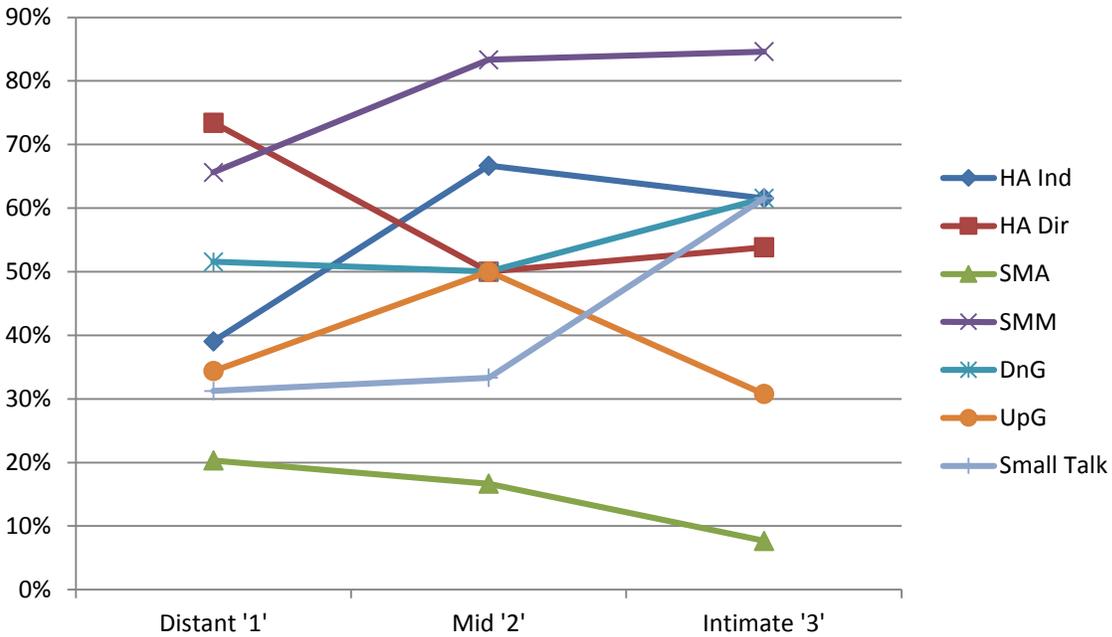


Figure 6-22. Business domain (n=89): Role-distance measures of major semantic strategies and post-refusal small talk. Less conformity to the “Bulge” theory: only indirect and direct head acts marginally conform. No conformity to Brown and Levinson’s view.

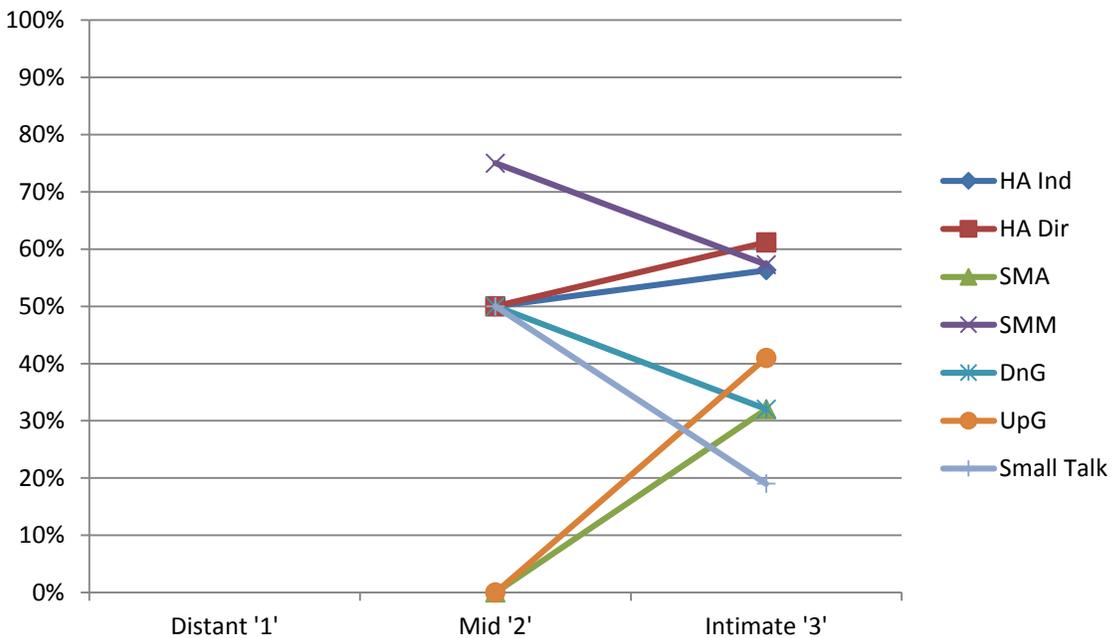


Figure 6-23. Domestic domain (n=107): Role-distance measures of major semantic strategies and post-refusal small talk. Excepting indirect head acts, all strategies conform to expectations based on either theory.

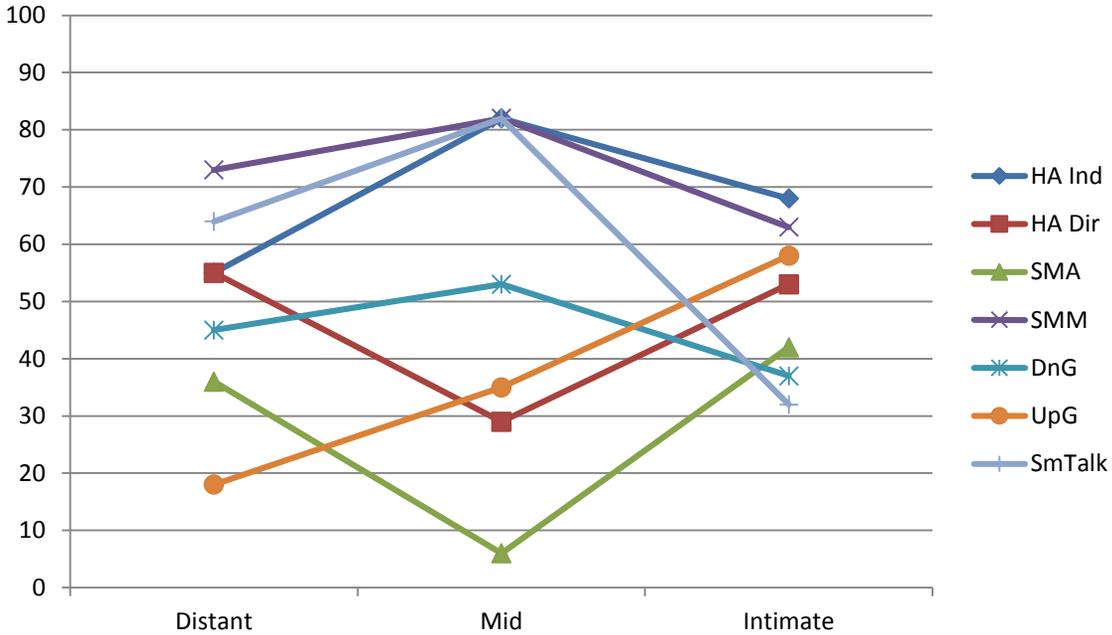


Figure 6-24. Social domain (n=47): Role-distance measures of major semantic strategies and post-refusal small talk. Excepting upgraders, all conform to the “Bulge” theory. Upgraders conform to Brown and Levinson’s view.

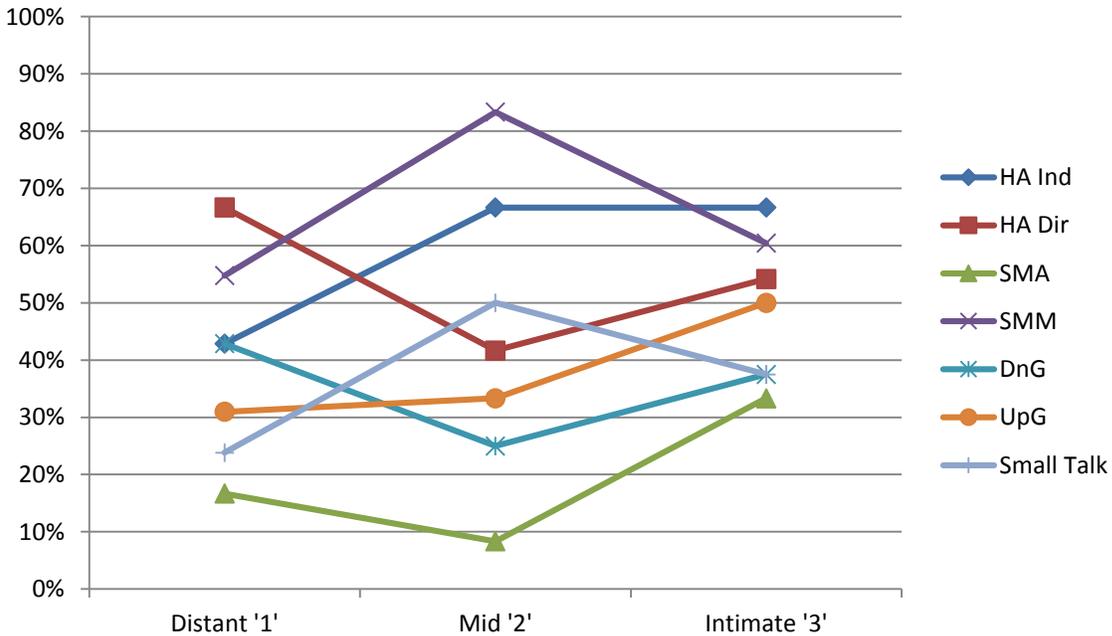


Figure 6-25. Pastoreo group (n=102): Role-distance measures of major semantic strategies and post-refusal small talk. All conform to the “Bulge” theory, except indirect head acts (marginal), downgraders and upgraders. Upgraders conform more to Brown and Levinson’s theory of social distance.

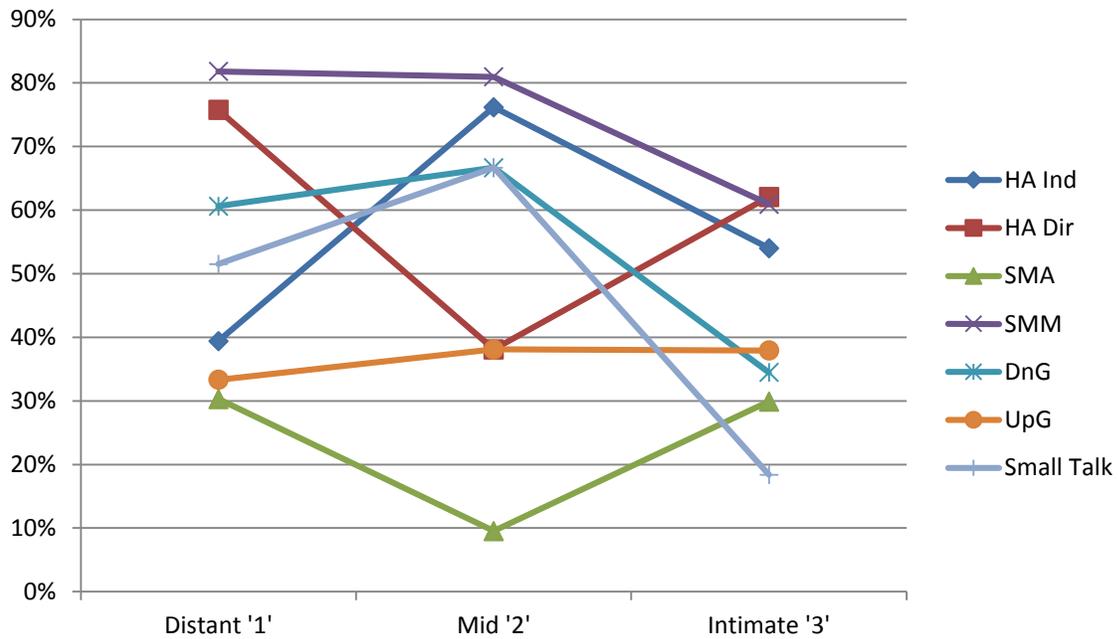


Figure 6-26. Centro group (n=141): Role-distance measures of major semantic strategies and post-refusal small talk. Indirect, direct head acts and aggravating moves strongly conform to the “Bulge” theory. Mitigating moves and upgraders conform more to Brown and Levinson’s theory of social distance.

CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSIONS

This study has thus far examined the refusal strategies that the participants of this study produced (Chapter 4), shown the relevance of domain as an extralinguistic variable (Chapter 5) and analyzed the refusals in terms of extralinguistic and social variables pertaining to the speakers (Chapter 6). In this discussion, I address the final research question: What do these data reveal about these Uruguayans' socio-cultural norms and expectations for communication within relationships?

Discussion of Results and Theoretical Implications

Returning to Chapter 1 in which I set out the rationale for the present project, we recall Bourdieu's notion of *habitus*: a self-perpetuating "system of dispositions" (1990: 54), which are the product and producer of individual and collective experiences, and responsible for our "reasonable" day-to-day behaviors. I claimed that to the extent that others share a similar set of dispositions or *habitus*, it could be argued that these individuals belong to a common speech community. A main goal of this research was to learn more about the *habitus* of one group of Uruguayans from a shared speech community in terms of their linguistic realizations of refusals. What I have been primarily interested in finding out is the extent to which it is possible to identify tendencies of behavior (a.k.a. "norms"), through the identification of various strategies (semantic, linguistic, internally modifying) in various situational contexts. The latter dealt with not only where the exchange occurred and the orientation of the talk, but also with the speakers and their relationship.

The greater focus of this research has been to establish what the norms of refusing are within the realm of the relationally politic—what is appropriate in this

speech community—as opposed to emphasizing positively marked politeness behavior, or that which the speakers may consider “polite” (Locher and Watts 2005). In this respect, my viewpoint aligns with Fraser’s conversational-contract approach to politeness:

Politeness, on this view, is not a sometime thing. Rational participants are aware that they are to act within the negotiated constraints and generally do so. When they do not, however, they are then perceived as being impolite or rude. Politeness is a state that one expects to exist in every conversation; participants note not that someone is being polite—this is the norm—but rather that the speaker is violating the CC [conversational contract]. Being polite . . . simply involves getting on with the task at hand in light of the terms and conditions of the CC (Fraser 1990:233).

In other words, I have been primarily interested in discovering how this study’s participants handle certain situations under a variety of conditions in a culturally appropriate manner. Not only does this add to what we know about the Spanish of Latin America (e.g., Lipski 2004), but also allows non-native learners (or speakers of other varieties) of Spanish to benefit from this knowledge, using it to increase their expertise and communicative competence (Gumperz and Hymes 1972) in the language. Thus, this research has implications for language teaching; also, it is relevant for those working in the field of second language acquisition that might use the results as a baseline for comparing stages of pragmatic development among non-native learners at various levels of proficiency.

The first research question, regarding how the participants realize the speech act of refusing, came with two hypotheses. Hypothesis 1 was that their refusals would consist of linguistic strategies that had been previously cited in the research on refusals (e.g., Beebe et al. 1990; Félix-Brasdefer 2008), though to different extents. In general, this was the case and, thus, Hypothesis 1 is confirmed. However, it was challenging to conform these natural data to others’ frameworks of analysis, which were designed for

experimental data. This was especially true in the case of Beebe et al., whose framework was geared toward English refusals. The framework proposed by Félix-Brasdefer was more fitting—designed to accommodate both English and Spanish refusals— though in both cases some categories went virtually unused. Also, to better detail the complexity of the refusal sequences, it was necessary to create additional categories of linguistic strategies, such as those also found in Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) (e.g., command, repair, blame hearer/other, concession/admission/disarmer, display concern for hearer/other, emotional expression, commitment indicator, endearment term and proper name). This has been done before; Félix-Brasdefer (2004) added two categories to the existing framework of Beebe et al. (i.e., mitigated refusal and clarification request), as did Gass and Houck (1999) (i.e., confirmations, agreements and, also, clarification/information requests).

Strategies common to other refusal coding schemes that did not appear in my data included the performative (*yo rechazo/niego* . . . “I reject/deny . . .”), the wish statement (*ojalá pudiera ayudarte* “I wish I could help you”) and lack of enthusiasm (*si no hay nadie más disponible* “if there’s no one else available”). Other previously established strategies resulting with few tokens ($n < 20$ and in ≤ 10 sequences, for the whole dataset) were: displays of comprehension/empathy, pause fillers, letting the hearer “off the hook,” statements of principle/philosophy, self-defense, utterances displaying a willingness to comply or positive feelings, preparators and expressions of gratitude. These differences were surprising, first, because the latter strategies seem like common refusal strategies from an anecdotal perspective and, second, from having been observed as more abundant in other studies. One explanation for their prevalence

in other studies stems from the nature of experimental data in which participants write or enact what they think they would say in a given situation, rather than what they actually say in spontaneous talk. It is also possible that the low frequency of these strategies is an artifact of this data set and that more data might yield different results. Or, perhaps these are areas of cross-cultural difference to be attended to. (I will make a case for this in my discussion on expressions of gratitude below.)

Regarding what Beebe et al. called “hedging” and what Félix-Brasdefer termed “mitigated refusal,” I preferred to analyze as some strategy “x”, internally modified by the downgrading strategy “y.” This was to alleviate confusion between a “mitigated refusal” and a refusal subject to “internal modification” (Félix-Brasdefer 2008: 74, 81-82). So, a refusal like “*los guantes no se pueden tocar!*” (“the gloves can't be touched!”) (Ari 18b), would qualify as a “mitigated refusal” for Félix-Brasdefer, but in the present coding scheme as a negation of the proposition, internally downgraded by the (distancing) impersonal *se*, and upgraded by emphatic intonation. While this method had the advantage of being more detailed and versatile, it brought with it the disadvantage of making this research less comparable with Félix-Brasdefer (2003; 2008) and García (1992; 1999), who have done the most work on refusals in Spanish to date.

Thus, the existing frameworks found in the literature served as a useful point of departure and provided an important basis for comparison with other studies. However, none could account for the myriad and sometimes unpredictable strategies that emanated from these refusals produced during spontaneous, negotiated interaction. As is evident from the most frequent head acts and supportive moves by mand type, several strategies not found in Beebe et al. (1990) and Félix-Brasdefer (2008) proved to

be some of the most salient: command, counter argument/correction, emotional expression, discourse marker and claim hardship. Strict adherence to one framework or another would have precluded inclusion of these nuances in the analysis.

Returning to Hypothesis 1, I claimed that the participants of this study would use the same linguistic strategies, but not necessarily to the same extent. This held true as well; the fact that many scholars have employed the Beebe et al. framework made this easy to see. For example, Uruguayan refusals differed from Chinese refusals (Chen et al. 1995) primarily in terms of directness. For requests and suggestions, whereas the most frequent head act for the Uruguayans was the direct refusal “no,” the most frequent head act for the Chinese was to give a reason. The direct refusal “no” was also most common for offers among the Uruguayans, but the Chinese preferred to refuse offers by attempting to dissuade the addressee. Refusals to invitations were similar in that both Uruguayans and Chinese refused predominantly with indirect strategies, but differed in type; for example, the Uruguayans most often gave indefinite replies while the Chinese gave reasons.

Refusals to invitations in Peruvian Spanish (García 1992), Venezuelan Spanish (García 1999), Mexican Spanish (Félix-Brasdefer 2008) and American English (Félix-Brasdefer 2003) were also similar in that the informants’ most frequent choice was to refuse an invitation indirectly, but, again, the type of indirect strategy type tended to differ. Indefinite replies were a frequent strategy among the Venezuelans and the Mexicans, but this was not the most preferred strategy as it was in the Uruguayan data. In fact, in the Venezuelan data set, indefinite replies were more characteristic of the men in García’s study rather than the women. While this could be a salient area of

cross-cultural difference, the dearth of refusals to invitations in the present data set is a limitation. More data are needed—both from Uruguayan Spanish and naturalistic data from other varieties of Spanish—to make thorough comparisons.

Combining all strategy frequencies for invitations, requests and suggestions, when the Mexican and American data are put side-by-side with the Uruguayan data for the same speech acts, the Uruguayans were more frequently direct than the Americans, who were more frequently direct than the Mexicans. That is, direct refusals prevailed in the face-to-face interaction of Uruguayan women with male and female addressees, but not so in the male-only experimental data of the other language varieties. Mexican and American males gave reasons most abundantly and to a greater extent than did the Uruguayan women, though giving reasons was also a common strategy for the Uruguayans. While it may be tempting to draw conclusions based on such findings (e.g., between cultures and/or genders), one caution is that this comparison of results is a best attempt. The types of data being compared here are inherently different (natural versus elicited) and vary in terms of the number of refusals analyzed, participant characteristics (all female versus all male participants) and situational variables.

Hypothesis 2 was that, based on previous research, Rosarian refusals would exhibit more refusal strategies in line with “expressing solidarity, interdependence, [and] affiliation towards the interlocutor” (Márquez Reiter and Placencia 2005: 190). This hypothesis is confirmed as well, with a caveat. The theories upon which Márquez Reiter and Placencia based their analysis all have in common the underlying assumption of “face.” According to Scollon and Scollon, face has two sides:

On the one hand, in human interactions we have a need to be involved with other participants and to show them our involvement. On the other hand,

we need to maintain some degree of independence from other participants and to show them that we respect their independence. These two sides of face, involvement and independence, produce an inherently paradoxical situation in all communications, in that both aspects of face must be projected simultaneously in any communication (2001: 46).¹

Thus, the caveat is that one side of face cannot manifest to the exclusion of the other.

That said, it was apparent from these data that the participants regularly selected strategies that, in the politeness literature, are exemplary of involvement, solidarity and affiliation. This is to say nothing about the conditions under which these strategy selections took place, but is an observation of overall tendency.

Referring to Tables 4-9 through 4-11, the ten most frequent strategies for both head acts and supportive moves accounted for the majority (58%) of the total strategies represented.² For head acts, the strategies presumed by researchers (Brown and Levinson 1987; Scollon and Scollon 1983; García 1992) to display solidarity politeness or involvement were:

- “No” (n = 116);
- Counter argument / correction (n = 62);
- Negates proposition (n = 48);
- Command (n = 30);
- Alternative (n = 21);
- Emotional expression (n = 21);

while those considered indicative of deference politeness or independence were:

- Indefinite reply (n = 58);
- Hedge/subjectivize/understate (n = 42);
- Delay response / ignore (n = 28).

¹ Their view of involvement and independence (a.k.a. solidarity and deference politeness (Scollon and Scollon 1983)) is modeled on Brown and Levinson's positive and negative face distinctions (cf. Chapter Two) and has been equated to what Lakoff (1990) termed camaraderie and distance/deference politeness (e.g., García 1999).

² HA plus SM strategies totaled 928 out of a possible 1,604.

Depending on its use, the repetition/reiteration strategy (n =75) could be indicative of either involvement (i.e., intensifying interest in the addressee) or independence (i.e., used to delay/avoid response); therefore, I did not attribute this strategy to either side. The observation is that 59% (298 of 501) of head act strategies were in some way affiliative or oriented toward involvement with the addressee. In contrast, 26% (128 of 501) were oriented toward independence and autonomy.

Supportive moves present a stronger case for an involvement orientation. Of the ten most frequent strategies, seven were considered involvement strategies:

- Reason / explanation (n = 79);
- Confirm / acknowledge (n = 58);
- Claim common ground / solidarity (n = 32);
- Counter argument / correction (n = 30);
- Reassure (n = 29);
- Statement of information (n = 28);
- Alternative (n = 26);

and two were examples of independence strategies:

- Hedge/subjectivize/understate (n = 51);
- Justify / minimize the offense (n = 23).

Again, repetition/reiteration was not exclusively an involvement or independence strategy, but it did contribute to the total strategy count. The result was that 64% (256 of 401) of the most frequent supportive moves were linguistic strategies of involvement, while only 18% (74 of 401) were strategies of independence.

This has implications for the main discussion question regarding what these data reveal about these Uruguayans' socio-cultural norms and expectations for communication within relationships. It would be absurd to suggest that the Uruguayan women of this study do not care so much about being respected or maintaining independence from others—this cannot be the case because both sides of face are

ever-present in every communication, and because the text of the refusal sequences themselves demonstrate that this is not so (cf. Ana's and Fabiana's phone conversations in Chapter 6). In fact, per Watt's (2003) view of power, just as every proposition is an opportunity to exert power over another, every refusal is a denial of that power (cf. Chapter 2).

It is the extent to which the refuser takes pains not to make the addressee feel as though she or he has been horribly rejected or denied that is the object of facework. It is evident from these data that in many contexts it was okay to say "no"—the most frequent refusal head act for suggestions, statements, offers and requests. But most usually the "no" was accompanied by something else, for example, a reason—the most frequent supportive move for offers and requests.

The preference for reasons/explanations indicates positive facework or involvement with the interlocutor, in that offering [reasons] is "a way of implying 'I can help you' or 'you can help me,' and [assumes] cooperation" (Brown & Levinson 1987: 128) (Félix-Brasdefer 2008: 87).

Thus, it is evident that these participants regularly used affiliative linguistic behaviors as a way of mitigating the blunt force of "no," and that these regularities represent one norm of speaking, potentially phrased as "in general, show involvement." This norm would fall into the category of unmarked, non-polite politic/appropriate behavior (Locher and Watts 2005).

I will take a step further, calling upon the pragmaticalization literature. Pragmaticalization is characterized by "the meaning/functional change involving shifts to a more speaker-based, discourse-based meaning" (Suzuki 2007: 300). Like grammaticalization, semantic-pragmatic change is governed by regularities, such as a sequential path (i.e., unidirectionality), "so that the new meaning at the beginning of the

change appears in the most favoring contexts and later progressively advances to less favorable contexts, the innovative meaning becoming less and less dependent on the surrounding syntactic and semantic context, and, as a consequence, becoming more abstract and more polysemous” (Company Company 2006: 97).

The frequency and regularity with which “no” is used in refusal sequences makes it a candidate for pragmaticalization, in that in “favorable” contexts it loses its force as a bald-on, direct refusal. Thompson (2002) and Thompson and Mulac (1991) make the same argument for the complement-taking predicates “I think,” “I guess,” and “I know (that)” in English. Thompson shows that, in the great majority of cases, finite indicative clauses “override the profile” of the complement taking predicate (CTP) (131). An example is as follows in which a group is talking about relightable birthday candles (adapted from Thompson (2002)):

(1) “I think” as an epistemic fragment (Thompson 2002: 133)

1 Kevin: I think they’re re=lightable.

2 Wendy: (blowing) they [a=re.

3 Kendra: [they are=.

...

5 Marci: I didn’t think they were, but I think they maybe are=.

The argument here is that the “main” claim is the “main” claim (i.e., that the candles are relightable), regardless of whether it appears in a main clause or complement clause. The CTPs in lines 1 and 5 are phrases that indicate the epistemic stance of the speaker toward the primary/main claim; the secondary claim of “thinking” does not override the main claim, but reflects more closely the function of “maybe” in line 5. Thompson and Mulac agree that this change is due to a frequency effect, since

“the complements with the most frequent CTPs (*I think* and *I guess*) override their CTPs to such an extent that they have been reanalyzed as epistemic parentheticals”

(Thompson 2002: 134).

Félix-Brasdefer references this same phenomenon in Spanish by classifying CTPs such as *pienso que* (I think) and *creo que* (I believe) as “expressions of epistemic modality” (2008: 81), but this is not the point here. My point is that “no” in the context of refusing seems to have undergone a similar process of pragmaticalization. In refusals such as (2) through (4), the main claim is not “no”—this seems to be a fragment representing the speaker’s epistemic stance. (It might also be appropriate to consider it a discourse marker.) The primary claim is the statement, counter or reason that follows.

(2) “No” as a potential epistemic fragment, no + [statement of reassurance] (Moqui 15)

1 Josefa: capaz que agarra xx pa’cá abajo, xxx.
maybe she takes/is taking xxx down here, xxx.

2 Moqui: no, si sabe donde queda.
no, ø ((lit. if)) she knows where it is.

(3) “No” as a potential epistemic fragment, no + [counter argument / alternative] (Ela 22)

1 Roberto: vos cobrás la asignación el nueve también . . . el nueve cobrá(s) vo(s) la asignación? ((pause)) tenés que llevarlo al Kevin.
you get the supplement [government financial aid] on the ninth too . . . on the ninth you get the supplement? ((pause)) you’ll have to take Kevin [to go get it].

2 Ela: no pero:, puedo cobrarla después yo. la asignación.
no bu:t, I ((emph.)) can get it later. the supplement.

(4) “No” as a potential epistemic fragment, no + [reason] (Isabel 41)

1 Jenifer: ↑bueno si no, sabes qué? (Isabel)...no la podemos mirar en la tele? las fotos?
↑ok if not, you know what? (Isabel)...can’t we look at them on the TV? the pictures?
((short pause))

2 Isabel: no porque no trajiste::→
no because you didn't bri::ng→

This is reflective of an ongoing process in which speakers can select the potentially pragmaticalized use of “no” from a range of discourse options that place more to most emphasis on “no” as the main claim. My impressions of the participants’ prosodic cues—an area for further research as I have not fully investigated this feature for these data—support the view of a pragmaticalized “no.” In these cases, the “no” tends to be atonic, or unstressed, relative to elements of the ensuing clause. In (3), for example, Ela places audible stress on the words *pero*—which immediately follows *no*—and *yo*. The discourse-based meaning of “no” (as an epistemic expression) is thus different from its formal meaning (as a bald-on rejection).

Further support for this claim comes from what happens when a “no” refusal is uttered without redress: it is subject to negatively-marked, impolite interpretation, especially in situations of high social distance. For an example of this I now return to expressions of gratitude as a possible area of cross-cultural difference.

To take an example from American English, to reject an offer of something, one commonly hears “no, thanks/thank you” (Sadler and Eröz 2002; Sarfo 2011). In these data, however, (*muchas*) *gracias* (n = 40) was used primarily when accepting an object or favor and also to reciprocate thanks; moreover, it was used to initiate and/or finalize conversational closings. The performative *te agradezco* (“I thank you”) was observed once to accept a favor from a clerk, the formally marked expression likely being reflective of feeling indebted to the favor.

Thus, the Uruguayans of this study were apt to express gratitude. However, they were not so apt to do so in the refusal context. It is noteworthy that gratitude as an

expression of refusal or adjunct to a refusal only occurred in two refusal sequences: in one offer (out of 56) and one invitation (out of 7). The offer was a situation of high social distance (+D), but little power difference (-P) concerning a patient's rejection of food at the hospital with a flat "no." It was a peculiar situation in the sense that the daughters, Isabel (the participant) and Jenifer, who had taken their mother to the hospital that night, seemed to be making a point that she did not know how to refuse a service appropriately. While concerned for their mother, they were also irritated with her as manifested by Isabel's private comment to her sister (some lines following the departure of the cook), *está con las estupideces de siempre obviamente* ("she's doing the same stupid stuff she always does obviously"). The daughters, cast in a care-taking role over their mother, stepped in with what they deemed to be the "right" way to handle the situation by padding their mother's flat "no" with expressions of gratitude and a justification minimizing the offense (*no tiene ganas por ahora, muchas gracias* "she's not in the mood right now, thank you very much").

According to some politeness theories, such as Scollon and Scollon (2001) and Brown and Levinson (1987)³, in a situation of high distance and low power differentials—a deference politeness system per Scollon and Scollon—one would expect more independence/negative politeness strategies. Expressions of gratitude (when uttered sincerely, not sarcastically) and reasons that justify/minimize the offense are instances of this in that they "give deference" to the hearer by recognizing "the addressee's rights to relative immunity from imposition" (Brown and Levinson 1987:

³ Scollon and Scollon (2001) base their notions of involvement (previously "solidarity politeness") and independence (previously "deference politeness") on Brown and Levinson's (1987) positive and negative politeness, respectively.

178). In a symmetrical relationship (-P), these strategies serve to increase or recognize a +D relationship. In this light, the behavior of the daughters toward the cook (regardless of their mood toward their mother) is unremarkable—they are mitigating the face-threatening act of refusing a service, which falls in line with what would be expected to maintain the status quo.

From a relational work perspective (Watts 2003; Locher and Watts 2005), however, we see the interaction somewhat differently. The cook and the daughters likely perceived Estevana to have acted outside the bounds of politic/appropriate behavior and within the realm of impolite/non-politic/inappropriate behavior. She had, albeit momentarily, uttered a bald-on “no” without redress. Recalling the idea that linguistic resources can be thought of as currency (cf. Chapter 2), this was a “short payment” of linguistic capital (i.e., no addition of supportive move or internal downgrader), which Isabel and Jenifer then step in to provide. Their compensatory moves provide “extra payment” in the form of expressions of gratitude and a reason justifying the offense, in an effort to bring the situation back into equilibrium. In fact, they overcompensate to the point that they swing the conversational pendulum into the positively-marked, polite zone of the relational work continuum (cf. Figure 2-1). I claim this interpretation, because in the rest of the offers analyzed, no explicit expression of gratitude is used to refuse an object or favor. Reasons, hedges and repetitions of previous discourse are the preferred supportive moves for refusals to offers, and, based on the addressees’ uptake, these refusals do not seem to “come up short.”

Also, since we are talking about linguistic practice as part of the *habitus*, we can deduce that what is most done in everyday, spontaneous discourse is what is expected;

what is expected is unmarked; what is unmarked is politic. For this reason I have examined the refusal strategies as I have: to discover what is most done. So, if refusals to offers are “most done” by strategies other than expressions of gratitude, and if expressions of gratitude are found in other contexts (i.e., the participants have them in their repertoire and use them), then it is reasonable to conclude that the use of an expression of gratitude when refusing an offer is a positively marked strategy subject to polite interpretation. On this note, I reference the second and only other example of a refusal accompanied by an expression of gratitude: Moqui’s refusal of her sister-in-law’s invitation and subsequent insistence to stay for dinner and a movie.

In this case of low distance and equal power, Moqui leads her refusal to stay longer with the intensified expression of gratitude *muchas gracias* (“thanks very much”) in first position as a pre-posed supportive move (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989). This is followed by a flat “no,” arguably primed by the “no”-phrasing of the previous line (*no se van a quedar?* “you’re not going to stay?”), and a reason that borders on claiming hardship (*yo tengo los pies fríos* “my feet are cold”). This expression of gratitude is curious in that, as a move of deference, it is not so characteristic of solidarity politeness systems, upon which symmetrical relationships of low distance are theoretically based (Scollon and Scollon 2001). In the subsequent lines, in which an insistence-response-offer-response exchange is performed, Moqui departs from the expression of gratitude in favor of more substantive strategies (see Chen, Ye and Zhang (1995) for the distinction between “ritual” and “substantive” refusals). In doing so, the flavor of her refusals shifts from independence to greater involvement through the use of solidary agreement, a condition expressing willingness and a shift to more informal terminology

(i.e., *pies*→*patas*, referring to her feet). It is apparent that the initial *muchas gracias* was indicative of a sincere attempt on Moqui's part to show respect and appreciation for her sister-in-law's invitation of hospitality, and was, in fact, "extra linguistic payment" subject to positively-marked/polite interpretation.⁴

The above examples present a potential area of cross-cultural difference between Uruguayan Spanish and, say, American English involving the relative frequency of the familiar templates [head act] + [expression of gratitude] (e.g., "no thanks") and [expression of gratitude] (but) [head act] (e.g., "I appreciate the offer, (but) I can't"). Overuse of these templates in Spanish could result in negative pragmatic transfer in which "available grammatical knowledge . . . (b) enables non-target-like pragmatic use, and (c) is used in a way that is pragmalinguistically target-like but sociopragmatically non-target-like" (Kasper and Rose 2002: 8) (see also Félix-Brasdefer (2003)). Also, we can see how social distance plays a role in the expectations of the interlocutors, and how different motivations can bring about "extra payments" of linguistic capital. Finally, we have witnessed the use of "no" with and without redress and the effect it has on the addressees as the discourse unfolds.

Overall, the women of this study exhibited linguistic practices characteristic of Scollon and Scollon's (2001) solidarity politeness system in which there is a high level of involvement strategies. In this system participants tend to see themselves as being in equal social position (-P) and both (all) addressees feel at liberty to use strategies indicative of solidarity, interdependence and affiliation. We recall from Chapter 6 that I

⁴ In our follow-up interview, Moqui intimated to me that the "real" reason for not wanting to stay any longer was because she felt uncomfortable around her sister-in-law's husband. Obviously, she did not feel at liberty to express this reason, especially with him present. Thus, she opted for politeness (my inference) either because he (+D) could hear her or because she really wanted to let her sister-in-law know how much she appreciated the invite, or both.

was unable to delve very deep into the issue of hierarchical relationship precisely because of a lack of data in this area; this is a shortcoming and an avenue for further research to see if the predominance of involvement strategies remains, even in +P relationships.

For Scollon and Scollon the solidarity politeness system also represents relationships of low social distance (-D). But, as we have seen (cf. Chapter 6), the interlocutors of this study were not always close and social distance proved to be an important factor that affected how the participant refused. From a relational work perspective, I would suggest that the unmarked, non-polite politeness behavior for the participants of this study is best described as a collection of linguistic strategies demonstrative of involvement; thus, the *habitus* of everyday communication is grounded in a solidarity politeness system. This is the norm. However, based on the speaker's perception of what the situation requires it is necessary to make adjustments, such as when in a chance encounter, or if someone behaves in an unexpected manner (Escandell-Vidal 2004). One way of doing this would be to select independence-oriented strategies (e.g., expressions of gratitude) as illustrated above.

Chapter 5 regarding domains corroborates many of the above arguments. Looking again at Figure 5-2, the two sides of face claimed by Scollon and Scollon are represented by the significantly correlated strategies specific to each orientation of talk. In business-oriented talk we find "No" and "Agree" (involvement), but also "HedgeSU" and "Apology" (independence). In domestic-oriented talk we see "EndearTerm" and "Attax" (involvement), but also "DelayIgnore" (independence). Finally, for socially-

oriented talk we note the association with “Joke” and “CCGSolid” (involvement), but also with “IndefiniteReply” (independence).

But what about the argument that the participants of this study were operating out of solidarity politeness system norms, regardless of power and distance? To this I have two answers. First, despite the association of domains with certain strategies of independence, the solidarity-based system was made manifest by other means. In every domain, involvement strategies were more frequent than independence strategies. For example, with the exception of *señora* (primarily in service encounters, which did lend an air of distance), the noticeable lack of titles and the predominance of first names, endearment terms and *vos* as forms of address lent an egalitarian sense to the conversations studied. Also, the use of small talk compensated for the independence-oriented adjustments, adding an air of camaraderie. Small talk is a quintessential involvement tactic and was most prevalent in the social domain, the domain with the highest relative percentage of independence strategies. On this note I add that volubility (i.e., talking a lot) is recognized by Scollon and Scollon (2001) as an involvement strategy in itself. Therefore, it is relevant to point out that the refusal sequences of the social domain were longer than average.

The second answer pertains to the idea that domains act as loci for specific discourse systems. These systems, like all discourses, “form intersecting and cross-cutting waves of communicative style and form and value” within the same culture or community (Scollon and Scollon 2001: 6). In essence, this is a restatement of similar points made in Chapter 2 and in Chapter 5. In Chapter 2 I referred to domains as corresponding to fields within the cultural marketplace and to linguistic practice as the

product of the linguistic field, linguistic *habitus* and linguistic capital; in Chapter 5 I claimed that the concept of domain relates specific language choices to general spheres of activity. The data presented in Chapter 5 provided evidence for this view in that there proved to be significant differences in refusal behavior based on the domain of interaction: the length of the refusal sequence, certain semantic and linguistic strategies, as well as post-refusal small talk. For example, whereas in the social domain “be talkative” emerged as an underlying regularity, in the business domain it was more common to “be less talkative.” In the conclusion of that chapter I made a claim for domain as a uniquely positioned variable that is different from others, such as power and social distance, because, in addition to these concepts, there is something more that brings it all together: speaker ends or goals filtered through the lens of past experiences and a working knowledge of what the current situation requires.

On this view we are faced with at least two possibilities: 1) that there is an overarching normative style (i.e., a solidarity politeness system) grounded in the shared *habitus* within which many sub-styles (i.e., domain discourse systems) operate with some variance of practices, or 2) that there is no overarching normative style, but only myriad “intersecting and cross-cutting” domain discourse systems in which there is some reasonable variability due to differences in “individual and collective practices” (cf. Bourdieu 1990: 54). Both possibilities are provocative and carry with them different implications. And while hashing out an argument for and against each of these possibilities is beyond the scope of this discussion, one can see that whatever the case may be, at some level there is a kind of pragmatic Optimality Theory at play.⁵ For

⁵ O.T. is a model claiming that the observed forms of language arise from the interaction between conflicting constraints, the set of which is universal. For more see McCarthy (2001).

instance, if what you know about handling yourself at a business meeting in some setting A clashes with what you know about conducting yourself with circus clowns in some setting B, how then do you conduct yourself at a business meeting with all circus clowns in some setting C? Because your experiences are at odds, you will have to make some adjustments contrary to one or both latent networks (i.e., structures produced by historical practices), and you will involve yourself in the co-construction of an emergent network (i.e., a “dynamic process” that unfolds among participants in the course of ongoing interaction) (Watts 2003: 153), in which one strategy might “win” because you perceive it to violate fewer norms than another. Or, to put it another way, you might settle on a course of action, not because it is the most appropriate (after all, you are not sure), but because it seems to you the least inappropriate.

In the same way, when a speaker is faced with competing discourse norms—due to specifications of a sub-style that do not match the overarching style (possibility 1) or to overlapping/intersecting domain discourse styles (possibility 2), she will have to account in some way for any clash of underlying regularities, assuming she notices them and desires to maintain a politic manner. Similarly, if she is faced with a novel situation or uncertainty in a relationship, she will likewise involve herself in the co-construction of an emergent network. This, then, would help explain Isabel’s refusal behavior as she simultaneously dealt with family members and hospital personnel, and Moqui’s tactics while refusing her sister-in-law with whom she reported having *confianza*, but with her brother-in-law present with whom she did not.

In sum, the data indicate that the underlying regularities of the different domains can be described in terms of Scollon and Scollon’s different politeness systems. The

domestic domain most strongly mirrored the solidarity politeness system (-P, -D), with some deferential elements (e.g., the use of the *usted* pronoun and verbal system when speaking to an older addressee). The social domain also reflected the solidarity politeness system with more intimate addressees, though the participants resorted to tactics characteristic of a deferential politeness system (-P, +D) when managing interactions with those whom the relationship was less certain. Efforts were made via strategies such as small talk to reinforce the latent network rooted in the solidarity politeness system. Likewise, in the work setting/business domain, the hierarchical politeness system (+P, +/-D) was often eschewed in favor of the solidarity politeness system though, as I have already mentioned, more data comparing different power relationships is needed to make any substantive claims. However, in the service setting/business domain, the norms of the solidarity politeness system were found to be in most tension with those of a deferential politeness system. Still, involvement strategies were more frequent than independence strategies when considering all of the strategies used in this domain.

Now recalling Chapter 6, it is apparent that participant characteristics, coupled with those of the addressee, in conjunction with the relationship shared in terms of role and social distance, add to the discussion regarding the participants' socio-cultural norms and expectations for communication within relationships. In light of the above, one of the most salient conclusions is the reinforcement of the notion of cross-cutting, intersecting discourse systems. Within domains, defined by a specific set of regularly occurring practices, there is variation. This variation is indicative of the participant's experiences (e.g., of being of a certain generation (age), of having obtained a certain

level of education, of being from a certain part of town) and their position relative to the addressee (e.g., same/different sex, older/younger, more/less educated, richer/poorer, subordinate/superordinate, more/less intimate). This presents infinite interactional combinations, all of which I could not hope to analyze for this study. However, in Chapter 6 I was able to show that several characteristics rendered salient linguistic tendencies; the most important of these were: participant age, addressee sex and social distance.

Age was seen to covary with head act type, supportive moves, downgraders and specific linguistic strategies. As age increased, the number of indirect refusals decreased, and the number of direct refusals increased. This is not to say that all groups did not use both direct and indirect strategies, but, relative to each other, the younger tended toward indirect head act strategies, while the older group favored direct. This seemed neat and clear, but was complicated by interaction with the domain variable. The younger group realized more refusal sequences per participant in the social domain (Figure 6-2), where two of the norms that emerged were “be talkative” and “decrease bald-on tactics with non-intimates.” Also, the middle and older groups interacted much more within the business domain, where I noted the following underlying interactions: “be less talkative,” “say no” and “be deferent as situation requires.” Thus, it is difficult to be sure if the patterns of (in)directness were more representative of age differences or the underlying norms of the domains.

Patterns regarding supportive moves and downgraders, however, transcended domains. No matter what the orientation of the talk, the middle and older groups employed mitigating moves and downgraders more than the younger group. The use of

hedges, subjectivizers and understaters was most characteristic of the middle age group, while the older group tended to give alternatives, display comprehension/empathy and use pause fillers, in addition to hedging. Conversely, the younger participants produced more aggravating moves compared to any other age group, consistently achieving the highest percentages across domains. Other than using proper names and endearment terms, there were not specific strategies associated with aggravating moves of the younger group; though reasons, statements of information, repeated/reiterated discourse, commands and “no” typified their aggravating moves. Additionally, emotional expressions (as occurring in head acts) were present in all age categories, but occurred most with the older group. It is less likely that these, which are not typically freestanding, are as dependent on contextual variables such as domain.

The above shows that the younger and older women oriented more toward involvement strategies, i.e., endearment terms and proper names, alternatives, displays of comprehension/empathy, emotional expressions. Only the middle group was associated solely with strategies of independence: hedging, subjectivizing and understating (taken as one variable). This suggests another cross-cutting discourse system, that of middle-age women (defined as 26 to 40). One reason for this variation may be that people in their professional/social-status establishing years are more cautious or tentative in their speech, because they have more to gain through successful interactions and more to lose should an exchange be deemed infelicitous (Silva-Corvalán 2001). If this were to indeed be the case, the implication is that these women’s refusal and, by extension, speech behavior would change as they age.

Regarding differences potentially caused by distinct orientations to male versus female addressees, I claimed in Chapter 6 that female addressees received a greater percentage of tactics typically associated with “face-watching” (i.e., indirect head acts, supportive moves and downgraders), while male addressees received a greater portion of utterances largely considered to be less concerned with face-needs, or at least less deferent (i.e., direct head acts, aggravating moves and upgraders). I rejected the notion that any of these strategies was inherently more or less “polite,” but I did not go into further detail about the linguistic strategies used that made up these categories.

The impression that the above synopsis gives is that the participants used more independence strategies with other women relative to men, and that they used more involvement strategies with men relative to women. This proved to be true, with one exception: in the social domain. Gender-based comparisons in the social domain showed a higher percentage of independence strategies toward male addressees. This was true for head act (23% versus 29%) as well as supportive move strategies (22% versus 38%). The areas tested were head acts overall and by domain, supportive moves overall and by domain, head acts by socioeconomic status (SES), supportive moves by SES, mitigating moves (overall) and aggravating moves (overall), for a total of fourteen tests. The percentages of independence strategies never accounted for the majority, ranging from 10% (aggravating moves to males overall) to 38% (supportive moves to males in the social domain), which means that participants maintained an outward orientation toward involvement. These trends suggest the following underlying tendency: “in general, show involvement; as the situation requires, show independence with other women, but moreso with men with whom the relationship is less certain.”

In Chapter 6 I also pointed out Holmes' finding that New Zealand women tended to use "hedging and boosting devices" more often than men (1995: 113). I then posed the question: Do women in Uruguay also use more of these "devices" with other women? For these data, the answer was yes to hedges and no to boosters/upgraders. Because Holmes' categories of hedges roughly corresponded with the variable "HedgeSU," I subjected this variable to sixteen tests to see in which, if any, contexts the participants used more hedges/subjectivizers/understaters (herein hedges) with women than with men. The tests compared hedges to women and to men in head acts, supportive moves, total up- and downgraders, across domains and across participant SES. In all cross-sections except for one (i.e., supportive moves in the domestic domain—a difference of 1%), women used more hedges with other women. Because hedges often serve to mitigate impositions to addressees thereby showing respect for their independence, this finding falls in line with the norm proposed above: "in general, show involvement; as the situation requires, show independence with other women."

The findings for boosters/upgraders posed more intricacies, but on the whole, the participants upgraded their utterances more with male addressees. I evaluated two variables for this brief survey: emotional expressions, the most frequent upgrading tactic after repetition/reiteration (which did not always have an upgrading effect), and "upgraders" (the general category for all types of upgrading/intensification). The latter variable incorporated several types of boosting present in Holmes' evaluation. After subjecting the variables to the same tests as hedges, I found that in all cross-sections except for one (i.e., total aggravating moves—also a difference of 1%), women used more emotional expressions with men. Because emotional expressions (e.g.

ah:::!, *AY*, *uaf*, *QUÉ?*) show engagement on the part of the speaker in response to what she has just heard, they satisfy two tenets of involvement strategies: noticing/ attending to the hearer and exaggerating interest/sympathy, etc. Thus, I have classified them as such. This falls in line with the trend suggested at the outset: that the women of this study generally used more involvement strategies with men relative to women.

With upgraders, the participants consistently used more of these with men as well, except for when domains were taken into account. Large discrepancies were revealed for the domestic and social domains: in the domestic domain 23% of refusal sequences to women contained upgraders, compared to 57% of sequences to men. Conversely, in the social domain 50% of sequences to women versus 26% to men contained upgraders. The business domain showed a more even distribution, but upgraders to women were more prevalent (38% versus 32%). In general, the utterances coded as upgraders were involvement-oriented, serving to exaggerate, intensify the speaker's argument and show emotional support to the hearer. However, in some instances, they reinforced or occurred concomitantly with independence strategies, such as an apology (e.g., *sinceramente viste, vos disculpá la imprudencia* "really you know, pardon the imprudence") and a reverse psychological predicate (e.g., *no. no me queda* "no. I'm all out" (lit. none is left to me)).

At first, these results concerning upgraders seem puzzling, but the behavior for the domestic and social domains can be explained in broad strokes by the norm proposed above: "in general, show involvement; as the situation requires, show independence with other women, but moreso with men with whom the relationship is less certain." A closer look at the upgraders in the social domain reveals that the

majority of upgraded utterances toward women were to female intimates (role distance measure = 3). Such intimacy would provide an atmosphere conducive to satisfying the norm “in general, show involvement.” On the other hand, the majority (79%) of female-male refusal sequences in the social domain were with non-intimates (role distance measure = 1, 2). (The same figure was 46% for female-female exchanges.) This would provide a viable explanation for the lack of upgraders toward men in this domain in that it fulfills the norm “show independence . . . moreso with men with whom the relationship is less certain.” Likewise for the domestic domain: the high presence of upgraders, i.e., involvement, in the refusals to men is indicative of the certainty of the intimate relationship. In fact, all female-male exchanges in this domain were characterized by a role-distance measure of 3.

With this we come to the final point of this discussion, namely, the topic of social distance. As I posited in Chapter 6, social distance and the factors relating to it arguably accounted for the most variability in refusal behavior aside from domain. While domain and social distance are related, the two concepts are not synonymous. The data showed that increased social distance often triggered increased efforts to attend to face-needs and interpersonal rapport, but that this was not independent of relationship type. In other words, +D relationships in the social domain did not necessarily yield the same refusal strategies as +D relationships in the business domain.

In Chapters 5 and 6 I made reference to Wolfson’s (1988) “Bulge” theory, and in Chapter 6 I showed how the major semantic strategies plotted out accordingly in some contexts. Thus, this theory provided explanatory power in many instances along the

way, particularly regarding small talk and the social domain itself. A basic tenet of this theory is that it is with those with whom our relationship is less certain that we do the most relational work. In these chapters I pointed out that Boxer (1993) showed speech behavior contradicting the “Bulge” in her study of indirect complaints and responses. I then claimed that taking domain into consideration could reconcile these two points of view. It is to this argument that I now attend. Taking a domain-based approach to refusal discourse will show how both Boxer’s findings and Wolfson’s theory concomitantly apply.

The competing views are summed up as follows. Wolfson’s continued study of invitations and compliments (1981; 1983) led her to construct a theory of social distance that she termed “The Bulge” (1988). She writes:

When we examine the ways in which different speech acts are realized in actual everyday speech, and when we compare these behaviors in terms of the social relationships of the interlocutors, we find again and again that the two extremes of social distance—minimum and maximum—seem to call forth very similar behavior, while relationships which are more toward the center show marked difference (Wolfson 1988: 32).

In other words, if we imagine the social distance scale as a continuum upon which various relationships can be placed, strangers and intimates would occupy the polar opposite ends, while status-equal friends, colleagues and acquaintances would plot somewhere in the middle. The “Bulge,” then, is essentially a bell-shaped curve representing the amount of interactional work that we do with people along this line. Those at the extreme ends, strangers and intimates, have the relative certainty of their relationships in common; thus, less solidarity-establishing/relational work is done. “It is toward the middle of the continuum, particularly among interlocutors of equal status, that much of the give and take that is characteristic of the negotiation of relationships

takes place” (Boxer 1993: 104-05). This is the “Bulge”: that we behave more similarly with total strangers and extreme intimates than we do with others, because, with the former, we know precisely where we stand.

Boxer (1993) bases a contradicting opinion on her study of indirect complaints and responses to these complaints, particularly commiserative responses. Through meticulous analysis, which included plotting out her data on various curves that she then compared to the “Bulge,” she concluded that there are times when our speech behavior shows more commonalities between friends/acquaintances and strangers than between intimates and strangers. For example, commiseration, a rapport building strategy indicative of positive facework or involvement, “occurred almost as much among strangers as it did among friends and acquaintances. . . . The frequency of commiserations for intimates, however, was considerably lower” (Boxer 1993: 118-120). Citing work by Holmes (1990) who found similar trends with apologies by speakers of New Zealand English, Boxer writes that Wolfson was “premature” in her assertions regarding social distance (1993: 123).

These competing views are not without their own problems, however. Wolfson tended to rely more on her impressionistic views, rather than subject the data to appropriate quantitative analysis (Boxer, personal communication). In other words, she did not actually plot out her data though others, such as Beebe et al. (1985), have corroborated Wolfson’s views via data from their own studies. Also, Wolfson did not seem to take into account the way other speech behaviors played out in comparison to compliments and invitations (e.g., complaints, commiserations and apologies).

Neither scholar took domains of interaction into consideration, much less the possibility that these different spheres would embody different and, potentially, conflicting norms of interaction. Boxer, in fact, conflates the variable of domain by operationalizing the “friends” category as including social conversation recorded at restaurants and student lounges (i.e., the social domain), and the “strangers” category with exchanges taken from service encounters (i.e., the business domain).

While it is true that people with whom we rarely or never interact except during service encounters would occupy the extreme end of the social distance continuum, and that those with whom we chat and have coffee in breakrooms would likely fall somewhere in the middle of the range, they do so—importantly—in their respective domains of interaction. I refer now to the “Bulge” charts based on refusal data, specifically Figures 6-21 through 6-24. Starting with the graph of the major semantic strategies and post-refusal small talk in the business domain, we can see that refusal behavior toward “distant” addressees rarely aligned with that towards “intimate” addressees. Also, those in the middle of the continuum tended to “skew” (Boxer’s term) toward one end or another; for example, post-refusal small talk occurred almost as much among “distant” addressees as among “mid” addressees, just like with commiserations in Boxer’s study.

The same graph for the domestic domain could be said to show support for either theory, because there were no addressees that fell into the “distant” category. Nevertheless, this graph serves another purpose: it shows that the domestic domain is not synonymous with the “intimate” end of the social distance continuum. Calculation of the role-distance measure (cf. Chapter 6) revealed less intimate relationships in the

domestic domain, such as a long-term house guest or a family member with whom the participant was not particularly close. These were subject to increased negotiation and facework. Note, for example, the lesser use of direct head acts, aggravating moves and upgraders, and the increased use of mitigating moves, downgraders and post-refusal small talk for the “mid” category, relative to the “intimate” end.

Turning now to the graph for the social domain (Figure 6-24), it is here that we see the strongest application of Wolfson’s “Bulge” theory. For every strategy, save one (upgraders), the curve representing that particular speech behavior formed a Bulge. In this way, the refusal strategies toward “distant” addressees more closely resembled those directed toward “intimate” addressees. This was particularly true of direct head acts and aggravating moves, though their curve was inverted. The inversion can be explained by the terse and commissive quality of direct head acts and the potentially aggressive and “face-threatening” interpretation of some aggravating moves. Per Wolfson’s theory, there would be fewer of these acts in relationships where interlocutor rapport is most at stake and interactions are most negotiated (i.e., in the middle of the continuum).

Thus, when viewed within a domain-based framework, both Wolfson’s and Boxer’s points of view do much to explicate face-to-face interaction. Taking refusal strategies as the focus of analysis, we see that the business domain exhibited patterns very similar to Boxer’s work, and that the social domain displayed trends best explained by Wolfson’s theory. One potential drawback was that there were relatively few refusal sequences in the social domain upon which to base the analysis. Further study on naturally occurring refusals—or other speech acts—in the social domain would serve to

solidify this view. Additionally, the insights offered here, inclusive of the domestic domain, provide strength to the claim that domain is a variable in its own right, qualitatively different from others such as social distance and power.

Principal Findings and Significance

As I set out to conduct this research, I was primarily interested in answering two questions: How do native Spanish speakers, in this case female Uruguayans, actually use their language to handle everyday situations? What does this tell us about their socio-cultural norms and their expectations for interpersonal communication? I have attempted to get at these answers via recordings of natural data and the analysis of refusals and refusal strategies in various situational contexts. In doing so I considered the domain of interaction, participant characteristics, addressee characteristics and the nature of the relationship between the participant and her addressee(s).

The Uruguayans of this study produced numerous strategies with various frequencies to handle refusal situations, and they often refused directly. Whereas directness has been thought to be “less polite” than indirectness in the body of politeness literature, we saw that this was not necessarily the case, e.g., the high frequency of “no” with suggestions, statements, offers and requests. Rather than impolite, this strategy appears to have been quite politic. However, it was appropriate—even expected—to then add some utterance in a supportive capacity, e.g., reasons, repetitions of previous discourse, confirming the hearer. This had the effect of diminishing the bald-on force of “no” to the point of semantic reduction, in some instances.

Overall, strategies of involvement outweighed those of independence. Expressions of gratitude and apology were rare, though hedges and morphosyntactic

distancing tactics were commonly used to mitigate the force of an utterance and the speakers' commitment. Because of this, I posited that the discourse system of these participants adhered predominantly to a solidarity politeness system. As working hypotheses, I suggested the following as having emerged as underlying regularities (i.e., norms of communication):

- in general, show involvement;
- as the situation requires, show independence with other women, but more so with men with whom the relationship is less certain;
- in the social domain, be talkative; decrease bald-on tactics with non-intimates;
- in the business domain, be less talkative; be direct, but be deferent as the situation requires.

These were not hard and fast rules, but appeared to behave akin to constraints that could be upheld or violated, depending on if the situational variables and circumstances surrounding the talk resulted in a clash of norms. The domain of interaction, the sex of the addressee and degree of social distance were, in my estimation, the factors that most influenced the way in which the participants refused. To use Watts' terms (2005), the latent networks of the participants pertaining to domain, addressee-sex and social distance informed their behavior, but at times gave way to the co-construction of emergent networks as the participants encountered themselves in situations not completely familiar to them.

This study has bridged several gaps in the discourse analysis and pragmatics literature. It has increased our knowledge of an understudied speech act in the context of an understudied Spanish variety. It has pointed out the importance of a domain-based framework for explicating trends in interaction and for reconciling conflicting theoretical viewpoints. Lastly it has departed from the techniques of elicited data to

provide the field with research based on authentic, spontaneous face-to-face interaction. This contributes to the establishment of baseline native speaker norms that can be compared with those of other speech communities.

As a source of authentic discourse it is also a valuable resource for teachers and students of Spanish as foreign language. Learners of Spanish often complete their coursework without ever really examining what native speakers of the language really say and do, or what their own norms of interaction are within their own speech community. The cultural comparisons that could be brought to light remain hidden, the values that they reflect buried and the students are none the wiser. Thus, one next step for this research is to use these findings as the basis for developing pragmatically rich course materials that incorporate knowledge about how Spanish speakers truly do things with words.

APPENDIX A
INFORMED CONSENT

Protocol Title: Politeness in Uruguay in Three Domains of Interaction

Please read this consent document carefully before you decide to participate in this study.

Purpose of the research study: The purpose of this study is to examine the conversational practices of Uruguayan women as they interact with others in the day-to-day contexts of family, friendship and business.

What will be asked of me? The principal investigator (PI) will ask you to allow her to observe your conversations with other Uruguayans. Observation sites include: your home, social events/gatherings, your workplace, and business-related outings. Because speech is fast, the observations will be audio-recorded, so that the PI can analyze a transcript that is true to what was actually said. You will be asked to complete 2 questionnaires: one will request some background information (e.g., age, city of origin); the other will keep a record of the people with whom you come in contact during the days of observation.

Time required: 8 hours of observation a day for 3-4 days.

Risks and Benefits: There are no known anticipated risks. You will benefit directly by receiving compensation for participating. Other benefits include the ability to influence how the Spanish language is taught to non-native speakers and to break stereotypes regarding Uruguayans and the Spanish-speaking world in general.

Compensation: You will receive \$12.00 per day of observation.

Confidentiality: Your identity will be kept confidential to the extent provided by law. Your information will be assigned a code number. Your name will not be used in any report. The audio recordings and questionnaires will be kept in a locked file in the PI's office. Only the PI and the faculty supervisor will have access to this information.

Voluntary participation: Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. There is no penalty for not participating. You have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without consequence.

Whom to contact if you have questions about the study: Heather Kaiser (PI), Graduate Student, Department of Spanish and Portuguese, 170 Dauber Hall, (352) 359-4971; or Dr. Diana Boxer (supervisor), Linguistics Program, 4131 Burlington, (352) 392-0639, ex. 223, University of Florida, USA.

Whom to contact about your rights as a research participant in the study: IRB02 Office, Box 112250, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611-2250; phone 392-0433.

Agreement:

I have read the above protocol and would like to participate. I have received a copy of this description.

Participant: _____ Date: _____

Principal Investigator: _____ Date: _____

CONSENTIMIENTO INFORMADO

Título del estudio: La cortesía uruguaya en tres dominios del habla

Antes de participar, es importante que leas este documento.

Propósito del estudio: Examinar el habla de mujeres uruguayas en interacciones cotidianas con otros dentro de los contextos familiar, social y laboral.

¿Qué se pedirá de mí? La investigadora principal (IP) pedirá observar tus conversaciones con otros uruguayos. Se incluyen los siguientes como posibles sitios de observación: en el hogar, durante eventos sociales, en reuniones con amigos, mientras haces mandados y en el trabajo. Como el habla es rápida, estas observaciones serán grabadas para que la investigadora pueda analizar una transcripción fiel a lo que realmente se dijo. Te pedirá llenar dos cuestionarios: uno de información de fondo (edad, ciudad natal, etc.); el otro ayudará a mantener un récord de las personas con quien conversas durante el estudio.

Tiempo que se requiere: 8 horas diarias de observación por 3 o 4 días.

Riesgos y beneficios: No se sabe de ningún riesgo por participar. Un beneficio directo para ti es que recibirás un dinero por cada día de participación. Otros beneficios incluyen el poder influir en cómo se enseña el castellano a hablantes no nativos y ayudar a romper los estereotipos sobre los uruguayos y el mundo hispano en general.

Compensación: Recibirás \$ 300 (pesos uruguayos) por cada día de observación.

Privacidad: Tu identidad y cualquier información personal se mantendrán confidenciales. A esta información se le asignará un código que sólo sabrá descifrar la investigadora. No aparecerá tu nombre en ningún informe o proyecto. Las grabaciones y los cuestionarios se mantendrán bajo llave en la oficina de la investigadora y solamente ella y su supervisora tendrán acceso a ellos.

Participación voluntaria: Tu participación en este estudio es completamente voluntaria. No hay ninguna consecuencia por no participar. Tienes el derecho de dejar de participar en el estudio en cualquier momento sin problema.

A quién contactar si tienes preguntas en cuanto al estudio: La Prof. Heather Kaiser (IP), Departamento de estudios del español y portugués, 170 Dauer Hall, (352) 359-4971, hrrobert@ufl.edu; o la Dra. Diana Boxer (supervisora), Programa de lingüística, 4131 Turlington, (352) 392-0639, ex. 223, Universidad de la Florida, EEUU.

A quién contactar en cuanto a tus derechos como participante del estudio: IRB02 Office, Box 112250, Universidad de la Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611-2250; teléfono: (352) 392-0433.

Acuerdo:

He leído este documento y recibido una copia del mismo. Me gustaría participar.

Participante: _____ Fecha: _____

Investigadora principal: _____ Fecha: _____

APPENDIX B
INSTRUMENTS

QUESTIONNAIRE 1: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

#_____

First name: _____
Age: _____

Where are you from (birthplace)? _____
How long have you lived in Rosario? _____
Where in Rosario do you live or have you lived? _____
In what other towns/cities have you lived? _____

What do you do for a living? _____
What is your education level? _____
Do 'economic classes' exist in Uruguay? _____
Please explain the system to me... _____

Where do you place yourself in this system? _____

Is Spanish your first language? _____
If not, please explain how you learned it and what your first language is.

Besides Spanish, what other languages can you speak? _____

Do you frequently travel to other parts of Uruguay or other countries? Where?

How much contact do you have with people NOT from Rosario?
none little some frequent a lot

How much contact do you have with people from other Latino countries?
none little some frequent a lot

How much contact do you have with people who don't speak Spanish as their native language?
none little some frequent a lot

This study is about linguistic politeness in Uruguay. In your opinion, what does it mean to be polite?
What does it mean to be impolite?

Can you give me some examples?

Primer nombre: _____

Edad: _____

¿De dónde eres (ciudad natal)? _____

¿Por cuánto tiempo has vivido en Rosario? _____

¿En qué parte de Rosario vives o has vivido? _____

¿En qué otra(s) ciudad(es) has vivido? _____

¿Cuál es tu trabajo? _____

¿Cuál es tu nivel de educación? _____

¿Existen 'clases económicas' en Uruguay? _____

Favor de explicarme el sistema... _____

¿Dónde te ubicas en este sistema? _____

¿Es el castellano tu primer idioma? _____

Si no, favor de explicar cómo lo aprendiste y cuál es tu primer idioma.

Aparte del castellano, ¿cuáles otros idiomas puedes hablar? _____

¿Viajas con frecuencia a otras ciudades del Uruguay u otros países? ¿Adónde?

¿Cuánto contacto tienes con personas que NO son de Rosario?

nada poco algo frecuente mucho

¿Cuánto contacto tienes con personas de otros países latinos?

nada poco algo frecuente mucho

¿Cuánto contacto tienes con personas que no hablan el castellano como lengua nativa?

nada poco algo frecuente mucho

Este estudio se trata de la cortesía verbal en Uruguay. Para ti, ¿qué significa ser cortés? ¿Qué significa ser descortés?

¿Me puedes dar unos ejemplos?

QUESTIONNAIRE 2: CONVERSATION LOG

Time: _____ AM / PM
Place: _____ (this place is: familiar social business)
Purpose: _____

With whom did you speak?

First name: _____
Sex: _____
Job / profession: _____
Age: _____ (this is: more / less / equal to me)
Education level: _____ (this is: more / less / equal to me)
Economic class: _____ (this is: more / less / equal to me)
S/he is from: Centro el Pastoreo other: _____

What's your relationship to this person? S/he is my...
partner friend boss colleague from: _____ relative: _____ other: _____

How much contact do you have with this person during the week?
normally none some every day multiple times a day

How well do you know him/her?
hardly/not at all not very well more or less well very well/intimates

To what extent do you confide in this person?
would not confide in a little somewhat quite a bit totally
(I would not tell her/him any of my personal business ... I could tell her/him anything)

Do you interact with this person in other places/contexts? Which ones?

How did you perceive this interaction/conversation?
it bothered me serious normal it made me happy other reaction: _____

OBSERVATIONS

REGISTRO DE CONVERSACIÓN

Hora: _____ AM / PM
Lugar: _____ (es un lugar: familiar social de trabajo)
Motivo: _____

¿Con quién hablaste?

Primer nombre: _____
Sexo: _____
Trabajo / profesión: _____
Edad: _____ (es: mayor / menor / igual que yo)
Nivel educativo: _____ (es: mayor / menor / igual que yo)
Clase económica: _____ (es: mayor / menor / igual que yo)
Es del: Centro el Pastoreo otro: _____

¿Cuál es tu relación con esta persona? Es mi...

pareja amigo jefe colega de: _____ pariente: _____ otra: _____

¿Cuánto contacto tenés con esta persona durante la semana?

normalmente ninguno algo todos los días varias veces al día

¿Qué tan bien lo/la conocés?

casi/nada no muy bien más o menos bien muy bien/íntimos

¿Hasta qué punto es de confianza esta persona?

no es de confianza poca algo bastante es de muchísima confianza
(no le diría nada de mis asuntos personales ... le contaría cualquier cosa)

¿Te relacionás con esta persona en otros lugares / contextos? ¿Cuáles?

¿Qué tal te pareció esta interacción/conversación?

me chocó sería normal me alegró otra reacción: _____

OBSERVACIONES

APPENDIX C CODEBOOK

Abbreviations	(in order of appearance)
RS	refusal sequence
AA	adult to adult
HA	head act
RTT	refusal turn at talk
SMM	supportive move, mitigating
SMA	supportive move, aggravating
SUB	subordinate
CCSARP	code manual (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989)
FB	Félix-Brasdefer

Codes (with HEADINGS)	Explanation / Note / Examples
Refusal sequence	the set of turns containing mands, refusals, supportive moves and linguistic strategies pertaining to an initial mand
Cocoded	RS randomly selected to be coded by another coder and then tested for intercoder agreement
RS PARTICIPANTS	refusal sequences by participant
RS Rena	
RS Mar	
RS Lea	
RS Fabiana	
RS Ela	
RS Ana	
RS Isabel	
RS Rita	
RS Moqui	
RS Ari	
ADULT MANDS	AA turn of talk containing a mand, a speech act whose purpose is to persuade, convince or force someone to do something
Adult Mand	general, when quote is unintelligible or intent unknown
Adult Invite	invitation
Adult Order	order, instruction, demand
Adult Stmt	statement, analysis, declaration
Adult Requ	request
Adult Offer	offer
Adult Sugg	suggestion, insinuation
Adult RTT	AA refusal turn at talk; the turn at talk that minimally contains the refusal HA and may also contain adjacent supportive moves

DIRECT / INDIRECTNESS

Adult HA Ind

AA refusal HA coded as indirect: does not explicitly negate a mand, but carries the pragmatic force of a refusal and/or softens the blow; conceals speaker's true intentions to an extent, requiring some degree of emic interpretation by the hearer; technically "off-record," but, depending on cultural convention, could be more or less readily perceived as a refusal (cf. Márquez Reiter 2002)

strategies include: indefinite replies, alternatives, avoidance strategies (including delaying response/ignoring and topic switches), counter arguments/corrections, requesting information/confirmation, references to past or future conditions (see LINGUISTIC STRATEGIES)

- (a) Mar: es rica la marcela pero n:o tomo yo mucho mate de yuyo.
- (b) Fabiana: AAHí está, yo veo cómo me organizo y si no cualquier cosa le mando un mensaje, sabés Tesina?
- (c) Ela: cómo quiera(s)

Adult HA Dir

AA refusal HA coded as direct: verbally embodies the act of refusing by saying *no* or explicitly negating a proposition; leaves no question in the addressee's mind; "on-record"

strategies include: *no* (stand-alone or repeated), negations of propositions, elliptical forms (e.g., *no puedo*), negative morphemes (e.g., *imposible*), performative statements (not found in these data) and commands with a strong *no* message (e.g., *dejale las pantuflas, pará!*) (see LINGUISTIC STRATEGIES)

- (a) Moqui: no no no. ((pause)) no, no
- (a) Isabel: no SON porquerías, son cosas. que no tienen otro lugar.
- (c) Fabiana: no, no puedo no, si me la- si me la pudieran traer sí,...

DOMAINS, SOCIAL CONTEXT

Dom-orient

- Couples private
- Couples public
- Other dom

Soc-orient

Bus-orient

- Service enctr – client
- Service enctr – agent
- General – equal
- General – as SUB
- General – to SUB

domestic-oriented talk with household members
talk between partners in private setting
talk between partners in public setting
all other domestic talk (excl. parent to young child talk)
social-oriented talk
business-oriented talk at work or in service encounters
participant is the client in the exchange
participant is the agent in the exchange
participant and other hold equal status in workplace
participant is of lower status in the workplace
participant is of greater status in the workplace

DOMAINS, PHYSICAL CONTEXT

DOM

SOC

WRK

the physical setting in which the interaction occurs
domestic, typically participant's home
social, typically in public settings but also in homes
workplaces, businesses

SEMANTIC COMPONENTS		includes alerters, HAs, SMMs and SMAs external to the HA (Spencer-Oatey 2000)
Alerter		gets Hearer's attention (e.g., title, name, endearment term, offensive term, pronoun, attn. getter) (CCSARP: 277)
	(a) Isabel:	<u>JENIFER.</u> una lástima de-
	(b) Isabel:	<u>mirá Estevana.</u> coqueterías? dejalas para...
Head Act		the "minimal unit or turn that can realize a speech act; core of sequence" (CCSARP: 275); carries the brunt of the illocutionary force
	(a) Isabel:	<u>no SON porquerías,</u> son cosas. que no tienen otro lugar.
	(b) Mar:	es rica la marcela <u>pero n:o tomo yo mucho mate de yuyo.</u>
	(c) Fabiana:	<u>no, no puedo no,</u> si me la- si me la pudieran traer sí,...
SM Aggravating		a move external to refusal HA that "increases impact, often negatively, e.g., insults, threats, moralizing" (CCSARP: 288)
	(a) Isabel:	no SON porquerías, <u>son cosas. que no tienen otro lugar.</u>
	(b) Moqui:	no no no. ((pause)) <u>no, no</u>
SM Mitigating		a move external to refusal HA that externally modifies it by supporting and/or empathizing with the Hearer (e.g., positive opinions, willingness to cooperate, agreement, gratitude and empathy) (FB 2008)
	(a) Mar:	<u>es rica la marcela pero n:o tomo yo mucho mate de yuyo.</u>
	(b) Fabiana:	no, no puedo no, <u>si me la- si me la pudieran traer sí,...</u>
ADULT REFUSAL HEAD ACTS		AA refusal HAs by type
HARefMand		HA refusal to an unintelligible quote
HARefInvite		HA refusal to an invitation
HARefOrder		HA refusal to an order, instruction, demand
HARefStmnt		HA refusal to a statement, analysis, declaration
HARefRequ		HA refusal to a request
HARefOffer		HA refusal to an offer
HARefSugg		HA refusal to a suggestion, insinuation
UP / DOWNGRADERS		HA internal; can be syntactic, lexical / phrasal, morphological or tonal
		Other aliases (Spencer-Oatey 2000; FB 2008):
		boosters / hedges
		intensifiers / downtoners
		mitigated refusals (for downgraders)
Downgrader lex/phr/syn		weakens impact of utterance, e.g., (CCSARP: 283-85):
		gratitude (<i>gracias</i>)
		understater (<i>un poquito</i>)
		hedge (<i>tal vez, somehow, kind of, I mean, possibly, perhaps</i>)
		subjectivizer (<i>me parece que...</i>)

Upgrader

cajoler (*sabés*)
appealer/tag question (*sabés? ta?*)

strengthens impact of utterance, e.g.
(Spencer-Oatey 2000: 26):
intensifier (*muy, la verdad es que...*)
time intensifier (*ahora mismo!*)
emotional expression (*oh no, ay*)
expressions marked for register (*lamento decirte...*)

LINGUISTIC STRATEGIES

AdjStance

illocutionary tactics employed in conversation
adjusts stance; speaker adjusts her or his line that she
or he had previously taken in the conversation

- (a) 1 Eliana: =(si viene a) las nueve.
2 Ari: no pero él viene a las [ocho~!
...
3 Eliana: ((looking at door?)) [está cerrado.]
4 Ari: ah no ha llegado.
- (b) 1 Pablo: bueno dame la voy a pagar porque: hay una botella sola
me dijo Julio. para vender.
2 Lea: y qué (entonces una botella sola) para la noche? TS
3 Pablo: y- ah sos boba vos? querés [ir conmigo?
4 Lea: [bueno, pagásela.

Agree

acceptance/agreement; accepts mand or agrees with
addressee; different from confirmation/acknowledgement
in that it is "strong," not "partial or weak" (cf. FB 2008:
81)

- (a) 1 Berta: te traigo marcela también?
2 Mar: bueno traé algo que te compro. =
- (b) 1 Moqui: qué talla-? ((pausita)) [diez y seis?
2 Vendedora: [xx diez y seis.
3 Vendedora: diez y seis, pero no es el diez y seis diez y seis.
4 Moqui: S:í. porque te iba a decir que no le queda muy grande
esto.
- (c) 1 Santi: =porque pienso que va a ser lindo.
2 Mar: va a estar bueno, el de ventas va a estar bueno.

Alt

alternative; statement that offers or suggests an
alternative or possibility distinct from the addressee's
original proposition

- (a) 1 Estevana: sí pero. yo quiero saber, si la presión me subió
primero o la presión subió porque me asusté. porque
está la incógnita, o sea, (si la) presión subió primero que
lo- el ataque/, o la presión subió después por sentirme
miedo.
2 Isabel: no sé, pero ((pausita)) te puede haber subido las dos
cosas a la vez yo qué sé.
- (b) 1 Ruperto: yo pensé sí, que eras vos, que xx la hija de Josefa, sí,
que eras vos sí. tengo la idea que- estoy casi seguro
que eras vos.
2 Moqui: o la [sobrina.
- (c) 1 Violeta: bueno. este:: por mi parte yo estoy xx (viernes)
2 Rena: si no/, ponemos otro día vos ves.
3 Violeta: dejamos para el viernes y si::=
...
4 Rena: o si no, o lo hacemos antes. xxx

Anticipate		anticipates addressee; attempts to predict what the addressee is going or trying to say, often interrupting the other, completing the other's sentence or speaking connectedly after the other; can be a display of solidarity, comprehension or empathy with the speaker
	(a)	1 Antonella: si no talla M igual a ésta/, [pero M. 2 Mar: <u>[pero M. TA. ta ta ta.</u>
	(b)	1 Fancy: ya está. [ya— 2 Rita: <u>[ya queda pronto.</u>
	(c)	((Velita, a teacher, enters; it is customary that Rita and/or Martola prepare <i>mate</i> for the teachers)) 1 Martola: ((to Velita)) <u>ni se te ocurra venir a pedir mate!</u> ((pause)) 2 Velita: sí? ... 3 Rita: <u>(quien) quiere mate que lo apronte.=</u>
Apology		apology/regret; expression of regret or plea for forgiveness for not complying with some mand
	(a)	1 Clerk: no? ... (siempre) guardando el papelito, ya sabés— 2 Fabiana: sí, no no no, vos sabés que ((pausa)) cuando vine xxx bien con eso lo rompí todo y no- ((pause)) <u>sinceramente viste, vos disculpá la imprudencia pero→</u>
	(b)	1 Antonella: (estaba mira)- éstas son de manga corta? 2 Mar: Sí, son de manga corta/. 3 Antonella: (pero / porque) yo andaba buscando (una) de manga larga,= 4 Mar: <u>= AHH, no manga larga [(no)</u>
	(c)	1 Mujer4: por eso no te (voy a / da) – vos trajiste ya? 2 Rena: NO, pues, eh- o sea a mí no me arreglaron la máquina, tengo que llevársela a esta señora. que me lo hace ella. 3 Mujer4: ...porque si no te– si no te iba a pagar ahora. 4 Rena: NO~! <u>y eso es lo de menos pero no lo hice, perdóneme/.</u>
AppCaj		appealer/cajoler; conventionalized elements or particles that appeal to and evoke the hearer's benevolent understanding, empathy, or cooperation; often used to create common ground and increase proximity between interlocutors; syntactically can appear in utterance-initial, -mid or -final position (CCSARP: 284, 285)
	(a)	Moqui: yo no SOY mentirosa, <u>ta:~?</u>
	(b)	Fabiana: AAHí está, yo veo cómo me organizo y si no cualquier cosa le mando un mensaje, <u>sabés Tesina?</u>
	(c)	Isabel: ... he cambiado de cable <u>viste</u> y se ha visto.
	(d)	Rena: no se ha apagado sola. <u>viste que</u> no se apagó sola,...
	(e)	Mar: ... y yo no <u>sabés que</u> no tengo plata.
	(f)	Ana: sí:: de mm solamente con mm lo va a hacer con doce mujeres de acá de Rosario entonces, <u>te podés imaginar.</u>

AppealX		appeals to external support or party; calls on or refers to someone else
(a)	1 Violeta: 2 Isabel:	podríamos ir todos. sí ((quiet voice)). <u>le tendría que preguntar a Milton</u> porque el tema es el vehículo. . . . <u>yo le pregunto a ver</u> <u>qué hacemos.</u>
(b)	1 Triza: 2 Ari: 3 Triza: 4 Ari:	mañana, mañana tenés que ir a la escuela porque, xxxcito/ pero, digo:, no pueden hacerme esto (pues digo)= =y a mí tampoco. ((pause)) pero le digo, <u>hace veinte días me dijeron,</u> <u>(tomá) el día libre...</u>
(c)	1 Berta: 2 Mar: 3 Berta: 4 Mar:	querés que te deje: NO no eso que quería tu padre? no, llevalo porque <u>él no sé, cuándo va a venir y</u> <u>entonces no no lo tengo, no sé si lo va a querer a eso.</u>
AttaxThrts		attacks/threats/warns/ridicules/insults hearer; utterances that are aggressive in tone and/or insulting, threatening or otherwise confrontational
(a)	1 Estevana: 2 Isabel:	xxx una pastilla o algo que me quede dormida hasta mañana.= <u>=a vos te parece? no sabés si tenés preSIÓN, baja</u> <u>preSIÓN, las papil- las palpitaciones, no sabés nada.</u>
(b)	1 Mujer6: 2 Rena: 3 Mujer6: 4 Rena:	esto es lo más barato. qué sale esto? setenta y nueve. <u>esto es espantoso.=</u>
(c)	1 Pablo: 2 Lea: 3 Pablo: 4 Lea:	pero si yo al cumpleaños no voy a ir cuando empiece. <u>AY NO Pablo a qué (hora) va(s) a ir.</u> al cumpleaños nueve y media, diez. <u>TS. ((scolding)) tenés que ir a la hora que empiece no</u> <u>nueve y media (a) las diez.</u>
Backchannel		backchannel; minimal response that displays interest or involvement in what the speaker is saying (e.g., <i>sí?</i> , <i>verdad?</i> , <i>mm</i>); when questioning inflection is present, an answer is not necessarily expected
(a)	1 Mujer2: 2 Rena: 3 Mujer2:	pero qué cosa [xxx [se me terminaron. <u>sí?</u> no hay? ay no, en ningún lado.
(b)	1 Ruperto: 2 Moqui: 3 Ruperto:	sí, sí, sí. ... que eras- que eras vos me parecía,= <u>=mm::=</u> =pero no, no me acuerdo.

Blame		blames hearer/other; blames hearer or another for the inability to comply; attributes some portion of the refusal to someone other than the speaker's self
	(a)	<p>1 Milton: (no tenés) té de bolsito? hay [uno que es digestivo no? 2 Isabel: ((pause, looking?)) [no. ((tenso)) 3 Isabel: <u>se: nos terminó:→@ cuando@ vino aquél que estaba medio resfriado, y no compré más.</u></p>
	(b)	<p>1 Violeta: qué dice. ((concerning Violeta's invitation)) 2 Isabel: <u>mi hermana.</u> porque yo le dije < cualquier cosa que íbamos para allá >. ... 3 Isabel: <u>para la casa, pero (dice) < yo quiero calle > o sea que quiere venir ELLA, quiere salir ELLA, porque está podrida de estar encerrada.</u></p>
	(c)	<p>1 Berta: vos precisabas marcela? 2 Adela: sí, compré ayer, por eso (le) preguntaba... 3 Mar: <u>QUÉ COSA! llegaste tarde para venderle yuyos a ella.</u></p>
	(d)	<p>1 Mujer4: por eso no te (voy a / da) – vos trajiste ya? 2 Rena: <u>NO, pues, eh- o sea a mí no me arreglaron la máquina,</u></p>
CCGSolid		“claim common ground”/display solidarity; utterances attempting to align the speaker in some way with the hearer or vice versa; utterances seeking to display or achieve unity with the addressee through such means as joking, (token) agreement or appeals for understanding (Brown and Levinson 1987: 103)
	(a)	Isabel: ay qué zanahorias grandes <u>che.</u>
	(b)	<p>1 Berta: allá en la peluquería de, de Franchetti. la conocés a la muchacha? ... 2 Mar: <u>Fernanda, Fernanda Franchetti. es tan simpática. ah de:</u> ((pause)) bueno otro día pasá porque la verdad que no tengo plata si no te compraba una bolsita.</p>
	(c)	<p>1 Ruperto: =nunca tengas un hijo solo vos. porque es triste. porque los padres tienen que irse primero. 2 Moqui: <u>sí, [y te quedas—</u> 3 Ruperto: [y si tenés un hijo solo queda como como→ 4 Moqui: <u>solo@@@</u></p>
	(d)	<p>1 Mar: ahora voy la semana que viene si consigo manga larga, tal vez que traigo. ... 2 Antonella: <u>claro. [claro porque en esta época /.</u> 3 Mar: [pero] 4 Mar: <u>sabés que eh: los hombres viste usan mucho para debajo de las camisas.=</u></p>

ClaimHard		claims/implies hardship; utterances that convey difficulties or circumstances beyond the speaker's control
	(a) Ela:	<u>está realmente caro sí la cosa- por eso no he comprado mucha muchas cosas porque no he tenido.</u>
	(b) Mar:	<u>...pero no ha venido, y yo no sabés que no tengo plata.</u>
	(c) Ana:	<u>sí, ...porque no estoy muy a- ducha con la computadora, no estoy nada ducha entonces yo tengo que esperar que esté mi hijo para que me, me ayude.</u>
Command		command; utterances with imperative verbal form or force
	(a) Isabel:	<u>=dejale las pantuflas, así nomá.</u>
	(b) Isabel:	mm ((disappointed)) después <u>fijate</u> cualquier cosa/—
	(c) Ari:	<u>pará pará.</u> no no. nos vamos cuando terminemos...
	(d) Ari:	<u>no te desesperes.</u>
	(e) Rena:	sí, pero no no. <u>dame aquello</u> no más. después- <u>dame eso, sí.</u>
	(f) Lea:	TS. <u>tenés que ir a la hora que empiece ...</u>
CommitIndic		commitment indicator; modifiers that intensify the speaker's commitment to some proposition or line (cf. CCSARP: 285)
	(a) Mar:	<u>...bueno otro día pasá porque la verdad</u> que no tengo plata si no te compraba una bolsita.
	(b) Fabiana:	<u>...sinceramente</u> viste, vos disculpá la imprudencia...
	(c) Isabel:	no no, <u>en serio</u> te digo.
	(d) Ana:	cuando vuelva a haber...el curso (de) esteticista...eso <u>SÍ</u> me gustaría hacerlo/
CompEmp		comprehension/empathy; utterances by which the speaker displays understanding and/or empathy with the hearer; often solidary, showing "involvement with and understanding of another's situation, feelings, and motives" (FB 2008: 81)
	(a) Ari:	<u>=sí sí yo entiendo</u> digo pero era yo mañ- que no iba a venir porque me iba a tomar el día...
	(b) Rena:	<u>ah:::!</u> no pero ahora-->
	(c) Fabiana:	<u>CLARo</u> que el tema es que se me complica hoy...
	(d) Fabiana:	<u>AY seguro.</u> ahí está. ... <u>seguro sí-</u> si no me pega el grito a mí y veo.
Complain		complaint; expression of dissatisfaction, protest or outcry
	(a) Isabel:	<u>ay qué zanahorias grandes</u> che.
	(b) Ari:	<u>es una llenada de huevos.=</u>
	(c) Ari:	no: no no, sabés que no me molesta venir, <u>me molesta el el mal manejo de de, de las cosas.</u>
	(d) Ana:	EH? ((pausita)) <u>AH tengo entonces que ordenar eso. el desbarajuste que hay allá atrás.</u>

Compliment		compliment; expression of esteem, affection or admiration
(a)	1 Roberto:	me queda muy apretado, no?
	2 Ela:	no:, <u>te queda bien.</u>
(b)	1 Roberto:	me queda impecable, no?
	2 Ela:	sí, <u>te queda bueno.</u>
(c)	1 Moqui:	((shopping for a jacket)) ésta es?
	2 Vendedora:	ésa ahí.
		...
	3 Moqui:	<u>y esto se debe enganchar fácil</u> tal vez, no?
Concede		concession/admission/disarmer; utterance acknowledging agreement or responsibility for something; can be an attempt to combat potential objections (cf. CCSARP: 287)
(a)	1 Jenifer:	ha- hace un frío horrible.
		...
	2 Isabel:	<u>sí, bueno</u> , pero acá adentro tampoco está frío.=
(b)	1 Milton:	(no tenés) té de bolsito? hay [uno que es digestivo no?
		...
	2 Isabel:	se: nos terminó:→... <u>y no compré más.</u>
(c)	1 Berta:	a vos te gusta la marcela?
	2 Mar:	<u>es rica la marcela</u> pero n:o tomo yo mucho mate de yuyo.
Concern		concern for hearer/other; utterance that displays consideration for the hearer or someone else
(a)	1 Isaz:	((on the other end of the telephone)) xxx
	2 Ana:	pero si ustedes dan a- dan de nuevo el ciclo, <u>lo hago den-, lo hag- lo completo para no estar molesTANdo a RosArio.</u>
(b)	1 Estevana:	((on the other end of the telephone)) xxx
	2 Isabel:	bueno Estevana, <u>dejá (que xxx) cómo te sientes/.</u>
(c)	1 Andrés:	((offering to take Lucas, 2 years, to a soccer game)) (del) tambo [llevamos a Lucas.=
	2 Moqui:	[y-
	3 Moqui:	pero después? vo- vos lo cuidás?
		...
	4 Moqui:	porque después- que, va- vamos allá abajo (a que / hay que) trabajar, y <u>a él le gusta andar.</u> ... <u>allá debe haber viento en pila.</u>

Cond		condition; statement creating a hypothetical situation in which acceptance would have occurred in the past, or would have/might occur in the future; typically posed as an if-then statement
	(a) Ari:	yo como hace veinte días que tenía eso, <u>que (hubiéramos) coordinado</u> :
	(b) Moqui:	[yo <u>si tuvieras pantuflas para prestarme/ me quedo.</u>
	(c) Rena:	<u>si no/, ponemos otro día vos ves.</u>
	(d) Mar:	ahora voy la semana que viene <u>si consigo manga larga, tal vez que traigo.</u>
	(e) Fabiana:	no, no puedo no, <u>si me la- si me la pudieran traer sí, sino no pue:do</u> Tesina.
	(f) 1 Rena:	<u>están congelados?</u>
	2 Butcher:	vos sabés que estos sí.
	3 Rena:	<u>entonces dame [aquello no más.</u>
Confirm		confirmation/acknowledgement; utterance confirming a request for information or acknowledging an interlocutor's proposition; weak or partial displays of agreement (i.e., "token agreement" (Pomerantz in Spencer-Oatey 2000: 229) that often preface a refusal (FB 2008: 81)
	(a) 1 Butcher:	=microondas no tenés.
	2 Rena:	((pause)) <u>sí</u> , pero no no. dame aquello no más.
	(b) 1 Violeta:	...porque queda cerca de la plaza verdad?
	2 Isabel:	<u>sí</u> , y queda a media cuadra del: local de mi hermana.
	(c) 1 Tuli:	no está tan frío afuera che ahora.
		...
	2 Moqui:	<u>no</u> , pero hay viento allá abajo.
	(d) 1 Andrés:	Zaqueo tiene una ((torta frita)).
	2 Moqui:	<u>ta!</u> pero yo quiero otr- dos, para mí.
	(e) 1 Rita:	=andá(s) bien? a pagarte las tortas. ((besos))
	2 Pato:	pero (después) ((beso)) (de acuerdo).
	3 Rita:	<u>y bueno</u> pero (te las) tengo que paGAR.
Counter		counter argument/correction; counters or corrects another's statement, typically initiated with <i>pero</i> (but)
	(a) 1 Butcher:	=microondas no tenés.
	2 Rena:	((pause)) <u>sí, pero no no.</u> dame aquello no más.
	(b) 1 Tuli:	no está tan frío afuera che ahora.
		...
	2 Moqui:	no, <u>pero hay viento allá abajo.</u>
	(c) 1 Roger:	tan difícil eso? yo —
	2 Ana:	no! <u>lleva tiempo cariño.</u>
	(d) 1 Jenifer:	ve, ese parlante anda mal.
	2 Isabel:	no, no, no, <u>es que algo se desconectó</u> , no no→

DelayIgn		delays response/ignores; participant makes a noticeable pause before answering, or in some way does not immediately attend to the speaker; or, participant ignores the speaker's mand and continues on in the conversation without verbally acknowledging the speaker's request, suggestion, etc.
(a)	1 Jenifer: 2 3 Jenifer: 4 Isabel: 5 Jenifer: 6 7 Isabel:	sí, se ve que es el contacto. ((pause; Isabel does not respond)) un mal contacto. no no, pero a mí me ha pasado y he hecho, no sé. he cambiado de cable viste y se ha visto. pero en este caso no. ... claro, como que hay un mal contacto. ((pause; Isabel does not respond)) no no sé cuál es el tema. son, son tres polos...
(b)	1 Worker: 2 Ari: 3 Worker: 4 Ari:	yo me voy con el grupo viejo. ((pause; Ari does not respond)) (se puede) ir con el grupo viejo? [xxx ((pause)) [ya va ya- ...ya va a volver, ya va a volver.
(c)	1 Violeta: 2 Lea: 3 Violeta: 4 Lea:	acordate de lo que hablamos, te [acordás? [sí todo lo que hablamos durante el almuerzo? ((pause)) <u>ahora tenés bajada, Viole. no tenés que subir el repecho. @@@</u>
(d)	1 Juan: 2 Isabel: 3 Negro: 4 Isabel:	echás a todo el cuerpo el perfume [o:: digo [@@@ (es el cuerpo) tuyo no más que [xx [vamos Violeta porque <u>estos, estos mirá, son--</u>
DiscMkr		discourse marker; usually utterance-initial, "marking a boundary between one part of a spoken discourse and the next" (Jackson 2007: 72)
(a)	Isabel:	<u>bueno</u> Estevana, dejá (que xxx) cómo te sientes/.
(b)	Rita:	que yo de tarde tengo también (me) apronto para- para- para <u>viste que</u> → ...apronto para el MIDES también, <u>entonces/</u>
(c)	Mar:	...pero HAY gente. <u>digo</u> . pero (de) eso NO/.

Distract		distracts from offense; tactic whereby speaker avoids or seeks to take attention away from a dispreferred response; includes topic switches, appeasers (offers not directly related to correcting initial offense/dispreferred response), jokes
	(a) 1 Violeta:	podríamos ir y:: ((pausita)) bueno, YO invito las entradas porque es mi idea. y este::
	2 Isabel:	<u>((risita))</u>
	3 Violeta:	y sí o sea—
	4 Isabel:	<u>pero es para todo el público en general?</u>
	(b) 1 Isabel:	entonces como que→, claro, SALIR, venir acá: viste como que ella- ella vive acá. <u>y se casó y se fue a Valdense. ella: extraña mucho acá.</u>
	2 Violeta:	mm
	3 Isabel:	<u>ella:- Valdense no le- no le gusta la gente.</u>
	(c) Mar:	((Mar's father offers to connect the computer in addition to the TV, so that he can watch soccer)) dejalo papá, yo no voy a mirar más nada, me voy (yo/ya). <u>((pausita)) mirá fútbol que te hace bien mirá. mira el fútbol que te hace bien mirá. así te quedás tranqui.</u>
	(d) 1 Fabiana:	lo que pasa es que pa'l Pastoreo no puedo ir porque Helén ((la hija)) andaba con FIEBRE. la tengo que dejar solita yo acá a Helén,
	2 Tesina:	a cuál, a Helén?
	3 Fabiana:	seguro... <u>cómo anda Yasmine ahora porque el otro día la cuidé yo pues y estaba re congestionada pobreCIIta.</u>
DoubtH		doubts hearer; utterance expressing doubt or concern as to the validity or likelihood of an interlocutor's proposition
	(a) 1 Milton:	a Nestor capaz. (que sí). ((suggests shoes will fit))
	2 Isabel:	((pause)) <u>calza 42/ Nestor?</u>
	(b) 1 Ruperto:	no te acordás?= 2 Moqui: =no. <u>sería yo?</u>
	(c) 1 Rena:	a ver cuánto hay acá. fíjate.
	2 Mujer6:	ahí hay 45.
	3 Rena:	<u>a ver, medilo bien/ seguro?</u>
EmotExp		emotional expression/exclamation; can include short, conventionalized phrases (e.g., <i>por Dios!</i>), but typically consists of non-lexical utterances (e.g., <i>ah! ay! mm</i>)
	(a) Isabel:	<u>hoh!</u>
	(b) Isabel:	<u>mm</u> ((disappointed)) después fijate cualquier cosa/—
	(c) Moqui:	<u>=AH!</u> ((slap sound)) volaste ((slap sound)). se lo llevó.
	(d) Rena:	<u>=AY!</u> se me olvidé.
	(e) Mar:	<u>QUÉ COSA!</u> llegaste tarde para venderle yuyos a ella.

EndearTerm		endearment term/pet name; informal form of address, not always used so endearingly
	(a) Isabel:	ay qué zanahorias grandes <u>che</u> .
	(b) Ari:	((pause 2 sec)) no veo nada, no viene <u>mi vida</u> ...
	(c) Ana:	no! lleva tiempo <u>cariño</u> .
	(d) Ana:	no <u>mamá</u> no tomo más.
	(e) Lea:	y bueno <u>amor</u> que querés que haga.
Gratitude		gratitude; expression of thanks
	(a) 1 Cocinera:	NADA? ((from afar))
	2 Estevana:	no. ((pause)) [no <u>gracias</u> . =
	3 Cocinera:	[bueno!
	4 Isabel:	=[<u>gracias</u> .
	5 Jenifer:	=[no tiene ganas [por ahora, <u>muchas gracias</u> .
	(b) 1 Cuñada:	=no se van a quedar? ((allegretto, incredulous))
	2 Moqui:	<u>muchas gracias</u> - no, yo tengo los pies fríos.
HedgeSU		hedge/subjectivizer/understater; elements that lessen the speaker's commitment to, or assertive force of, what she or he is saying (Jackson 2007: 62), via non-committal expressions (e.g., <i>tal vez</i>), personal opinions (e.g., <i>creo que</i> , <i>me parece</i>) or adverbial modifiers that underrepresent the state of affairs (e.g., <i>un poquito</i>) (cf. CCSARP: 283, 284)
	(a) Isabel:	no sé, pero ((pause)) te <u>puede haber subido</u> las dos cosas a la vez <u>yo qué sé</u> .
	(b) Isabel:	desconectarse <u>no creo</u> porque no tiene cómo, ...
	(c) Moqui:	y esto se debe enganchar fácil <u>tal vez</u> , no?
	(d) Moqui:	<u>capaz que</u> están, ahí hay unos niños pero no sé quién puede ser.
	(e) Moqui:	todavía no. demoran <u>un ratito</u> . ((waiting for lard))
	(f) Rita:	manDAle <u>otro poquito</u> ahí.
IndefRep		indefinite reply; vague, uncertain or undecided response (cf. FB 2008: 75); often includes phrases w/ <i>no sé</i>
	(a) Isabel:	y:: <u>no sé</u> Estevana.
	(b) Isabel:	<u>bueno</u> . veremos.
	(c) Moqui:	a:h. <u>no sé, puede ser</u> . (de) eso no me acuerdo.
	(d) Ari:	=ta ta digo, <u>voy a ver qué hago mañana</u> , porque→
	(e) Ela:	<u>cómo quiera(s)</u>
	(f) Mar:	<u>en cualquier momento</u> . =

Insist		insists/tries to convince; utterances that repeat or otherwise reinforce the speaker's line, typically in effort to bring an interlocutor around to the speaker's point of view
(a)	1 Jenifer: 2 Isabel: 3 Jenifer: 4 Isabel:	...Isabel, querés xxx (ustedes se quedan)? <u>no! no! vamos</u> , ya después cualquier cosa, ya vemos. <u>ya [que vamos, vamos.</u> (podemos todos) y: capaz que:: (cualquier cosa).= <u>no no, vamos ya.</u>
(b)	1 Nivea: 2 Mar: 3 Nivea: 4 Mar: 5 Nivea:	sí, pero no no, dejá quieto, no torees! <u>y a ver si vie/ne:\.</u> af. ((pause)) mirá no viene nada y te pasa llenando por por teléfono. ((long pause)) <u>vamos a VER si no viene:</u> . bueno. entonces probalo.
(c)	1 Rita: 2 Besi: 3 Rita:	hm. capaz que no quieren tener, no qui- (él) no quiere tener [capaz. [o capaz no puede. (quién sabe.) xxx (plata). sí o <u>capaz que no quiere y no quiere!</u>
Joke		jokes/laughs; utterances that are jovial or witty (can include sarcasm), said with a laugh; or, laughter outright
(a)	1 Hombre: 2 Ari: 3 Hombre: 4 Ari:	ah! disparate de qué era? no sé, <u>ni lo repito@ . . . por(que) yo no digo disparate.</u> pero pero malas palabrotas? palabrotas? cuánto salía una: una::, como una seña sexual. no pero . . . <u>yo te digo siendo muy, muy catedrática @ @ @</u>
(b)	1 Chunga: 2 Ela: 3 Chunga: 4 Ela:	XXX está pinchada, está desinflada. pero está pinchAda. pero antes— pero te das cuenta si está:, si se desinfla o no. como está pinchada está siempre desinflada. ((pause)) no sé ((high tone)), <u>pero así mejor porque entonces la pateo y no pica. @ @ @</u>
(c)	1 Dario: 2 Ana: 3 Dario: 4 Ana:	soy de Rosario! sos de Rosario [porque naciste acá pero tus orígenes son:...son europeos [<u>aunque vos lo niegues @ @.</u> [no, no, soy de Rosario. <u>@ @ @ @ @ ((Ana and everyone laughing))</u>

Justify		justify/minimize offense; utterance used to justify or make light of one's actions, e.g., noncompliance
	(a)	<p>1 Isabel: ay qué zanahorias grandes che. ((pause)) no hay más chiquitas?</p> <p>2 Vendedor: ((showing her others))</p> <p>3 Isabel: ahí ta. me gustaron ésas. <u>no, ésta para cortar así no me gusta.</u></p>
	(b)	<p>1 Mar: pero no podÉ:(s).</p> <p>2 Nivea: se puede sí. pero, tengo que averiguar bien cómo es. ...</p> <p>3 Mar: pero el Direct TV cuál es?</p> <p>4 Pedro: Direct TV es de la antena.</p> <p>5 Mar: AH la antena. ... <u>yo pensé que querías digital.</u></p>
	(c)	Ana: he recibido los mensajes sí, las promociones, todo eso lo hemos recibido. este:, pero: estoy en otras, en otros proyectos y este: como que está medio suspendido todo. todo en el aire tengo. <u>por eso no he querido, ni siquiera: mm, hacerme oír porque no sé qué:, no sé todavía las respuesta que les ten- les tengo para dar.</u>
LetHoff		let hearer off the hook; statements that attempt to dissuade the interlocutor by absolving her or him from some commitment (e.g., <i>no te hagas problema</i>)
	(a)	<p>1 Vilma: ((whistles heard)) no, pero vos decile a la norteamericana que venga que yo le explico después lo que es eso. ...</p> <p>2 Ari: <u>no importa. ... no importa!</u> ((whistles heard)) <u>ayer le explicaban todas las formas de usar pedo.</u></p>
	(b)	<p>1 Velchi: ah no, (como otro / un) poquito de postre.</p> <p>2 Rita: muy bien.</p> <p>3 Velchi: xxx ((goes to serve herself dessert))</p> <p>4 Rita: <u>ah yo lo saco si querés. ahora yo- yo te lo saco, no te hagas problema.</u></p>
	(c)	<p>1 Torquato: el nombre también o→ ((pause)) pobre che- cómo es? [(o no)—</p> <p>2 Moqui: <u>[no:: no te c- Rosario cuando mucho. ...porque además yo ni- no lo sé escribir tampoco.@@@</u></p>
NegProp		negates proposition; a direct refusal strategy that "contains an element that negates the proposition used in the [mand]" (FB 2008: 73)
	(a)	<p>1 Hombre: no sé si, si haya un cuchillo libre, xxx.</p> <p>2 Ari: a:h, <u>no hay.</u> pero, cuando termine otro, te lo presta.</p>
	(b)	<p>1 Vendedora: algo más, negrita?</p> <p>2 Ela: <u>nada más.</u></p>
	(c)	<p>1 Tesina: ((telephone)) xxx</p> <p>2 Fabiana: no, <u>no puedo no,</u> si me la- si me la pudieran traer sí, si no <u>no pue:do</u> Tesina.</p>

No		no; a flat <i>no</i> ; typical of a direct refusal, but can be found in supportive moves; can also include <i>ta</i> , in the sense of <i>that's all/nothing else</i>
	(a) 1 Mujer2:	alguna bufanda de hombre o que pueda usar un hombre una ne:gra o algo?
	2 Rena:	<u>ay no</u> , creo que no me queda nada/.
	(b) 1 Gisel:	(ponemos ésa).
	2 Lea:	<u>la mesa NO</u> , no puede más mesa Gisel.
	(c) 1 Jenifer:	ve, ese parlante anda mal.
	2 Isabel:	<u>no, no, no</u> , es que algo se desconectó, <u>no no</u> →
	(d) 1 Clerk:	qué más Rena?
	2 Rena:	<u>ta</u> .
PauseFill		pause filler; strategy often employed to buy the speaker time to think and formulate a response and/or maintain her or his turn at talk (e.g., eh, em, este::)
	(a) Isabel:	así que no podés <u>este, ah-</u> vos no sos médico.
	(b) Isabel:	<u>eh::m</u> , bueno nada más.
	(c) Rena:	NO, pues, <u>eh-</u> o sea a mí no me arreglaron la máquina...
	(d) Ana:	...es de <u>este:: mm</u>
Postpone		postpones; strategy by which the speaker avoids making an explicit commitment and puts off satisfying another's request, suggestion, etc.; postponements range from more or less specific, and can also be employed to distract attention away from a dispreferred response (FB 2008: 77)
	(a) 1 Berta:	querés que te deje: ... eso que quería tu padre?
	2 Mar:	... no, <u>vos pasá ahora el, después cuando cobre:</u>
	3 Mar:	... = por eso. (después de / puede) <u>la semana que viene pasá, que yo te voy a comprar algo.</u>
	(b) 1 Isaz:	((telephone)) xxx
	2 Ana:	AH de pronto, las- <u>cuando vayan a hacer las evaluaciones/, me pongo al día con los temas/—</u>
	(c) 1 Violeta:	cuando tengas un momentito necesito preguntarte xx
	2 Ana:	sí, <u>ya termino esto, de Abuela/ y sí a-y ya este te contesto.</u>
Preparator		preparator; pre-sequence utterance by which the speaker prepares the hearer for the ensuing refusal, often with a softening effect (cf. FB 2008: 79)
	(a) Moqui:	bueno después vemos. <u>escuchame:</u> , Andrés.
	(b) Ari:	no: no no, <u>sabés qué</u> no me molesta venir, me molesta el el mal manejo de de, de las cosas.
	(c) Fabiana:	<u>lo que pasa es que</u> pa'l Pastoreo no puedo ir porque...

PropName		proper name; form of address that can have an undertone of formality when used in the course of conversation, and not just as an alerter
	(a) Isabel:	mirá <u>Estevana</u> . coqueterías? dejalas para-- ...
	(b) Isabel:	<u>JENIFER</u> . una lástima de-
	(c) Ana:	el suflé. no quise <u>Dario</u> , no quise.
	(d) Moqui:	bueno después vemos. escúchame:, <u>Andrés</u> .
Reason		reason/explanation; speaker provides reasons, excuses, accounts, explanations, typically using first person; can be general or specific
	(a) Isabel:	sí ((quiet voice)). le tendría que preguntar a Milton <u>porque el tema es el vehículo</u> .
	(b) Moqui:	=bueno en un ratito. <u>para que quiero ver si viene aquella así le doy un mate</u> .
	(c) Moqui:	muchas gracias- no, <u>yo tengo los pies fríos</u> .
Reassure		reassures hearer; utterance that reassures or consoles the hearer (e.g., <i>no te preocupes, no hay problema</i>)
	(a) 1 Milton: 2 Isabel:	acá se desconectó algo no sé xxx ((voice fades)) desconectarse no creo porque no tiene cómo, <u>yo ya probé las instalaciones (están / estaban) bien</u> .
	(b) 1 Teresa: 2 Ari:	no - es chico. vos probátele porque son muy grandes los zapatos. ... <u>no te desesperes</u> .
	(c) 1 Client: 2 Rena:	para no venir mañana de vuelta= <u>=no no, no se preocupe</u> .
Repair		repair; speaker proposes to do something to directly repair the situation (e.g., pledges to stock a currently-unavailable item that a customer requests)
	(a) 1 Hombre: 2 Ari:	no sé si, si haya un cuchillo libre, xxx. a:h, no hay. pero, <u>cuando termine otro, te lo presta</u> .
	(b) 1 Mujer4: 2 Rena: 3 Mujer4:	por eso no te (voy a / da) – vos trajiste ya? NO, pues, eh- o sea a mí no me arreglaron la máquina... bueno, yo, el viernes tenemos la reunión acá. ...
	4 Rena:	<u>ta, ta, se lo hago para el viernes</u> .
	(c) 1 Antonella: 2 Mar: 3 Antonella: 4 Mar:	(pero / porque) yo andaba buscando (una) de manga larga,= = AHH, no manga larga [(no) ... =ah, qué lástima. pue:s nada entonces. (voy a) xxx. ... <u>ahora voy la semana que viene si consigo manga larga, tal vez que traigo</u> .

RepReit		repetition/reiteration; utterances that are either repeated verbatim (e.g., <i>no, no, no</i>) or effectively in other or similar words (e.g., <i>pero no sé</i> . ((pause)) <i>la verdad que no sé</i> .); can serve to distract from the offense and delay a dispreferred response (FB 2008: 77)
	(a) 1 Isabel:	y:: no sé Estevana.
	2 Isabel:	((pause)) <u>no sé</u> .
	(b) 1 Milton:	...se (desconfiguró o) algo.=
		...
	2 Isabel:	<u>no↑ no no</u> .
	(c) 1 Fem worker:	(entonces) vamos para allá?
	2 Ari:	<u>pará pará</u> . <u>no no</u> . nos vamos cuando terminemos acá de organizar.
	(d) 1 Ela:	y ésa le le salió casi once mil pesos. la verdad que está cara ((laughs))
	2 Violeta:	hmm
	3 Ela:	<u>está realmente caro sí la cosa</u> - por eso...
	(e) 1 Mujer2:	no te queda nada. ((verifying))
	2 Rena:	no. <u>no [me queda--</u>
RequInfo		request for information/confirmation; speaker asks for new information or seeks to verify information she or he already had; displays an interest in the interlocutor and/or the interlocutor's proposition, but can serve as an avoidance tactic in that it distracts from the offense and delays a dispreferred response (FB 2008: 77)
	(a) 1 Violeta:	podríamos ir y:: ((pause)) bueno, YO invito las entradas...
		...
	2 Isabel:	<u>pero es para todo el público en general?</u>
	(b) 1 Moqui:	tenía- estaba enferma la maestra~?
	2 Zaqueo?:	de [presión.
	3 Cuñada:	[sí.
	4 Moqui:	ah- <u>de presión? quién</u> .
	5 Zaqueo:	(eh) Susana?
	6 Moqui:	<u>DE presión?</u>
	7 Andrés:	xxx no era la Gripe A.=
	8 Moqui:	<u>=no era la gripe?</u>
	(c) 1 Pablo:	trescientos pesos. ((pause)) xxx.
	2 Lea:	((incredulous)) <u>tresCIENtos peSOS?</u>
RhetForm		rhetorical form; response or rebuttal not expecting an answer, often defensive in tone (e.g., <i>qué querés que haga</i>)
	(a) 1 Estevana:	xxx una pastilla o algo que me quede dormida hasta mañana.=
	2 Isabel:	<u>=a vos te parece?</u> no sabés si tenés preSIÓN, baja preSIÓN, las papil- las palpitations, no sabés nada.
	(b) 1 Taxista:	el (nene) no tiene frío.
	2 Moqui:	él no. <u>@qué va a tener frío@</u> .
	(c) 1 Pablo:	se te enferma.

	2	Lea:	y bueno amor <u>que querés que haga</u> . después, después peor que la bañe pa´ salir pa´l cumpleaños.
Sarcasm			sarcasm; utterance that is sharp, satirical and/or ironic in nature
	(a)	1 Roger: 2 Ana:	...(hoy) voy a dormirme esta tarde. EH? ((pause)) AH tengo entonces que ordenar eso. el desbarajuste que hay allá atrás. ((pause, plates)) <u>lamento decirte que no vas a tener siesta.</u>
	(b)	1 Pablo: 2 Lea:	bueno dame la voy a pagar porque: hay una botella sola me dijo Julio. para vender. <u>y qué (entonces una botella sola) para la noche?</u> TS
	(c)	1 Milton: 2 Isabel:	xxx porquerías— no SON porquerías, son cosas. que no tienen otro lugar. ((pause)) (es) así. <u>así que las críticas para otro día.</u>
SelfD			self-defense; response defending oneself or action against another's proposition, or one's right to be unimpeded by interlocutor's mand (cf. Beebe et al. 1990: 73); includes rhetorical questions, (e.g., <i>What do you want me to do about it?</i>) that imply that the speaker has no other option/is trapped
	(a)	1 Triza: 2 Ari: 3 Triza: 4 Ari:	mañana, mañana tenés que ir a la escuela porque, xxxcito/ pero, digo:, <u>no pueden hacerme esto</u> (pues digo)= =y a mí tampoco. ((pause)) <u>pero le digo, hace veinte días me dijeron, (tomá) el día libre, yo xxx—</u>
	(b)	1 Pablo: 2 Lea:	se te enferma. <u>y bueno amor que querés que haga</u> . después, después peor que la bañe pa´ salir pa´l cumpleaños.
	(c)	1 Novio: 2 Fabiana:	((telephone)) xxx pero acá está espantoso de frío amor, <u>yo tengo un resfrío de, ((inhales)) y estoy haciendo un trabajo con Violeta y mientras que me v- me vuelvo a la noche para casa (nomás)</u> , está cruel ((sniffs))
StmntInfo			statement of information; statement of information regarding some state of affairs, often impersonal to the speaker, typically using third-person
	(a)	1 Jenifer: 2 Isabel:	claro, como que hay un mal contacto. ((pause)) no no sé cuál es el tema. <u>son, son tres polos-son tres cosas mirá.</u>
	(b)	1 Jenifer: 2 Isabel:	=bien para el- tiene frío ella, poné la estufa. <u>está abajo la estufa@=</u>
	(c)	1 Violeta: 2 Rena:	[hay una negra.] ((looks at the suggested scarf and verifies)) no no no. <u>ésa no es para hombre.</u>

StmntPrinc		statement of principle/philosophy; expresses the speaker's thoughts on a situation, i.e., what she or he would do, would never do, does do, etc. (Beebe et al. 1990: 72)
	(a) Ari:	<u>...ni lo repito yo por(que) yo no digo disparate.</u>
	(b) Ari:	<u>...viste cómo es. si no hay pa' todos, no hay pa' ninguno.</u>
	(c) Ela:	<u>eh? pero después(s) acordate, los pantalone(s) después(s) que lo(s) usa(s) se estiran</u> Roberto.
TopicSwx		topic switch; utterance that changes the course of the interactional exchange by introducing a new or other topic ancillary to the one taken up in the interlocutor's proposition; often an avoidance strategy by which the speaker seeks to delay or forgo a dispreferred response (cf. Beebe et al. 1990: 72)
	(a) 1 Violeta:	acordate de lo que hablamos, te [acordás?
	2 Lea:	[sí
	3 Violeta:	todo lo que hablamos durante el almuerzo?
	4 Lea:	((pause)) <u>ahora tenés bajada, Viole. no tenés que subir el repecho. @@</u>
	(b) 1 Fabiana:	lo que pasa es que pa'l Pastoreo no puedo ir porque Helén ((la hija)) andaba con FIEBRE. la tengo que dejar solita yo acá a Helén,
	2 Tesina:	a cuál, a Helén?
	3 Fabiana:	<u>seGUro ...cómo anda Yasmine ahora porque el otro día la cuidé yo pues y estaba re congestionada pobreCllta.</u>
	(c) 1 Violeta:	((offers mate to Ana))
	2 Ana:	sí. este:m. no me des más, mate porque, ya estoy satisfecha. ((to her mother)) <u>y Estelita?</u>
Wish		wish/positive feelings; statement communicating speaker's desire or wish to comply with or accept a proposition, or that expresses a positive opinion regarding it, thereby softening the refusal (cf. FB 2008: 78; Beebe et al. 1990: 73)
	(a) Isabel:	<u>me parece que son más chicas. tán nuevitas tán. son más chicas me parece. es 42 y medio. es una lástima eh. qué botas por Dios!</u> es idéntica a la tuya Milton. no? yo como hace veinte días que tenía eso, <u>que (hubiéramos) coordinado:</u>
	(b) Ari:	<u>que (hubiéramos) coordinado:</u>
	(c) 1 Santi:	=porque pienso que va a ser lindo.
	2 Mar:	<u>va a estar bueno, el de ventas va a estar bueno.</u>

FORMULAS

routinized expressions, phrases

si_pero		<i>sí (x) + pero [x]</i>
(a)	Rena:	sí, pero no no.
(b)	Mar:	sí pero yo voy a las nueve a Barker hasta las nueve y media/.
(c)	Isabel:	sí, bueno, pero acá adentro tampoco está frío.
(d)	Ari:	sí sí sí yo sé lo que me decís, pero digo que...
(e)	Moqui:	ta! pero yo quiero otr- dos, para mí.
(f)	Mar:	claro, pero está el sábado.
no_porque		<i>no (x) + porque [x]</i>
(a)	Ari:	no, porque hay cuatro pares nada más.
(b)	Ana:	...no me des más, mate porque, ya estoy satisfecha.
(c)	Fabiana:	...no:, yo a Sonia no la dejo porque no—
no_si		<i>no + sí [x]</i>
(a)	Moqui:	no, si yo no he tocado para nada.
(b)	Ana:	no::, no no no:, si mamá también toma...
no_pero		<i>no + pero [x]</i>
(a)	Moqui:	no, pero no es la directORA. la directora es LuAna.
(b)	Isabel:	no no, pero hay- hay- para mí hay algo que está mal.
te_parece		<i>te parece? (do you think?)</i>
(a)	Isabel:	a vos te parece? no sabés si tenés preSIÓN, baja preSIÓN...no sabés nada.
(b)	Roberto:	te te parece?
si_querés		<i>si querés (if you want)</i>
(a)	Rita:	ah yo lo saco <u>si querés</u> . ahora yo- yo te lo saco, no te hagas problema.
(b)	Dona:	yo traigo <u>si querés</u> . mañana.
es_lo_mismo		<i>es lo mismo (it's the same to me)</i>
(a)	Dona:	= <u>es lo mismo</u> =
(b)	Rita:	y si no traigo YO, <u>es lo mismo</u> .
tema_problema		<i>ése es el tema/problema; el tema es (que) (that's the problem; the problem is (that))</i>
(a)	Rita:	me da lástima porque, una que no TENgo para comprarme una cocina. pero el horno anda lo más bien, viste? ((pause)) <u>ése es el tema</u> .
(b)	Mar:	sí pero yo voy a las nueve a Barker hasta las nueve y media /.... <u>ése es el problema</u> .
(c)	Fabiana:	CLARo que <u>el tema es que</u> se me complica hoy...

como_quiera		<i>como quiera(s)</i> (however you prefer)
(a)	1 Roberto:	te te parece?
	2 Ela:	<u>cómo quiera(s)</u>
(b)	1 Roberto:	qué decí(s) vo(s)?
	2 Ela:	no <u>cómo quiera/</u>
(c)	1 Dona:	que yo ya voy a- a [traer la yerba.
	2 Rita:	<u>[como vos quieras</u> Dona...

lo_que_pasa		<i>lo que pasa es que</i> (the thing is that)
(a)	Ari:	porque a su vez viste, digo, <u>lo que pasa (es) que</u> podría dejarlo pero...
(b)	Fabiana:	<u>lo que pasa es que</u> pa'l Pastoreo no puedo ir porque Helén ((la hija)) andaba con FIEBRE.

OTHER

Small Talk

interactional talk; conversation that is "unmarked," casual, without prearranged topics, typically characterised by such tenets as: noticing and attending to hearer (H), exaggerating interest, approval and sympathy with H, using in-group identity markers, seeking agreement, avoiding disagreement, presupposing, raising and/or asserting common ground with H, joking and reciprocating (Schneider 1988: 39, 79)

1 Clerk:	nada más Isabel?= =no ((tense)). ((pause)) nada más ((relaxed)).
2 Isabel:	
3 Clerk:	muy bien.=
4 Isabel:	=ta? ((to store owner)) <u>tu nena Juan?</u>
5 Juan:	<u>bien de bien.</u>
6 Isabel:	<u>bien? bueno, me alegro.</u>

Priming

lexical or structural, the process by which the use of a certain lexical item or structure in one utterance influences/functions as a prime on a subsequent utterance, such that that same lexical item or structure is repeated (Travis 2007: 101)

(a)	1 Clerk:	<u>qué más?</u> (what else?)
	2 Fabiana:	<u>nada más.</u> (nothing else.)
(b)	1 Cabrera:	<u>vamos a seguir</u> el trabajo ahora.
	2 Ari:	<u>vamos a ir</u> guardando Cabrera.
(c)	1 Roberto:	me queda muy apretado, <u>no?</u> (it's too tight on me, isn't it ((lit. no))?)
	2 Ela:	<u>no;</u> te queda bien. (no:, it fits you well.)

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Heather Robertson Kaiser was born in Birmingham, Alabama and took her first Spanish class while enrolled in high school in DeLand, Florida. As an undergraduate, she majored in Spanish at Old Dominion University in Norfolk, Virginia, where she also began a career of travel to different countries in the Spanish-speaking world. Her most extensive experience abroad played out in Uruguay, where she spent the year following graduation as a Young Adult Volunteer with the Presbyterian Church (USA). It was there that she got to know the many people in Rosario, Uruguay who made this research possible. Before beginning the doctoral program at the University of Florida, Kaiser obtained a Master of Arts in Latin American Studies, with an emphasis in political science, and a Certificate in Brazilian Studies from Florida International University in Miami. She is married to David Kaiser and together they have two sons, William and Luke, both of whom have already made the journey to Uruguay.