

Indirectness and Interlingual Transfer

A Contrastive Analysis of Requests

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RESUMÉ PÅ DANSK

Indirekthed og intersproglig transfer – en sammenlignende analyse af opfordringer

Formålet med dette forskningsprojekt er at undersøge ligheder og forskelle mellem opfordringer formuleret på intersproget engelsk af danske og tyske studerende, der læser engelsk på BA niveau, og opfordringer formuleret af studerende, der taler britisk engelsk som modersmål. I denne sammenhæng er det ikke de grammatiske egenskaber af opfordringerne, der analyseres, men deres pragmatiske egenskaber.

Valget af denne tilgang skyldes antagelsen, at danske og tyske studerende kan danne morfologisk, syntaktisk, semantisk og fonetisk korrekte sætninger i både skriftligt og mundtligt engelsk, eftersom sproget er obligatorisk skolefag i begge lande, hvor børn undervises i engelsk allerede fra en alder af 10-12 år. Forskning indenfor intersproglig pragmatik har dog vist, at selv studerende på et avanceret sprogligt niveau stadigvæk begår pragmatiske fejl (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989: 26), som opstår når en ellers grammatisk korrekt ytring ikke matcher situationen. Dette kan føre til misforståelser i interkulturel kommunikation.

Sådanne misforståelser bliver sandsynligvis mest alvorlige i situationer der involverer potentielt ansigtstruende handlinger såsom opfordringer, der truer modtagerens negative ansigt, dvs. ønsket om at have handlingsfrihed (Brown & Levinson 1987). Modtagerens opfattelse af en opfordring kan siges at være afhængig af direkthedsgraden, som opfordringen ytres med, samt af andre sproglige midler afsenderen bruger for at nedtone eller fremhæve opfordringens illokutionære kraft.

Da brugen og opfattelsen af disse sproglige midler varierer i forskellige kulturer og sprog, er det interessant, også at undersøge hvordan dansk og tysk kultur og sprog påvirker de danske og tyske studerendes formuleringer på engelsk. Derfor vil jeg også sammenligne opfordringer på de danske og tyske studerendes modersmål med deres formuleringer på intersproget engelsk. Dette vil kunne afsløre muligheder for pragmatisk transfer, dvs. overførelsen af sproglige strategier fra modersmålene dansk og tysk til intersproget engelsk.

For at få en tilstrækkelig stor korpus af opfordringer, har jeg uddelt spørgeskemaer til 50 danske og 50 tyske BA-studerende, som læser engelsk på Syddansk Universitet og Flensborg Universitet, samt til 50 britiske studerende fra forskellige studieretninger og forskellige regioner i Storbritannien. I spørgeskemaerne beskrives otte forskellige situationer, som får deltagerne til at ytre en opfordring. Situationerne varierer mht. det sociale forhold mellem afsender og modtager, samt mht. den ønskede handlings omkostning for opfordringens modtager. Deltagernes opfordringer sammenlignes således også mht. forskellige situationsfaktorer. Spørgeskemaerne blev udfyldt på engelsk af alle tre deltagergrupper, mens de danske og de tyske studerende også udfyldte en version på henholdsvis dansk og tysk.

Den sproglige analyse af de skriftligt foreliggende opfordringer er baseret på analysesystemer der tidligere blev anvendt i pragmatiske studier af opfordringer i forskellige kulturer og sprog. Jeg vil i særdeleshed anvende begreber og kategorier fra analysesystemerne af Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) og Trosborg (1995). Dette involverer en analyse af opfordringernes direkthedsgrad, signaler for at få modtagerens opmærksomhed, SYNTAKTISKE såvel som LEKSIKALSKE/FRASALE NEDTONERE, MODALITET, samt UNDERSTØTTENDE FORMULERINGER såsom BEGRUNDELSER, SMIGER osv.

Resultaterne af min analyse viser, at der er mange ligheder mht. hvordan opfordringer formuleres på engelsk af de danske, tyske og britiske studerende, især mht. hvad der anses for passende i de forskellige situationer. Der kan dog også konstateres en del forskelle, såsom at de danske og tyske studerende i nogle situationer har en tendens til at bruge mere direkte formuleringer end de britiske studerende, at de tilsyneladende foretrækker andre LEKSIKALSKE/FRASALE NEDTONERE og at de bruger modalverberne 'can', 'could' og 'would' i stedet for den FRASALE NEDTONINGSRUTINE "would you mind..?", der hyppigt bruges af de britiske studerende. Der kunne også findes specifikke forskelle mellem de britiske formuleringer og opfordringerne på engelsk af enten de danske eller de tyske studerende. De danske studerende bruger fx færre UNDSKYLDNINGER end de britiske studerende, mens de tyske studerende bruger EFTERNAVNE, når de britiske studerende bruger FORNAVNE som signaler for at få modtagerens opmærksomhed.

Min undersøgelse af intersproglig transfer viser at ikke alle forskelle mellem opfordringernes formuleringer skyldes at de danske og tyske studerende overfører sproglige strategier og kulturelle mønstre fra deres modersmål til engelsk. Det er nemlig ikke i alle tilfælde at

opfordringerne på intersprogene afspejler formuleringsmønstrene på dansk og tysk. Andre mekanismer, som min undersøgelse ikke kan gøre rede for, må derfor også have haft en indflydelse på de danske og tyske studerendes formuleringer på engelsk.

Det må desuden siges at min undersøgelse ikke kan gøre rede for den effekt de forskellige måder at formulere opfordringer på, har på interkulturel kommunikation mellem de danske, tyske og britiske studerende. Undersøgelsen af sådanne opfattelsesrelaterede mekanismer i interkulturelle samtalsituationer må overlades til yderligere forskning.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A	Act / action
BE	British English used by the population of British students in my study
CCSARP	Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realisation Project
D	Situational variable ‘distance’ used by Brown & Levinson (1987)
DA	Danish used by the population of Danish students in my study
DA-E	Interlanguage English used by the population of Danish students in my study
DCT	Discourse Completion Test
FTA	Face-threatening act
FU	University of Flensburg
GE	German used by the population of German students in my study
GE-E	Interlanguage English used by the population of German students in my study
H	Hearer
HA	Head act of a request
L1	First language (mother tongue)
L2	Second language (foreign language)
P	Situational variable ‘power’ used by Brown & Levinson (1987)
S	Speaker
SDU	University of Southern Denmark
SM	Supportive move of a request

1. INTRODUCTION

In Denmark and Germany, learning English as a foreign language is compulsory in all schools, and English as a school subject is introduced at a relatively early stage. Thus, young people in Denmark and Germany are exposed to English from the age of 10 or 12 years and most of them receive English lessons until they leave school. For many of those who continue at university, English becomes an important tool, as in many fields of study, a lot of academic texts are only written in English (cf. Jarvad 2001: 107; Mocikat 2008: 2). Also, university life in Denmark and Germany has become very international and students have to interact with people from other countries. In this connection, English is the most frequently used lingua franca. Good knowledge of English is therefore necessary in academic life, as well as in the globalised economy, in which Denmark and Germany are involved.

This, and the fact that most of the pop-culture young people consume is in English, has led to a major interest in English as a foreign language. As a consequence, a lot of young people in Denmark and Germany choose to study English at university. When they start as undergraduates, they can already be expected to have a great deal of knowledge about the English language as a result of the English lessons they received in primary and secondary school. Most of them are probably able to produce morphologically, syntactically, semantically and phonetically correct sentences in written and oral English. However, research has shown that even advanced learners with a high level of grammatical knowledge regularly make pragmatic errors (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989a: 26). Pragmatic errors are at play when a grammatically correct utterance does not match the situation in which it is uttered. The outcome might be that the speaker (S) fails to convey the intended illocutionary force of the utterance, or that the hearer (H) misinterprets the utterance as impolite, insulting or over-polite. Thus, pragmatic errors can be a source of misunderstanding between people with different language and cultural backgrounds.

Instances of misunderstanding may become most serious in situations involving potentially face-threatening acts (FTAs). A frequently used speech act which involves a potential face-threat is the request. When S asks H for a favour, this involves an imposition on H's time, resources or privacy. The request therefore interferes with H's desire to have freedom of action and can be said to threaten H's negative face (Brown & Levinson, 1987: 61). H's perception of the request can be expected to depend on the level of directness and the

linguistic devices which are employed in S's request realisation. As cross-cultural studies have shown, there are differing realisations and perceptions of requests across different languages and cultures, which may lead to problems in intercultural communication.

One of the most influential cross-cultural studies of requests was conducted in the scope of the "Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realisation Project" (CCSARP) by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989). Here, requests and apologies were studied across seven different languages and five interlanguages¹, including the interlanguage English of native German and Danish speakers (House & Kasper 1987). This major study led to further research in the field of cross-cultural and interlanguage pragmatics over the last decades, and there has been growing awareness about the importance of communicative competence in language teaching (cf. Kraft & Geluykens 2007: 3). As a consequence, study programmes have been established that focus on language in use and intercultural communication.

Such study programmes are also offered by the University of Flensburg (FU), Germany and the University of Southern Denmark (SDU). At BA level, teaching in two foreign languages is often combined with courses in intercultural communication, pedagogy and economic studies, e.g. in the BA in international business communication in two foreign languages (University of Southern Denmark 2008), in the BA in Modern Languages and Cultural Mediation (University of Flensburg 2008b) and in the BA in International Management (University of Flensburg 2008a).

English is a major subject in all these study programmes. However, courses take place in Germany or Denmark, and English is probably taught mostly by native speakers of German and Danish. Therefore, students are not necessarily exposed to native English on a regular basis. Some might choose to spend a semester in an English speaking country, but they probably develop most of their English skills in classroom interaction. As studies of classroom interaction have shown, pragmatic competence still seems to be a neglected factor in foreign language teaching (Trosborg 1995: 133). While German and Danish students at FU and SDU may demonstrate a high level of morphological, syntactic, semantic and phonetic competence, which enables them to produce grammatically correct English, they may not demonstrate the same level of pragmatic competence, i.e. taking socio-cultural rules of

¹ Interlanguage is a concept from Second Language Acquisition Theory, and refers to „an intermediate stage of learner competence“ (Kraft & Geluykens 2007: 12). Interlanguages usually involve features of L1, as well as L2.

language use into consideration and making appropriate utterances in a given social context (cf. Trosborg 1995: 11).

Therefore, it is interesting to investigate similarities and differences between requests made in interlanguage English by Danish and German students who study English at BA level and requests made by students who are native speakers of British English. As differences in realisational patterns of requests may constitute pragmatic errors affecting intercultural communication, it also makes sense to explore possible reasons for such differences.

In order to do that, I will analyse requests formulated in English by German and Danish students who are enrolled in BA English courses at FU and SDU. These interlanguage requests will be compared to requests formulated by British students. Furthermore, possible influence of the Danish and German students' native languages on their requests in English will be accounted for by analysing requests in native German and Danish and comparing them to the requests in interlanguage English. The requests of all five language groups will be embedded into the same situational settings. This involves eight different social scenarios, across which the requests will be compared.

As I will be concerned with the pragmatic competence of learners of English, my study can be said to belong in the field of interlanguage pragmatics. Pragmatics is concerned with language use, meaning and perception in specific communicative situations (Blum-Kulka & Kasper 1993: 3) Thus, it involves linguistic and sociological considerations. As interlanguage is a concept from Second Language Acquisition Theory (see above, footnote 1), pragmalinguistic and socio-pragmatic considerations will be combined with ideas from Second Language Acquisition Theory in my study.

In the account for the theoretical background of my study, I will describe relevant concepts and theories from these academic disciplines and relate them to my study. On the basis of these concepts, I will then define my request coding system by discussing categories and definitions of existing frameworks for request analyses. Finally, I will discuss the findings of my data analysis and draw conclusions in accordance with the theoretical framework. First of all, I will, however, present my data collection method.

2. DATA COLLECTION METHOD

My database of requests consists of 250 responses to a written questionnaire (Appendix A). 50 Danish, 50 German and 50 British students filled out the questionnaire in English. Additionally, the Danish and German students also filled out a version in their native languages Danish or German. In the following, I will give a more detailed description of my sample population and questionnaire distribution. I will also present my questionnaire design and the social parameters employed in this connection. Finally, I will account for the possibilities and limitations of my study.

2.1 Sample populations and questionnaire distribution

The Danish and German students are undergraduates between the age of 20 and 30 who study English at SDU, FU or both². I personally joined three English lessons within the BA programme Modern Languages and Cultural Mediation at SDU in Sønderborg. Here, I distributed paper versions of the questionnaire to German and Danish students in their 2nd and 6th semester, which were filled out in class. Additionally, an electronic version of the questionnaire was distributed by email to students of English enrolled in other BA programs at SDU and FU. The electronic version was created with the survey software on www.surveymonkey.com, where all responses were registered and analysed.

Although there can be expected to be differences in the syllabi of the different BA programs which might have an influence on the students' pragmatic competence in English, I would suggest that any systematic differences between the different student populations are compensated for by individual differences between all participants. As the demographic data of my populations show (Appendix B), some of the students have been living in an English speaking country or regularly converse with native speakers, while this does not account for others. All these factors can be expected to influence the outcome of my study, but cannot be accounted for due to the limited scope of this project.

² As the programmes International Management, as well as Modern Languages and Cultural Mediation are offered jointly by FU and SDU, both Danish and German students can participate, and they are registered at both universities.

The population of the British students consists of under- and postgraduates from the University of Sussex, Brighton, the University of Edinburgh and the University of Liverpool. Thus, students from different parts of Britain are involved, which should compensate for any linguistic tendencies due to regional variation. The British students are from such different fields of study as mathematics, languages, social sciences and arts. Hence, they are likely to represent general linguistic tendencies in British English amongst students between the age of 18 and 27.

My questionnaires were distributed to the British students by acquainted and helpful researchers at the respective universities. The questionnaires for the students at the University of Sussex were distributed in paper, while all the other British students received a link to the electronic questionnaire.

There are two demographic differences between the population of British students and the populations of German and Danish students. First, the average of age is slightly lower for the British students as compared to the Danish and German students. This is probably due to the fact that young people in Britain finish high school earlier than young people in Denmark and Germany. Hence, British students also start university 1-2 years earlier. I would, however, suggest that this age difference is insignificant for the results of my study, as comparable living situations, social environments and educational backgrounds can be considered as more important.

Second, there is a more equal gender distribution among the British student population, which consists of 62% women and 38% men, as compared to the Danish and German student populations, which consist of 80 - 90 % women. While it is important to keep in mind that there may be gender preferences concerning the realisation or requests (cf. Kouletaki 2005), this factor cannot be considered in my study. Ideally, equally many men and women should have been involved to compensate for possible gender preferences. Unfortunately, this was practically impossible as male students tend to be rather rare in language study programmes. However, the general overweight of female respondents should make the results comparable across language groups anyway. Due to the overweight of women within my sample populations, I will, in this thesis, use female pronouns to refer to my respondents or the role of S in general.

2.2 Questionnaire design

The questionnaire is designed as a Discourse Completion Test (DCT), similar to the one used in the CCSARP (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989). Here, the participants are introduced to eight situations that trigger a request, and they are asked to write what they would say in each situation. This task is clarified in the questionnaire instruction, as well as by addressing the participants in the second person singular in each scenario description, which puts them in the position of S. The content of the eight situations is summarised in Table 1.

Table 1: Content of questionnaire situations

Situation 1	The participant is cold and asks her friend to close the window, while they are having dinner at the friend's place.
Situation 2	The participant asks her tutor to close the window, while they are discussing her assignment in his office. The participant is cold and just had the flu.
Situation 3	The participant is cold and asks a stranger to close the window, while they are sitting in a train.
Situation 4	The participant is working in the local youth club and asks one of the teenage-boys to close the window, because everyone else is freezing.
Situation 5	The participant is in a cafe and asks a stranger for her mobile in order to call a taxi.
Situation 6	The participant is at a bar and asks her brother for his mobile in order to call a taxi.
Situation 7	The participant is in a restaurant with her new boss and asks the boss for her mobile in order to cancel a fitness class with a friend.
Situation 8	The participant asks a stranger for her mobile in order to call an ambulance for her friend, who has just fallen and hurt himself, while jogging in a park.

In contrast to the questionnaire design in the CCSARP, the participants in my study are not given any response by H. Instead, the scenarios are open-ended, so the participants can phrase their responses more freely. This has been shown to be of advantage, as the participants are not influenced by subsequent turns and can choose to opt out or provide alternative responses if they consider them more appropriate (Kallia 2005: 220; Breuer & Geluykens 2007: 109). Hence, open-ended responses cannot only yield differences in the semantic formula of requests, but also “perceived sociopragmatic differences in the appropriateness of communicative acts” (Kasper 2008: 293).

2.2.1 Social parameters

The situations in my questionnaire are designed in a way, so that the role relationship between S and H varies along the parameters of authority and social distance. Furthermore, variables of the social context include the degree of imposition and the degree of H's obligation to comply with the request. The combinations of these variables in situations 1-8 are summarised in Table 2.

Table 2: Social parameters in questionnaire situations

Scenario	Authority		Distance	Imposition	H's obligation
	S	H			
Situation 1: window - friend	-	-	1	-	1
Situation 2: window - tutor	-	+	2	-	2
Situation 3: window – stranger	-	-	3	-	1
Situation 4: window - teenager	+	-	2	-	2
Situation 5: mobile - stranger	-	-	3	+	2
Situation 6: mobile - brother	-	-	1	+	2
Situation 7: mobile - boss	-	+	2	+	1
Situation 8: mobile – emergency	-	-	3	+	3

On the following pages, I will introduce each parameter and explain how it is rated in my scenarios. In this connection, it is important to note that the perception of social parameters may vary between German, Danish and British students. While perceptive differences due to cultural constraints will be considered in the analysis of my responses, I cannot discuss perceptive differences due to individual or sub-cultural constraints. Also, I cannot claim my ratings to be free from influence of my own individual and cultural perception.

On the basis of that, my ratings are not to be seen as absolute, but as relative, hypothetical assumptions about how I expect the scenarios to be perceived by the participants. However, as all participants come from Western cultures, in which there exist approximately the same role relationships and values in social life, I consider my ratings to roughly reflect all participants' perceptions of the situations.

2.2.1.1 Parameter I: Authority

Authority refers to the formal power relationship between S and H. As we will see in section 3.2.3, this relates to Brown & Levinson's (1987: 74) variable P. However, I deliberately avoid the term power in this connection, as the actual power relationship between two people is more complex than the perceived formal authority. Although a boss, for example, has formal authority over her employees, employees may have actual power, as they may have essential competencies. Therefore, actual power usually runs both ways and has to be defined within specific interpersonal relationships and situations. Authority, on the other hand, can be defined by relatively fixed social roles, that can be expected to be mutually known by S and H (Morgan 1998: 178 ff).

In Table 2, I illustrate the formal power relationship between S and H by individually assigning them authority (+) or non-authority (-). In each scenario, the participant is therefore put in a superior, subordinate or equal position to H. In situations in which S and H are assigned non-authority, they are assumed to be in an equal formal power relationship.

2.2.1.2 Parameter II: Social distance

Social distance relates to Brown & Levinson's (1987: 76) variable D, which refers to the dimension of similarity/difference between S and H. According to Brown & Levinson (1987: 77), social distance depends on two factors: on how often S and H interact with each other, and on how many social attributes they have in common.

In my questionnaire, only the first factor is deliberately built into the scenarios. Consequently, I rely on Trosborg's definition of social distance as "the feature of familiarity between the participants [in a communicative event, ed.]" (1995: 148). Accordingly, social distance in my situations can be rated on a scale of three degrees of familiarity:

- 1 = intimate relationship between S and H (friends, family)
- 2 = professional relationship between S and H (acquaintances at work, school, clubs)
- 3 = S and H do not know each other (strangers)

2.2.1.3 Parameter III: Degree of imposition

Degree of imposition refers to the expected cost to H involved in the requested act. Thus, this parameter can be seen to be equal to Brown & Levinson's variable R, which is "a culturally and situationally defined ranking of impositions by the degree to which they are considered to interfere with an agent's wants of self-determination" (1987: 77). These impositions may include services, e.g. the provision of time, as well as material and non-material goods.

In my questionnaire scenarios, two different acts are requested: closing a window and providing a mobile phone. Asking someone to close a window can be said to be a service which – under the circumstances described in my situations - involves minimal time and effort. Asking someone to provide a mobile phone involves goods – H's mobile phone and the money for the call -, as well as a service – waiting for S to make a call or making a call for S. Therefore, I would suggest that asking someone to provide a mobile phone involves a higher degree of imposition than asking someone to close a window. In Table 2, the degree of imposition is therefore indicated by (-) for all window-situations and by (+) for all mobile-situations.

2.2.1.4 Parameter IV: H's obligation

Brown & Levinson (1987: 77) suggest that certain impositions can be lessened if H is obligated to comply with the request, has already independently planned to do the requested act or enjoys performing it. While the latter is not built into the questionnaire scenarios, H's obligation, which may be moral, legal, by employment etc., is indicated by the situational circumstances.

In my scenarios, H's obligation is moral in all cases. The degree of moral obligation to comply with a request seems to depend on the reasons put forward for it by S. These reasons can be seen as arguments for S's right to make the request. As S's right and H's obligation are closely intertwined, convincing reasons may put moral pressure on H.

Although it is impossible to objectively rate moral obligation or make judgements about what constitutes a good moral reason, my ratings in Table 2 should reflect the idea behind the incorporation of the obligation parameter into the questionnaire scenarios. Obligation is rated according to the following three degrees:

1 = low moral obligation

→ only minor consequences expected for S or a third person, if H does not comply

2 = some morale obligation

→ unpleasant consequences expected for S or a third person, or minor consequences expected for a major group of people, if H does not comply

3 = high morale obligation

→ possibility of severe consequences for S or a third person, if H does not comply

2.3 Possibilities and limitations of my study

Questionnaires are instruments that make it possible to collect a lot of data relatively quickly and easily. Also, responses to DCTs can provide valuable information about what kind of semantic formula can be expected to constitute requests in the situations and languages considered (Wolfson et al. 1989: 183). As uncovering differences in the formulation of requests is the main aim of my study, and as the project has to be completed in a very limited time frame, it makes sense to use questionnaires as data collection method.

However, it is very important to note that requests written in DCT-responses are not necessarily comparable to requests that occur in natural interaction. Kasper (2008: 293) mentions several studies which show, that although there is substantial overlap between questionnaire responses and natural speech, there are also a lot of differences. These differences may be due to unawareness about one's own speech behaviour (Wolfson et al. 1989: 181). Thus, the responses to my questionnaires are probably based on reflections about what the respondents think they would say in any given situation. Wolfson et al. (1989: 182) argue that this self-perception is usually based on norms of rather than on actual speech behaviour. Consequently, we can expect that the requests elicited by DCTs are more stereotypical realisations than those we would hear in naturally occurring speech.

This is not necessarily a disadvantage in a cross-cultural study like mine, as stereotypical request realisations can be seen to reflect what the participants would expect in a given situation (cf. Blum-Kulka et al. 1989a: 13). This is valuable information when comparing requests by native speakers to those by interlanguage speakers, as the aim of such studies

often is to draw conclusions about the social appropriateness of interlanguage realisations (cf. Wolfson et al. 1989: 184).

This leads to another limitation of my study: while my questionnaire responses may give us an impression about the appropriateness of certain request formulations (cf. below, 3.1.2), they cannot account for the actual communicative effect potentially inappropriate utterances might have (cf. Kasper & Blum-Kulka 1993: 13). This is so, because not all potentially inappropriate utterances lead to miscommunication. Native speakers tend to be more lenient towards non-native speakers (Zegarac & Pennington 2008: 145) and might even perceive marked utterances as charming (Kasper & Blum-Kulka 1993: 13). In order to find out about British students' perception of requests uttered by Danish and German students, further investigation would be necessary.

3. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

As stated in the introduction, my analysis of requests involves considerations from pragmalinguistics, socio-pragmatics, as well as Second Language Acquisition Theory. In the description of my theoretical background, I will draw on these disciplines as follows:

Pragmalinguistics is concerned with the resources provided in a language for conveying certain illocutions (Leech 1983: 11). As I will analyse the lexical, phrasal and syntactic devices used in the request realisations by five language groups, the major concern of my study is a pragmalinguistic one. In this connection, I will describe requests as speech acts and I will show how their more or less direct realisation can be related to different principles of communication. Furthermore, I will discuss issues of politeness in request realisation and the role of indirectness in this connection.

Socio-pragmatics involves sociological considerations about language use in relation to different “‘local’ conditions” (Leech 1983: 10). As some differences in the requesting behaviour of the British, Danish and German students may be due to cultural rather than linguistic constraints, I will shortly introduce relevant sociological findings about the influence of culture on our perception and our communicative behaviour.

Second Language Acquisition Theory becomes relevant in connection with my comparison of requests in interlanguage English to requests in native German and Danish. As I expect to detect possible sources for pragmatic transfer, I will introduce this concept from Second Language Acquisition Theory and discuss its application in my analysis.

3.1 The speech act of requesting

Speech act theory is based on the assumption that, similarly to things we do practically like cleaning, walking, sleeping etc., we can also “do things with words” (Austin 1962), e.g. apologising, describing, complaining etc. These verbal actions are referred to as speech acts and they consist of three components (Yule 1996: 47 ff):

- (a) **The locutionary act**, which is the production of a grammatically correct utterance
- (b) **The illocutionary act**, which is the communicative function of the utterance
- (c) **The perlocutionary act**, which is the effect of the utterance on H

This indicates that, in order to successfully perform a speech act, S needs to have grammar competence to correctly perform the locutionary act, as well as pragmatic competence to successfully perform the illocutionary act. The success of the perlocutionary act can be said to be beyond S's power, as it depends on H's interpretation of the illocutionary act (Yule 1996: 49). As shown in section 2.3, I cannot account for H's perception in my analysis. Furthermore, I expect university students of English to have a high level of grammar competence. Thus, S's performance of the illocutionary act, i.e. how S conveys her communicative intention, will be the subject of my analysis.

The illocutionary act of requesting involves the expression of S's intention to bring about some action (A) by H. Thus, requests can be said to belong to Searle's speech act category of "directives" (1975: 355). In this connection, the communicative function of the utterance is not to describe the world, but to express S's intention to change it through H. This intention may be expressed with more or less convincing force, which also involves a more or less direct realisation of the request.

3.1.1 Direct and indirect request realisations

In direct request realisations like (1), the illocutionary force of the utterance is expressed by a verb form in the locutionary act. Thus, (1) unambiguously functions as a request for salt. Indirect requests, on the other hand, pragmatically convey the illocutionary act of requesting, while they have a different literal meaning at locutionary level (cf. Searle 1965: 227). This can be demonstrated by (2), which literally is a question about H's ability. However, (2) unambiguously functions as a request for salt in certain situations (Brown & Levinson 1987: 133). In this case, both interpretations of the locution can be seen as illocutionary acts of requesting, as (2) can be understood as a request for information about H's ability or as a request for salt. The intended perlocution, however, differs, and H's interpretation of (2) depends on the context.

- (1) Pass the salt.
- (2) Can you pass the salt?
- (3) I would really appreciate some salt.
- (4) The steak is missing some salt.

Indirect requests cannot only imply different perlocutionary acts, but may also be expressed by different classes of illocutionary acts. S may for example choose to make an indirect request by using an expressive like (3), in which S's feelings towards the world are described (cf. Searle 1975: 356), or a representative like (4), in which S expresses what she believes to be true (cf. Searle 1975: 354). In both cases, H does not necessarily have to decide between the literal interpretation of the utterance and the indirectly implied requestive force. As Searle (1965: 226) points out, "a sentence that contains the illocutionary force of one kind of illocutionary act can be uttered to perform, in addition, another type of illocutionary act". According to this, S probably intends to express her appreciation of salt by uttering (3), while, at the same time, she intends to convey the illocutionary act of a request for salt. The additional interpretation of (3) as a request, however, may not be caught by H or ignored on purpose.

While the same can be said for (4), this is only true under certain conditions in (2). In order to pass the salt, H must also be able to do so physically. Thus, H's ability is a pre-condition to the perlocutionary act of passing the salt. In situations in which it is clear to S that H is able to pass the salt, there can only be one interpretation, namely the request for salt. In situations in which there is some uncertainty about H's ability, both interpretations are possible. Thus, (2) might be classified as a rather direct request under certain circumstances. Due to this double function as indirect and direct requests, utterances like (2), which inquire about preparatory conditions, are often called conventionally indirect requests (Brown & Levinson 1987: 132).

3.1.2 Communicational principles in requests: co-operative vs. politeness principle

If S chooses a more or less direct realisation of a request usually depends on which communicational principle she prioritises. Unlike grammatical rules, communicational principles are not constitutive, but regulative (Leech 1983: 8). They may therefore be applied to varying degrees in different situations and they may conflict with each other. In the case of

requests, such conflict can be expected to occur between Grice's (1975) co-operative principle and the tact maxim within Leech's (1983) politeness principle.

According to Grice (1975: 45), successful communication is based on a common aim to co-operate. In this connection, each conversational contribution needs to be made in a way that fits the mutually accepted direction of communication. Grice (1975: 45 f) therefore suggests that one should obey the following four maxims:

- (a) **The maxim of quantity:** give as much information as required for the purpose of a given conversation, but not more than necessary.
- (b) **The maxim of quality:** do not lie or make statements for which you lack adequate evidence.
- (c) **The maxim of relation:** contribute only with utterances relevant to a given conversation.
- (d) **The maxim of manner:** be perspicuous, which involves being brief and orderly, as well as avoiding obscurity and ambiguity.

Only direct requests like (1) seem to fully incorporate Grice's maxims of co-operation. In indirect requests like (2)-(4), S seems to have set more priority on the tact maxim. The tact maxim is one of the six maxims within Leech's politeness principle, and it demands that S minimises cost and maximises benefit to H (Leech 1983: 132). Practically, this conflicts with the illocutionary goal of requests (Leech 1983: 104). However, by making indirect requests, S may avoid expressing that she, in fact, maximises cost to H. Thus, there seems to be a connection between indirectness and politeness, which has been discussed since Brown & Levinson's theory on politeness was published for the first time in 1978. As Brown & Levinson's politeness theory is a landmark, and as my framework for the analysis of requests is based on ideas from it, I will present relevant concepts from it in the following.

3.2 Requests and politeness

As I will study the realisation of requests across different cultural contexts, it is necessary to identify general tendencies in human communication in order to be able to detect cultural differences in communicative behaviour. In this connection, I will draw on Brown & Levinson's Politeness Theory (1987), in which the authors claim that it is possible to make cross-cultural generalisations about communicative behaviour and politeness. This

assumption is based on Goffman's (1967) notion of face. Goffman (1967: 5) defines face as a public self-image every person defines for herself and is likely to defend in social interaction.

Goffman's definition indicates that there is a possibility of face-threat in social interaction, as people may have to defend their self-image. According to Brown & Levinson (1987: 61), the essence of politeness can be seen in people's face-work, i.e. their co-operation in order to maintain each others' face. In this connection, Brown & Levinson (1987: 61 ff) distinguish between two aspects of face, which can be addressed by different kinds of politeness strategies:

Positive face, which involves the desire for social recognition and peer group belonging, reflects the need to be seen as a socially close person. S can address H's positive face by using positive politeness strategies, which emphasise common ground and agreement with, as well as sympathy for H (Brown & Levinson 1987: 103 ff). Negative face involves the desire to have freedom of action and freedom from imposition. It reflects the need to be seen as a socially distinct person, who should be treated with respect. S can address H's negative face by redressing any imposition on H (Brown & Levinson 1987: 129).

As requests constitute an imposition on H, they can threaten H's negative face. My study will therefore mainly be concerned with negative politeness strategies. I will account for requests as FTAs and negative politeness strategies below. However, it is important to keep in mind that positive politeness strategies will be considered to some degree in my study, as requests may be mitigated by sweeteners, which praise H, or by inclusive perspective, which emphasises common ground.

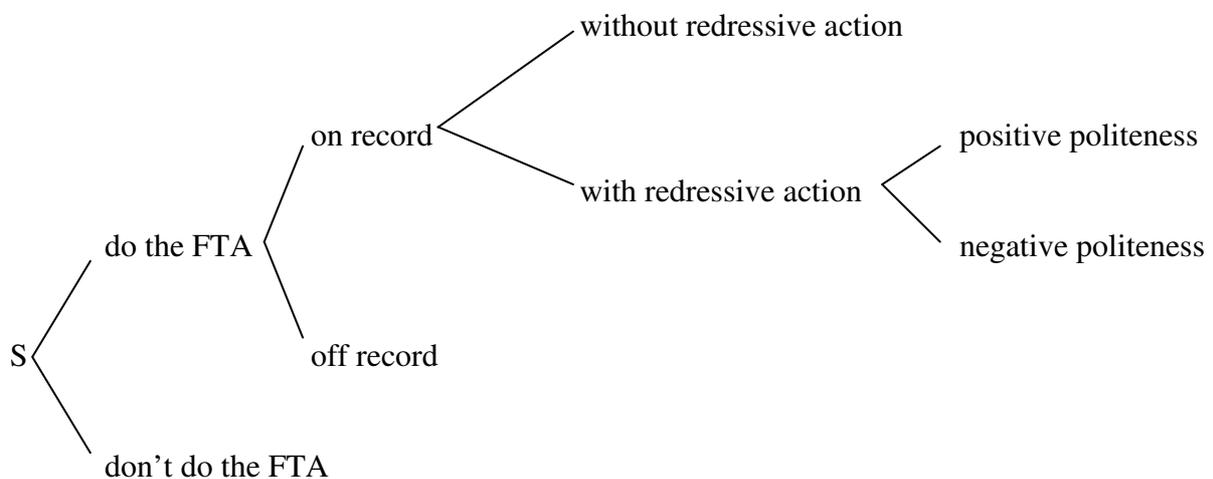
3.2.1 Requests as FTAs

FTAs are speech acts which intrinsically threaten face, i.e. they contradict the face wants of S, H or both (Brown & Levinson 1987: 65). Requests can be categorised as FTAs which threaten H's negative face, as they "predicate some future act A of H, and in so doing put some pressure on H to do (or refrain from doing) the act A" (Brown & Levinson 1987: 65).

Given the vulnerability of face, S may try to avoid the request or minimise the face-threat by using politeness strategies (Brown & Levinson 1987: 68). In this connection, S will have to consider the weighting of the want to communicate the illocutionary force of the request, i.e. obeying to the maxim of relation, the want to be efficient, i.e. obeying to the maxims of manner and quantity, and the want to minimise the face-threat, i.e. obeying to the tact maxim (cf. above, 3.1.2). Brown and Levinson (1987: 69) illustrate these considerations in the decision diagram of Figure 1.

Figure 1: Possible strategies for doing FTAs

(From Brown & Levinson 1987: 69)



According to this, S may choose to avoid the request completely or go off record, which means that the FTA is formulated in such an ambiguous manner that S can be attributed different kinds of intentions. This includes indirect request strategies like HINTS, TAUTOLOGIES, RHETORICAL QUESTIONS etc. (Brown & Levinson 1987: 69). By going off record, S can therefore be said to prioritise the tact maxim over the maxims of manner and relation.

Going on record means that the request is formulated in an unambiguous way. This involves a clear statement that S wishes H to do A. On record strategies can be realised with or without redressive action. If a request is made without redress, it is formulated in “the most direct, clear, unambiguous and concise way” (Brown & Levinson 1987: 69), e.g. by using an IMPERATIVE or a PERFORMATIVE VERB. Thus, by going on record without redress, S prioritises the maxim of manner over the tact maxim.

By going on record with redressive action, the request is still formulated unambiguously. However, it is modified in a way which indicates that S generally recognises H's face and does not wish to threaten it (Brown & Levinson 1987: 70). Such redressive action can be in the form of positive or negative politeness, and it tends to undermine the maxim of quantity. As requests threaten negative face, my respondents will probably use mostly negative politeness strategies.

3.2.2 Negative politeness strategies in requests

The function of negative politeness strategies is to minimise the imposition on H in order to maintain H's negative face (Brown & Levinson 1987: 129). In contrast to positive politeness, the goal of negative politeness is not to create an atmosphere of social closeness, but to create distance between S and H. Negative politeness therefore constitutes what is often called respect behaviour. It is the most elaborated form of politeness in Western cultures, with many conventionalised linguistic realisations (Brown & Levinson 1987: 130). Brown & Levinson (1987: 131 ff) distinguish between ten different strategies of negative politeness which are relevant in the analysis of requests:

- (a) **Being conventionally indirect:** using indirect speech acts which are no literal requests, but usually interpreted as such. This strategy can be seen as a compromise between the maxim of manner and the tact maxim.
- (b) **Questions and hedges:** avoiding the impression that S assumes H to be able or willing to be imposed upon.
- (c) **Being pessimistic:** giving the impression that H is probably not willing to be imposed upon, and expressing doubt about the appropriateness of the request.
- (d) **Minimising the imposition:** indicating to H that the imposition is actually not that great.
- (e) **Giving deference:** giving H positive face by conveying that H has a higher social status or more power than S.
- (f) **Apologising:** indicating S's reluctance to impose upon H.
- (g) **Impersonalising S and H:** avoiding the pronouns 'I' and 'you',
- (h) **Stating the FTA as a general rule:** indicating that S is forced to impinge on H by circumstance rather than by volition.
- (i) **Nominalising:** using nouns instead of adjectives and verbs
- (j) **Going on record as incurring a debt:** indicating that S is in debt to H by expressing gratefulness to H or claiming that A is difficult for H to carry out.

Strategies (a)-(c) involve giving H an option not to act upon the request, while strategy (d) involves a minimisation of the face-threat. Strategies (e) and (j) address H's positive face-wants, and strategies (f)-(i) communicate that it is not S's intention to impose upon H (cf. Brown & Levinson 1987: 131).

2.2.3 Politeness and indirectness

As the politeness strategies (a)-(c) involve indirect request realisations, Brown & Levinson (1987) suggest that there is a linear relationship between indirectness and politeness. Also Leech (1982: 108) stresses that "indirect illocutions tend to be more polite (a) because they increase the degree of optionality, and (b) because the more indirect an illocution is, the more diminished and tentative its force tends to be".

This view has been criticised by several researchers in the field of cross-cultural pragmatics. They argue that indirectness has to do with the inferential process, H has to go through in order to interpret the utterance, while politeness has to do with the appropriateness of the utterance in a given situation (cf. Blum-Kulka et.al. 1989a: 18). In fact, Brown & Levinson (1987: 142) point out, that indirect requests like (5) would probably come across "standoffish" if made by a friend, and therefore create a potential threat to H's positive face.

(5) I don't suppose I could possibly ask you for a cup of flour, could I?

Thus, they admit that the appropriate formulation of a request depends on the social context in which the utterance is made. In this connection, Brown & Levinson (1987: 74) point out that S's realisation of a FTA depends on three factors, which have also been built into my questionnaire scenarios (see above, 2.2.1):

- (a) the social distance between S and H = D
- (b) the relative power of S and H = P
- (c) the absolute ranking of impositions in a particular culture = R

Although Brown & Levinson admit that the appropriateness of a more or less direct request is situation-dependent, they assume that politeness and indirectness are closely related in all cultures. However, Wierzbicka (2003: 33) found that in Slavic languages like Polish,

IMPERATIVES are actually perceived as more polite request realisations than some indirect request realisations. Therefore, and because of the fact that Brown & Levinson do not account for Asian face-concepts (Ide 2005: 57), their theory has been criticised as being “ethnocentric” (Wierzbicka 2003: 25) and centred around Western cultural values.

While this critique is certainly justifiable, a major part of Brown & Levinson’s framework can be expected to be useful in my analysis, as I will be concerned with closely related languages of three Western nations. However, I will not see the concept of politeness as generally linear to the concept of indirectness. Instead, I will define politeness as the perceived appropriateness of an utterance in a specific situation. As I can only speculate about the perception of the requests in my data, my main concern will be the analysis of their illocutionary transparency, i.e. more or less direct request realisations (cf. Blum-Kulka & House 1989: 133). In this connection, differences between requests made by the British, German and Danish populations may not only be due to differing pragmalinguistic strategies, but also due to different cultural constraints.

3.3 Cultural constraints on request realisation

Blum-Kulka & House (1989: 136 f) suggest that factors like power, social distance and degree of imposition are universal parameters in the social reality of all cultures, but that they may be weighed differently in different cultural contexts. Therefore, different perceptions of the same situation may emerge in intercultural communication. In this context, culture is used as a term to describe the mental programming of specific cultural groups, in my case German, Danish and British students. Thus, I draw on Hofstede & Hofstede’s definition of culture “as a catchword for (...) patterns of thinking, feeling and acting (...), including [ed.] ordinary things in life – for example, greeting, eating, showing or not showing feelings, a certain physical distance from others (...) (2005: 3) etc.

In his study on national culture in 50 countries, Hofstede (2001) found, among other things, that power relations are perceived and handled differently in different cultures. In this connection, Denmark, Great Britain and Germany have so-called low power distance. This means that hierarchy is only established for convenience, roles may change over time, and people tend to be rather informal (Hofstede & Hofstede 2005: 59). However, Hofstede’s

(2001: 127) Power Distance Index shows that Denmark has a lower power distance than Germany and Great Britain, which are at the same level. Thus, the request realisations in the situations *window-tutor* and *mobile-boss* in my questionnaire may differ due to different ways of perceiving and acting upon the authority parameter.

Hofstede (2001: 215) also found that British culture is more individualistic than Danish and German culture. In this connection, Germany seems to be the most collectivist society of these three nations. This indicates that ties between individuals may tend to be more loose in Britain than in Denmark and Germany, while people may experience the highest degree of in-group integration in Germany (cf. Hofstede & Hofstede 2005: 76). These different orientations may influence the realisation of requests in situations which involve family members and friends.

Similarly, cultures may display different degrees of ‘*simpatia*’, a cultural value which predominantly characterises Spanish and Latin American cultures and which involves being actively friendly and helpful towards strangers (Levine et al. 2001: 546). Although Great Britain, Denmark and Germany are not characterised as ‘*simpatia*’ cultures, there are probably differences in degree concerning the way strangers are approached. We can therefore expect different ways of handling the situations *window-stranger* and *mobile-stranger*, which may lead to different request realisations.

Although I cannot account for all cultural constraints that may influence the realisation of requests in my study, the discussion above shows that cultural values cannot be disregarded in a comparative analysis of requests and in an account for pragmatic transfer.

3.4 Pragmatic transfer in interlanguage communication

Pragmatic transfer can be defined as “the transfer of pragmatic knowledge in situations of intercultural communication” (Zegarac & Pennington 2008: 143). As people usually approach new situations by drawing on existing knowledge from similar situations, they mentally frame situations in a way that is highly determined by culture-specific knowledge (Zegarac & Pennington 2008: 142). Therefore, I can expect that the native languages of the Danish and German students, as well as their cultural background, have an influence on their request

realisations in English. Thus, I might find instances of pragmalinguistic, as well as socio-pragmatic transfer in my data.

This assumption is based on findings from Second Language Acquisition Theory which show the influence of L1 knowledge on the acquisition of L2 knowledge (Zegarac & Pennington 2008: 142). However, in contrast to the transfer of grammatical features, pragmatic transfer does not concern the linguistic form and meaning of an utterance, but the culture-specific principles of communication. Thus, while errors resulting from phonological, morphological, syntactic or semantic transfer tend to be rather easy to recognise for native speakers, this is not the case for pragmatic transfer (Kasper & Blum-Kulka 1993: 11 f).

As my study will not account for the British students' perception of interlanguage requests, I cannot say anything about communicational problems which might result from negative pragmatic transfer. In this connection, negative pragmatic transfer refers to transfer of L1 behaviours that differ from L2 behaviours. In contrast to that, positive pragmatic transfer refers to transfer of L1 behaviours that are consistent with L2 behaviours, (Kasper & Blum-Kulka 1993: 10).

Positive pragmatic transfer is difficult to identify in my data, because similarities between interlanguage English and British English may also be due to universal or interlanguage pragmatic knowledge (cf. Kasper & Blum-Kulka 1993: 10). Negative pragmatic transfer, on the other hand, can be expected to become visible in differences between interlanguage English and native German and Danish. In my analysis, I will therefore only account for cases in which negative pragmatic transfer might have been at play. Due to the communicational problems which might result from it, I would also suggest that the study of negative pragmatic transfer is an important basis for further investigation of intercultural communication.

4. REQUEST CODING SYSTEM

To analyse the requests elicited from my questionnaires, I will use a coding system based on the frameworks employed by the CCSARP (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989b; Faerch & Kasper 1989; House 1989; House & Kasper 1987) and by Trosborg (1995). These two coding systems are very similar, as both of them build on Searle's (1965) account for indirect speech acts, Leech's (1983) politeness principle and Brown & Levinson's (1987) politeness strategies. However, there are differences concerning the definition of the linguistic strategies which influence the degree of directness and politeness in requests.

Generally, there seems to be disagreement about the terminology and the categorisation of certain linguistic strategies amongst those who study requests (cf. Mackiewicz & Riley 2003; Cohen et al. 2005; Marti 2006; Chen & Chen 2007; Breuer & Geluykens 2007). Although they all base their analyses on frameworks similar to the CCSARP system, they define certain terms differently and adapt their coding systems to the findings of their particular study. Accordingly, I had to develop my own concepts and define certain terms in a way suitable for my present study. In this process, I partly drew on the authors mentioned above, as well as on my own understanding of the linguistic concepts involved. In connection with the latter, I have extensively drawn on grammar accounts by Palmer (1986, 1990), Jensen (1994), Bache & Davidsen-Nielsen (1997) and Donaldson (1997).

In the following, I will describe my coding system by discussing different definitions and categorisations of linguistic strategies. I will account for the segmentation of requests into internal and external elements, and describe the different linguistic strategies under these two categories. Before the description of internal and external modifiers, I will, however, account for ALERTERS, and I will introduce a scale of directness on which different request strategies are rated as more or less ambiguous.

As I am mainly concerned with requests made in English, examples of linguistic strategies in German and Danish will only be given where essential to my argumentation. In order to illustrate my points, I will draw on request data from the CCSARP (1989, 1987) and from Trosborg (1995). I will also use invented examples of requests whenever they serve the purpose of a clear illustration.

4.1 Segmentation of requests: internal vs. external modification

In the CCSARP framework, requests are divided into HEAD ACTS (HAs), SUPPORTIVE MOVES (SMs) and ALERTERS. HAs are defined as „the minimal unit which can realise a request“ (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989b: 275). They are therefore essential for the identification of the utterance as a request. In (6), the underlined part constitutes the HA, as the rest of the utterance can be disregarded without the speech act being deprived of its requestive force. The main concern in my study will be the analysis of linguistic choices in the HA. In accordance with the CCSARP framework, I will refer to them as internal modification (cf. Faerch & Kasper 1989: 224).

- (6) John, get me a beer, please. I'm terribly thirsty.
- (7) I'm terribly thirsty. John. Get me a beer.
- (8) I'm terribly thirsty.

SMs are defined as external, usually non-essential units of a request (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989b: 287). In (6) and (7), the dotted parts constitute SMs giving background information. SMs can occur post-posed to the HA as in (6) or pre-posed as in (7). They can theoretically consist of an indefinite number of clauses and sentences, and if they stand on their own as in (8), they can function as HINTS, and thus become the request HA (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989b: 276). As SMs modify the request externally, I will refer to their function as external modification (cf. Faerch & Kasper 1989: 237).

4.2 ALERTERS

ALERTERS are defined as opening elements which precede the actual request and serve to catch the attention of H (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989b: 276 f). They may be TERMS OF ADDRESS indicating titles and roles like ‘professor’, ‘waiter’ etc., SURNAMENAMES like ‘Thomsen’, FIRST NAMES like ‘Ken’, NICKNAMES like ‘Kenny’, ENDEARMENT TERMS like ‘honey’, OFFENSIVE TERMS like ‘stupid cow’ and PRONOUNS like ‘you’. They may also be so-called ATTENTION GETTERS like ‘hey’, ‘excuse me’, ‘sorry’ etc.

I find that the CCSARP category of ATTENTION GETTERS is rather broad, as it comprises EXCLAMATIONS like ‘hey’ and APOLOGIES like ‘excuse me’ and ‘sorry’. I would suggest that there is a difference in the quality of utterances (9) and (10). Whereas an EXCLAMATION as in (9) may seem rather importunate, an APOLOGY as in (10) inherently recognises the face-threat and can be seen as a compensation strategy for the harm caused by the imposition (cf. Trosborg 1995: 373). As shown in section 3.2.2, Brown & Levinson (1987: 187) actually refer to apologising as a negative politeness strategy which involves that S indicates her reluctance to impose upon H. In my analysis, I will therefore distinguish between EXCLAMATIONS and APOLOGIES as subcategories of ATTENTION GETTERS.

- (9) Hey Maria, could you close the window?
- (10) Excuse me, Maria, could you close the window?
- (11) Can you close the window, Maria?

A further addition will be made to my coding system as compared to the CCSARP account for ALERTERS: Blum-Kulka et al. (1989b: 276) point out that ALERTERS can occur in pre-position to the HA as in (6) above or before a pre-posed SM as in (7). In my data, requesters also choose to put ALERTERS in post-position to the HA as in (11). One might argue that a post-positioned ALERTER fails to fulfil its function of catching the attention of H prior to the request. While this is certainly true, I would suggest that HA-post-positioned FIRST NAMES as in (11) do have an alerting function, as they emphasise the direction of the request by personally addressing H. They dispel any possible doubt about who the request is directed at. At the same time, they ensure that the request is not ignored or overheard. I therefore think that names in HA post-position can be analysed as ALERTERS and I will do so in my analysis.

4.3 Level of directness

As we have seen in sections 3.1.1. and 3.1.2, requests can be formulated in a more or less ambiguous manner, depending on whether S wishes to stress the co-operative or the politeness principle. On the basis of Brown & Levinson’s (1987) distinction between on- and off-record strategies (see above, 3.2.1), Trosborg (1995) and the researchers within the CCSARP (1989) have developed scales of directness for the analysis of requests, which are illustrated in Table 3 (Appendix C). On these scales, the inferential process H has to go through

in order to interpret the utterance, becomes shorter as we move from the more indirect to the more direct levels of request realisation (Blum-Kulka et.al. 1989a: 18). At the same time, the degree of optionality for H to comply can be said to decrease (cf. Leech 1982: 108).

Although scales of directness serve to analyse the request HA, and are therefore closely intertwined with internal modification, I decided to separately account for the level of directness in my analysis. The reason for this is that choosing a level of directness is compulsory in any request realisation, while internal and external modification can be seen as optional procedures (House & Kasper 1987: 1262).

As Table 3 shows, there are some differences in the categorisation and terminology of Trosborg's scale of directness and the one of the CCSARP. In the following, I will discuss differences concerning the account for perspective in QUERY PREPARATORIES, as well as the classification of WANT STATEMENTS, PERFORMATIVES, IMPERATIVES and ELLIPTICAL PHRASES. Furthermore, I will account for strategies which are not included in any of these two scales, but which seem relevant in the analysis of my data: QUERIES ABOUT H'S FUTURE, STATEMENTS ABOUT PREPARATORY CONDITIONS or H'S FUTURE, as well as OPTING OUT and ALTERNATIVE RESPONSES. The result of my discussion below is an appropriate scale of directness for my study, which is presented in Table 4 (Appendix C).

4.3.1 Perspective in QUERY PREPARATORIES

Under the category of conventionally indirect requests, Trosborg (1995: 192 ff) distinguishes between H-oriented and S-based conditions. Thus, Trosborg's categorisation explicitly accounts for perspective, i.e. if a conventionally indirect request emphasises the role of S or H. The CCSARP scale, on the other hand, does not explicitly consider the role of perspective. However, Blum-Kulka et al. (1989a: 19) discuss perspective separately and stress that it may have a great effect on the coercive power of an utterance. In this connection, they do not only account for H- and S-oriented perspective, but also for inclusive perspective in questions like (12), and impersonal perspective in statements like (13).

(12) Can we start cleaning now?

(13) It needs to be cleaned.

According to Trosborg's (1995) categorisation, (12) would be a QUESTION ABOUT H'S ABILITY. Literally however, it is not H's ability that is questioned, but both H's and S's, as indicated by the inclusive personal pronoun 'we'. I would suggest that it does not make logical sense for S to question her own ability in a situation in which the ability-question is used as an indirect request. Therefore, I would argue that by employing an inclusive perspective, S increases optionality: H may decide to interpret (12) as a request to start cleaning on her own or together with S. Consequently, questions with an inclusive perspective like (12) can be seen as more indirect than questions with an H-oriented perspective like (14).

(14) Can you start cleaning now?

(15) Is it possible to start cleaning now?

Concerning impersonal perspective, Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989a) example (13) is rather unsuitable to explain the occurrence of impersonal perspective in my data, as (13) would be categorised as a STRONG HINT without further analysis of perspective. However, inclusive perspective as in (15) is neither discussed by Trosborg (1995) nor by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989a). As requests like (15) occur frequently in my data, they will be included in my scale of directness. In this connection, I would suggest that (14) is not a QUESTION ABOUT H'S ABILITY, but about a more remote possibility.

I will therefore not employ Trosborg's categorisation in connection with request realisations like (12), (14) and (15). However, the term QUERY PREPARATORIES from the CCSARP model can be said to cover them all, as (12), (14) and (15) all refer to preparatory conditions. The different degrees of directness which follow from the differing perspectives in (12), (14) and (15) will be accounted for by distinguishing between the following three types of QUERY PREPARATORIES:

- a) QUERY PREPARATORIES – impersonal perspective
- b) QUERY PREPARATORIES - inclusive perspective
- c) QUERY PREPARATORIES – H-oriented perspective

4.3.2 WANT STATEMENTS and PERFORMATIVES

The CCSARP strategy WANT STATEMENTS is divided into two strategies in Trosborg's model: STATEMENTS OF S'S WISHES AND DESIRES and STATEMENTS OF S'S NEEDS AND DEMANDS. In this connection, there is some inconsistency in Trosborg's terminology. While Trosborg (1995: 201 f) distinguishes between the strategies above in her description of strategies, she distinguishes between STATEMENTS OF S'S WISHES and STATEMENTS OF S'S DESIRES AND NEEDS in her table of request strategies (1995: 205).

This terminological confusion shows how difficult it is to divide WANT STATEMENTS into sub-strategies. Trosborg justifies her division as follows: "The speaker's statement of his/her intent may be expressed politely as a wish or bluntly as a demand" (1995: 201). As discussed in section 3.2.3, politeness and indirectness are not always parallel concepts, so this justification can not be seen as sufficient. Although a statement like (16) may be perceived as more polite than (17), I would suggest that the two requests are equally direct, as the inferential process on H's part probably is equally long in both of them. The difference is that (16) is modified by a verb form denoting CONDITIONAL, a modification which will be accounted for under SYNTACTIC DOWNGRADERS.

Although a distinction could be made between S-internal wants as in (16) and (17) and S-external needs as in (18), the CCSARP category of WANT STATEMENTS should suffice to account for requests like (16)-(18), which only occur infrequently in my data. They will be placed at the most direct end of conventionally indirect requests.

- (16) I would like to borrow your car.
- (17) I want to borrow your car.
- (18) I need your car.
- (19) I would like to ask you to lend me your car.
- (20) I am asking you to lend me your car.

Similarly, PERFORMATIVES are divided into HEDGED and UNHEDGED PERFORMATIVES in the CCSARP model, although the difference between utterances like (19) and (20) is a matter of downgrading rather than a matter of directness. As I will separately account for downgraders, I will only employ a single category for PERFORMATIVES in my analysis. Thus, I will stick to

Trosborg's definition of PERFORMATIVES as utterances that contain "a performative verb conveying requestive intent" (Trosborg 1995: 203). As performative verbs directly convey the force of a request, I will categorise PERFORMATIVES as direct requests.

4.3.3 IMPERATIVES and ELLIPTICAL PHRASES

On the CCSARP scale, the most direct strategy is named MOOD DERIVABLE. This strategy comprises IMPERATIVES like (21), but, according to Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989a: 18) definition, it does not include elliptical phrases. Another definition of MOOD DERIVABLES by Cohen et al. (2005: 387) does, however, include so-called ELLIPTICAL IMPERATIVES like (22).

(21) Lend me your car!

(22) Your car!

In Trosborg's model, ELLIPTICAL PHRASES are accounted for as the most direct strategy at the same level as IMPERATIVES. However, I would suggest that it would be more appropriate to have two separate categories for IMPERATIVES and ELLIPTICAL PHRASES. The main reason for this is that ELLIPTICAL PHRASES may not be as unambiguous as IMPERATIVES. I would suggest that the interpretation of (22) depends on the context of the utterance. While (22) may function as a request for H's car in some situations, it may also serve to lead H's attention to her car, because it is leaking, burning etc. Therefore, I will account separately for IMPERATIVES and ELLIPTICAL PHRASES. As a definition of the proper directness level for ELLIPTICAL PHRASES would require further investigation, I will stick to the position at the most direct end of the scale.

4.3.4 QUERIES ABOUT H'S FUTURE

In my Danish and German data, I found a request strategy which is not accounted for by neither Trosborg's nor the CCSARP scale. This strategy is illustrated by (23) and (24), and involves a question, but not about preparatory conditions. Instead, (23) and (24) are non-modal questions involving present tense verb forms.

- (23) Machst du das Fenster zu?
- (24) Lukker du vinduet?

In German and Danish, present tense verb forms are often used to denote future time if the propositional act is performed after the speech event (cf. Jensen 1994: 56; Donaldson 2007: 112). I will therefore refer to this strategy as QUERY ABOUT H'S FUTURE. I suggest that requests like (23) and (24) are more direct than QUERY PREPATORIES, as H is not given the option to decline the request due to unfulfilled preparatory conditions.

4.3.5 STATEMENTS ABOUT PREPARATORY CONDITIONS or H'S FUTURE

Trosborg (1995: 200) mentions that STATEMENTS OF ABILITY/WILLINGNESS like (25) and (26) are more direct than QUESTIONS ABOUT H'S ABILITY/WILLINGNESS. In statements, S asserts H's ability/willingness to comply with the request, so H is not given the option to decline the request or to commit to it voluntarily.

- (25) Mary, you can clean the table now.
- (26) You will proceed to headquarters immediately.

Even though Trosborg (1995: 200) mentions statements like (25) and (26), her scale does not account for them, and neither does the CCSARP model. In my analysis, I will refer to them as STATEMENTS ABOUT PREPARATORY CONDITIONS. Similarly, I will refer to utterances like (27) and (28) as STATEMENTS ABOUT H'S FUTURE.

- (27) Du machst jetzt das Fenster zu.
- (28) Du lukker vinduet nu.

Just like QUESTIONS ABOUT H'S FUTURE, (27) and (28) do not involve modal verbs, but present tense verb forms denoting future time. Although the modal verb 'will' in (26) denotes future time as well, I would argue, in accordance with Bache & Davidsen-Nielsen (1997: 339), that futurity is always a constant secondary meaning of volitional 'will'. At the same time, performing some future act usually presupposes H's willingness to do so.

Consequently, (26) can be analysed as a STATEMENT ABOUT PREPARATORY CONDITIONS, while (27) and (28) do not involve preparatory conditions, but can be seen as more direct STATEMENTS ABOUT H'S FUTURE.

STATEMENTS ABOUT PREPARATORY CONDITIONS and STATEMENT ABOUT H'S FUTURE will be placed at the more indirect end of direct requests.

4.3.6 OPTING OUT and ALTERNATIVE RESPONSES

As Brown & Levinson's (1987) decision diagram in Figure 1 (see above, 3.2.1) shows, S may choose not to do the FTA at all. This strategy is not accounted for by Trosborg (1995) or the CCSARP model (1989), although it can be seen as a pragmatic choice, which indeed is chosen by participants in my study. Therefore, I agree with Marti (2006: 1853), who calls for an analysing model which does not only account for the "said" but also for the "unsaid".

(29) I would never ask such a thing.

(30) Is it ok, if I close the window?

In this connection, Marti (2006: 1856 ff) distinguishes between OPTING OUT and ALTERNATIVE RESPONSES. OPTING OUT refers to deliberate refusals to make a request like (29), as well as to cases in which the test item is left blank (Marti 2006: 1857). ALTERNATIVE RESPONSES are those cases in which the participants choose a different way to get their message across (Marti 2006: 1858). In my study, utterances like (30) are very common. Here, it is not the act itself that is requested from H, but a granting of permission for S to do the act. At the same time, (30) might function as a HINT soliciting an answer like 'no, I'll do it'.

As not accounting for these strategies would be to ignore their existence as empirical facts, I will employ Marti's (2006) terminology in my scale of directness. OPTING OUT will be the most indirect strategy parallel to Brown & Levinson's (1987) option of not doing the FTA. ALTERNATIVE RESPONSES will be rated as slightly more direct, as they involve doing an FTA, only that it is a less face-threatening one (Marti 2006: 1858).

4.4 Internal modification

Modification of the request HA can either be mitigating, i.e. it softens the request's impact, or aggravating, i.e. it increases the impact of the request (Trosborg 1995: 209). Mitigating devices may be SYNTACTIC DOWNGRADERS or LEXICAL/PHRASAL DOWNGRADERS, while aggravating devices are summarised under one category of UPGRADERS. Examples for such UPGRADERS are LEXICAL INTENSIFIERS as in (31), TIME INTENSIFIERS as in (32), ADVERBIAL INTENSIFIERS as in (33) and EMPHATIC ADDITION as in (34) (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989: 285 ff; Trosborg 1995: 214 ff).

- (31) Clean up that mess!
- (32) You really must come and see me.
- (33) You'd better move your car right now.
- (34) Go and clean that kitchen!

As UPGRADERS do not occur to a statistically interesting amount in my data, I will not include them in my analysis. In the following discussion of internal modifiers, I will therefore mainly account for SYNTACTIC, as well as LEXICAL/PHRASAL DOWNGRADERS.

However, I will separately account for MODALITY as internal modification, as MODALITY may be expressed by lexical as well as syntactic devices (see below, 4.4.3). Also, I would suggest that MODALITY may be mitigating or aggravating depending on the type of modality used. Although Trosborg (1995: 212) states that modal verbs can convey tentativeness, and therefore codes them as SYNTACTIC DOWNGRADERS, I would suggest that they may also convey obligation and thus, have an aggravating function. Blum-Kulka et al. (1989b: 289) also suggest coding the use of modal verbs separately, because they feature significantly in many languages. Given the complexity of this topic, I think it makes sense to have a separate category for MODALITY.

4.4.1 SYNTACTIC DOWNGRADERS

As the term indicates, SYNTACTIC DOWNGRADERS mitigate „the impositive force of the request by means of syntactic choices“ (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989b: 281). The SYNTACTIC DOWNGRADERS at hand vary across languages, as they depend on the structural and grammatical properties of every language. English, Danish and German are so closely related that they almost have the same set of SYNTACTIC DOWNGRADERS. Therefore, it is more interesting to analyse the distribution of SYNTACTIC DOWNGRADERS across these languages than to compare the inventory of SYNTACTIC DOWNGRADERS in English, Danish and German (House & Kasper 1987: 1263). However, there are some SYNTACTIC DOWNGRADERS which are language specific, e.g. INTERROGATIVE PARTICLE + NEGATION ‘vel ikke’ in Danish (House & Kasper 1987: 1263).

In the following, I will describe the SYNTACTIC DOWNGRADERS distinguished by Trosborg (1995: 209 ff) and the CCSARP (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989b: 281 ff), and account for their use in my analysis. The inventory of SYNTACTIC DOWNGRADERS for my study will be based on the discussion of different categories below and is presented in Table 5 (Appendix C).

4.4.1.1 INTERROGATIVE

In Trosborg’s categorisation, INTERROGATIVES comprise all QUESTIONS ABOUT H’S ABILITY/WILLINGNESS (1995: 210). However, these questions are already accounted for as QUERY PREPARATORIES on my scale of directness. Blum-Kulka et al. (1989b: 281) state that only marked INTERROGATIVES which occur in LOCUTION DERIVABLE strategies should be accounted for under SYNTACTIC DOWNGRADERS. According to Blum-Kulka et al. (1989b: 281), LOCUTION DERIVABLES are what I term STATEMENTS ABOUT H’S FUTURE. Consequently, interrogatives of these statements are accounted for as QUERIES ABOUT H’S FUTURE.

However, other researchers use the term LOCUTION DERIVABLE to comprise statements of obligation and need (Cohen et al. 2005: 388; Mackiewicz & Riley 2003: 88; Chen & Chen 2007: 36). They define LOCUTION DERIVABLE as a strategy in which “the illocutionary intent is directly derivable from the semantic meaning of the locution” (Cohen et al. 2005: 388). This strategy is termed WANT STATEMENTS on my scale.

(35) Do I want you to clean the office?

As INTERROGATIVES of WANT STATEMENTS like (35) cannot figure as requests, I will not account for INTERROGATIVES in my analysis of internal modification. However, it is important to keep in mind that INTERROGATIVES have a downgrading function, as they make the request more indirect (cf. Brown & Levinson 1987: 144 f). It is because of this function that questions are rated as more indirect than statements on the scale of directness.

4.4.1.2 NEGATION OF A PREPARATORY CONDITION

According to Trosborg (1995: 210), NEGATION OF A PREPARATORY CONDITION as in (36) and (37) indicates that S does not expect H to comply with the request. Thus, this downgrading strategy can be linked to the negative politeness strategy of being pessimistic (Brown & Levinson 1987: 173). However, I would suggest that NEGATION OF A PREPARATORY CONDITION does not necessarily imply non-compliance on H's part. While the presupposition that H has planned not to do A certainly involves an expectation of non-compliance, this is not true for the presupposition that H has not planned to do A. In both cases, however, pessimism can be said to be involved, as A would not happen automatically. This, in fact, applies to requests in general, as they are made to bring about a condition which wouldn't exist otherwise.

(36) Couldn't you hand me the paper, please?

(37) Shouldn't you perhaps tidy up the kitchen?

In addition to that, House and Kasper (1987: 1268) point out that in Danish, the negative marker 'ikke' is used in a more neutral way than in English or German. Thus, it functions just like other downgrading particles, and often co-occurs with 'lige' as in (38). Also, negation can occur in combination with the interrogative particle 'vel' in Danish. I will therefore account for Danish utterances like (39) under a separate category called INTERROGATIVE PARTICLE & NEGATION OF PREPARATORY CONDITION.

(38) Kan du ikke lige lukke vinduet?

(39) Du kan vel ikke lukke vinduet?

4.4.1.3 PAST TENSE

In Trosborg's coding system, all PAST TENSE forms are coded as DOWNGRADERS including the PAST TENSE of modal verbs in QUERY PREPARATORIES like (40) (1995: 210). As modal verbs will be coded separately in my analysis, I will also account for their tense under the separate category of MODALITY. Thus, only PAST TENSE forms in examples like (41) will be coded under SYNTACTIC DOWNGRADERS. Here, it is important to note that the PAST TENSE forms need to have present time reference in order to have a downgrading effect (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989b: 283). They therefore have to be replaceable by present tense verb forms as in (42).

- (40) Could you close the window?
 (41) I wanted to ask you to close the window.
 (42) I want to ask you to close the window.

4.4.1.4 SUBJUNCTIVE

SUBJUNCTIVE verb forms as in (43) denote counter-factuality, as they refer to wishes and hypotheses which are not expected to be fulfilled or proven. In accordance with the CCSARP model, I will only account for SUBJUNCTIVE forms as DOWNGRADERS if they are optional choices. Thus, a PAST TENSE indicative form denoting a conditional meaning as in (44) would have to be acceptable in the same context (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989b: 282).

- (43) It might be better if you were to leave now.
 (44) It might be better if you left now.

SUBJUNCTIVES are rarely used in English or Danish everyday language (Bache & Davidsen-Nielsen 1997: 322; Jensen 1994: 68), as conditionality is denoted by PAST TENSE forms as in (45) and (46). In German, however, strong verbs take the SUBJUNCTIVE to denote conditionality and counter-factuality as in (47) and (48), while past tense forms only denote remoteness in time (cf. Donaldson 2007: 141 ff). In my analysis, only utterances like (48), in which the SUBJUNCTIVE is used instead of a non-modal, will be coded as SYNTACTIC DOWNGRADERS. SUBJUNCTIVES of modal verbs as in (47) will be coded under MODALITY.

- (45) Could you close the window?
 (46) Kunne du lukke vinduet?

- (47) Könntest du das Fenster zumachen?
(48) Es wäre besser, wenn du jetzt gehen würdest.

4.4.1.5 CONDITIONAL CLAUSE

Trosborg (1995: 211) stresses that the use of CONDITIONAL CLAUSES creates a certain distance from reality and thus, downgrades the impact of the request. Therefore, conditional clauses as in (49) have a mitigating function and are coded as DOWNGRADERS in my analysis.

- (49) I was wondering if you could present your paper a week earlier than planned.

4.4.1.6 CONDITIONAL

The CCSARP category of CONDITIONAL refers to verb forms denoting CONDITIONAL meaning as in (50) (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989b: 282). It is important to note that CONDITIONAL is not a verb form as such, but a meaning denoted by PAST TENSE in English and Danish, and by the SUBJUNCTIVE in German.

- (50) I would suggest you leave now.
(51) I suggest you close the window.

Also CONDITIONAL has to be optional to be coded as downgrading, and the verb forms denoting it must be replaceable by an indicative form of a strong verb as in (51) (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989b: 282). Thus, CONDITIONAL meaning denoted by PAST TENSE and SUBJUNCTIVES of modal verbs as in (45)-(47) will be dealt with under MODALITY.

4.4.1.7 ASPECT

In the CCSARP framework, types of ASPECT as in (52) count as mitigating if they can be replaced by a simple verb form as in (53) (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989: 282).

- (52) I am wondering if you could close the window
(53) I wonder if you could close the window.

Trosborg refers to the category of continuous aspect as ING-FORMS (1995: 211). However, the term ING-FORMS refers to one specific type of ASPECT in the English language, and is therefore not useful in a cross-cultural study like mine. In German and Danish, ASPECT is actually not expressed syntactically, but by lexical means as in (54) and (55). Despite this fact, I will account for ASPECT in all three languages under SYNTACTIC DOWNGRADERS.

(54) Ich frage mich gerade, ob du nicht das Fenster schliessen könntest.

(55) Jeg overvejer lige om ikke du kunne lukke vinduet.

4.4.1.8 Co-occurrence of SYNTACTIC DOWNGRADERS

Finally, it is important to note that recurrent combinations of SYNTACTIC DOWNGRADERS may be found, e.g. PAST TENSE + ASPECT + CONDITIONAL CLAUSE + CONDITIONAL + NEGATION as in (56) (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989b: 283).

(56) I was wondering if I couldn't get a lift home with you.

4.4.2 LEXICAL/PHRASAL DOWNGRADERS

Apart from syntactic devices, S may modify the HA by means of LEXICAL/PHRASAL DOWNGRADERS (Blum-Kulka et.al. 1989b: 283; Trosborg 1995: 212). There are several differences between Trosborg's and the CCSARP model concerning the categorisation of LEXICAL/PHRASAL DOWNGRADERS. For my own inventory of LEXICAL/PHRASAL DOWNGRADERS, which is presented in Table 6 (Appendix C), I will mainly draw on the CCSARP coding system (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989b). However, there are some interesting considerations in Trosborg (1995), which I will discuss in the following.

4.4.2.1 POLITENESS MARKERS

S may add POLITENESS MARKERS like 'please' in (57) or 'bitte' in (58) to show deference to H (Trosborg 1995: 212) and to ask for co-operation (Blum-Kulka et.al. 1989b: 283). In this connection, it is important to note that 'please' and 'bitte' may not only function as DOWNGRADERS, but can also be used to emphasise the directive force of the request, depending on the situation and the level of directness (House 1989: 116). Given the

complexity of this matter, I will stick to the definition of ‘please’ and ‘bitte’ as politeness MARKERS. I will, however, keep in mind that their use does not necessarily make a request more polite.

- (57) Could you close the window, please?
 (58) Machst du bitte das Fenster zu?

4.4.2.2 LEXICAL EXPRESSIONS ADDING POSITIVE CONNOTATIONS

Trosborg (1995: 212) also includes expressions as in (59) in the category of POLITENESS MARKERS. As Trosborg also analyses Danish requests, she probably came across utterances like (60), the Danish equivalent to (59). In Danish, a POLITENESS MARKER like ‘please’ or ‘bitte’ does not exist. Instead, expressions as in (60) are used to denote a similar meaning.

- (59) Would you kindly/be so kind as to send us your catalogue?
 (60) Vil du være sød at sende os jeres katalog?
 (61) You’d be such a darling if you helped me just this once.

I would suggest that the expressions in (59) and (60) are quite different from ‘please’ or ‘bitte’, as they involve the assignment of a positive quality – kindness- to H if she decides to comply with the request. This means that if she does not, H might not be assigned kindness. Therefore, I think that these expressions are more similar to Trosborg’s (1995: 215) category of LEXICAL INTENSIFICATION exemplified by (61) than to the POLITENESS MARKERS in (57) and (58).

However, LEXICAL INTENSIFIERS are coded as UPGRADERS by Trosborg (1995: 215), as well as in the CCSARP system (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989b: 286). Thus, just like POLITENESS MARKERS, the expressions in (59)-(61) seem to have a double function, as they might mitigate or aggravate the impact of the request (cf. Trosborg 1995: 215). In order to distinguish the LEXICAL INTENSIFIERS above from unambiguously aggravating INTENSIFIERS, I will refer to them as LEXICAL EXPRESSIONS ADDING POSITIVE CONNOTATIONS and account for them as DOWNGRADERS.

4.4.2.3 CONSULTATIVE DEVICES

CONSULTATIVE DEVICES are “routines consulting explicitly the interlocutor’s opinion” (House & Kasper 1987: 1269). They may be ritualised formulae as in (62) or other consulting expressions as in (63).

(62) Would you mind moving your car madam?

(63) Do you think you could present you paper next week?

4.4.2.4 DOWNTONERS

DOWNTONERS are sentential or propositional modifiers used to diminish the impact of the request as in (64) (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989b: 284).

(64) Could you possibly just lend me your notes?

4.4.2.5 UNDERSTATERS

UNDERSTATERS are adverbial modifiers as in (65). They minimise aspects of the requested action, and thus the impact on H is played down (Blum-Kulka et.al. 1989b: 283).

(65) Would you wait just a second?

4.4.2.6 HEDGES

HEDGES are adverbials made up of a particle, word or phrase that make the propositional content of a request more vague as in (66) (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989b: 284).

(66) I’d kind of/somehow like to get a lift if that’s all right.

4.4.2.7 CAJOLERS

Blum-Kulka et al. (1989b: 284) define CAJOLERS as conventionalised speech items which “increase, establish or restore the harmony between the interlocutors”. This is exemplified by (67). In Trosborg’s model, expressions as in (67) fall under the major category of

INTERPERSONAL MARKERS and are defined as “phrases that help to attract the hearer’s attention, interest, understanding” (Trosborg 1995: 214). I think that both definitions are valid for expressions as in (67). I will, however, use the CCSARP terminology and refer to them as CAJOLERS.

(67) You know, I’d really like you to present your paper next week.

4.4.2.8 APPEALERS

Blum-Kulka et al. (1989: 285) define APPEALERS as LEXICAL/PHRASAL DOWNGRADERS appealing to H’s “benevolent understanding” as in (68) and (69). Trosborg (1995: 210) refers to expressions as in (68) as TAG QUESTIONS and mentions them under SYNTACTIC DOWNGRADERS, while she refers to expressions in (69) as APPEALERS and categorises them as LEXICAL/PHRASAL DOWNGRADERS under the category of INTERPERSONAL MARKERS.

(68) Hand me the paper, will you?

(69) You might come with me tonight, right?

I would suggest that the function of (68) and (69) is the same. Actually, Trosborg herself states that both TAG QUESTIONS and APPEALERS “appeal to the hearer’s consent” (cf. Trosborg 1995: 210 + 214). Furthermore, I agree with Blum-Kulka et al. (1989b: 285) that APPEALERS are often realised by TAG QUESTIONS, but that they are phrasal not syntactic entities, as they constitute phrases separated from the rest of the clause by a comma. Therefore, it makes sense to comprise APPEALERS in one single category under LEXICAL/PHRASAL DOWNGRADERS as in the CCSARP model (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989b: 285).

4.4.2.9 EMBEDDING

By EMBEDDING, Trosborg (1995: 211) refers to a pre-faced clause, in which S’s attitude is conveyed. Here, she distinguishes between tentative expressions as in (70), appreciative expressions as in (71), and expressions of S’s subjective opinion or belief as in (72).

(70) I wonder if you could close the window.

(71) I’d be so grateful if you would close the window.

(72) I think you should close the window.

While Trosborg accounts for embedding under SYNTACTIC DOWNGRADERS, it is treated under LEXICAL/PHRASAL DOWNGRADERS in the CCSARP model (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989b: 284). Here, expressions as in (70)-(72) are summarised under the heading SUBJECTIVIZERS. I find Trosborgs distinction very important, as there might be interesting differences in the use of tentative, appreciative and subjective expressions in the three languages examined, and I will therefore use her terminology in my analysis. However, I agree with Blum-Kulka et al. (1989b: 284) that EMBEDDING is a lexical procedure: the downgrading effect is not achieved due to the sentence structure, but due to the lexical meaning of the expressions. EMBEDDING will therefore be accounted for under LEXICAL/PHRASAL DOWNGRADERS.

4.4.2.10 Co-occurrence of LEXICAL/PHRASAL DOWNGRADERS

Just like SYNTACTIC DOWNGRADERS, several LEXICAL/PHRASAL DOWNGRADERS may co-occur as in (73).

(73) Would you possibly mind kind of lending me your mobile for a sec?

4.4.3 MODALITY

MODALITY is a grammatical category denoting subjectivity and non-factuality (Palmer 1986: 16 f). Modal utterances like (74) and (75) can therefore be contrasted with objective, factual utterances such as (76). Faerch & Kasper (1989: 228) found that it is crucial to select the appropriate modal verb in a given request, and that this may be a problem for non-native speakers. Thus, an account for MODALITY is highly relevant in my study.

(74) You must close the window.

(75) Is it possible for you to close the window?

(76) The window is closed.

As the examples above show, S may express an obligation by using a modal verb as in (74) or a possibility by using a lexical expression as in (75). This indicates that there exist different types of MODALITY and that MODALITY may be expressed by modal verbs or lexical

expressions. In this connection, the same modal verb may express different kinds of MODALITY (Palmer 1990: 8). This can be illustrated by (77), in which ‘can’ denotes ability, as opposed to (78), in which it denotes permission.

(77) Can you close the window?

(78) Can I borrow your phone?

Therefore, I will analyse modal expressions separately from the type of MODALITY they denote. However, the two categories have to be seen in relation to each other, and I will therefore account for the interplay between modal expressions and type of MODALITY in my analysis. In the following, I will first present the types of MODALITY which I will operate with in my study and then explain how I will analyse modal expressions.

4.4.3.1 Type of MODALITY

In my analysis, I will distinguish between three types of MODALITY as outlined by Klinge (1993: 318): EPISTEMIC, DEONTIC and DYNAMIC. EPISTEMIC MODALITY is used to make “judgements about the truth of the proposition” (Palmer 1990: 6). It therefore involves utterances about S’s belief and knowledge, and is concerned with the concepts of possibility and necessity (Klinge 1993: 318). The use of EPISTEMIC MODALITY as in (75) may have a downgrading effect in requests, as it distances the request from reality.

DEONTIC MODALITY is concerned with the notions of obligation and permission (Klinge 1993: 318). By using DEONTIC MODALITY as in (74), S obligates H to make the proposition of the utterance true, while in (78), S asks for H’s permission to do so. As the nature of requests is to bring about some action by H, it is reasonable to assume that all requests include an element of DEONTIC MODALITY. This is also indicated by Palmer (1990: 6), who suggests that DEONTIC MODALITY is linked to the speech act of directives.

While this is important to keep in mind, my account for MODALITY will be concerned with modal markers which modify the request HA by expressing different kinds of MODALITY. Therefore, I will not include IMPERATIVES as in (79) in my analysis of MODALITY, although they can be said to be grammatical Ø-realizations of DEONTIC MODALITY (Bache & Davidsen-Nielsen 1997: 325). According to this, the use of DEONTIC MODALITY cannot necessarily be

seen as a downgrading device in requests. This justifies an account for MODALITY separate from the other means of internal modification.

(79) Close the window.

(80) Will you close the window?

DYNAMIC MODALITY is concerned with the notions of ability and willingness as in (77) and (80) (Klinge 1993: 318). It can be argued that utterances like (77) and (80) denote NON-MODAL objective utterances about H's ability and willingness (Palmer 1990: 36; Bache & Davidsen-Nielsen, 1997: 325), as they do not operate with alternatives to the real world. However, I would argue that DYNAMIC willingness and ability can also be seen as expressing a kind of possibility inherent in the person who possesses an ability and willingness to do A. Therefore, and because my analysis of requests calls for an account for the kind of MODALITY expressed by 'will' and 'can' (cf. Palmer, 1990: 36), it makes sense to include DYNAMIC MODALITY in my framework.

The types of MODALITY used in my analysis are presented in Table 7 (Appendix C). As we will see under 4.4.3.2, I will distinguish between the tenses of the modal expressions used to denote a certain MODALITY type. Therefore, tense is also included in my overview over types of MODALITY in requests.

4.4.3.2 Modal expressions

My account for modal expressions will mainly focus on modal verbs. I will account for the use of lexical expressions only in opposition to the use of modal verbs. Therefore, no distinction will be made between lexical modal expressions in the form of adjectives as in (75), repeated here for convenience as (81), adverbs as in (82), or phrases as in (83). It makes sense to keep the account for lexical expressions simple, because they are accounted for under LEXICAL/PHRASAL DOWNGRADERS. Here, 'possibly' would be analysed as a DOWNTONER and 'would you mind', as well as 'is it possible' as CONSULTATIVE DEVICES.

(81) Is it possible for you to close the window?

(82) Could you possibly close the window?

(83) Would you mind closing the window?

Modal verbs, on the other hand, are not accounted for in the frameworks of Trosborg (1995) and the CCSARP (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989), and therefore call for further investigation. Modal verbs can be defined as “grammatical verbs (...) separated from lexical verbs by a combination of morphological, syntactic and semantic criteria” (Bache & Davidsen-Nielsen 1997: 283). In English, these criteria involve Huddelston’s NICE properties for auxiliaries (1976: 333). NICE is an acronym for the following four criteria: **N**egation with the form –n’t, **I**nversion with the subject, **C**ode, i.e. no ‘do’-support, and **E**mphatic affirmation by intonationally putting the main stress on the modal verb.

While the NICE properties also apply to the primary auxiliaries ‘be’ and ‘have’, modal verbs can be further distinguished by three criteria put forward by Palmer (1990: 4): they do not have –s forms of the 3rd person singular, they have no non-finite forms like infinitives and participles, and they do not co-occur with other auxiliaries. On the basis of that, we can identify the following English verbs as modals: ‘can’, ‘may’, ‘must’, ‘will’ and ‘shall’. Verbs like ‘need’, ‘dare’ etc. may behave as both modal and lexical verbs, and are therefore called semi-auxiliaries by Bache & Davidsen-Nielsen (1997: 285), a definition which I will use in my analysis.

The above criteria do not apply in the same way to German and Danish modals due to the different grammatical properties of each language. As my analysis is mainly concerned with requests realised in English, I will not account for the properties of German and Danish modals here. In my analysis, I will include those verbs which are defined as modals in Danish and German grammars. In Danish, these are the verbs ‘kunne’, ‘måtte’, ‘skulle’, ‘ville’, ‘burde’, ‘gide’ and ‘turde’ (Jensen 1994: 16), and in German ‘können’, ‘dürfen’, ‘sollen’, ‘wollen’, ‘müssen’, ‘mögen’ (Donaldson 2007: 131 ff).

Apart from accounting for the kind of modal used, I will also distinguish between PRESENT and PAST TENSE forms of modal verbs. As indicated in section 4.4.1.3, PAST TENSE may have a downgrading effect in requests. As Palmer (1990: 44) states, PAST TENSE modals denote “‘tentativeness’ or unreality”. Therefore, requests like (84) and (85) are even more distant from reality than (77) and (80), repeated here for convenience as (86) and (87).

(84) Could you close the window?

(85) Would you close the window?

- (86) Can you close the window?
(87) Will you close the window?

While remoteness in time and reality is denoted by PAST TENSE in English, as well as in Danish, the SUBJUNCTIVE is used in German. In German, PAST TENSE forms are exclusively used to refer to events in past time (Donaldson, 2007: 117 ff). Therefore, (88) is the German equivalent to (84), while (89) corresponds to ‘were you able to close the window?’. Furthermore, all German verbs are declined, while Danish verbs are generally not and English modals neither. In my analysis, English and Danish modals can therefore be presented in their PRESENT and PAST TENSE forms, while I will present the German modals in their infinitive form. By using the abbreviations IND. and SUBJ., I will indicate if the given German modal is used in its INDICATIVE or SUBJUNCTIVE form.

- (88) Könntest du das Fenster schliessen?
(89) Konntest du das Fenster schliessen?
(90) Würdest du das Fenster schliessen?

A final point concerning German modals is that there is no SUBJUNCTIVE form of ‘wollen’. Instead, the SUBJUNCTIVE of the auxiliary ‘werden’ is used to denote tentative volition as in (90). The INDICATIVE form of ‘werden’ is not used as a modal, but to denote future time (Donaldson 2007: 111). Thus, I will only account for the SUBJUNCTIVE form of ‘werden’.

All modal expressions accounted for in my analysis are illustrated in Table 8 (Appendix C).

4.5 External modification

External modification comprises different kinds of SMs, which may be mitigating or aggravating. In these SMs, S may justify the request, make it plausible or use other means to persuade H to comply (Trosborg 1995: 215). As aggravating SMs do not occur to a statistically interesting amount in my data, the main concern of my analysis will be mitigating SMs. In the following, I will therefore account for different kinds of mitigating SMs. However, I would suggest that GROUNDERS, which are categorised as mitigating SMs, may function as aggravating MORALISERS in some cases. This double function of GROUNDERS will be discussed in a short account for aggravating SMs below.

4.5.1 Mitigating SUPPORTIVE MOVES

In my analysis, I will refer to nine different mitigating SMs, which are summarised in Table 9 (Appendix C). In the following, I will present my categorisation by discussing the frameworks of the CCSARP (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989), Trosborg (1995) and Breuer & Geluykens (2007).

4.5.1.1 PREPARATORS

In the CCSARP coding manual (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989b: 287), PREPARATORS are defined as SMs in which S asks for H's availability or for permission to make a request as in (91) and (92). They are therefore in pre-position to the request HA.

- (91) May I ask you something?
- (92) Are you busy?
- (93) I see you have got a mobile on you.
- (94) Would you mind doing me a favour?

Trosborg (1995: 216 f), on the other hand, distinguishes between four subcategories of PREPARATORS:

- a) PREPARATORS that prepare the content of the request as in (93).

This category does not occur in the CCSARP model, but as such utterances actually occur in my data, content PREPARATORS will be accounted for in my analysis

- b) PREPARATORS that prepare the speech act of requesting as in (91).

This subcategory is what Blum-Kulka et al. understand as "asking for H's permission" (1989b: 287). I would suggest that all PREPARATORS prepare the requestive speech act. Following Blum-Kulka et al. (1989b), I will therefore term this subcategory PREPARATORS - asking for permission.

- c) PREPARATORS that check availability as in (92).

This subcategory is also comprised in the CCSARP model. However, I find it very helpful to distinguish between a subcategory of PREPARATORS that ask for H's permission and for one that checks H's availability.

- d) Getting a pre-commitment like in (94).

This is a SM-category on its own in the CCSARP model (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989b: 287). However, its main function is to prepare the request, and I will therefore refer to it as a subcategory of PREPARATORS.

4.5.1.2 GROUNDERS

In GROUNDERS, S gives reasons and explanations for the request. GROUNDERS may occur before or after the HA (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989b: 287), as exemplified by (95) and (96).

(95) I missed class yesterday. Can I borrow your notes?

(96) Would you mind doing my shopping today? I've got so many other things to do.

Trosborg's (1995: 218) category of SUPPORTIVE REASONS corresponds to the CCSARP category of GROUNDERS. In my analysis, I will use the term GROUNDERS to avoid terminological confusion between the general term SUPPORTIVE MOVES and the subcategory SUPPORTIVE REASONS.

4.5.1.3 DISARMERS

DISARMERS are SMs in which S foresees objections to carry out A on H's part, and tries to remove them by uttering them explicitly as in (97) or (98) (Trosborg 1995: 217; Blum-Kulka et al. 1989b: 287).

(97) I know you don't like lending out your notes, but...

(98) I really don't want to trouble you, but...

4.5.1.4 IMPOSITION MINIMISERS

By using IMPOSITION MINIMISERS, S tries to reduce the impact of the request by stating that the request is only relevant under certain H-based conditions (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989b: 288). Thus, IMPOSITION MINIMISERS often involve CONDITIONAL CLAUSES as illustrated in (99).

(99) Would you give me a lift, but only if you're going my way.

4.5.1.5 COST MINIMISERS

Trosborg (1995: 218) does not account for IMPOSITION MINIMISERS, but for COST MINIMISERS. In COST MINIMISERS, S emphasises factors which make the requested act less costly to H as in (100). I would suggest that it makes sense to distinguish between (99), in which H's personal

effort is minimised, and (100), in which H's financial effort is minimised. I will therefore distinguish between IMPOSITION and COST MINIMISERS in my analysis.

(100) Would you mind driving to the airport to pick up Mary? I'll pay for the petrol.

4.5.1.6 PROMISE OF REWARD

In the CCSAARP model, PROMISE OF REWARD includes utterances like (100), which I will refer to as COST MINIMISERS in my analysis. I will therefore employ Troborg's categorisation (1995: 218 f), in which PROMISE OF REWARD refers to utterances like (101) and (102). Here, S announces some extra reward if H carries out A. According to this, PROMISE OF REWARD refers to concrete or vague promises of something extra for H in case of compliance, while COST MINIMISERS only refer to some kind of compensation.

(101) If you do the dishes I'll give you a ticket for the cinema.

(102) I'll make it worth your while.

4.5.1.7 SWEETENERS

SWEETENERS are only included in Troborg's model (1995: 217) and refer to statements which flatter H like (103).

(103) I've never known anyone who makes such delicious pies as you do.

4.5.1.8 APPRECIATION STATEMENTS

In my data, utterances like (104) and (105) occur with relative frequency, but they are not accounted for by Troborg (1995) and the CCSARP model (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989). Breuer & Geluykens (2007: 120), however, term them APPRECIATION STATEMENTS in their analysis of British English and American English requests. I will therefore employ this category to all utterances that express gratefulness and appreciation to H for performing A.

(104) That would be great.

(105) Thank you very much.

4.5.1.9 ADVICE

Finally, there also occur utterances like (106) in my data. As I could not find any matching categories in the literature, I will simply refer to such utterances as ADVICE.

(106) Please close the window, Dennis. You can go out to get some fresh air.

4.5.2 Aggravating SUPPORTIVE MOVES

Blum-Kulka et al. (1989b: 288) distinguish between three types of aggravating SMs: INSULTS as in (107), THREATS as in (108) and MORALISERS as in (109).

(107) You've always been a dirty pig, so clean up!

(108) Move your car if you don't want a ticket.

(109) If one shares a flat one should be prepared to pull one's weight in cleaning, so get on with the washing up!

In my data, INSULTS and THREATS do not occur at all, while MORALISING can be seen in some GROUNDERS like (110) and (111). Although S does not explicitly refer to a moral maxim in (110) and (111), these GROUNDERS appeal to moral rules like helping people in need or not to interfere with other people's well-being.

(110) My friend is hurt really badly. Can I please use your phone to call an ambulance?

(111) I am getting a bit cold and just recovered from the flu. Could you possibly close the window?

(112) Can I borrow your phone to call a cab?

Actually, GROUNDERS that only explain the underlying reasons for the requests as in (112) are rather rare in my data. It is therefore difficult to make a sharp distinction between GROUNDERS as mitigating SMs and GROUNDERS that function as MORALISERS, and thus are suggested to be aggravating. In my analysis, I will refer to (110)-(112) as mitigating GROUNDERS. However, utterances like (110) and (111) will additionally be accounted for under the category of MORALISING.

5. ANALYSIS OF DATA

The requests elicited by my questionnaires were all coded according to the framework presented above. The percentages of the linguistic devices chosen by the five language groups in the eight situations are presented in Tables 10-17 (Appendix D). In the following, I will discuss the most interesting differences revealed by the comparison of these percentages.

I have chosen this selective approach, because my study involves many different variables which make a simple structure of analysis impossible – at least within the limited number of pages intended for this thesis. Furthermore, a description of the linguistic devices used in each situation would lead to repetition. Therefore, it makes sense to selectively look at those linguistic devices which show significant differences concerning their use across language groups and social situations.

In accordance with the goal of my study, I will mostly comment on differences between British English (BE), interlanguage English of German students (GE-E) and interlanguage English of Danish students (DA-E). Linguistic choices in native German (GE) and native Danish (DA) will only be accounted for in connection with possible pragmatic transfer from GE and DA into GE-E and DA-E. To illustrate the choices by the five language groups, I will draw on examples from my data.

5.1 The choice of Directness Level

Table 10 (Appendix D) shows that QUERY PREPARATORY - H-oriented perspective is the most frequent directness level in all language groups and in all situations (apart from one exception, see discussion under 5.1.3). We can therefore say that QUERY PREPARATORY seems to be the standard request pattern for British, German and Danish students. Despite this overall similarity, there are some differences concerning the choice of directness level. In the following, I will first account for differences in the OPTING OUT-pattern of the five language groups, as well as for their use of ALTERNATIVE RESPONSES. Second, I will show that although QUERY PREPARATORY - H-oriented perspective is the preferred directness level, there are different preferences concerning other perspectives used in QUERY PREPARATORIES. Finally, I will discuss the use of IMPERATIVES and show how DA-E speakers differ from both BE and GE-E speakers in that point.

5.1.1 OPTING OUT - patterns and the use of ALTERNATIVE RESPONSES

Some of the respondents choose the directness level OPTING OUT in the following situations: *window-tutor*, *window-stranger*, *mobile-stranger* and *mobile-boss*. Thus, they choose not to do the FTA at all in situations which involve H-authority or a high degree of distance between the interlocutors. Additionally, there are some respondents who choose an ALTERNATIVE RESPONSE in *window-tutor* and *window-stranger*. As illustrated by (113), they do not ask H to close the window, but ask for permission to close the window themselves.

(113) Do you mind if I close the window? (BE)

Even though there seems to be agreement across all three cultures that making a request is especially risky in situations which involve strangers or superiors, there are two interesting differences between the BE responses and the GE-E and DA-E responses:

First, in *window-stranger*, BE speakers choose to OPT OUT more frequently than GE-E and DA-E respondents. BE speakers also choose ALTERNATIVE RESPONSES to a much higher degree than the interlanguage respondents. Especially in the case of ALTERNATIVE RESPONSES, the difference is most markedly between BE and GE-E speakers. Also in *mobile-stranger*, BE respondents avoid doing the FTA more often than DA-E and GE-E respondents do. Again, the most significant difference can be seen between BE and GE-E speakers. This is interesting, as both situations involve asking a stranger for a favour; either to close the window or to borrow her mobile. On the basis of my data, British students seem to be more uncomfortable asking strangers for favours than Danish and especially German students.

As Table 10 shows, the percentages for OPTING OUT in DA-E and GE-E are the same or very close to the ones in DA and GE. Therefore, we can assume that pragmatic transfer might have been at play in these cases. In this connection, we can speak of socio-pragmatic transfer, as culture-specific norms of interacting with strangers seem to have been transferred from the German and Danish students' native interaction to their interlanguage interaction in English. This confirms the assumption that the degree of 'simpatia' differs in British, Danish and German culture (cf. above, 3.3).

Second, in *mobile-boss*, BE speakers choose to OPT OUT to a considerably lower degree than GE-E and DA-E speakers. Compared to all other situations, *mobile-boss* generally triggers the highest percentage of OPTING OUT responses. This indicates that the request for a mobile must be seen as highly imposing in this situation. However, GE-E and DA-E respondents – and GE-E speakers more so than DA-E speakers – seem to see the request in *mobile-boss* as potentially more face-threatening than the BE respondents. Furthermore, they also seem to perceive the request in *mobile-boss* as much more imposing than in *mobile-stranger*, as they OPT OUT more frequently in *mobile-boss*. BE speakers, on the other hand, OPT OUT with the same frequency in *mobile-boss* as they do in *mobile-stranger*.

Again, the percentages of the GE-E and DA-E data and the ones of the GE and DA data are very similar. This indicates that also here, socio-pragmatic transfer might have been at play. However, such transfer cannot be explained by the differences in power distance perception suggested by Hofstede (2001: 127). According to his findings, German students would have to perceive the authority parameter in a similar way as British students, while Danish students would have to perceive the boss's authority as less significant (cf. above, 3.3). Thus, other cultural norms must have had an influence here, or Hofstede's ratings do not generally apply.

5.1.2 The use of impersonal perspective in QUERY PREPARATORIES

As stated above, the most frequently used directness level in my data is QUERY PREPARATORY-H-oriented perspective. In *window-tutor* and *mobile-stranger*, impersonal perspective is also used frequently, but not to the same degree by all language groups. Although impersonal perspective is also used in *mobile-boss* and *window-stranger*, the differences between BE, GE-E and DA-E are not that significant. Therefore, I will only account for the use of impersonal perspective in *mobile-stranger* and *window-tutor*. It is, however, interesting that impersonal perspective is generally used to a higher degree in situations which involve H-authority or a high degree of social distance.

In *window-tutor*, BE respondents often use QUERY PREPARATORIES with an impersonal perspective like (114). This is only the case to a lower degree for DA-E respondents who seem to prefer inclusive perspective as in (115). GE-E speakers, on the other hand, use

impersonal perspective only slightly more seldom than BE speakers, and inclusive perspective only slightly more often.

(114) I'm sorry, would it perhaps be possible to close the window? (BE)

(115) Could we please close the window? (DA-E)

(116) Excuse me, can I borrow your phone please? (DA-E)

In the case of GE-E, as well as DA-E speakers, transfer might have been at play: the percentages for impersonal perspective in *window-tutor* are also lower in the GE and DA data than in the BE data. However, the Danish students actually use slightly more impersonal perspective in DA than in DA-E, while the German students use it more in GE-E than in GE.

Just like in *window-tutor*, DA-E respondents also use less impersonal perspective than BE speakers in *mobile-stranger*. Instead, DA-E respondents use H-oriented perspective as in (116) more frequently than BE respondents. GE-E speakers, however, use much more impersonal perspective in *mobile-stranger* than BE speakers do. Interestingly, the low percentage of impersonal perspective in the DA-E data can be seen as a result of transfer from DA, where impersonal perspective is used to a very low degree, too. The high percentage of impersonal perspective in the GE-E data, however, does not seem to be a result of transfer from GE. In fact, of all language groups, GE respondents use least impersonal perspective in *mobile-stranger*. So while transfer is a possible explanation for DA-E speakers' preferences in *mobile-stranger*, other mechanisms seem to be at play in the case of GE-E speakers.

One explanation for GE-E speakers' frequent use of impersonal perspective in *mobile-stranger* may be that they only OPT OUT in half as many cases as BE respondents. Possibly, more of the remaining GE-E speakers who actually utter a request therefore choose a more indirect form of QUERY PREPARATORY. If this is the case, we might suggest that the German students know that *mobile-stranger* might be seen as more imposing by BE speakers than by themselves. However, instead of avoiding the FTA, they choose to make the request on a more indirect level in GE-E by using impersonal perspective.

5.1.3 The use of IMPERATIVES

All language groups predominantly use IMPERATIVES in *window-teenager*, *mobile-brother* and *mobile-emergency*. Thus, IMPERATIVES generally seem to be used to mostly in situations involving S-authority, a low degree of social distance or a high degree of H-obligation. However, IMPERATIVES are not used to the same degree in all language groups.

It is noticeable that, in *window-teenager*, DA-E speakers use IMPERATIVES as in (117) much more frequently than BE speakers. In fact, IMPERATIVES are the overall preferred directness level of DA-E speakers in *window-teenager*, while BE and GE-E speakers prefer QUERY PREPARATORIES – H-oriented perspective as in (118).

(117) Close the window, Dennis, everyone else is cold. (DA-E)

(118) Dennis, can you close the window please? It's cold in here (BE)

When we look at the DA data in *window-teenager*, it is interesting that although IMPERATIVES are also the preferred directness level here, they are used to a much lower degree than in the DA-E data. Instead, DA speakers seem to prefer QUERIES ABOUT H'S FUTURE like (119). QUERIES ABOUT H'S FUTURE are not used at all by BE speakers, and Danish students seem to be aware of the fact that QUERIES ABOUT H'S FUTURE are uncommon request realisations in English. Consequently, this strategy is not transferred from DA to DA-E. However, as QUERIES ABOUT H'S FUTURE are more direct than QUERY PREPARATORIES, Danish students might tend to use a more direct strategy in English as well, resulting in an overuse of IMPERATIVES. We can therefore say that the more direct request realisation in DA might have been transferred to DA-E.

(119) Dennis, lukker du lige vinduet igen? (DA)

(120) Dennis, schließt du bitte das Fenster? Uns allen ist kalt. (GE)

Interestingly, German students seem to cope differently with non-existing request strategies in English. In the GE data of *window-teenager*, QUERIES ABOUT THE H'S FUTURE like (120) are actually used more often than in the DA data. But instead of using a more direct level in GE-E, more QUERY PREPARATORIES are used. The choice of this more indirect strategy results in closer resemblance to BE speakers' choices in the GE-E data than in the DA-E data.

Also in *mobile-emergency*, IMPERATIVES as in (121) are used considerably more often by DA-E speakers than by BE speakers, while GE-E speakers only use them slightly more than BE speakers. Here, this could be due to transfer, as the percentages for IMPERATIVES in DA and GE are the same or very close to the percentages for IMPERATIVES in DA-E and GE-E.

(121) Please call an ambulance! My friend got hurt... (DA-E)

(122) Give me your phone. I wanna make a call. (BE)

On the basis of these observations, one might draw the conclusion that Danish students tend to use IMPERATIVES much more often than British students, while German students use them only slightly more often. However, the percentages in *mobile-brother* indicate that this does not seem to be generally true. Here, BE speakers generate the highest percentage of IMPERATIVES as in (122), while DA-E speakers use them slightly less frequently and GE-E speakers even more seldom. The cross-cultural differences concerning the use of IMPERATIVES can therefore be said to depend on the situational context.

5.2 The use of ALERTERS

As Table 11 (Appendix D) shows, the kinds of ALERTERS mostly used in my data are FIRST NAMES and APOLOGIES. In this connection, the choice to use ALERTERS at all seems to be situation-dependent. In *window-friend*, *window-tutor* and *mobile-boss*, the percentage of ALERTERS is generally lower than in the other situations. On the other hand, ALERTERS are used to a very high degree in *window-teenager* and *mobile-stranger*. Despite these general observations, differences in the use of ALERTERS can be seen across language groups. In the following, I will discuss the two most obvious differences: the use of FIRST NAMES vs. the use of SURNAMES and the different amounts of APOLOGIES used.

5.2.1 FIRST NAMES vs. SURNAMES

In *mobile-boss*, GE-E respondents use more SURNAMES as in (123) than they use FIRST NAMES. BE speakers, on the other hand, only use a very insignificant number of SURNAMES in *mobile-boss*, while FIRST NAMES as in (124) are used to a much higher degree. DA-E

respondents, who generally use fewer ALERTERS in *mobile-boss* than respondents in the other language groups, also use more FIRST NAMES than SURNAMES. Thus, GE-E respondents use much more SURNAMES in *mobile-boss* than BE respondents, while there is no significant difference in the use of NAMES between DA-E and BE speakers.

- (123) Excuse me Mrs. Smith, I really need to make a call and cancel my appointment, could I borrow your phone for a minute? (GE-E)
- (124) Monica, would you mind if I could borrow your mobile to call a friend? (BE)

The overuse of SURNAMES by GE-E speakers is probably a result of socio-pragmatic transfer, as SURNAMES are used overwhelmingly often by GE speakers in *mobile-boss*. As stated in section 3.3, Germany and Great Britain are at the same level on Hofstede's Power Distance Index (2001: 127). However, GE speakers' more frequent use of SURNAMES in *mobile-boss* indicates that the level of formality in business situations seems to be higher in Germany than it is in Great Britain. This can as well be seen in *window-tutor*, in which GE speakers also use SURNAMES very frequently. Also here, this preference seems to have been transferred to GE-E, where SURNAMES are used more often than in the BE data.

5.2.2 The use of APOLOGIES

APOLOGIES are used to quite a high degree in *window-tutor*, *window-stranger*, *mobile-stranger*, *mobile-boss* and *mobile-emergency*. As discussed in section 4.2, APOLOGIES may not only serve as ATTENTION GETTERS, but they may also minimise the potential face threat. It is therefore not surprising that across all language groups, APOLOGIES are mostly used in situations that involve H-authority or a high degree of social distance.

It is, however, interesting that DA-E speakers use fewer APOLOGIES than BE speakers in all situations mentioned above. This discrepancy is most noticeable in *window-tutor* and *mobile-boss*, where APOLOGIES as in (125) and (126) are used to a considerably lower degree by DA-E speakers than by BE speakers. GE-E speakers, on the other hand, generally use about the same amount of APOLOGIES as BE speakers do – in some situations slightly more, in some slightly fewer.

- (125) Excuse me Dr. Thomsen, would you mind closing the window please? I'm feeling cold and have been unwell recently. (BE)
- (126) I'm terribly sorry, do you mind me using your phone to cancel an appointment? (BE)

Negative pragmatic transfer might be the reason for DA-E speakers' seldom use of APOLOGIES in *window-tutor* and *mobile-boss*. In these situations, APOLOGIES are also used to a lower degree in the DA data than in the BE data. In this connection, we might be able to speak of socio-pragmatic transfer, as Power Distance is lower in Denmark than it is in Great Britain (cf. Hofstede 2001: 127; section 3.3). Danish students might therefore not feel the same urge to downplay their FTAs by using APOLOGIES in situations which involve H-authority. In *window-stranger* and *mobile-stranger*, however, DA speakers actually use slightly more APOLOGIES than BE speakers. The lower percentage of APOLOGIES in the DA-E data can therefore not be seen as the result of transfer. Further investigation would be needed to explain the discrepancy between the DA-E and BE data in these situations.

5.3 The use of LEXICAL/PHRASAL DOWNGRADERS

LEXICAL/PHRASAL DOWNGRADERS are generally used to a rather high degree in BE, GE-E and DA-E. However, as can be seen from Table 12 (Appendix D), considerably fewer LEXICAL/PHRASAL DOWNGRADERS are used in *mobile-brother* and *mobile-emergency* than in the other situations. Hence, in situations that involve a high degree of H-obligation or a very low degree of social distance, LEXICAL/PHRASAL DOWNGRADERS seem to be used relatively seldom. In some situations, however, there are considerable differences between BE speakers and GE-E and DA-E speakers concerning the amount and the kind of LEXICAL/PHRASAL DOWNGRADERS used. In this connection, the four areas of interest are CONSULTATIVE DEVICES, POLITENESS MARKERS, DOWNTONERS and UNDERSTATERS.

5.3.1 The use of CONSULTATIVE DEVICES

In all situations, BE speakers use more CONSULTATIVE DEVICES as in (127) and (128) than GE-E and DA-E speakers do. The divergence concerning the use of CONSULTATIVE DEVICES is generally greater between BE and GE-E speakers than between BE and DA-E speakers. The

only exception to this is *mobile-stranger*, where DA-E speakers use significantly fewer CONSULTATIVE DEVICES than BE speakers, while GE-E speakers only use slightly fewer.

- (127) Would you mind closing the window? (BE)
 (128) Do you mind if I borrow your mobile? (BE)
 (129) Hätten sie etwas dagegen, das Fenster zu schließen? (GE)
 (130) Har du noget imod at vi lukker vinduet lidt? (DA)

Consultative devices as in (129) and (130) do not occur as frequently in the GE and DA data as those in (127) and (128) occur in the BE data. In fact, (127) and (128) seem to be frequently used routines in BE requests. To a certain degree, German and Danish students seem to be aware of that, as they use more CONSULTATIVE DEVICES in their interlanguage data than they do in their native data. However, they do not use these routinised CONSULTATIVE DEVICES quite as often as British students do. This might be due to pragmalinguistic transfer from DA and GE.

5.3.2 The use of POLITENESS MARKERS

As discussed in section 4.4.2.1, a POLITENESS MARKER like ‘please’ in (131) or ‘bitte’ in (132) does not exist in Danish. Consequently, POLITENESS MARKERS do not occur in my DA data. In most situations, this leads to a considerably lower amount of LEXICAL/PHRASAL DOWNGRADERS in DA than in any other language group.

- (131) Could you possibly close the window please? (BE)
 (132) Können Sie bitte das Fenster schließen? Mir ist kalt. (GE)

Interestingly, DA-E speakers do not use fewer POLITENESS MARKERS than BE speakers. In fact, in most situations, POLITENESS MARKERS are used to a higher degree in the DA-E data than in the BE data. This is most significant in *window-friend*, *window-teenager*, *mobile-boss* and *mobile-emergency*. Hence, the lack of a POLITENESS MARKER in DA is not transferred into DA-E. However, the overuse of POLITENESS MARKERS in DA-E indicates that Danish students seem to be insecure about the use a POLITENESS MARKERS in English.

This seems to be partly true for German students as well. GE-E speakers use considerably more POLITENESS MARKERS than BE speakers in *window-friend* and *window-teenager*. However, my data does not clearly indicate if transfer from GE might be the reason for this. Although POLITENESS MARKERS are used more frequently in the GE than in the BE data in both situations, the percentages in the GE data are lower than those in the GE-E data. Thus, GE-E speakers' overuse of POLITENESS MARKERS cannot straightforwardly be explained by transfer.

5.3.3 The use of DOWNTONERS

In the BE, GE-E and DA-E, DOWNTONERS as in (133) are mostly used in *mobile-stranger* and *mobile-boss*. Thus, they are preferably used in situations that involve a high degree of imposition combined with a high degree of social distance or H-authority. In *mobile-boss*, GE-E and DA-E speakers use about the same amount of DOWNTONERS as BE speakers. In *mobile-stranger*, however, they use fewer. The discrepancy is most significant between BE and GE-E speakers, as GE-E speakers only use about half as many DOWNTONERS as BE speakers do.

(133) Is there any way I could possibly borrow your mobile to phone a taxi? (BE)

(134) Könnte ich mir vielleicht von Ihrem Telefon aus ein Taxi rufen? (GE)

Pragmatic transfer might have been at play in the case of Danish students, as the amount of downtoners used in the DA data corresponds to the amount in the DA-E data. This, however, does not account for German students, as they actually use more DOWNTONERS in their GE data than there are used in the BE data. Generally, the percentages in Table 12 (Appendix D) show that much more DOWNTONERS as in (134) are used in GE than in the English language groups. Therefore, the low percentage of DOWNTONERS in GE-E cannot be explained by negative transfer.

5.3.4 The use of UNDERSTATERS

Just like DOWNTONERS, UNDERSTATERS as in (135) are mostly used in *mobile-stranger* and *mobile-boss*. They additionally occur to a lower degree in *mobile-brother*. It is interesting that DA-E speakers use fewer UNDERSTATERS than BE speakers in all three situations. While GE-E speakers also use fewer UNDERSTATERS than BE speakers in *mobile-boss* and *mobile-brother*, this does not account for *mobile-stranger*, where GE-E speakers use considerably more UNDERSTATERS than BE speakers.

(135) Would you mind if I borrowed your phone for a second? (BE)

The overuse of UNDERSTATERS by GE-E speakers in *mobile-stranger* might be due to transfer, as the percentage for UNDERSTATERS in the GE data is similar to the one in the GE-E data. However, GE speakers use more UNDERSTATERS than BE speakers in all three situations. Apparently, this preference for UNDERSTATERS in GE is not transferred into GE-E in *mobile-boss* and *mobile-brother*. Thus, we must assume that other mechanisms than transfer must be the reason for the relatively few UNDERSTATERS used by GE-E speakers in these two situations.

Similarly, DA speakers use a relatively low percentage of UNDERSTATERS in *mobile-boss* and *mobile-brother*, and might have transferred this tendency into DA-E. In *mobile-stranger*, however, DA respondents use a considerable amount of UNDERSTATERS, a tendency which does not seem to be transferred into DA-E.

5.4 The use of SYNTACTIC DOWNGRADERS

As Table 13 (Appendix D) shows, BE, GE-E and DA-E speakers use SYNTACTIC DOWNGRADERS mostly in the following five situations: *window-friend*, *window-tutor*, *window-stranger*, *mobile-stranger* and *mobile-boss*. Thus, requests are mitigated by syntactic DOWNGRADERS to a higher degree in situations which involve a high degree of social distance or H-authority. The *window-friend* situation seems to be an exception to that. This might indicate that the respondents in my study perceive social distance to be greater between them and a friend than between them and a close family member. This might be so, because

SYNTACTIC DOWNGRADERS are used to a very low degree in *mobile-brother*. Few SYNTACTIC DOWNGRADERS are also used in *window-teenager*, which involves S-authority, and in *mobile-emergency*, which involves a high degree of H-obligation.

Apart from these differences across situation types, Table 12 (Appendix D) also shows that BE speakers use more SYNTACTIC DOWNGRADERS than GE-E and DA-E speakers. In most of the five situations mentioned above, the discrepancy is most significant between BE and GE-E speakers. Only in *mobile-stranger*, the difference is more markedly between BE and DA-E respondents. As we will see in the following, BE speakers' more frequent use of SYNTACTIC DOWNGRADERS must be seen in connection with their use of CONDITIONAL and CONDITIONAL CLAUSES, as well as with their use of PAST TENSE.

5.4.1 The use of CONDITIONAL and CONDITIONAL CLAUSES

In general, BE speakers use more CONDITIONAL and CONDITIONAL CLAUSES than GE-E and DA-E speakers. CONDITIONAL CLAUSES may occur in utterances like (136), while CONDITIONAL is often used in utterances like (137). Often, CONDITIONAL CLAUSES and CONDITIONAL are combined as in (138).

(136) Is it ok if the window was shut a little? (BE)

(137) Would it be possible to close the window? (BE)

(138) Would it be OK if we closed the window? (BE)

(139) Would you mind if I used your mobile as I have left mine at home and I have to call a taxi. (BE)

BE speakers' frequent use of CONDITIONAL and CONDITIONAL CLAUSES is probably linked to their frequent use of CONSULTATIVE DEVICES as in (139). The routine 'would you mind...?' involves a verb form denoting CONDITIONAL and is often used in connection with a CONDITIONAL CLAUSE. As we have seen in section 5.3.1, CONSULTATIVE DEVICES are not used quite as often by DA-E and GE-E respondents, and apparently, they do not use other constructions which include just as many cases of CONDITIONAL and CONDITIONAL CLAUSES. Also, my data indicates that CONDITIONAL and CONDITIONAL CLAUSES are used to a lower degree in DA and GE than in BE. Thus, pragmalinguistic transfer might have been at play.

However, it is important to keep in mind that, as GE-E and DA-E speakers use fewer CONSULTATIVE DEVICES than BE speakers, they probably use more modal verbs. Modal verbs in PAST TENSE or in the SUBJUNCTIVE can be said to have CONDITIONAL meaning as well. As the tense of modal verbs will be accounted for under the category of MODALITY, the observations above are not sufficient to constitute a general claim that GE-E and DA-E speakers use CONDITIONAL to a lower degree than BE speakers.

5.4.2 The use of PAST TENSE

Generally, BE speakers use more PAST TENSE than GE-E and DA-E speakers do. This becomes most obvious in *mobile-stranger* and *mobile-boss*, where PAST TENSE as in (140) is used most frequently.

(140) Excuse me, sorry to bother you, but I've forgotten my phone at home. Would you mind if I made a quick call for a taxi on yours. (BE)

In the GE and DA data, PAST TENSE is almost never used at all, so transfer seems to be a possible explanation. However, we must keep in mind again that PAST TENSE forms of modal verbs are coded under the category of MODALITY. Thus, BE speakers' use of PAST TENSE in requests like (140) must be seen in connection with their frequent use of CONSULTATIVE DEVICES and CONDITIONAL CLAUSES.

5.5 The use of MODALITY

As Table 14 (Appendix D) indicates, MODALITY is a very frequently used concept in all of the eight situations. However, MODALITY is used to a lower degree in *mobile-brother*, *mobile-emergency* and *window-teenager* than in the other situations. Especially in *window-teenager*, MODALITY is used seldom in comparison to the other situations. Here, it is noticeable that there are fewer instances of MODALITY in the DA-E data than in the BE and GE-E data. At the same time, DA-E speakers use most IMPERATIVES in *window-teenager* (cf. above, 5.1.3.).

As discussed in section 4.4.3.1, IMPERATIVES are not coded as modal expressions, although they can be seen as grammatical realisations of DEONTIC obligation. It is therefore logical that a large amount of IMPERATIVES leads to fewer modal expressions. According to this, DA-E speakers can actually be said to use DEONTIC MODALITY, but do not use a modal expression to denote it. While this is important to keep in mind, the goal of this section is to account for differences across language groups concerning the use of modal expressions and the types of MODALITY denoted by these expressions.

5.5.1 The use of modal expressions

The most noticeable difference concerning the use of modal expressions is that in all situations but *window-tutor*, GE-E and DA-E speakers do not use as many lexical forms as BE speakers do. Instead, they use the modal verb ‘can’ and its PAST TENSE form ‘could’ more frequently than BE speakers in most situations. It is quite obvious that this difference is due to the fact that BE speakers frequently use CONSULTATIVE DEVICES as in (141), in which MODALITY is expressed by a phrase. GE-E and DA-E speakers do not use this routine that often, but opt for modal verbs as in (142) and (143).

(141) Would you mind shutting the window? (BE)

(142) Can you close the window? (GE-E)

(143) Could you please close the window? (DA-E)

In the case of GE-E speakers, the frequent use of ‘can’ and ‘could’ might be due to pragmatic transfer from GE, as the corresponding German modal ‘können’ as in (144) is used with very high frequency in most situations. In the case of DA-E speakers, pragmatic transfer is not necessarily an explanation. In fact, DA respondents use ‘gide’ and ‘vil’ as in (145) and (146) to a high degree in *window-friend* and *window-teenager*, while they often use ‘må’ as in (147) in the mobile-situations.

(144) Könnten Sie das Fenster bitte wieder schließen? (GE)

(145) Gider du ikke lukke vinduet? (DA)

(146) Dennis, vil du ikke lukke vinduet igen? (DA)

(147) Må jeg lige låne din mobil så jeg kan ringe efter en taxa? (DA)

Apart from ‘can’ and ‘could’, GE-E and DA-E speakers also use ‘would’ as in (148) more frequently than BE speakers. This is most noticeable in *window-friend* and *window-teenager*. In *window-friend*, DA-E speakers use considerably more ‘would’ than BE and GE-E speakers, while in *window-teenager*, GE-E speakers use it most frequently.

(148) Would you please close the window? (DA-E)

(149) Dennis, würdest du bitte das Fenster wieder schließen? (GE)

(150) Maria, magst du das Fenster zumachen? (GE)

It seems probable that the relatively frequent use of ‘would’ in the DA-E and GE-E data might be the result of transfer. As stated above, DA speakers use ‘vil’ and ‘gide’ with considerable frequency. These modals express DYNAMIC willingness, which might have led to a relatively frequent use of ‘would’ in DA-E. Also GE speakers use modals that denote willingness to approximately the same degree as they use ‘would’ in GE-E. These are mostly ‘werden subj.’ as in (149) and ‘mögen ind.’ as in (150).

5.5.2 The use of DYNAMIC and DEONTIC MODALITY

Table 15 (Appendix D) shows that DYNAMIC ability and willingness as in (151) and (152) are the most frequent types of MODALITY which can be traced in the window-situations. In the mobile-situations, DEONTIC permission as in (153) is used to the highest degree. However, it is interesting that, in *mobile-brother* and *mobile-emergency*, a considerable degree of DYNAMIC ability as in (154) is used as well.

(151) Sir, could you please shut the window? (BE)

(152) Would you mind closing the window? (DA-E)

(153) Sorry miss, I'll need to call the ambulance!!! Can I use your phone?? (GE-E)

(154) Sorry, my friend needs an ambulance. Can you call 911, please! (GE-E)

The reason for the use of DYNAMIC ability in some mobile-situations can be found in my questionnaire design. Due to the open-ended scenarios, respondents either ask for H's mobile, which typically involves DEONTIC MODALITY, or they ask H to make a call for them, which

typically involves DYNAMIC MODALITY. The percentages for these different request contents are shown in Table 16 (Appendix D).

Table 16 shows that, in *mobile-brother* and *mobile-emergency*, the act of having a call made is requested more often than in *mobile-stranger* and *mobile-boss*. Consequently, the respondents use DYNAMIC MODALITY most frequently in situations which involve a low degree of social distance or a high degree of H-obligation. In this connection, it is striking that GE-E speakers more often request the act of having a call made for them than BE speakers do. Thus, GE-E speakers also use more DYNAMIC ability than BE speakers. This accounts for DA-E speakers as well, though to a lower degree.

In both cases, pragmatic transfer seems to be a possible explanation for this difference, as also GE and DA respondents more often choose to ask for the act of having a call made for them than BE speakers do. Consequently, we can also see a higher percentage for DYNAMIC MODALITY in the GE and DA data than in the BE data.

(155) Excuse me, do you mind if I close the window? (BE)

The connection between request content and MODALITY type can also be seen in *window-tutor* and *window-stranger*. Here, a number of respondents choose an ALTERNATIVE RESPONSE like (155), in which they request for permission to close the window themselves. Thus, DEONTIC permission is used to a higher degree in these situations than in *window-friend* and *window-teenager*. As GE-E speakers do not choose ALTERNATIVE RESPONSES as often as BE and DA-E speakers (cf. above, 51.1), they also use DEONTIC permission to a lower degree. Again, the percentages in the GE data indicate that pragmatic transfer might have been at play.

5.5.3 The use of EPISTEMIC MODALITY

Apart from DEONTIC and DYNAMIC MODALITY, EPISTEMIC possibility as in (156) is used to a considerable degree in *window-tutor*, *mobile-stranger* and *mobile-boss*, while EPISTEMIC necessity as in (157) is mostly used in *mobile-emergency*.

(156) Is it possible for you to close the window? I'm feeling rather cold (DA-E)

(157) Please, I need to user your mobile, my friend is hurt. (BE)

When we compare these percentages to the choice of directness level in these situations, it seems that the use of EPISTEMIC possibility is linked to QUERY PREPARATORIES – impersonal perspective, while the use of EPISTEMIC necessity is linked to WANT STATEMENTS. In these cases, EPISTEMIC possibility can be said to have a downgrading function, as it makes the request more distant from reality. EPISTEMIC necessity, on the other hand, can be said to have an upgrading function, as it stresses H's obligation to act upon the request.

Differences concerning the use of EPISTEMIC MODALITY are most noticeable between DA-E and BE speakers. In *window-tutor* and *mobile-stranger*, DA-E speakers use EPISTEMIC possibility to a much lower degree than BE speakers. In *mobile-emergency*, on the other hand, DA-E speakers more often use EPISTEMIC necessity than BE speakers, which is probably due to DA-E speakers' more frequent use of WANT STATEMENTS.

Interestingly, pragmatic transfer is not necessarily the reason for these divergences. In the DA data, EPISTEMIC possibility is used to a low degree in *mobile-stranger*. In *window-tutor*, however, the DA percentages for EPISTEMIC possibility are quite close to those in the BE data. Also, in *mobile-emergency*, DA speakers use EPISTEMIC necessity as often as BE speakers. Thus, pragmatic transfer only seems to be a possible reason in *mobile-stranger*.

5.5.4 The use of tense in modal expressions

As Table 15 (Appendix D) shows, there seems to be agreement between BE, GE-E and DA-E respondents about when to use PRESENT TENSE or PAST TENSE modal expressions. To denote DYNAMIC ability and willingness, PAST TENSE as in (151) and (152) is preferred in all situations, while PRESENT TENSE as in (156) is preferred to denote EPISTEMIC possibility. When it comes to DEONTIC permission, however, the choice of PRESENT or PAST TENSE seems to depend highly on the situation.

While PAST TENSE is preferred in *mobile-stranger* and *mobile-boss* to denote DEONTIC permission, PRESENT TENSE is preferred in *mobile-brother* and *mobile-emergency*. Table 14 (Appendix D) seems to confirm this, as 'could' is preferred over 'can' in *mobile-stranger* and

mobile-boss, while it is the other way round in *mobile-brother* and *mobile-emergency* (with the exception of GE-E in *mobile-emergency*). Thus, situations involving a high degree of social distance or H-authority seem to trigger the more distanced PAST TENSE in all three varieties of English.

However, in *window-tutor* and *mobile-stranger*, there are some differences between DA-E and BE concerning the tense of expressions denoting DOENTIC permission. Here, DA-E speakers more often use PRESENT TENSE as in (158) than PAST TENSE as in (159). BE speakers, on the other hand, prefer PAST TENSE.

(158) Is it ok if I close the window?! (DA-E)

(159) Would it be ok to close the window? (BE)

My data shows that DA speakers generally prefer to express MODALITY in PRESENT TENSE. Thus, pragmatic transfer might be the reason for the divergence described above. It is, however, surprising that in all other cases, the Danish students seem to be aware of the fact that, in English, PAST TENSE is preferred in many cases.

5.6 The use of SUPPORTIVE MOVES

Table 17 (Appendix D) shows that GROUNDERS are the kind of SM used most frequently in all situations and by all language groups. In the four window-situations, as well as in *mobile-emergency*, most GROUNDERS can also be said to function as MORALISERS, as they include an appeal to some moral rule as in (160) and (161). In *mobile-stranger* and *mobile-boss*, only about half of the requests which include GROUNDERS also include a MORALISING element. Even fewer GROUNDERS can be said to function as MORALISER in *mobile-brother*, where more neutral GROUNDERS as in (162) are used to an overwhelming degree.

(160) Dennis, please shut the window. Everyone's freezing in here! (BE)

(161) My friend had an accident and needs a doctor. Can't I have your mobile? (GE-E)

(162) Can I borrow your phone to call a cab? (DA-E)

Apart from GROUNDERS, a significant number of COST MINIMISERS is used in *mobile-stranger*, while PREPARATORS and DISARMERS are used to a considerable degree in both *mobile-stranger* and *mobile-boss*. Generally, there is a much wider spread in the types of SMs used in these two situations than in any other one. Consequently, the most interesting differences across language groups can be observed in these two situations, in which a high degree of imposition is combined with H-authority or great social distance.

In the following, I will therefore account for differences in the use of PREPARATORS, DISARMERS and COST MINIMISERS in predominantly *mobile-stranger* and *mobile-boss*. However, I will first look at the amount of SMs used across situations and, in this connection, describe differences concerning the length of requests.

5.6.1 Request length and the amount of SUPPORTIVE MOVES

In *mobile-stranger* and *mobile-boss*, my respondents do not only use a wide variety of SMs, but they also use the greatest amount of SMs. The latter accounts for *mobile-emergency* as well, while in *mobile-brother*, fewer SMs are used. In the window-situations, SMs are also used to a relatively low degree, especially in *window-friend* and *window-stranger*, in which only about half of the responses include SMs.

Thus, situations involving a higher degree of imposition seem to call for longer, more elaborated requests than situations involving a lower degree of imposition. However, social distance and the distribution of authority also seem to have an influence on request length. This is indicated by the lower amount of SMs in *mobile-friend* as compared to the other mobile-situations, as well as by the shorter requests in *window-friend* as compared to *window-tutor*.

Apart from these general observations, it is interesting that GE-E speakers use fewer SMs than BE speakers in five of the eight situations. This is most noticeable in *window-tutor*, *window-teenager* and *mobile-emergency*. Thus, GE-E speakers seem to have a tendency to make shorter requests than BE speakers. This might be the result of pragmatic transfer, as GE requests also involve fewer SMs than BE requests in the situations mentioned above.

DA-E speakers' percentages for SMs, on the other hand, are generally very close to those of BE speakers. Only in *window-friend*, DA-E speakers use considerably more SMs than BE speakers, while they use fewer in *mobile-boss*. While DA speakers also use fewer SMs than BE speakers in *mobile-boss*, they do not use more in *window-friend*. Thus, transfer from DA to DA-E might have been at play in *mobile-boss*, while other explanations must be found for the divergence in *window-friend*.

5.6.2 The use of PREPARATORS

It is striking that BE speakers never use PREPARATORS in any situation but *window-teenager*, while GE-E speakers use them to a considerable amount in *mobile-stranger*, *mobile-boss* and *mobile-emergency*. In *mobile-stranger* and *mobile-boss*, GE-E speakers mostly use PREPARATORS which prepare H for the content of the request as in (163). In *mobile-emergency*, PREPARATORS are mostly used to get a pre-commitment as in (164). Also DA-E speakers use PREPARATORS. However, they only do so to a considerable degree in *mobile-boss*, where they mostly use content PREPARATORS as in (165).

- (163) Excuse me! I just saw you using your mobile phone. Would you mind if I would use it to make a call? I forgot mine at home. (GE-E)
- (164) Sorry!!! Could you help me??? My friend is hurt very badly, please call 911!! Thank you!!! (GE-E)
- (165) It looks like this lunch is gonna go on for a while. Is there any chance I can borrow your phone? I have to cancel an appointment, and I forgot mine at the office. (DA-E)

These differences might be due to pragmatic transfer, as both GE and DA speakers use PREPARATORS to a certain degree in the situations mentioned above. However, the German and Danish students use even more PREPARATORS in their interlanguages than in their native languages. This might indicate, that German and Danish students – and German students more so than Danish- mistakenly believe that PREPARATORS are used to a high degree in English. However, further research would be necessary to testify this.

5.6.3 The use of DISARMERS

In *mobile-stranger* and *mobile-boss*, DISARMERS as in (166) and (167) are used to a higher degree by BE speakers than by GE-E and DA-E speakers. The divergence is greater between DA-E and BE speakers than between GE-E and BE speakers, and the differences are more noticeable in *mobile-stranger* than in *mobile-boss*.

- (166) I'm really sorry, I know this sounds really cheeky, but would you mind if I really quickly used your phone to call a cab? I'll buy you a coffee in return? (BE)
- (167) I'm sorry, I don't want to rush lunch but I have an appointment. I left my phone at the office. Could I possibly borrow yours to cancel? (BE)
- (168) Frau Schmidt, das ist mir jetzt etwas unangenehm, aber ich habe mein Handy vergessen und muss dringend jemandem absagen, könnte ich Ihr Handy kurz leihen? (GE)

In *mobile-stranger*, GE-E and DA-E speakers' seldom use of DISARMERS may be explained by pragmatic transfer, as DISARMERS are only used to a very low degree in the GE and DA data. In *mobile-boss*, however, transfer does only seem to have been at play between DA and DA-E. German students actually use DISARMERS as in (168) to a higher degree in the GE data than British students do in the BE data. Thus, transfer from GE to GE-E can hardly be an explanation for GE-E speakers' infrequent use of DISARMERS in *mobile-boss*, and other mechanisms must have been at play.

5.6.4 The use of COST MINIMISERS

It is remarkable that, in *mobile-stranger*, COST MINIMISERS as in (169) are used much more frequently by DA-E than by BE speakers. GE-E speakers, on the other hand, use about the same amount of COST MINIMISERS as BE speakers.

- (169) Is there any way I could borrow your mobile for a second? I'll pay you of course. (DA-E)

DA-E speakers' overuse of COST MINIMISERS can only partly be explained by pragmatic transfer. The Danish students use COST MINIMISERS to a slightly higher degree in the DA data than BE speakers do in their responses. However, the Danish students use COST MINIMISERS much more often in the DA-E data than in their DA data. Similarly, the German students use COST MINIMISERS to a lower degree in the GE data than in the GE-E data. Thus, Danish and German students seem to use more COST MINIMISERS when they speak English than when they act in their native languages.

6. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The results of my study show that there are a lot of similarities between the requests made in English by German, Danish and British students. When we look at the realisation of the request HA, QUERY PREPARATORY is the overall preferred directness level. Additionally, the more indirect request realisations - OPTING OUT, ALTERNATIVE RESPONSES and impersonal perspective in QUERY PREPARATORIES - are chosen in situations that involve a high degree of social distance or H-authority. IMPERATIVES, on the other hand, are mostly used in situations that involve a low degree of social distance, S-authority or a high degree of H-obligation. It is also in these situations that least downgrading devices and modal expressions are used by the BE, GE-E and DA-E populations (*window-friend* being an exception to that).

In connection with modal expressions, PAST TENSE is preferred in all three English language groups to denote DYNAMIC ability and willingness, while PRESENT TENSE is preferred to denote EPISTEMIC possibility. The tense of modal expressions denoting DEONTIC permission seems to depend on the situation. Furthermore, DYNAMIC MODALITY is preferred in the window-situations, and DEONTIC MODALITY in the mobile-situations. Thus, the type of MODALITY depends on the request content, which can also be seen in those mobile-situations in which different request contents were chosen by the participants, as well as in cases of ALTERNATIVE RESPONSES in the window-situations. When we look at the use of ALERTERS in BE, GE-E and DA-E, FIRST NAMES and APOLOGIES are used most frequently.

External modification is mostly realised by GROUNDERS, the preferred kind of SM in all language groups. Most of these GROUNDERS can be said to involve a MORALISING element. The greatest variety and the greatest amount of SMs is used in situations involving a high degree of imposition combined with H-authority or a high degree of social distance. Surprisingly, the shortest, least elaborated requests are not exclusively triggered by situations involving a low degree of imposition combined with S-authority and a low degree of social distance. Other situational parameters seem to have an influence as well. However, in all language groups, the choices of linguistic strategies in requests depend highly on the socio-pragmatic features of the situational context.

Apart from these overall similarities, my study reveals several differences between BE, GE-E and DA-E speakers concerning their choices of specific requesting strategies and linguistic devices:

GE-E and DA-E speakers – and GE-E more so than DA-E speakers – tend to make requests in situations in which a considerable part of the British students would find it inappropriate. On the other hand, a significant percentage of the GE-E and DA-E speakers would avoid making a request in a situation in which most of the BE respondents would find it perfectly adequate. When making the request, DA-E speakers do not use impersonal perspective in QUERY PREPARATORIES as often as BE speakers. GE-E speakers also differ from BE speakers in their use of impersonal perspective, but they use it to a higher degree in some situations and to a lower in others. Apart from that, DA-E and GE-E respondents - and DA-E much more so than GE-E speakers - tend to use more IMPERATIVES than British students in some situations. Thus, DA-E speakers tend to use more direct levels of request realisation than BE speakers, while this can only partly be said for the GE-E speakers.

When using ALERTERS, GE-E speakers use a great deal of SURNAMES in situations in which British students use FIRST NAMES. DA-E respondents, on the other hand, seem to match BE speakers' use of FIRST NAMES and SURNAMES better. However, DA-E speakers generally use fewer APOLOGIES than BE speakers, especially in situations involving H-authority. We can therefore conclude that GE-E speakers tend to choose a higher formality level than BE speakers, while DA-E respondents do not apologise for the potential face-threat of their requests as often as BE respondents do.

There are also differences concerning the use of specific LEXICAL/PHRASAL DOWNGRADERS. DA-E speakers use more POLITENESS MARKERS than BE speakers in most situations, while GE-E speakers only do so in a few situations. Furthermore, GE-E and DA-E speakers – and most significantly GE-E speakers - use fewer DOWNTONERS than BE speakers in one situation. DA-E speakers also generally use fewer UNDERSTATERS than BE speakers, while GE-E speakers only do so in a few situations. In some situations, GE-E speakers actually use more UNDERSTATERS than BE speakers. Hence, GE-E and DA-E speakers do not generally use more or fewer LEXICAL/PHRASAL DOWNGRADERS than BE speakers, but they use different kinds of LEXICAL/PHRASAL DOWNGRADERS to a higher or lower degree in different situations.

The only more general observation in connection with LEXICAL/PHRASAL DOWNGRADERS is that CONSULTATIVE DEVICES are generally used to a lower degree by DA-E and GE-E speakers than by BE respondents. Interestingly, this seems to lead to a more seldom use of SYNTACTIC DOWNGRADERS in the GE-E and DA-E data. This can especially be seen in lower percentages for CONDITIONAL, CONDITIONAL CLAUSES and PAST TENSE. However, PAST TENSE and CONDITIONAL are used by GE-E and DA-E speakers in connection with modal verbs. Thus, GE-E and DA-E speakers do not generally use fewer PAST TENSE forms denoting CONDITIONAL meaning than BE speakers do. The difference is that, instead of CONSULTATIVE DEVICES, which are coded as lexical modal expressions, GE-E and DA-E speakers seem to prefer the modal verbs ‘can’, ‘could’ and ‘would’. As the tense of modal verbs is not coded under SYNTACTIC DOWNGRADERS, it may seem as if GE-E and DA-E speakers generally use fewer PAST TENSE forms denoting CONDITIONAL meaning, although this is not the case.

When we look at the use of MODALITY types, GE-E and DA-E speakers – and GE-E speakers more so than DA-E speakers - use DYNAMIC ability more frequently than BE speakers. This seems to be partly due to the fact that they use fewer CONSULTATIVE DEVICES denoting DYNAMIC willingness than BE speakers. Another explanation can be found in the chosen request content: in the mobile-situations, GE-E and DA-E speakers more often request the act of having the call made for them than BE speakers do. Apart from the divergences in the use of DYNAMIC MODALITY, DA-E speakers use EPISTEMIC possibility to a lower degree than BE speakers in situations involving H-authority, while they use EPISTEMIC necessity more frequently than BE speakers in *mobile-emergency*. Hence, GE-E and DA-E speakers differ from BE speakers in their choices within DYNAMIC MODALITY, while the DA-E data additionally shows some differences from the BE data in the use of EPISTEMIC MODALITY.

Finally, GE-E speakers use fewer SMs than BE speakers in five situations, while DA-E speakers use fewer SMs than BE speakers in some situations and more in others. Concerning the kinds of SMs used, it is striking that DA-E and GE-E speakers use a considerable degree of PREPARATORS, while BE speakers never use them. On the other hand, lower percentages for DISARMERS can be traced in the DA-E and GE-E data as compared to the BE data. Additionally, DA-E speakers use more COST MINIMISERS than BE speakers. On the basis of that, I would tentatively suggest that GE-E speakers tend to make shorter requests than BE speakers. Except for the overall preference for GROUNDERS in all language groups, GE-E and DA-E speakers additionally seem to prefer different kinds of SMs than BE speakers do.

The reasons for the differences between the request realisations by GE-E, DA-E and BE respondents can only partly be revealed by my study. In some cases, negative pragmatic transfer seems to be a possible explanation for the divergences between the English language groups in my study. As the percentages in the native GE and DA data indicate, Danish and German students seem to transfer their OPTING-OUT patterns and their relatively infrequent use of CONSULTATIVE DEVICES and SYNTACTIC DOWNGRADERS from their native languages into their English interlanguages. Also their preference for modal verbs denoting DYNAMIC ability and their tendency to use PREPARATORS seem to have been transferred from GE and DA into GE-E and DA-E. Apart from that, German students seem to transfer their overuse of SURNAMES and shorter request realisations from GE into GE-E, while Danish students seem to transfer their overuse of IMPERATIVES from DA into DA-E, as well as their infrequent use of impersonal perspective in QUERY PREPARATORIES.

In other cases, however, transfer does not seem to be the reason for the divergences between the interlanguage and the native English data. In these cases, the percentages of the GE-E and DA-E data do not reflect those in the GE and DA data. This is, for example, so in connection with DA-E speakers' low percentage of APOLOGIES and expressions of EPISTEMIC possibility, as well as in connection with their high percentage of COST MINIMISERS and politeness MARKERS. Also the differences between GE-E, DA-E and BE speakers concerning the use of LEXICAL/PHRASAL DOWNGRADERS cannot straightforwardly be attributed to pragmatic transfer. Thus, mechanisms apart from transfer must have been at play in such cases.

One such mechanism could be general insecurity in interlanguage communication, in which GE-E and DA-E speakers take on the foreigner role (cf. House & Kasper 1987: 1285). Also, German and Danish students may have incorrect assumptions about appropriate English language use which are independent of their L1-specific knowledge (cf. Kasper & Blum-Kulka 1993: 8), for example due to over-generalisation of principles learned in classroom instruction. These phenomena cannot be accounted for in a questionnaire survey and their investigation calls for further research. Interviewing some of the participants about their linguistic choices or studying longer stretches of oral discourse data could be useful methods in this connection.

An additional finding of my study is that, in some instances, the employed request coding system may lead to only partly correct assumptions about the requesting behaviour of German, Danish and British students. As indicated above, the separate account for modal verbs may distort the percentages for several SYNTACTIC DOWNGRADERS. To avoid diffuse results, the request coding system needs further development and restructuring.

Furthermore, neither my request coding system, nor any of those it is built upon, can account for UP- and DOWNGRADERS occurring in SMs. I would suggest that the difference between the GROUNDERS in (170) and the one in (171) is quite significant, and should be documented in an account for requests.

(170) D'ya mind closing that window? I'm fucking freezin'! (BE)

(171) Would you mind closing the window? I'm a little cold. (BE)

In this connection, it would be interesting to see if there are any cross-cultural differences in the modification of SMs, and if less frequent use of DOWNGRADERS in the request HA is compensated for by more DOWNGRADERS in SMs. In order to fully account for the linguistic devices used in request realisations across different language groups, coding systems that account for modification of SMs still need to be developed.

At last, I would say that my analysis of requests has revealed a lot of similarities, but also a range of differences in the English language use of German and Danish students who study English at BA level and of students who are native speakers of British English. My study has also shown that some of these differences seem to be due to pragmalinguistic and socio-pragmatic transfer from German and Danish. How the differing request realisations by the Danish and German students are perceived by the British students, and how these perceptions influence intercultural communication remains, however, open to further research.

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8. APPENDICES

8.1 Appendix A: The questionnaires for my study

Questionnaire 1: English version

Dear participant

Below, you have 8 situations. You are asked to write what you would say in each situation. Please do not read all situations at first, but write what you would say in one situation, before proceeding to the next one.

Please note that there are no right or wrong answers. Just write what sounds natural for you. It may be just one word or up to several sentences. If you think more than one answer is appropriate, please feel free to offer the alternatives.

This questionnaire is part of a linguistic study that I conduct in connection with my master's thesis at Copenhagen Business School. Please do only fill it out if your mother tongue is either British English, Danish or German. If you are willing to answer some follow-up questions in a second questionnaire or interview, please write your contact details at the end of these three pages. If you prefer staying anonymous and do not want to be contacted again, that is just fine as well.

Thank you very much for your participation.

Evelyn Holoch

Student of English and International Business Communication

Situation 1

You are having dinner with your good friend Maria. You are at her place. One of the windows is open, and you're feeling rather cold. Maria is sitting right next to the window, and you would like her to close it. What do you say?

Situation 2

You are at your tutor Ken Thomson's office, discussing your latest assignment. The window behind his desk is open, and you're feeling rather cold. As you've just recovered from the flu, you really want him to close the window. What do you say?

Situation 3

You are sitting in a train to London. The man in front of you has opened his window about half an hour ago, and you're feeling rather cold by now. You would like him to close the window. What do you say?

Situation 4

In your free time, you organise activities for teenagers in the local youth club. In a billiard tournament, one of the boys, Dennis, opens the window, and everyone starts freezing. You want him to close the window again. What do you say?

Situation 5

You are sitting in a cafe on your own reading a book. It is late, and you need to call a taxi cab. Unfortunately, you forgot your mobile at home, and there are no public phones around. The woman on the table next to you just finished a conversation on her mobile. What do you say?

Situation 6

You are at a bar with your brother Mark. It is late, and you need to call a taxi cab. Unfortunately, you forgot your mobile at home, and there are no public phones around. Mark just sent a message on his mobile. What do you say?

Situation 7

You are having business lunch at a restaurant with your new boss Monica Smith. It is getting late, and you are afraid that you won't make it to fitness class with your friend. You want to call him and cancel. Unfortunately, you forgot your mobile at the office, and there are no public phones around. Your boss' mobile is lying on the table next to her. What do you say?

Situation 8

You are jogging in a park with your friend. Suddenly, he stumbles, falls and hits his head on a stone. He is bleeding quite badly and he is in a lot of pain. You want to call an ambulance as fast as possible, but unfortunately, you didn't take your mobile with you, and neither did your friend. Some meters away, a woman approaches you talking on her mobile. What do you say?

A bit about yourself:

Gender: female male

Age: _____

Field of study: _____

I am a native speaker of

British English

Danish

German

If you are not a native speaker of English, ...

... how long have you been studying English at university? _____

... have you been living in an English speaking country?

no

yes

If yes, *where* and *how long*? _____

....do you speak English with native speakers in your everyday life (friends, family etc.)?

no

yes

If yes, *how often* approximately? _____

Questionnaire 2: German version**Liebe Teilnehmerin, lieber Teilnehmer,**

unten sind 8 Situationen beschrieben. Bitte schreiben Sie, was Sie in jeder dieser Situationen sagen würden. Bitte lesen Sie nicht zuerst alle Situationen durch, sondern schreiben Sie erst, was Sie in der einen Situation sagen würden, bevor Sie zur nächsten weitergehen.

Es gibt hierbei keine falschen und richtigen Antworten! Schreiben Sie einfach, was für Sie normal klingt. Es könnte nur ein Wort sein oder bis zu mehreren Sätzen. Wenn Sie mehr als eine Antwort für angemessen halten, schreiben Sie gerne Ihre Alternativen auf.

Dieser Fragebogen ist Teil einer linguistischen Studie, die ich im Rahmen meiner Masterarbeit an der Copenhagen Business School durchführe. Bitte füllen Sie ihn nur aus, wenn Deutsch Ihre Muttersprache ist. Wenn Sie bereit wären, einige vertiefende Fragen in einem weiteren Fragebogen oder in einem Interview zu beantworten, hinterlassen Sie bitte Ihre Kontaktdaten am Ende dieser drei Seiten. Wenn Sie lieber anonym bleiben möchten und nicht noch einmal kontaktiert werden wollen, ist das auch absolut in Ordnung.

Vielen Dank für Ihre Teilnahme.

Evelyn Holoch

Studentin in Englisch und Internationaler Wirtschaftskommunikation

Situation 1

Sie essen zu abend bei Ihrer guten Freundin Maria. Eines der Fenster ist offen und Ihnen ist ziemlich kalt. Maria sitzt genau neben dem Fenster und Sie möchten gerne, daß sie es zumacht. Was sagen Sie?

Situation 2

Sie sind im Büro Ihres Dozenten Herr Thomsen und Sie diskutieren Ihre letzte Seminararbeit. Das Fenster hinter seinem Schreibtisch ist offen und Ihnen ist ziemlich kalt. Da Sie sich gerade erst von einer Grippe erholt haben, möchten Sie wirklich gerne, daß Herr Thomsen das Fenster zumacht. Was sagen Sie?

Situation 3

Sie sitzen im Zug nach Hamburg. Der Mann vor Ihnen hat vor ca. einer halben Stunde sein Fenster aufgemacht und langsam wird Ihnen ziemlich kalt. Sie hätten gerne, daß er das Fenster zumacht. Was sagen Sie?

Situation 4

In Ihrer Freizeit organisieren Sie Aktivitäten für Teenager im Jugendklub Ihrer Stadt. Während eines Billiard -Turniers macht einer der Jungs, Dennis, das Fenster auf und alle fangen an zu frieren. Sie hätten gerne, daß er das Fenster wieder zu macht. Was sagen Sie?

Situation 5

Sie sitzen allein in einem Café und lesen ein Buch. Es ist spät und Sie müssen ein Taxi bestellen. Leider haben Sie aber Ihr Handy daheim vergessen und es ist keine Telefonzelle in der Nähe. Die Frau am Tisch nebenan hat gerade ein Gespräch auf ihrem Handy beendet. Was sagen Sie?

Situation 6

Sie sind in einer Bar mit Ihrem Bruder Mark. Es ist spät und Sie müssen ein Taxi bestellen. Leider haben Sie aber Ihr Handy daheim vergessen und es ist keine Telefonzelle in der Nähe. Mark hat gerade eine SMS mit seinem Handy verschickt. Was sagen Sie?

Situation 7

Sie sind im Restaurant bei einem Geschäftsessen mit Ihrer neuen Chefin Frau Schmidt. Es wird später als erwartet und Sie werden es wohl nicht mehr zur Fitness-Stunde mit Ihrem Kumpel schaffen. Sie wollen ihn anrufen, um abzusagen. Leider haben Sie aber Ihr Handy im Büro vergessen und es ist keine Telefonzelle in der Nähe. Das Handy Ihrer Chefin liegt neben ihr auf dem Tisch. Was sagen Sie?

Situation 8

Sie sind mit einem Freund im Park joggen. Plötzlich stolpert er und fällt mit seinem Kopf auf einen Stein. Er blutet ziemlich und hat starke Schmerzen. Sie wollen so schnell wie möglich einen Krankenwagen rufen, aber leider haben Sie Ihr Handy nicht dabei und Ihr Freund auch nicht. Ein paar Meter entfernt kommt eine Frau auf Sie zu, die auf ihrem Handy telefoniert. Was sagen Sie?

Ein paar Infos über Sie:

Geschlecht: weiblich männlich

Alter: _____

Studienrichtung: _____

Questionnaire 3: Danish version**Kære deltager**

Herunder beskrives 8 situationer. Skriv venligst, hvad du ville sige i enhver af disse situationer. Læs venligst ikke alle situationer først, men skriv hvad du ville sige i den ene situation, før du går videre til den næste.

Læg venligst mærke til at der ingen forkerte og rigtige svar er! Skriv bare spontant, hvad der lyder naturligt for dig. Det kunne bare være et ord eller op til flere sætninger. Hvis du synes, at flere svar er passende, må du gerne skrive dine alternativer ned.

Dette spørgeskema er del af en linguistisk undersøgelse, som jeg gennemfører i forbindelse med mit speciale på Handelshøjskolen i København. Udfyld det venligst kun, hvis dansk er dit modersmål. Hvis du godt vil stå til rådighed i forbindelse med nogle uddybende spørgsmål i et andet spørgeskema eller i et interview, skriv venligst dine kontaktoplysninger på sidste side. Hvis du hellere vil forblive anonym og ikke vil kontaktes igen, er det også helt i orden.

Mange tak for din deltagelse.

Evelyn Holoch

Studerende i Engelsk og International Erhvervs kommunikation

Situation 1

Du spiser aftensmad hos din gode veninde Maria. Et af vinduerne står åbent og du fryser. Maria sidder lige ved siden af vinduet og du vil gerne have at hun lukker det. Hvad siger du?

Situation 2

Du er på din vejleder Ken Thomsens kontor, hvor I diskuterer din seneste opgave. Vinduet bagved hans skrivebord står åbent og du fryser. Du er lige kommet dig over en influenza. Du vil virkelig gerne have at din vejleder lukker vinduet. Hvad siger du?

Situation 3

Du sidder i toget til København. Manden foran dig har åbnet sit vindue for ca. en halv time siden og du begynder efterhånden at fryse. Du vil gerne have at han lukker vinduet. Hvad siger du?

Situation 4

I din fritid organiserer du aktiviteter for teenagere i den lokale ungdomsklub. Under en billiard-konkurrence åbner en af drengene, Dennis, vinduet og alle begynder at fryse. Du vil gerne have at han lukker vinduet igen. Hvad siger du?

Situation 5

Du sidder alene på cafe og læser en bog. Det er sent og du skal bestille en taxa. Desværre har du dog glemt din mobil derhjemme og der er ingen offentlig telefon i nærheden. Kvinden ved bordet ved siden af har lige afsluttet en samtale på sin mobil. Hvad siger du?

Situation 6

Du er på en bar med din bror Mark. Det er sent og du skal bestille en taxa. Desværre har du dog glemt din mobil derhjemme og der er ingen offentlig telefon i nærheden. Mark har lige sendt en besked med sin mobil. Hvad siger du?

Situation 7

Du er til forretningsfrokost på restaurant med din nye chef Monika Schmidt. Det bliver senere end forventet og du når vist ikke til fitness-timen med din ven. Du vil gerne ringe til ham og aflyse. Desværre har du dog glemt din mobil på kontoret og der er ingen offentlig telefon i nærheden. Din chefs mobil ligger på bordet ved siden af hende. Hvad siger du?

Situation 8

Du er ude at løbe i parken med din ven. Pludseligt snubler han, falder og slår sit hoved på en sten. Han bløder kraftigt og har stærke smerter. Du vil ringe til en ambulance hurtigst muligt, men desværre har du ikke din mobil med og din ven har heller ikke. Et par metre længere væk kommer en kvinde imod jer, som snakker i mobil. Hvad siger du?

Lidt om dig selv:

Køn: kvinde mand

Alder: _____

Studieretning: _____

8.2 Appendix B: Demographic data of the sample populations

(shown in percentages)

Gender:

	male	female
<i>Danish students:</i>	16	84
<i>German students:</i>	14	86
<i>British students:</i>	38	62

Age:

	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
<i>Danish students:</i>	-	-	2	14	18	14	14	12	2	12	6	4	2
<i>German students:</i>	-	-	16	26	22	18	8	2	6	2	-	-	-
<i>British students:</i>	2	22	38	12	-	6	6	4	8	2	-	-	-

University:

	Univ. of Southern Denmark		Univ. of Flensburg	
<i>Danish students:</i>		90		10
<i>German students:</i>		90		10

	Univ. of Sussex	Univ. of Liverpool	Univ. of Edinburgh
<i>British students:</i>	50	12	38

Field of study:

	Languages	Mathematics	Social Sciences	Arts	Other
<i>Danish students:</i>	100	-	-	-	-
<i>German students:</i>	100	-	-	-	-
<i>British students:</i>	24	50	12	12	2

Semesters of English studies at university:

(only Danish and German students)

	1-2 semesters	3-4 semesters	5-6 semesters
<i>Danish students:</i>	30.6	26.5	42.9
<i>German students:</i>	52	6	40

Time spent in an English speaking country:

(only Danish and German students)

	none	<3 months	3-6 months	6-12 months	2 years	3 years +
<i>Danish students:</i>	68	4	10	14	-	4
<i>German students:</i>	66	-	10	24	-	-

8.3 Appendix C:

Tables showing the request coding system

Table 3: The scales of directness by Trosborg and the CCSARP

Trosborg (1995: 192 ff)				CCSARP (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989: 18)				
cat	Strategies	Definitions	Examples	Strategies	Definitions	Examples		
Indirect requests	1. HINT	H has to interpret the utterance as constituting a request.		1. MILD HINT	No reference to the request proper; Interpretable by context	I am a nun (in response to a persistent hassler)		
	1.1 MILD HINT	desired action or object not mentioned	I have to be at the station in half an hour	2. STRONG HINT	Partial reference to object or element needed for implementation of the act	You have left the kitchen in a right mess.		
	1.2 STRONG HINT	Desired action or object at least partially mentioned	My car has broken down. Will you be using your car tonight?					
Conventionally indirect requests	2. QUESTIONS ABOUT H'S ABILITY/ WILLINGNESS/ PERMISSION	In questions, S asks about the pre-conditions of the request; H is assigned the role of an agent who can decide whether or not to comply.	Could you lend me your car? Would you lend me your car? May I borrow your car?	3. QUERY PREPARATORY	Reference to preparatory conditions (e.g. ability, willingness) as conventionalised in any specific language	Could you clear up the kitchen, please? Would you mind moving your car?		
			3. SUGGESTORY FORMULAE			Contains a suggestion; S indirectly asks about conditions that might prevent H from carrying out the action	How about lending me your car?	4. SUGGESTORY FORMULAE
	4. STATEMENTS OF S'S WISHES AND DESIRES	Statements including expressions of S's wishes and desires. S's interest is placed above H's.	I would like to borrow your car. I would prefer borrowing your car.					
	5. STATEMENTS OF S'S NEEDS AND DEMANDS	Statements including expressions of S's needs and demands. S's interest is placed above H's.	I need your car. I want you to lend me your car.					
	Direct requests	6. STATEMENTS OF OBLIGATION AND NECESSITY	S exerts authority or refers to another authority in statements that express an obligation of H to carry out some action			You must lend me your car You have to lend me your car	5. WANT STATEMENTS	Utterances which state S's desire that H carries out the act
6. OBLIGATION STATEMENTS				Utterances which state H's obligation to carry out the act	You'll have to move that car.			
7. PERFORMATIVES		includes a performative verb; therefore explicitly marked as a request; may be hedged or unhedged	I would like to ask you to lend me your car. I ask you to lend me your car	7. HEDGED PERFORMATIVES	The naming of the illocutionary force is modified by hedging expressions	I would like to ask you to give your presentation a week earlier than scheduled		
			8. PERFORMATIVES	The illocutionary force is explicitly named	I am asking you to clean up the mess.			
8. IMPERATIVES AND ELLIPTICAL PHRASES	In imperatives, the grammatical mood of the verb is a direct signal for the illocutionary force of an order. In elliptical phrases, only the desired object is mentioned.	Lend me your car.	9. MOOD DERIVABLE	The grammatical mood of the verb signals illocutionary force	Leave me alone. Clean up the mess.			
		Your car (please).						

Table 4: The scale of directness for my study

The request strategies become more direct as we move down the scale.

Cat.	Strategies	Definitions	Examples
Avoiding FTA	OPTING OUT	Deliberate refusal to make a request or blank test item	I would never ask my boss that
	ALTERNATIVE RESPONSES	Different ways of getting the message across	Is it ok if I close the window?
Indirect requests	MILD HINTS	Desired object/action is not mentioned; interpretable by context	I am a bit chilly.
	STRONG HINTS	Desired object/action is at least partially mentioned.	Do you know if there is a phone around?
	QUERY PREPARATORIES – IMPERSONAL PERSPECTIVE	Questions about preparatory conditions uttered in impersonal perspective	Is it possible to close the window?
Conventionally indirect requests	QUERY PREPARATORIES – INCLUSIVE PERSPECTIVE	Questions about preparatory conditions uttered in inclusive perspective	Would you mind if we close the window?
	QUERY PREPARATORIES – H-ORIENTED PERSPECTIVE	Questions about preparatory conditions uttered in hearer-oriented perspective	Could you close the window?
	QUERIES ABOUT H'S FUTURE	Questions about H's future denoted by present tense verbs	Machst du das Fenster zu? Lukker du vinduet?
	SUGGESTORY FORMULAE	Utterances containing a suggestion to do the requested act	How about closing the window?
	WANT STATEMENTS	Utterances stating S's desire that H carries out the act	I want/need to borrow your phone. I would like to borrow your phone.
	Direct requests	STATEMENTS ABOUT PREPARATORY CONDITIONS	Statements about H's willingness/ability denoted by modal verbs
STATEMENTS ABOUT H'S FUTURE		Statements about H's future denoted by present tense verbs	Du machst das Fenster zu. Du lukker vinduet.
STATEMENTS OF OBLIGATION		Utterances stating H's obligation to carry out the act	You have to lend me your phone.
PERFORMATIVES		Utterances including a performative verb conveying the requestive intent	I am asking you to close the window.
IMPERATIVES		The grammatical mood of the verb signals illocutionary force	Give me your phone.
ELLIPTICAL PHRASES		Only the desired object is mentioned	Your phone.

Table 5: Inventory of SYNTACTIC DOWNGRADERS for my analysis

SYNTACTIC DOWNGRADERS	Definitions	Examples
NEGATION OF PREPARATORY CONDITION	Negation in QUERY PREPARATORIES and QUERIES ABOUT H'S FUTURE	Couldn't you close the window?
INTERROGATIVE PARTICLE & NEGATION OF PREPARATORY CONDITION	'vel +ikke' in Danish	Du kunne <u>vel ikke</u> lukke vinduet?
PAST TENSE	Must have present time reference and be optional	I <u>wanted</u> to ask you to close the window.
SUBJUNCTIVE	Must be optional; only coded in connection with non-modals	It would be better if you <u>were to close</u> the window.
CONDITIONAL CLAUSE	Clause referring to some condition	I wonder <u>if you can close the window</u> .
CONDITIONAL	Must be optional; only coded in connection with non-modals	I <u>would suggest</u> you close the window.
ASPECT	Must be optional; only coded in connection with non-modals	I <u>am wondering</u> if you could close the window.

Table 6: Inventory of LEXICAL/PHRASAL DOWNGRADERS for my analysis

LEXICAL/PHRASAL DOWNGRADERS	Definitions	Examples
POLITENESS MARKERS	The markers 'please' in English and 'bitte' in German	Can I borrow your mobile, <u>please</u> ?
LEXICAL EXPRESSIONS ADDING POSITIVE CONNOTATIONS	Assign a positive quality to H, if she complies with the request	Would you be <u>so kind as to</u> lend me your phone?
CONSULTATIVE DEVICES	Routines consulting H's opinion	<u>Would you mind</u> lending me your mobile?
DOWNTONERS	Modifiers diminishing the request's impact	Could you <u>possibly</u> lend me your mobile?
UNDERSTATERS	Modifiers minimising some aspect of the requested action	Could you lend me your mobile <u>for a second</u> ?
HEDGES	Adverbials making the propositional content of the request more vague	I <u>kind of</u> need your phone
CAJOLERS	Expressions that attract H's interest and establish harmony between S and H	<u>You know</u> , I would really like to borrow your phone.
APPEALERS	Phrases that appeal to H's consent; often realised by tag questions	Lend me your mobile, <u>will you</u> ?
EMBEDDING	Pre-faced clause conveying S's attitude	
- tentative	- expressions of tentativeness	I <u>wonder</u> if I could borrow your mobile.
- appreciative	- expressions of appreciation	I'd be <u>grateful</u> if I could borrow your mobile.
- subjective	- expressions of S's opinion or belief	I <u>think</u> you should lend me your mobile.

Table 7: Inventory of MODALITY types for my analysis

MODALITY type	Examples
EPISTEMIC possibility:	
- PRESENT (GE: IND.)	Is it possible to use your phone?
- PAST (GE: SUBJ.)	Would it be possible to use your phone?
EPISTEMIC necessity:	
- PRESENT (GE: IND.)	I need your phone.
- PAST (GE: SUBJ.)	I would need your phone.
DEONTIC permission:	
- PRESENT (GE: IND.)	Can I use your phone?
- PAST (GE: SUBJ.)	Could I use your phone?
DEONTIC obligation:	
- PRESENT (GE: IND.)	You have to close the window.
- PAST (GE: SUBJ.)	You would have to close the window.
DYNAMIC ability:	
- PRESENT (GE: IND.)	Can you close the window?
-PAST (GE: SUBJ.)	Could you close the window?
DYNAMIC willingness:	
-PRESENT (GE: IND.)	Will you close the window?
-PAST (GE: SUBJ.)	Would you close the window?

Table 8: Inventory of modal expressions for my analysis

BE / GE-E / DA-E	GE	DA
Lexical form	Lexical form	Lexical form
can	Können ind.	Kan
could	Können subj.	Kunne
may	Dürfen ind.	Må
might	Dürfen subj.	Måtte
Must	Müssen ind.	Skal
	Müssen subj.	Skulle
will	Wollen ind.	Vil
would	Werden subj.	Ville
shall	Sollen ind.	Bør
should	Sollen subj.	Burde
Semi-auxiliary	Mögen ind.	Gider
	Mögen subj.	Gad
		Tør
		Turde

Table 9: Inventory of SUPPORTIVE MOVES in my study

Supportive moves	Definitions	Examples
PREPARATORS	Pre-HA moves that prepare H for the request	
- asking for permission	Asking for permission to make the request	May I ask you something?
- checking availability	Asking if H is available	Are you busy?
- getting a pre-commitment	Trying to get H to commit herself to comply, before the request is made	Can you help me?
- content	Preparing the content of the request	I just saw you that you have a mobile on you.
GROUNDERS	Giving reasons, explanations etc. that justify the request	<u>I forgot my mobile at home, and need a taxi.</u> Could you call one?
DISARMERS	Explicitly uttering possible objections on H's part	<u>I don't want to be cheeky,</u> but can I borrow your phone?
IMPOSITION MINIMIZERS	Stating that the request is only relevant under certain H-based conditions	Can you close the window? <u>But only if you're not too hot.</u>
COST MINIMIZERS	Emphasising factors that make A less costly to H	Can I borrow your phone? <u>I'll pay for the call of course.</u>
PROMISE OF REWARD	Promise of s.th. extra for H in case of compliance	Can I borrow your mobile? <u>I'd pay for your drink.</u>
SWEETENERS	Flattering H	<u>You're always so nice.</u> Can I just borrow your mobile?
APPRECIATION STATEMENT	Expressing S's appreciation in case of H's compliance	Can you close the window? <u>That would be great.</u>
MORALISING	Grounders that refer to some moral rule.	Please call an ambulance. <u>My friend is badly injured.</u>

8.4 Appendix D: Tables showing the results of my request analysis

(shown in percentages; the percentages in bold mark those strategies that are used most frequently in the language group and the situation concerned)

Table 10: Choice of Directness level (% of all 50 responses respectively)

Situation	Language group	DIRECTNESS LEVEL															
		OPTING OUT	ALTERNATIVE RESPONSE	MILD HINT	STRONG HINT	QUERY PREP. – impersonal persp.	QUERY PREP. – inclusive persp.	QUERY PREP. – H-oriented persp.	QUERY ABOUT H'S FUTURE	SUGGESTORY FORMULAE	WANT STATEMENT	STATEMENT ABOUT PREP. CONDITIONS	STATEMENT ABOUT H'S FUTURE	STATEMENT OF OBLIGATION	PERFORMATIVE	IMPERATIVE	ELLIPTICAL PHRASE
1: window-friend	BE	-	4	2	-	4	10	76	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-
	GE-E	-	2	2	-	-	6	88	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
	DA-E	-	4	2	-	2	14	74	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-
	GE	-	-	2	-	-	4	74	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
	DA	-	4	-	-	2	16	68	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2: window-tutor	BE	8	8	-	-	22	10	52	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	GE-E	2	4	-	-	18	12	62	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
	DA-E	6	10	-	-	12	18	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-
	GE	2	2	-	-	12	8	74	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
	DA	6	6	-	-	16	18	40	2	-	-	-	-	-	12	-	-
3: window-stranger	BE	10	28	-	-	10	-	52	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	GE-E	2	4	-	-	4	8	78	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	-
	DA-E	4	16	2	-	8	6	60	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-
	GE	2	4	-	-	-	4	86	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-
	DA	4	8	2	-	8	12	56	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-	-
4: window-teenager	BE	-	2	2	2	-	6	56	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	32	-
	GE-E	-	-	-	2	-	-	56	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	38	-
	DA-E	2	-	-	-	-	4	34	-	-	-	-	2	-	58	-	
	GE	-	-	-	-	-	-	40	20	-	-	-	2	-	38	-	
	DA	2	-	-	-	-	4	40	8	-	-	2	-	2	-	42	-
5: mobile-stranger	BE	16	-	-	-	16	-	68	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
	GE-E	8	-	-	-	26	-	64	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
	DA-E	10	-	-	-	8	-	82	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	GE	10	-	-	-	4	-	86	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
	DA	10	-	-	-	6	-	84	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6: mobile-brother	BE	-	-	-	-	4	-	76	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	18	-
	GE-E	-	-	-	-	-	-	80	-	4	-	2	2	-	-	12	-
	DA-E	-	-	-	-	-	-	78	-	2	4	-	-	-	-	16	-
	GE	-	-	-	-	-	-	74	12	2	-	-	-	-	-	12	-
	DA	-	-	-	2	-	-	72	4	-	2	-	-	-	-	20	-
7: mobile-boss	BE	16	-	4	2	10	-	68	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	GE-E	32	-	2	-	14	-	52	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	DA-E	24	-	-	2	14	-	60	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	GE	36	-	2	-	6	-	56	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	DA	24	-	-	2	6	-	66	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
8: mobile-emergency	BE	-	-	2	-	2	-	72	-	-	10	2	-	-	-	14	2
	GE-E	-	-	2	2	-	-	72	-	-	4	-	-	-	4	16	-
	DA-E	-	-	8	-	-	-	52	-	-	14	2	-	-	-	24	-
	GE	-	-	6	2	-	-	72	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	16	-
	DA	-	-	6	-	2	-	56	2	-	4	-	-	-	4	26	-

Table 11: Use of ALERTERS

(% of all 50 responses respectively, excl. those with directness level OPTING OUT)

Situation	Language group	ALERTERS									
		none	TERMS OF ADDRESS	SURNAMES	FIRST NAMES	NICKNAMES	ENDEARMENT TERMS	PRONOUNS	ATTENTION GETTERS	- APOLOGY	- EXCLAMATION
1: window- friend	BE	63.5	2	-	26.5	-	2	-	3	3	-
	GE-E	52	-	-	44	-	-	-	12	4	8
	DA-E	76	-	-	22	-	2	-	-	-	-
	GE	40.8	-	2	51	2	-	-	6.1	-	6.1
	DA	62	-	-	34	-	2	-	6	2	4
2: window- tutor	BE	47.8	10.9	6.5	2.2	-	-	-	41.3	41.3	-
	GE-E	45.8	6.3	14.6	6.5	-	-	-	33.3	33.3	-
	DA-E	74.5	2.1	4.3	4.3	-	-	-	17	17	-
	GE	36.7	2	36.7	-	-	-	-	30.6	30.6	-
	DA	68.1	-	-	10.6	-	-	-	25.5	25.5	-
3: window- stranger	BE	31.1	15.6	-	-	-	-	-	62.2	62.2	2.2
	GE-E	26.5	30.6	-	-	-	-	-	65.3	63.3	2
	DA-E	39.6	33.3	-	-	-	-	-	54.2	54.2	-
	GE	26.5	-	-	-	-	2	-	73.5	71.4	2
	DA	37.5	4.2	-	-	-	-	-	62.5	62.5	-
4: window- teenager	BE	14	4	-	82	-	-	-	12	4	8
	GE-E	8	-	-	92	-	-	-	20	2	18
	DA-E	8.2	-	-	83.7	4.1	-	-	16.3	2	14.3
	GE	10	-	-	90	-	-	-	12	2	10
	DA	14.3	-	-	85.7	-	-	-	10.2	-	10.2
5: mobile- stranger	BE	11.9	2.4	-	-	-	-	-	85.7	81	9.5
	GE-E	4.3	23.9	-	-	-	-	-	93.5	86.9	6.5
	DA-E	17.8	11.1	-	-	-	-	-	77.8	73.3	11.1
	GE	6.1	4.4	-	-	-	-	-	93.3	88.9	2.2
	DA	15.6	2.2	-	-	-	-	-	84.4	84.4	-
6: mobile- brother	BE	46	2	-	48	-	-	-	8	-	8
	GE-E	36	2	-	62	-	-	-	22	2	18
	DA-E	48	-	-	46	-	-	-	16	2	16
	GE	36	-	-	58	4	-	2	8	-	8
	DA	56	-	-	40	-	-	-	6	-	6
7: mobile- boss	BE	35.7	-	2.4	23.8	2.4	-	-	42.9	40.5	2.4
	GE-E	44.1	2.9	20.6	11.8	-	-	-	38.2	35.2	2.9
	DA-E	57.9	5.3	5.3	10.5	-	-	-	23.7	23.7	-
	GE	37.5	-	46.9	-	-	-	-	31.3	31.3	-
	DA	68.4	2.6	-	10.5	-	-	-	18.4	18.4	-
8: mobile- emergency	BE	30	2	-	-	-	-	-	70	58	8
	GE-E	18	22	-	-	-	-	2	80	66	18
	DA-E	40	20	-	-	-	-	-	58	46	14
	GE	30	2	-	-	-	-	2	70	54	14
	DA	42	-	-	-	-	-	-	58	48	20

Table 13: Use of SYNTACTIC DOWNGRADERS
 (% of all 50 answers respectively excl. those with directness level OPTING OUT)

Situation	Language group	SYNTACTIC DOWNGRADERS							
		None	PAST TENSE	NEGATION OF PREPARATORY CONDITION	INTERROGATIVE PARTICLE + NEGATION OF PREPARATORY CONDITION	SUBJUNCTIVE	CONDITIONAL CLAUSE	CONDITIONAL	ASPECT
1: window-friend	BE	52	8	-	-	-	20	44	-
	GE-E	70	-	-	-	-	4	24	-
	DA-E	66.7	2.1	4.2	-	-	4.2	29.2	-
	GE	93.8	-	-	-	-	-	4.2	-
	DA	36.7	-	57.1	-	2	4.1	-	-
2: window-tutor	BE	50	8.7	-	-	-	17.4	39.1	-
	GE-E	51.1	2.1	-	-	-	12.4	44.7	-
	DA-E	51.1	4.3	-	-	-	12.8	42.6	-
	GE	71.4	-	-	-	-	6.1	26.5	-
	DA	42.6	2.1	31.9	2.1	-	8.5	19.1	-
3: window-stranger	BE	31.1	6.7	-	-	-	28.9	51.1	-
	GE-E	67.3	-	-	-	-	2	30.6	-
	DA-E	50	6.3	-	-	-	14.6	41.7	-
	GE	85.7	-	-	-	-	4	26.5	-
	DA	47.9	-	31.3	2.1	-	4.2	12.5	-
4: window-teenager	BE	80	2	-	-	2	6	14	-
	GE-E	94	-	2	-	-	-	4	-
	DA-E	91.8	-	-	-	-	-	8.2	-
	GE	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	DA	63.3	-	36.7	-	-	-	-	-
5: mobile-stranger	BE	45.2	21.4	4.8	-	-	31	45.2	-
	GE-E	73.9	2.2	-	-	-	13	23.9	2.2
	DA-E	88.9	4.4	-	-	-	4.4	8.9	2.2
	GE	91.1	-	-	-	-	2.2	8.9	-
	DA	66.6	-	4.4	24.4	-	2.2	6.6	-
6: mobile-brother	BE	90	2	-	-	-	8	4	-
	GE-E	92	-	2	-	-	4	4	2
	DA-E	98	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
	GE	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	DA	56	-	44	-	-	-	-	-
7: mobile-boss	BE	33.3	21.4	4.8	-	-	50	40.5	-
	GE-E	73.5	2.9	-	-	-	11.8	26.5	-
	DA-E	65.8	7.9	-	-	-	18.4	28.9	-
	GE	81.3	-	-	-	-	6.3	18.8	-
	DA	71.1	5.3	2.9	13.2	-	7.9	10.5	-
8: mobile-emergency	BE	94	2	-	-	-	4	2	-
	GE-E	98	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
	DA-E	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	GE	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	DA	70	-	22	2	-	-	-	-

Table 14: Use of modal expressions (% of all answers which include a modal expression)

Situation	Language group	General percentages for modal expressions % of all 50 answers respectively, excl. OPTING OUT answers	MODAL EXPRESSION														
			Lexical form	Kan	Kunne	Må	Mätte	Skal	Skulle	Vil	Ville	Bør	Burde	Gider	Gad	Tør	Turde
			Can	Could	May	Might	Must		Will	Would	Shall	Should					
			Können ind.	Können subj.	Dürfen ind.	Dürfen subj.	Müssen ind.	Müssen subj.	Wollen ind.	Werden subj.	Sollen ind.	Sollen subj.	Mögen ind.	Mögen subj.			
1: window-friend	BE	92	56.5	13	30.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	GE-E	96	33.3	6.3	54.2	2.1	-	-	-	4.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	DA-E	94	36.2	6.4	38.3	-	-	-	2.1	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	GE	78	7.7	59	20.5	-	-	-	-	2.6	-	-	10.3	-	-	-	-
	DA	90	22.2	20	2.2	-	-	-	15.6	-	-	-	40	-	-	-	-
2: window-tutor	BE	97.8	53.3	8.9	35.6	2.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	GE-E	94	61.7	4.2	27.6	-	-	-	-	2.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	DA-E	97.8	60.9	8.7	21.7	2.2	-	-	2.2	4.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	GE	93.8	32.6	10.9	47.8	-	-	-	-	8.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	DA	97.8	37	30.4	17.4	2.2	-	-	8.7	2.2	-	-	2.2	-	-	-	-
3: window-stranger	BE	97.7	70.7	2.3	27.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	GE-E	93.8	39.1	2.2	50	4.3	-	-	-	4.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	DA-E	93.7	62.2	4.4	24.4	-	-	-	2.2	6.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	GE	95.9	10.6	19.1	66	-	-	-	-	4.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	DA	97.9	48.9	14.9	21.3	-	-	-	10.7	2.1	-	-	2.1	-	-	-	-
4: window-teenager	BE	66	27.3	15.2	45.5	-	-	-	3	6.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
	GE-E	62	6.5	9.7	58.1	-	-	-	-	22.6	-	3.2	-	-	-	-	-
	DA-E	40	25	20	35	-	-	-	-	15	-	5	-	-	-	-	-
	GE	42	-	52.4	19	-	-	-	-	14.3	-	4.5	9.5	-	-	-	-
	DA	49	8.3	20.8	-	4.2	-	4.2	-	29.2	-	-	33.3	-	-	-	-
5: mobile-stranger	BE	100	52.4	2.4	40.5	4.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	GE-E	97.8	32.2	4.4	53.3	8.9	-	-	-	2.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	DA-E	100	11.1	17.8	62.2	6.7	-	-	-	2.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	GE	97.7	4.5	4.5	68.2	-	18.2	-	-	6.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	DA	100	11.1	28.9	24.4	33.3	4.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6: Mobile-brother	BE	82	12.2	61	19.5	2.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.9
	GE-E	82	2.4	63.4	17.1	12.2	-	-	2.4	2.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	DA-E	82	4.9	75.6	12.2	-	-	-	-	2.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.9
	GE	72	-	80.6	5.6	13.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	DA	76	-	31.6	2.6	47.4	-	2.6	-	-	-	-	15.8	-	-	-	-
7: mobile-boss	BE	92.9	53.8	2.6	43.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	GE-E	94.1	34.4	15.6	40.6	6.3	-	-	-	3.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	DA-E	100	36.8	26.3	31.6	2.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.6
	GE	100	15.6	3.1	56.3	3.1	15.6	-	3.1	3.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	DA	97.4	13.5	24.3	13.5	43.2	-	-	-	5.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8: mobile-emergency	BE	86	2.3	51.2	30.2	4.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11.6
	GE-E	84	-	40.5	45.2	2.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11.9
	DA-E	74	-	40.5	27	2.7	-	-	-	8.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	21.6
	GE	80	2.5	42.5	32.5	12.5	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	DA	70	14.3	34.3	-	37.1	-	-	-	8.6	-	-	5.7	-	-	-	-

Table 15: Use of MODALITY type (% of all answers which include a modal expression)

Situation	Language group	MODALITY TYPE																	
		EPISTEMIC possibility - PRESENT / IND. - PAST / SUBJ.	EPISTEMIC necessity - PRESENT / IND. - PAST / SUBJ.	DEONTIC permission - PRESENT / IND. - PAST / SUBJ.	DEONTIC obligation - PRESENT / IND. - PAST / SUBJ.	DYNAMIC ability - PRESENT / IND. - PAST / SUBJ.	DYNAMIC willingness - PRESENT / IND. - PAST / SUBJ.												
1: window- friend	BE	4.4	2.2	2.2	-	-	-	4.4	-	4.4	-	-	-	43.4	13	30.4	50	8.6	41.4
	GE-E	6.2	6.2	-	-	-	-	4.1	4.1	-	2	2	-	60.3	8.2	52.1	33.2	4.1	29.1
	DA-E	4.2	2.1	2.1	-	-	-	4.2	4.2	-	-	-	-	42.1	6.4	36.1	51	6.4	44.6
	GE	21	21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	81.5	60.5	21	18.4	13.1	5.3
	DA	2.2	2.2	-	-	-	-	8.8	8.8	-	-	-	-	22.2	20	2.2	68.8	64.4	4.4
2: window- tutor	BE	26.5	17.7	8.8	-	-	-	15.5	2.2	13.3	-	-	-	40	8.9	31.1	33.2	15.5	17.7
	GE-E	25.6	21.3	4.3	-	-	-	4.2	2.1	2.1	-	-	-	31.8	4.2	27.6	44.7	6.4	38.3
	DA-E	8.6	2.1	6.5	-	-	-	23.9	15.2	8.7	-	-	-	30.4	8.7	21.7	36.9	6.5	30.4
	GE	44.9	17.4	6.5	-	-	-	8	4	4	-	-	-	53	10.2	42.8	30.6	2	28.6
	DA	23.9	17.4	6.5	-	-	-	15.1	10.8	4.3	-	-	-	45.6	30.4	15.2	30.4	21.7	8.7
3: window- stranger	BE	4.4	2.2	2.2	-	-	-	24.4	11.1	13.3	2.2	2.2	-	26.6	2.2	24.4	46.5	8.8	37.3
	GE-E	8.3	8.3	-	-	-	-	6.3	4.2	2.1	2.1	2.1	-	24.4	2.2	22.2	48.8	13.3	35.5
	DA-E	4.4	4.4	-	-	-	-	24.4	13.3	11.1	-	-	-	24.4	2.2	22.2	48.8	13.3	35.5
	GE	21.2	19.1	2.1	-	-	-	4.2	4.2	-	-	-	-	85.1	21.3	63.8	10.6	-	10.6
	DA	12.7	10.6	2.1	-	-	-	14.8	14.8	-	-	-	-	31.9	14.9	17	42.5	34	8.5
4: window- teenager	BE	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3	-	-	-	-	60.7	15.2	45.5	36.3	9	27.3
	GE-E	-	-	-	3.2	3.2	-	-	-	-	3.2	-	3.2	67.6	9.6	58	25.8	-	25.8
	DA-E	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	5	55	20	35	40	5	35
	GE	4.8	4.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.8	-	4.8	71.4	52.4	19	23.7	9.5	14.3
	DA	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.1	4.1	-	20.8	20.8	-	75	75	-
5: mobile- stranger	BE	50	38.1	11.9	-	-	-	50	7	43	2.4	-	2.4	11.9	-	11.9	26.2	4.8	21.4
	GE-E	40	33.3	6.7	-	-	-	48.8	17.7	31.1	-	-	-	20	-	20	13.3	-	13.3
	DA-E	24.4	22.2	2.2	2.2	2.2	-	77.7	20	57.7	-	-	-	8.8	4.4	4.4	8.8	-	8.8
	GE	43.2	38.6	4.6	-	-	-	66	4.6	61.4	-	-	-	25	2.3	22.7	9.1	-	9.1
	DA	15.5	15.5	-	-	-	-	84.4	62.2	22.2	-	-	-	8.8	2.2	6.6	4.4	2.2	2.2
6: mobile- brother	BE	-	-	-	2.4	2.4	-	77.1	60.1	17	-	-	-	12	7.2	4.8	7.2	4.8	2.4
	GE-E	4.8	4.8	-	-	-	-	56	51.2	9.8	-	-	-	31.8	22	9.8	7.2	2.4	4.8
	DA-E	-	-	-	4.8	4.8	-	75.6	68.3	7.3	-	-	-	12.2	7.3	4.9	7.3	-	7.3
	GE	-	-	-	-	-	-	61	55.5	5.5	-	-	-	38.8	38.8	-	-	-	-
	DA	-	-	-	-	-	-	73.6	71	2.6	-	-	-	7.9	7.9	-	18.4	18.4	-
7: mobile- boss	BE	25.6	17.9	7.7	-	-	-	56	7.7	51.3	-	-	-	2.6	-	2.6	33.4	10.3	23.1
	GE-E	34.4	25	9.4	-	-	-	59.4	25	34.4	-	-	-	6.3	-	6.3	21.9	-	21.9
	DA-E	26.3	15.8	10.5	2.6	2.6	-	73.7	31.6	42.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	10.4	2.6	7.8
	GE	34.4	25	9.4	-	-	-	71.9	6.3	65.6	-	-	-	12.5	-	12.5	9.4	-	9.4
	DA	10.8	8.1	2.7	-	-	-	89.2	67.6	21.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.4	5.4	-
8: mobile- emergency	BE	6.6	6.6	-	11.6	11.6	-	76.8	53.5	23.3	-	-	-	11.7	4.7	7	2.3	-	2.3
	GE-E	2.4	2.4	-	11.9	11.9	-	45.2	26.2	19	-	-	-	42.9	16.6	26.2	-	-	-
	DA-E	-	-	-	21.6	21.6	-	37.8	27	10.8	-	-	-	32.4	16.2	16.2	8.2	-	8.2
	GE	2.5	2.5	-	2.5	2.5	-	42.5	25	17.5	5	5	-	52.5	30	22.5	-	-	-
	DA	2.9	2.9	-	11.4	11.4	-	60	60	-	-	-	-	14.3	14.3	-	14.3	14.3	-

Table 16: Request content in mobile-situation (% of all 50 responses respectively)

<i>Situation</i>	Language group	REQUEST CONTENT	
		Requesting the object the mobile	Requesting the act of having the call made
<i>5: mobile-stranger</i>	BE	95.2	4.8
	GE-E	91.3	8.7
	DA-E	100	-
	GE	88.8	11.2
	DA	100	-
<i>6: mobile-brother</i>	BE	88	12
	GE-E	72	28
	DA-E	80	20
	GE	68	32
	DA	78	22
<i>7: mobile-boss</i>	BE	100	-
	GE-E	100	-
	DA-E	100	-
	GE	100	-
	DA	100	-
<i>8: mobile-emergency</i>	BE	78	26
	GE-E	46	54
	DA-E	52	38
	GE	46	56
	DA	48	52

Table 17: Use of SUPPORTIVE MOVES

(% of all 50 answers respectively excl. those with directness level OPTING OUT)

Situation	Language group	SUPPORTIVE MOVES														
		None	PREPARATORS	- asking for permission	- checking availability	- getting a pre-commitment	- content	SWEETENERS	GROUNDERS	DISARMERS	COST MINIMISERS	IMPOSITION MINIMISERS	PROMISE OF REWARD	APPRECIATION STATEMENT	ADVICE	MORALISING
1: window-friend	BE	48	-	-	-	-	-	-	48	-	-	4	-	2	-	42
	GE-E	46	-	-	-	-	-	-	50	-	-	2	-	4	-	48
	DA-E	38	-	-	-	-	-	-	62	-	-	-	-	2	-	60
	GE	42	-	-	-	-	-	-	56	-	-	2	-	4	-	54
	DA	44	-	-	-	-	-	2	54	-	-	-	-	-	-	52
2: window-tutor	BE	21.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	78.3	4.3	-	4.3	-	2.2	-	76.1
	GE-E	43.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	50	-	-	-	-	6.3	-	50
	DA-E	21.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	76.1	-	-	-	-	2.2	-	74.5
	GE	40.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	51	6.1	-	-	-	8.2	-	51
	DA	19.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	80.9	-	-	2.1	-	-	-	80.9
3: window-stranger	BE	55.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	37.8	-	-	8.9	-	6.7	-	37.8
	GE-E	44.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	52	2	-	-	-	6.1	2	52
	DA-E	51.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	46.8	2.1	-	2.1	-	-	-	45.8
	GE	36.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	61.2	-	-	-	-	6.1	2	59.2
	DA	37.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	60.4	2.1	-	2.1	-	2.1	-	60.4
4: window-teenager	BE	28	4	-	-	2	2	-	70	-	-	2	-	2	6	70
	GE-E	38	-	-	-	-	-	-	58	-	-	-	-	4	-	58
	DA-E	26.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	73.5	-	-	-	-	2	-	71.4
	GE	36	-	-	-	-	-	-	64	-	-	-	-	2	-	58
	DA	30.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	67.3	-	-	-	-	2	2	63.3
5: mobile-stranger	BE	7.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	85.7	19	31	4.8	4.8	7.1	-	45.2
	GE-E	2.2	19.6	-	-	2.2	17.4	-	95.7	6.5	32.6	2.2	4.3	6.5	-	47.8
	DA-E	6.7	2.2	-	-	-	2.2	-	86.7	2.2	48.9	-	2.2	2.2	-	42.2
	GE	4.4	13.3	4.4	-	-	13.3	-	93.3	4.4	22.2	4.4	4.4	4.4	-	46.7
	DA	6.7	2.2	-	-	-	2.2	-	88.9	2.2	37.8	-	2.2	2.2	-	35.6
6: mobile-brother	BE	30	-	-	-	-	-	2	70	-	-	-	2	6	-	12
	GE-E	34	-	-	-	-	-	-	64	-	-	-	-	4	-	14
	DA-E	26	2	-	-	-	2	-	70	-	-	2	-	-	-	12
	GE	36	-	-	-	-	-	-	64	-	-	-	-	4	-	18
	DA	40	-	-	-	-	-	2	60	-	-	-	-	-	-	18
7: mobile-boss	BE	2.4	-	-	-	-	-	2.4	97.6	11.7	-	4.8	2.4	-	-	69
	GE-E	5.9	8.8	2.9	-	-	5.9	-	85.3	8.8	5.9	-	2.9	8.8	-	64.7
	DA-E	10.5	13.2	2.6	-	-	13.2	7.9	89.5	5.3	7.9	2.6	2.6	-	-	47.4
	GE	9.4	6.3	3.1	-	-	3.1	-	84.4	21.9	3.1	-	3.1	3.1	-	59.4
	DA	13.2	7.9	-	-	-	7.9	2.6	86.8	5.3	2.6	7.9	5.3	-	-	57.9
8: mobile-emergency	BE	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	96	2	-	2	-	2	-	92
	GE-E	12	10	-	2	6	2	-	86	-	-	-	-	6	-	82
	DA-E	6	2	-	-	2	-	-	94	2	-	-	-	2	-	88
	GE	12	4	-	-	2	2	-	86	-	2	-	-	6	-	86
	DA	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	88	2	-	-	-	2	-	44