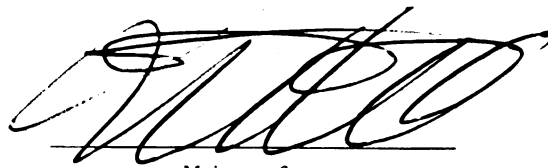




This is to certify that the
thesis entitled
Social Class Ethos in a Northern U.S. City:
A Quantitative Study of
Politeness Behavior

presented by
Brian Kleiner

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for
M.A. degree in Linguistics


Major professor

Date 7/20/93

**LIBRARY
Michigan State
University**

PLACE IN RETURN BOX to remove this checkout from your record.
TO AVOID FINES return on or before date due.

DATE DUE	DATE DUE	DATE DUE
DEC 17 1982		
DEC 17 1982		
DEC 17 1982		
DEC 17 1982		
DEC 17 1982		
DEC 17 1982		
DEC 17 1982		
DEC 17 1982		
DEC 17 1982		
DEC 17 1982		

MSU Is An Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity Institution

c:\circ\data\due.pm3-p.1

**SOCIAL CLASS ETHOS IN A NORTHERN U.S. CITY
A QUANTITATIVE STUDY OF POLITENESS BEHAVIOR
IN LANGUAGE**

By

Brian H. Kleiner

A THESIS

**Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of**

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Linguistics

1993

ABSTRACT

SOCIAL CLASS ETHOS IN A NORTHERN U.S. CITY A QUANTITATIVE STUDY OF POLITENESS BEHAVIOR IN LANGUAGE

By

Brian H. Kleiner

This paper provides a sociolinguistic study which lends quantitative support to the notion that politeness emphases are variable across social classes. This difference is shown to be encoded linguistically in ordinary usage, within the genre of direction-giving. Interpretation of the data collected is based here on Brown and Levinson's 'Politeness Theory' (1978,87). The data give evidence that middle class speakers are more likely to make use of the more elaborated negative politeness strategy, with suggestions being issued in an indirect way. On the other hand, working class speakers tend to choose the 'bald-on record' strategy, suggesting directions in the form of direct bald imperatives. The choice of strategy is ultimately based on speaker assessment of three sociological factors-- distance, power, and ranking of imposition. It is shown in this paper that variable speaker perception of distance across the two classes gives the results found in the data.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

- I Introduction**
- 2 On politeness**
 - 2.1 Face**
 - 2.2 Rationality**
 - 2.3 FTA's**
 - 2.4 Strategies**
 - 2.5 P, D, and R**
 - 2.6 Ethos**
 - 2.7 Linguistic realizations**
 - 2.7.1 Be conventionally indirect**
 - 2.7.2 Impersonalize S and H**
 - 2.7.2.1 Avoiding 'you'**
 - 2.7.2.2 Generic 'you'**
 - 2.7.2.3 Tense shifting**
 - 2.7.3 Minimize imposition**
- 3 On the data**
 - 3.1 Direction-giving genre**
 - 3.1.1 goals and setting**
 - 3.1.2 internal structure**
 - 3.2 Data collection**
 - 3.3 On the variable**
 - 3.4 Text count/methodology**
 - 3.5 Results**
- 4 Interpretation**
- 5 Other issues**
 - 5.1 social network**
 - 5.2 Are P, D, and R exhaustive?**
 - 5.2.1 audience design**
 - 5.2.2 'liking' factor**
 - 5.2.3 formality**

6 Conclusion

7 Appendix: Data and Text Count

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Variable across social classes, in percentages.....	p.36
Table 2: Variable across social classes; token count.....	p.36
Table 3: Negative politeness forms, across social classes.....	p.38
Table 4: Use of non-bald imperatives, by gender and class.....	p.39
Table 5: Use of non-bald imperatives, by race and class.....	p.40
Table 6: Use of non-bald imperatives, by age and class.....	p.41
Table 7: Conjoined verses non-conjoined clauses.....	p.42
Table 8: Use of non-bald imperatives, with third party present.....	p.50
Table 9: Use of non-bald imperatives, in and out of home environment....	p.52

LIST OF FIGURES

**Figure 1: Possible strategies for doing
FTA's.....p.6**

**Figure 2: Chart of strategies for negative
politeness.....p.11**

INTRODUCTION

Variation of form in language use provides a platform from which to view the interrelationship between language and society. Such variation is often attributed to the social identity of speakers, and in this way social differentiation is seen to be reflected in language. Furthermore, variation also springs from social interaction and reflects the influence of social relationships as well as situational factors on language use. The phenomenon of politeness in language arises from social interaction. Its motivation lies in the desire of interactants to insure a smooth carrying out of purposes in an effort to get things done in the social world, while at the same time paying heed to the positive public self-image that all people (in all cultures) wish to maintain (Brown and Levinson, 1978).

According to Brown and Levinson (henceforth B&L), the linguistic realizations of politeness in interaction are principled, and diverse. They follow from speakers' estimations of the amount of 'face-threat' which verbal actions entail in specific contexts. Estimates of face-threat lead to the rational choice of certain strategies which modify constructions in ways that either do or do not soften the force of face threatening acts (FTA's).

In this way, some variation in the form of utterances may be explained as a result of general politeness behavior and the choices

such behavior demands of linguistically different acts on the part of speakers. Politeness is rooted in the nature of social relationships, specifically with regard to such sociological factors as distance and power. In addition, it can be argued that individuals have varying perceptions of these social factors and that these perceptions may have a variable effect on politeness behavior. Social groups comprising individuals with shared tendencies are then expected to show variable politeness emphases. B&L argue that their model can be used as a tool to investigate 'ethos' (or the quality of interaction) across cultures or subcultures. They hypothesize that ethos will vary across social strata in hierarchical societies and that this should be manifested linguistically in politeness behavior. In particular they predict that higher status groups will more heavily emphasize negative politeness (characterized by relatively more elaborate linguistic strategies which pay special attention to the rights of a hearer not to be imposed on) than lower status groups will. B&L suggest that this is motivated by the tendency of higher status speakers to perceive greater social distance between themselves and others and that such distance is one of the causes of 'more polite' behavior .

I have carried out a quantitative study using natural language data which tests the validity of B&L's hypothesis by comparing variable linguistic output across two social classes and by attributing the class preferences to differing politeness emphases. The variable investigated is the form of suggestions in the giving of directions, which may alternatively be issued directly as bald imperatives or indirectly as non-bald imperatives. B&L's

hypothesis predicts that, in this case, higher status speakers will prefer the more elaborated, indirect constructions of negative politeness, while lower status speakers will prefer more direct, efficient forms in giving directions to a stranger.

The following section will review B&L's 'Politeness Theory' in some detail, with particular emphasis on those aspects of their model relevant to the purposes of this paper. The second section will present the experimental part of this study, introducing the genre of direction-giving, describing data collection, the variable, text count, methodology, and results. The final section will interpret the results, discuss other problems and issues, and show that B&L's hypothesis is supported.

2 On Politeness

2.1 Face. Underlying Brown and Levinson's politeness theory (1987) is the assumption that every competent adult of a society has a desired public self-image called 'face,' which consists of a negative and positive aspect;

a) negative face: the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction — i.e. to freedom of action and freedom from imposition

b) positive face: the positive consistent self-image or 'personality' (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants (61)

Face is made up of sets of 'basic wants,' which are universal. Negative face may be considered the basic want to not be imposed on by others. Positive face is the set of basic wants to be ratified, approved of, liked by others; it is, as well, the desire that one's wants be wanted by at least some others. Each person assumes that others share these basic face wants and that, given the mutual vulnerability of face, it is in the best interests of interactants to maintain the face of others, since threatening another person's face may result in threat in return. To avoid social breakdown and to keep the potential for conflict to a minimum, therefore, people usually cooperate in paying heed to the face wants of others.

2.2 Rationality. A second assumption behind politeness theory is that of the rationality of interactants, in the 'particular consistent modes of reasoning from ends to means...' (61). Given that people often aim to protect the face of others, they achieve this by rationally employing appropriate means to this end. This mode of 'practical reasoning' is applied by choosing strategies and linguistic devices which may achieve the goal of minimizing face risk to some degree. Understanding the intention of a speaker involves rationally reconstructing ends from means. Although the term 'rationality' implies conscious decision making on the part of interactants, it should rather be understood as a reasoning process which normally occurs below the level of conscious awareness.

2.3 FTA's. Although participants interacting are heedful of each other's face wants, there are many verbal actions which

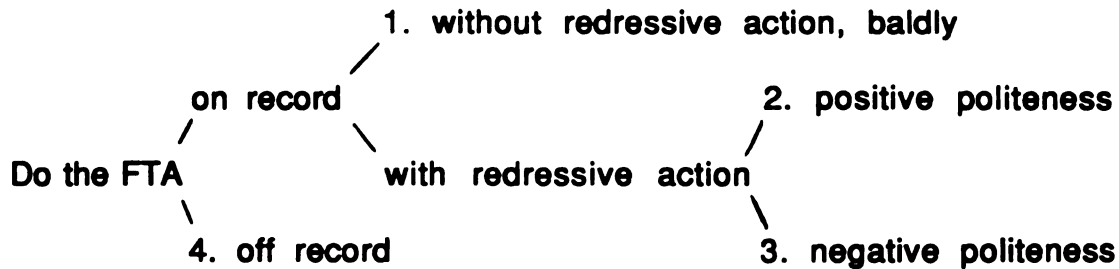
inherently threaten the face of speakers and/or hearers (e.g.—requests, offers, promises etc.). If a speaker (S) wants to do such an action despite the possible face loss to a hearer (H), there are linguistic means available for 'redressing' or minimizing the face damage. That is, S may signal linguistically that he/she recognizes the threat to H's negative or positive face and in this way satisfy some of H's wants. The elaborateness of the linguistic reflex is normally covariant with the intensity of the FTA; consider the following sentences:

- 1) Do you have a match?
- 2) Excuse me, and I really hate to bother you like this, but would you by any chance have twenty dollars?

The threat to H's face in (1) is minimal since it involves a request for 'free goods,' something anyone should expect to receive in public without fear of debt (80). The linguistic elaborateness of (1) is slight in relation to that of (2), where the imposition on H is probably perceived by S as very great. In most circumstances, to use a form like (2) to request a match or other 'free goods' would appear bizarre or overly polite.

2.4 Strategies. Speakers therefore select specific linguistic means which are appropriate to the perceived level of face threat of verbal acts. These means follow from certain strategies which are employed in deciding how to encode an FTA, where the choice of strategy is based on the assessment of the

seriousness or 'weightiness' (W_x) of the FTA¹. According to B&L's schema, W_x of an FTA will determine the choice of strategy, with the higher numbered strategies reserved for higher weighted FTA's:



5. Don't do the FTA

Figure 1. *Possible strategies for doing FTA's*

The first juncture one reaches is deciding whether or not to do the FTA at all. If the FTA is extremely heavy, the speaker may simply choose not to go through with it (#5). On the other hand, it may be deemed necessary or desirable to do the FTA, and so S moves on to the next juncture. Here it is decided to either go 'off record' (#4) or 'on record.' If the former is selected, S performs the FTA in such a way as to not commit to one, unambiguous intention. This leaves S's meaning negotiable and provides a face-saving line of escape for H. Hints are a good example of this strategy. However, if S prefers to be more direct and unambiguous in intent, S may go on record, in which case S moves to the next juncture.

¹ B&L state that the term 'strategy' is a convenient label to refer to rational choices which do not ordinarily take place at a conscious level, but nevertheless are open to introspection (85).

Here S may perform the FTA 'without redressive action, baldly' (#1), or with redressive action. Employing the bald-on record strategy essentially involves speaking in the most direct and efficient manner possible. In such cases, the threat to H's face is usually small (e.g., between intimates) or irrelevant (e.g., in urgent situations), so that S will choose the bald-on record strategy where the desire for efficiency overrides any desire to redress H's face. If the threat is greater, however, S may decide to redress H's face by employing either the negative or positive politeness strategy (#2 and #3 respectively).

The bald-on-record strategy is clearly in line with the conversational principles known as Grice's Maxims, assumed to underlie every interaction. The maxim of Quality requires truthfulness and sincerity. The Quantity maxim requires that the appropriate amount of information be provided. The maxim of Relation (or relevance) requires contributions to be relevant, and the Manner maxim requires clarity and lack of ambiguity. An important feature of B&L's work is the claim that any redress is signaled linguistically by divergence from Grice's maxims:

The whole thrust of this paper is that one powerful and pervasive motive for *not* talking Maxim-wise is the desire to give some attention to face... Politeness is then a major source of deviation from such rational efficiency, and is communicated precisely by that deviation. (95)

Any inferences drawn by H that face redress is occurring are arrived at by assuming the continued cooperation of S. That is, in order to understand that face redress is occurring, H assumes that

S is not simply violating Grice's maxims, but rather being polite. H is further able to search for and discover a meaning or intention behind S's divergence from efficient speech. This ability will be discussed below in the section entitled *Conventionally indirect speech*.

2.5 P, D and R. The politeness strategy chosen will result from the perceived amount of face threat posed by an FTA. For B&L, the perceived seriousness of an FTA is based on a speaker's assessment of three broad social factors: distance (D), relative power (R), and ranking of imposition (R). W_x is a numerical value representing the estimated degree of threat posed to both the speaker and hearer by an FTA. It is composed of the values assigned to D, P, and R:

$$W_x = D(S,H) + P(H,S) + R_x$$

These sociological factors are taken to be essential and exhaustive in calculating the weightiness of FTA's, and work following B&L's original proposal, surveyed in the *preface* to their monograph edition, shows these factors have considerable cross-cultural validity.

D is a context-specific measure of the perceived social distance between S and H. A D value will vary depending on S's perception of the similarity/difference between S and H, based on 'stable social attributes' (77). Judgments of similarity and difference may be influenced by frequency of interaction.

P is a measure of the relative power of H over S. The relationship between S and H along this social dimension is asymmetrical. That is, the degree of power of H over S entails a corresponding degree of lack of power of S over H.

R is a measure of culture-specific ranking of an imposition, to the extent that it is considered to interfere with someone's wants of self-determination or approval (77).

P, D, and R are independent factors, so it is possible to isolate a single factor by holding the others constant. Consider the following example from B&L (80);

- 3) Excuse me, would you by any chance have the time?
- 4) Got the time, mate?

(3) differs from (4) in that (3) uses a lower risk strategy and is more elaborated for negative politeness than (4). In these two cases, suppose that the P and R are held constant: relative power is equal (S and H are strangers), and the imposition is small (asking for the time - part of the list of free goods). The only factor which varies then from (3) to (4) must be D. Apparently S in (3) perceives greater social distance from H than S does in (4). The higher D value for (3) then results in the use of a lower risk strategy (negative politeness).

2.6 Ethos. In so far as all speakers in all cultures determine Wx of an FTA by way of D, P, and R, there is a universality in politeness behavior. However, it is also the case

that individuals may assign different values to D, P and R in a given context by virtue of idiosyncrasy or group membership. Given that within each group or society, types of social relationship are repeated and stable, it is possible to generalize from the acts of individuals to the quality of relationships most common throughout the group (243). For example, individuals belonging to a group with an egalitarian emphasis will maintain lower P values than individuals in groups preoccupied with status distinctions. Variable D, P, and R assessments across groups or cultures are therefore revealing of different underlying emphases, which are manifested in interaction at least in part linguistically.

B&L call this group variability 'ethos,' and they gloss it as 'the affective quality of interaction.' In the rest of this paper, B&L's theory will be applied to data as an ethnographic tool to trace the variable use of linguistic forms in negative politeness back to a variable ethos across two social classes. This work has implications for social class ethos in the Northern U.S and supports B&L's claim that higher-status groups are negative politeness cultures; that is, they appear to experience more social distance between themselves and others.

2.7 Linguistic Realizations. If negative politeness emphases vary across social strata, then this may be reflected linguistically in interaction. This section will review some of the linguistic means available to speakers wishing to signal negative politeness in the performance of an FTA. There are various linguistic options available for satisfying the negative face wants

of others. These are arrived at via a hierarchy of strategies, from the highest level 'superstrategy' to progressively lower level strategies, and finally to 'output' strategies:

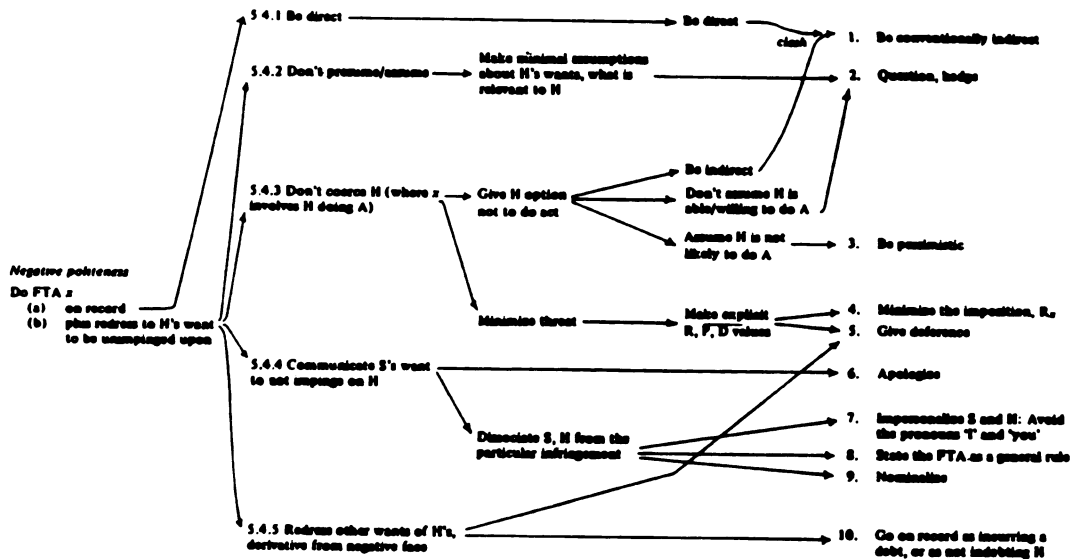


Figure 2; chart of strategies for negative politeness

All of the negative politeness realizations in English involve some divergence from the maximally efficient speech suggested by Grice's maxims. The degree of divergence from these maxims signals to H the degree to which S desires to satisfy H's negative face wants. Three output strategies from B&L's schema are particularly relevant to the arguments of this paper, because their respective linguistic realizations are represented in the data. These will be discussed here in some detail since they serve to make up the dependent variable in the quantitative analysis which

follows. Conventionally indirect speech will be considered first, because this device provides a good illustration of how politeness may be implicated in apparent violations of Grice's maxims. The other output strategies will be discussed in turn.

2.7.1 Conventionally indirect speech. According to B&L, conventionally indirect speech is motivated in large part by the negative politeness strategy. It is constructed as a compromise satisfying the want to be direct and the want to avoid coercing H by leaving H an 'out.' However, before discussing conventionalized indirect speech, it is necessary to explain the basic mechanics of indirect speech itself, and its connection to Grice's maxims.

While it is the case that the traditional identities of some sentence forms correspond to what is actually *done* by their utterance (i.e., their illocutionary force), it is often the case that such force of an utterance does not derive simply from its form. Three traditional sentence forms of English — the *imperative*, *interrogative*, and the *declarative* may correspond to their associated forces, respectively *ordering*, *questioning* and *stating*. However, indirect speech acts diverge from these literal associations, and a hearer grasps the intended force of an utterance with only the partial aid of semantic and/or syntactic clues. In these cases, an inference is required with the additional aid of contextual clues, background knowledge, and the cooperative principle and its maxims.

According to Grice's principle of cooperation, people act so as to participate in a constructive, efficient way in verbal exchange;

Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged (1975:45)

The maxims which result from this principle (quality, quantity, relation, and manner) have been listed above. Grice (1975, 46) defined these maxims as follows;

Quantity;

- a. Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the exchange).
- b. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

Quality;

- a. Do not say what you believe to be false.
- b. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

Relation;

- a. Be relevant.

Manner;

- a. Avoid obscurity of expression.
- b. Avoid ambiguity.
- c. Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity)
- d. Be orderly.

I will illustrate the importance of this notion further by considering an apparent breach of the maxim of relation (relevance). In such an offer as *Can I get you some coffee?*, the literal question posed by the speaker about his or her own ability seems to be irrelevant (at least in a normal situation). The hearer then has the choice of rashly accusing the speaker of making a pointless remark

or can suspend doubts and continue to assume the cooperation of S by searching for some further point.

For Grice, implicatures arise from such calculations. In short, indirect speech acts involve implicatures calculated on the condition of an apparent violation of a maxim of cooperation alongside the continuing assumption that the cooperation principle is still in effect. In the offer *Can I get you some coffee?*, the literal force (a questioning of the speaker's ability) flies in the face of the maxim of relevance, so the hearer infers an indirect force, namely an offer.

Indirect speech occurs when certain felicity conditions governing a speech act are mentioned. These conditions must be satisfied for the act to be carried out successfully. Each illocutionary act brings with it its own set of felicity conditions. Searle (1976) proposes five general types of speech acts, each of which subsumes particular speech acts and carries with it particular felicity conditions. For example, one of these types is directives. This category subsumes such illocutionary acts as requests, orders and suggestions — actions which cause others to do some action. In broad terms, for an utterance to function as a directive, certain felicity conditions must be satisfied. Following Labov and Fanshel (1977), these are as follows:

1) Need

- a) X should be done
- b) Addressee would not do X unless asked

2) Ability

Listener has the ability to do X

3) Addressee willingness/obligation

- a) Addressee is willing to do X
- b) Addressee is obliged to do X

4) Speaker obligation

Speaker has the right to tell addressee to do X

If one overtly questions or asserts one of these conditions, indirect speech results. Consider some examples from the data, which involve the assertion of felicity conditions in making (direction-giving) suggestions:

5) You can take that for quite a ways

6) From Kalamazoo, you want to go east

7) You have to take 496 over here...

8) You need to go all the way down to Harrison

(5) asserts the condition that H has the ability to carry out the action. (6) asserts condition 3a, that H is willing to do X. In (6), moreover, S asserts that H is not merely willing, but also 'wants' to do X. This can be understood as a result of the context of suggesting directions, in which H has expressed the desire to arrive at some destination. Thus, in this context, there is an addressee-based felicity condition that H *wants* to do X. By asserting this condition, S issues the suggestion indirectly.

In (7) and (8), S asserts the condition that X should be done. In direction-giving, S prescribes a sequence of events which must be followed in order for H to successfully achieve his goal. Here, a condition for suggestions to be felicitous is that it is required of H

that he or she perform each action of the series to completion. 'You have to...' and 'you need to...' assert the condition that an act needs to be done.

In each of these examples, some felicity condition has been mentioned by S, and the result is indirect speech. H is called on to infer the intent of S, due to S's departure from maximally efficient speech and apparent violation of one or more of Grice's maxims. Of course, the reason why S bothers to be indirect stems from the desire to be polite. Such indirectness serves to soften or mitigate the force of an FTA and is a way of signaling respect for H's negative face wants.

It may be claimed that direction-giving suggestions require little or perhaps no inference on the part of H. Although it is difficult to determine in any instance how much inferencing is necessary, it is the case that some indirect speech requires little or no such work but seems to be conveyed directly. Such acts are idiomatic and have become conventionally associated with their indirect form. What must have been at one time fresh, calculable implicatures have moved towards becoming conventionalized and arbitrary. These are cases where implicatures are so routine that they are 'short circuited,' and the logical chain connecting the purpose of a usage to its means of expression is lost or obscured (Morgan,1978). It is plausible that cases like 5-8 above are conventionalized to some extent, and their illocutionary forces are fairly transparent.

For B&L, conventionally indirect speech serves the purposes of negative politeness in that it satisfies the conflicting desire of

S to go on record by being direct (unambiguous) but at the same time pay token respect to H's negative face wants. All of the forms reviewed above, then, are considered reflexes of the 'Be conventionally indirect' output strategy (#1 in Figure 2). These forms account for 48% of all non-bald imperative clauses counted in the data.

2.7.2 Impersonalize H and S. The second output strategy reviewed here is that of impersonalizing H and S (#7 in Figure 2). In English, this involves various linguistic means for avoiding the singular pronouns 'I' and 'you'. The motive for this lies in the negative face threat which overt first and second person singular pronouns may incur, since these explicitly attribute responsibility for an action to either S or H; an overt pronoun may pin down S or H so that he/she alone is held responsible for or obligated to perform an action. On the other hand, omission of 'I' leaves open the possible interpretation that S may not be completely responsible for his/her action, and omission of 'you' indicates that it may not be H or H alone who is obligated to do something. So avoiding 'I' and 'you' may provide an out for S and H respectively.

2.7.2.1 Avoiding 'you'. One way of avoiding the singular first and second person pronouns is to eliminate them altogether, but to avoid the bald imperative. This strategy is productive in the data. It often involves stating a suggestion without the use of overt singular 'you'. For instance;

- 9) Best thing is to go to Kalamazoo
- 10) I guess the best way would be to go up to the first traffic light
- 11) The easiest way that I know is to get on the expressway

Such clauses in the data uniquely occur either at the beginning of a sequence of directions delivered by S or where S self-corrects and begins a revised set of directions. These seem to function as introductions to the sequence of events which follow in the discourse. In these cases, absence of overt 'you' serves to impersonalize H by diverting attention to the action itself.

In these cases and others, other output strategies might also be involved, for there is no reason to assume that strategies cannot be mixed. In (10) above, S makes use of the hedge 'I guess' (which addresses Grice's quality maxim). This quality hedge may imply that S does not take full responsibility for the truth of his utterance. So (10) may be compounding several output strategies — 'Impersonalize H/S' and 'Hedge' (#2 in Figure 2). In addition, S in 9-11 seems to be making use of the 'Minimize Imposition' strategy (#4 in Figure 2), by stating the ease with which the directions may be carried out (as in 11), or else by assuring H that the directions given will minimize necessary effort on H's part (as in 9 and 10). I will return to a fuller discussion of this specific output strategy shortly.

2.7.2.2 Generic 'you'. A further way to avoid the second person singular in English involves the use of generic 'you'. Generic 'you' is neither singular nor plural in that the referent is not specified; 'you' in these cases can refer to anyone, including the

speaker. Since the referent of this pronoun is indefinite, the use of generic 'you' may soften the force of an FTA by allowing H an 'out' and may signal respect for H's want to not be impeded in action.

For example, contrast the following pairs of clauses;

12) Get out of here.

13) You get out of here.

14) Get on 496, and follow that...

15) You get on 496, and follow that...

The command in (13) is even more face-threatening than the command in (12), and the utterance may be considered an imperative construction. This indicates that 'you' in (13) is interpreted as definite.² On the other hand, the opposite seems to hold for (14) and (15). I suggest that the directive in (15) is more polite than that in (14), indicating that the construction is not an imperative, and that the 'you' in (15) should be interpreted as generic. In fact, it is plausible that this interpretive distinction is at least a partial means of distinguishing commands from suggestions.

Stress placement on the pronoun above could also serve to signal the type of directive intended. It seems that emphatic stress is obligatory for definite 'you' in commands such as (13) above, and therefore phonetic reduction may not occur. On the other hand, generic 'you' can be reduced phonetically, and does not obligatorily

² Example 13 is interesting in that it provides a counterexample to the normal rule that greater elaboration equals greater politeness. However, saying 'more' in a given instance is not necessarily for politeness purposes, and the semantics of an utterance might make it impolite despite any amount of redress, E.g.: 'Would you mind terribly moving your ugly car?'

receive stress. In this way, a reduced second person pronoun in (15) might be a phonetic feature of 'generic you', and this may help in interpreting (15) as a suggestion.

Consider the following possible responses to requests for advice or suggestions;

16) You go down to the light, and you make a left.

17) You take that pencil out of your pocket, and you write this down.

(17) is clearly more face-threatening, and this could in part be due to the interpretation of 'you' in (16) as generic/indefinite, and 'you' in (17) as singular/definite.

Generic 'you' is one of the most common means for expressing negative politeness in the data (38% of all non-bald imperatives). Consider the following examples:

18) You go down, you go underneath the railroad track...

19) You follow those roads back, and it takes you to the zoo.

I will claim here that the instances of 'you' above, and similar ones in the data, are (or are open to interpretation as) generics, given the direction-giving context in which they occur. The fact that H is aware that S's suggestions are intended specifically for him does not remove the face redress S achieves. The use of the generic pronoun pays token respect to H's negative face wants by providing (at least in spirit) an out for H. It is assumed that such instances of generic 'you' are so interpreted by H on the basis of contextual

and linguistic clues, including, perhaps, the 'stress rule' referred to above. They may serve, therefore, as reflexes of the 'Impersonalize S and H' output strategy, since they avoid specific reference.

2.7.2.3 Tense shifting. Another means of impersonalization distances H and S from the action by manipulating tense or mood. This set of potential exploitations are referred to by B&L as 'point of view operations' (204). These involve encoding a shift away from the speaker's present coding time. For instance, in making requests in English, it is common to use the past tense for politeness purposes ('I was wondering...', 'I was hoping you would...', etc.). In a similar way, suggestions may be softened with the use of the conditional or the future tense. In the data, many clauses seem to exploit this impersonalization strategy. For instance;

- 20) ...If you follow that for about 3 or 4 miles, it'll go...
- 21) You'll go down there underneath the railroad viaduct
- 22) If you're gonna go this way, then you gotta cut over

The use of the future tense as in (21) and (22) serves to distance H from the action which he will undertake sometime in the immediate future (a time often encoded in English in the simple present, already discussed above as a most direct strategy — e.g., 'You go down there...'). Koike (1992, p.75) argues that the further away from the temporal deictic center of a speaker's present coding time, the more polite an utterance will seem. It is for this reason that the conditional mood is perceived as more polite than the future tense — the conditional denotes a time frame furthest

removed from the present, in a hypothetical reality which may or may not come to pass; it does not predicate the future action of the addressee. The use of 'if-clauses' in (20) and (22) above serves the purposes of negative politeness by constructing a hypothetical action in an indefinite time-frame, in which H is given the option to perform the action or not. Perhaps (22) above is perceived as more polite than (20) and (21) because it compounds both an 'if-clause' and the future tense, is less conventionalized, and therefore seems to allow H a real option.

I assume here that in both 'if-clauses' and utterances in the future tense within the data, the pronoun 'you' is being used in its generic sense. That is, for example, 'you' in 'you'll take...' is as non-specific as 'you' in 'you take...', or in 'if you take...'. Such clauses may be considered compounds of separate devices used for impersonalizing S and H. In sum, there are many examples in the data which manifest the 'Impersonalize H and S' output strategy. Some involve eliminating the second person pronoun 'you'; others involve the use of the generic 'you' pronoun, while others involve the manipulation of tense to distance S and H from an action.

2.7.3 Minimize imposition. Another way of showing negative politeness is to minimize the imposition of R. This strategy was mentioned in the previous section with regard to forms like 'the best way...' or 'the easiest way'. Another means of applying this output strategy in English is with the use of the word 'just', in the sense of 'merely' (176). Take for instance, the following clauses from the data;

- 23) Just walk right down to that next corner...
- 24) Just turn right...
- 25) Just take it all the way to Pennsylvania...
- 26) ...you'll just go like one block...

In these cases, 'just' seems to minimize the imposition by indicating the ease with which the action may be carried out. This slight deviation from maximally efficient speech signals to H that his negative face wants are respected. B&L suggest that making low R values explicit in this way implies that either D or P values may be high and therefore may indicate deference to H.

Unlike the other output strategies discussed so far, minimizing imposition with 'just' does not necessarily result in a non-imperative form. Strictly speaking, the clauses in 23-26 are still imperatives, but for the purposes of this paper, clauses such as these will be counted along with the non-*bald* imperatives, since they evidence negative politeness and are slightly more elaborated than bald imperatives. 16% of all non-bald imperatives counted in the data make use of the 'minimize imposition' output strategy.

The output strategies reviewed above were detailed because their linguistic reflexes are evidenced in the data; they are the main linguistic means made use of in redressing negative face within the genre of direction-giving. They may occur in isolation, or they may be compounded provided there is no grammatical conflict in doing so. The extra effort put into more elaborated clauses signals a higher degree of politeness. That is, the greater

the divergence from Grice's maxims, the greater the function of face redress is being served.

The presence of these forms in the data allows a path to be drawn back through higher level strategies to the negative politeness superstrategy and even further back to assessments of W_x based on P, D, and R values. In addition, these linguistic realizations of negative politeness are amenable to quantification and so may provide empirical support to theoretical claims. A major claim defended in this paper is that higher status groups are more likely to apply the negative politeness superstrategy than lower status groups. This can be empirically tested by counting those linguistic forms which realize negative politeness output strategies verses those which are 'bald on record' and then comparing the results of both groups.

3 On The Data

The activity of direction-giving usually involves communicating information in a potentially face-threatening way, since the information predicates the future actions of H and thus may be perceived as restricting H's freedom of action. The speech acts involved in direction-giving will be called 'suggestions' here. They fall under the more general category of directives — those speech acts that function to move someone else to action (e.g., requests, commands). That these suggestions are only mildly face-threatening is evident in the fact that directions can be given

baldly on record without appearing offensive or impolite. This is because in asking directions, H presumably wants to be guided and therefore temporarily suspends negative face wants.

Therefore, S's chosen politeness strategy in suggesting directions will be reflected linguistically in the use of imperatives (bald on record) verses indirect or hedged statements (negative politeness). Characterizing and counting these forms in the data is the task of this section. The first part will describe the genre of direction-giving, how it is managed at the discourse level, and how it is internally structured. The second part will show how the data was collected and will introduce the variable linguistic forms to be focused on. The third part will present the methodology used here, with discussion of the text count.

3.1 *Direction-giving genre.* The genre of direction-giving generally is managed within certain parameters such as speaker/hearer goals, setting, and internal structure. The rules appropriate to this genre are known and shared by communicatively competent interactants³.

3.1.1. *Goals and setting.* The activity of giving directions typically arises where a hearer is uncertain about how to arrive at some destination and requests guidance from a presumably more knowledgeable interlocutor. Ordinarily, the destination is located somewhere in geographical space, unseen to both interactants.

³ Following Swales, 1985:4, 'genre' is taken here to be a structured communicative event with mutually understood aims and constraints on allowable contributions.

Directions may be written and may involve a goal which is not spatially oriented (e.g. — recipes). Here, however, I take direction-giving to involve a spatial goal, to be spoken, and to take place between two interactants, a speaker and a hearer. The goal of the speaker in direction-giving is to provide sufficient information to guide the hearer to some destination.

Directions are usually solicited in public settings, although they may occur privately. The stereotypical case of direction-giving involves strangers on the street, where H is unfamiliar with the surroundings. Getting directions is part of the list of 'free goods'; they may be requested without fear of rejection or indebtedness. There are few restrictions on when and where the genre can occur. The physical distance between the interactants and the proposed destination may vary from a few blocks, to a few miles, to thousands of miles.

In direction-giving, it is the direction seeker who opens the encounter with some request for information. Thereafter, it is usually the direction-giver who holds the floor, while H suspends turn-taking rights, waits and absorbs the information. Although the direction-giver dominates the exchange, this one-sidedness may be interrupted by requests for clarification, repetitions, and back-channel cues from the receiver.

3.1.2 *Internal structure.* Direction-giving prescribes events which might or ought to take place in the future for H to achieve his/her goal. It essentially provides a sequence of steps or actions to be followed in order to arrive at some destination. Each step

must be followed to completion before the next may take place. For H to be successful, no step may be omitted in executing the directions. As an illustration, consider the following sequence of clauses; "Go south down Washington Ave, make a left onto Mt. Hope, after three stop lights turn left on Pennsylvania, and follow that to Potter Park". All of the preceding clauses are highly relevant for getting H from point A to point B. The omission of any clause will prevent H from achieving his/her goal.

Directions in practice, however, are not normally so concisely stated. In addition to these necessary steps, directions usually provide supporting information concerning setting or landmarks. This kind of information is secondary in that it does not prescribe steps for H to get from point A to B, but rather describes features along the route which might serve as helpful cues. This kind of stage setting is not usually strictly necessary for H to achieve his/her goal.

These distinct types of information in the direction-giving genre may be characterized as either foregrounded or backgrounded. Foregrounding is a means of highlighting information which a speaker deems most relevant to achieving some communicative goal. In terms of processing limitations, grounding allows hearers to distinguish clauses which require immediate sequential processing from those which may only require 'future reference or concomitant access' (Hopper and Thompson, p.282). Those sequenced, necessary clauses in direction-giving provide

foregrounded information. Those clauses containing supporting information are backgrounded.⁴

The purpose of making this distinction with regard to clauses in direction-giving is to justify the selective treatment in the analysis provided later of only those clauses in the data which are foregrounded. It is only foregrounded clauses which contain linguistic reflexes of the negative politeness superstrategy. Therefore, for the purposes of this paper, backgrounded clauses are irrelevant — they give no evidence of variation between the bald-on record and negative politeness strategies. Since foregrounded clauses, on the other hand, do present variable use of these strategies. I will consider only them below when I discuss the text count.

3.2 Data Collection. The data were gathered on two successive weekday afternoons in Lansing and East Lansing, Michigan. Subjects were approached by the interviewer at random and whenever possible. They were asked for directions and were not aware of their being recorded. A portable recorder was concealed in a coat pocket. It was covertly turned on and off before and after each encounter. Hidden recording seems justified since the anonymity of all subjects is respected, and, in fact, none of the

⁴ Hopper and Thompson (1980) propose that grounding can be correlated with degrees of 'transitivity'. Transitivity is taken to be a global property of clauses which reflects the intensity and effectiveness of an action as it is transferred between participants. The transitivity of a clause is based on component parts which relate to different aspects of the action transferred (e.g.-- kinesis, volitionality, agency, etc.). Applying the Hopper / Thompson scale of components for coding and measuring the transitivity of clauses in direction-giving, the results are as expected-- foregrounded clauses score higher for transitivity than backgrounded clauses (Kleiner, 1991); there is a statistically significant correlation between transitivity level and the discourse factor of grounding in the genre of direction-giving. This provides further grounds for the distinction of foregrounded and backgrounded clauses in the data.

respondent's names is known to the interviewer. Moreover, the content of the exchanges was in no way of a personal nature.

The same interviewer (the author of this paper) played the role of direction-seeker for all 76 subjects/direction-givers. I wore the same clothes for all of the interviews (blue jeans-casual). 54 of the 56 Lansing subjects were asked for directions to Potter Park, a park and public zoo southeast of the Capital building, which is in the center of Lansing. Two Lansing subjects were asked for directions to the Capital Building, and a third was asked for directions to Washington Ave. 19 of the 20 East Lansing subjects were asked for directions to Spartan Village, a student apartment complex southwest of the center of the Michigan State University campus. One East Lansing subject was asked for directions to the Student Union, which is located on the M.S.U. campus. All subjects were interviewed at roughly 1/2 to 3 miles from the proposed destinations. 95% of the people asked were able to provide directions with some degree of confidence and accuracy. The other 5% who were not able to give directions were not included in the data.

After the encounters were over, I walked in the expected direction so as not to disconcert the subject. When I was out of sight, I made note of the subject's sex, race, approximate age and status. The subject's status was determined to be either working class or middle class. These impressionistic judgments were based on visual clues, neighborhood and speech. The dress of the subjects was an important factor in determining status, as well as whether the neighborhood/place where the interview was conducted was

mostly populated with working class or middle class people. Many working class neighborhoods, near the General Motors factory, are located south of Grand River, which bisects the city of Lansing. All of the 38 working class subjects were interviewed in this area. 18 of the subjects deemed middle class were interviewed near the Capital Building, an area which hosts many government and professional offices and banks. The 20 other middle class subjects were interviewed on the M.S.U. campus.

It is assumed here that with a sensitive eye and ear, one can with some proficiency make rough assessments of a stranger's socioeconomic background after only a few minutes spent with him/her. The gap between the working and middle classes is large enough to permit impressionistic distinctions along these lines, and work by sociolinguists shows that even nonlinguists and nonsociologists are very accurate at such assessments, based on even minimal linguistic clues (with no supporting visual evidence)⁵

Of the 76 subjects, 62 were white and 14 were black, 42 were male, and half were working class. 25 subjects fell into the 'young' age group (15-29), 24 fell into the 'middle' group (30-49), and 27 fell into the 'old' group (50-). All of the subjects were native English speakers.

The recorded data was later transcribed. The level of detail of the transcription was sufficient for the purposes of this paper's analysis. Since the linguistic variable focused on is syntactic,

⁵ In Labov's 1972 matched-guise study, New York City subjects were able to associate occupation with proportion of [r] deletion, in listening to recordings in which only the number of post-vocalic [r]'s varied. When a speaker pronounced all [r]'s, she was rated as a (3) (receptionist) on a scale from 1-10, with 1 representing the most prestigious occupation. But when she deleted only one [r] her ranking sank to a (4) (switchboard operator). Respondents were sensitive to this low-level variation, and their attitudes reflected these (perhaps unconscious) associations of language and status.

phonetic as well as paralinguistic detail was ignored. The initial request of the interviewer for each encounter is included in the transcription, but later interviewer comments are not, since it is not believed that the interviewer's back-channel cues and repetitions had any significant effect on speakers' use of the variable.

3.3 On the variable. When the data was originally collected, it was not yet known by the interviewer what particular variable was going to be focused on, so that it is fair to say that the interviewer could not have biased the results. The linguistic variable counted in the data occurs at the syntactic level; the foregrounded clauses selected for analysis are either constructed as bald imperatives or as non-bald imperatives (other). These syntactic variants are easily distinguishable, given the following criteria. Bald imperatives are those constructions which lack an overt subject before the main verb of a matrix clause. Alternatively, Others (or non-bald imperatives) either contain an overt second person pronoun or the word 'just' before the main verb, or else some other device which relegates the verb to a subordinate clause;

- 27) Go down to the light, make a left
- 28) You go down to the light, you (can) make a left
- 29) Your best bet is to go down to the light, you're gonna have to make a left

The linguistic form of bald imperative clauses in the data is invariant. The linguistic forms of the non-bald imperatives in the

data are diverse but categorizable. The examples which follow are representative of the range of forms present in the data, and their respective negative politeness output strategies from Figure 2 are noted:

- i) Impersonalize H and S
 - e.g.-- a) You make a right (generic 'you')
 - b) The best is walk along the river
 - c) If you follow that for about 3 or 4 miles,...
 - d) On Pennsylvania, you're gonna turn right
- ii) Be conventionally indirect
 - e.g.-- a) You can take that for quite a ways
 - b) You want to go east
 - c) You have to turn right
- iii) Minimize Imposition
 - e.g.-- a) Just walk in that direction
 - b) The quickest way for you to go is go...

All of the forms in i-iii involve some divergence from the more efficient bald imperative alternative. The forms in (i) represent the 'Impersonalize S and H' strategy. The forms in (ii) realize the 'be conventionally indirect' strategy, and the forms of (iii) illustrate the 'minimize imposition' strategy. It is claimed here that any of these types of direction-giving statements can optionally be constructed as bald imperatives, without disturbing their function or changing their meaning in any way. Conversely, any direction-giving bald imperative can alternatively be constructed as one of the forms given above.

Combinations of strategies are not only possible but common in the data:

- 30) It'd be easiest if you went... (i + iii)
- 31) if you can go this way... (i + ii)
- 32) you just have to walk... (ii + iii)

There may, however, be semantic or syntactic constraints preventing certain combinations:

- ?33) If you have to turn right...
- *34) You're gonna can turn right...

3.4 Text Count and Methodology. In counting these variants in the data, one criterion was applied; count only those (foregrounded) clauses which could have been expressed in an alternative way, while preserving the function of suggesting directions. Consider the following pairs. In each set, the first clause is an actual instance drawn from the data, and the second provides a possible alternative;

- 35a) On Pennsylvania, you're gonna turn right
- b) On Pennsylvania, turn right

- 36a) You can take that for quite a ways
- b) Take that for quite a ways

- 37a) You want to go up to Cedar
- b) Go up to Cedar

- 38a) If you follow that for about 3 or 4 miles, it'll go to Pennsylvania
- b) Follow that for about 3 or 4 miles, (and) it'll go to Pennsylvania

- 39a) You'll hang a right
- b) Hang a right

- 40a) Quickest way for you to go is go straight...
 b) Go straight...

- 41a) Go all the way down this street
 b) You go all the way down this street

In 35-41 each of the first clauses of the pairs could alternatively have been constructed or paraphrased as their respective second clauses. All of the statements in 35-40 could have been issued as bald imperatives, with the omission of everything preceding the main verb, and without any significant change in meaning. A direction-giving imperative as in (41) could be alternatively constructed as some type of statement, as in (41b) where the pronoun 'you' is overt. The clauses in 35a-40a, therefore, count as single tokens of non-bald imperatives, while (41a) is counted as a token of a bald imperative. Now contrast 35-41 with the following pairs;

- 42a) You'll see where everybody jogs
 ?b) See where everybody jogs

- 43a) You'll run into Pennsylvania
 ?b) Run into Pennsylvania

- 44a) You're gonna go to the zoo
 ?b) Go to the zoo

- 45a) If you go under the underpass, you passed it
 ?b) Go under the underpass, (and) you passed it

The statement in (42a) does not allow a plausible bald imperative alternative in that (42b) would not serve as a foregrounded clause in direction-giving — no one would say (42b) other than as a question. Similarly, it would be odd for someone to say (43b). (44b) is improbable in the context of giving directions to a zoo and simply does not serve the function of direction-giving. (45b) does not function as a direction-giving imperative because it does not prescribe an action to be taken but one to be avoided. It is more likely that some ellipsis is involved here with the conditional meaning of the 'if' clause left implicit. In all of the preceding cases, the declaratives in the pairs do not allow an optional foregrounded, direction-giving bald imperative form and so are not counted as tokens in the text count.

In some other cases, bald imperatives may not be constructed as alternatives to non-bald imperatives without resulting in ungrammaticality. Such clauses are not counted as tokens:

- 46a) There's the ah. the riverwalk too you can take right to it
 *b) There's the ah. the riverwalk too take right to it

- 47a) ...cause you just go straight through
 *b) ...cause just go straight through

- 48a) In fact, there's a riverwalk that you can follow
 *b) In fact, there's a riverwalk that follow

In 42-48, the first clause of each pair could not have been produced as an imperative counterpart without resulting in ungrammaticality or the absence of the semantic/pragmatic function of suggesting directions. It is claimed here that this is

because 42a-48a are not foregrounded clauses, and it is only foregrounded clauses which allow the optional construction of bald imperatives from Others and Others from bald imperatives in direction-giving. The criterion followed in the text count is a useful tool for distinguishing foregrounded from backgrounded clauses, and it provides a relatively easy means for selecting the clauses to be counted in the data.

There is a small number of clauses in the data which are less easily handled given the criterion. These involve clauses with verbs like 'get' and 'head'. Such verbs may be used with two different meanings, one where the agent acts volitionally and another where no volition is involved:

- 49a) ...walk straight down that way, and **you'll head** right to it
 ?b) ...walk straight down that way, and **head** right to it

- 50a) **Head** all the way down to Pennsylvania, make a left...
 b) **You'll head** all the way down to Pennsylvania, make a left

- 51a) Go straight till the very end. When **you get** to the very end, make a left...
 ?b) Go straight till the very end. **Get** to the very end, and make a left...

- 52a) ...**get** on 496 east and **get** off on Pennsylvania
 b) ... you **get** on 496 east and **you can get** off on Pennsylvania

The verbs 'head' and 'get' in direction-giving seem to be used with two senses, one where the agent willingly initiates an action (as in 50 and 52), and another where the agent is carried along by an action already in progress (as in 49 and 51). Such non-volitional

clauses in the data are not counted because they do not qualify as foregrounded information — they are not necessary steps for carrying out directions. Rather, they provide supporting information. For example, the second clauses of (49) and (51) above could be omitted without making it impossible for H to achieve his/her goal. On the other hand, the clauses with 'head' and 'get' in (50) and (52) could not be omitted. In addition, the 'volitional' uses of 'head' and 'get' as imperatives intuitively sound more natural and appropriate than the 'non-volitional' uses. In sum, only those uses of volitional 'head' and 'get' in the data are counted.

Further issues arise in coding the data for the variable. For instance, how are fragmented clauses, conjoined clauses, and repetitions to be treated? The criterion used for whether or not to count a fragmented or incomplete clause depended on whether or not a main verb was present. Each token counted had a main verb, so that, for example, (53) was counted, whereas (54) was not:

53) Yea, you go down to... I'm sure it's Pennsylvania

54) You can... actually I'm going there...

The reason behind this is that the presence of the main verb gives evidence that the fragmented clause was intended to be foregrounded before it was interrupted. Without the main verb, it is less certain that the fragment would have been issued as foregrounded information.

Tokens within conjoined clauses are treated as independent of each other, since it is not necessary for variants to be identical when strung together within a larger construction:

- 55) ...your best bet is to go down by the river, and follow it all the way down, and you'll go through the gardens, and then um turn left.

In this excerpt, bald imperative clauses alternate with Others in a natural way. The first and third clauses are counted as Others, while the second and fourth are counted as bald imperatives.

In a similar way, repetitions are treated as separate tokens since the repeat could have been constructed in an alternative way. (56) below is an example from the data:

- 56) You'll look for the overpass okay.. look for the overpass.

Thus, (56) contains two tokens, one counted as a non-bald imperative and the other as a bald imperative.

3.5 Results. The text count reveals a large difference between the working and middle classes in the percentage of use of the bald imperative and the non-bald imperative variants;

Table 1: *Variable across social classes; in percentages*

	Bald Imperatives	Other
MC	29.9	71.1
WC	69.1	30.9

The working class speakers were far more likely to construct foregrounded clauses in direction-giving directly and efficiently as bald imperatives. On the other hand, the middle class speakers were much more likely to issue directions in a less direct way by employing negative politeness strategies. The actual count of tokens is as follows;

Table 2: *Variable across social classes; token count*

	Bald imperatives	Other	Total
MC	52	128	180
WC	125	56	181

The difference between the classes is statistically significant; a Chi-square test (with Yate's correction) shows a significance of .0001. B&L's suggestion that a different ethos in politeness strategies may be evidenced by members of different status groups is strongly supported by these findings.

It was stated earlier that the negative politeness strategy used by direction-givers in the data was more or less elaborated linguistically and that the greater the divergence from bald imperative form, the greater the face redress achieved. Some of the forms used for negative politeness were less elaborated — these involved the presence of generic 'you' and the presence of

'just' before the verb. Other forms were more elaborated and involved more complex constructions. Contrast (57) and (58) below:

57) You take Kalamazoo to Pennsylvania...

58) Quickest way for you to go is go straight...

(58) is more elaborated for negative politeness than (57) because it is more effortful, more complex syntactically, less efficient, and perhaps more indirect (requires greater inference on the part of H).

It is possible to roughly divide these forms used for negative politeness into categories ranging from least to most elaborated. Two broad categories were chosen here. The first is composed of forms used for the 'impersonalize H/S' and the 'minimize imposition' strategies. The second category is composed of forms which are more elaborated for negative politeness and may be the product of one or more of the three output strategies considered in this paper;

Less Elaborated

1) generic 'you' only (impersonalize S and H) or
'just' only (minimize imposition)

Most Elaborated

2) All other non-imperative clauses:
'you want to...', 'you need to...', 'you can...'
(be conventionally indirect) or
'the best is...', 'the quickest is...',
(minimize imposition) or

'you're gonna...', 'if you go...'
(impersonalize S and H) or
some combination.

Comparing the types of negative politeness forms utilized across the two classes yields the following results:

Table 3: *Negative politeness forms, across social classes*

	1	2	
MC	46 = 38%	84 = 72%	130 = 100%
WC	39 = 60%	27 = 40%	66 = 100%

The text count shows cross-class preferences for particular types of negative politeness forms. The MC speakers show a greater preference for more elaborated forms, while the WC speakers show a preference for less elaborated forms.

These results support the notion that degrees of negative politeness elaboration reflect a range of Wx values. Suppose, for instance, that all calculated values of Wx between 5 and 12 lead to the choice of the negative politeness superstrategy. Those assessed values closest to 5 would result in less elaborated forms (less perceived face threat). Those closest to 12 would require greater elaboration (more perceived face threat). The results above, then, reflect overall higher Wx values for the MC speakers and comparatively lower Wx values for the WC speakers.

With respect to the variable, patterns found among the other three social dimensions of gender, age, and race should be discussed

here, since it is conceivable that the distribution of subjects along these lines within the two classes could have skewed the results. For example, if most of the WC subjects were male and most of the MC subjects were female, gender could be the actual factor responsible for the variation. It will be seen in this section that there is no such skewing and that the factors of gender, age, and race do not significantly contribute to the variation at hand. In addition, the linguistic environment of whether clauses are conjoined or not will be excluded from the list of potential skewing factors.

Gender. It is interesting that women from both classes perform almost identically to men of their own class;

Table 4: *Use of non-bald imperatives, by gender and class*

WC	M	43/137	31.4%	n=25
	F	13/44	29.6%	n=13
MC	M	61/85	71.8%	n=17
	F	67/95	70.5%	n=19

The slight percent differences between the WC and MC men and women is not significant. We can conclude from these results that sex is not a significant factor in the variation (A VARBRUL treatment of these data did not select sex as a significant factor group; significance in VARBRUL studies is set at .05.)

Ethnicity. Percentages indicate that middle class African-American speakers are slightly more likely to make use of the negative politeness strategy than white speakers from the same class, while the opposite holds for the working class;

Table 5: Use of non-bald imperatives, by race and class

WC	B	8/29	27.6%	n=9
	W	48/152	31.6%	n=29
MC	B	25/29	86.2%	n=5
	W	103/151	68.2%	n=33

However, according to VARBRUL analysis, the factor of race is not a statistically significant influence on the variable. The results from both the gender and race dimension serve as counterevidence to B&L's hypothesis that dominated groups use less negative politeness than dominating groups. In both cases, those groups traditionally considered to be dominated groups (women, African-Americans) are not using less negative politeness. Perhaps the hypothesis is too broad and should refer more specifically to dominated and dominating *status* groups, so that negative politeness emphases are differentiating across social classes but not across gender or race lines.

Age. Another social dimension where domination does not seem to come into play is that of age. The distribution of forms

across the three age groups reveals only a slight age grading pattern among the MC and WC speakers:⁶

Table 6: Use of non-bald imperatives, by age and class

	Y (15-29)	M (30-49)	O (50-)
WC	28.6% n=7	32.1% n=14	30.8% n=17
MC	71.3% n=18	77.8% n=10	63% n=10

The difference between the three age groups is not selected as a statistically significant one by the VARBRUL program. In sum, it is clear that the factors of sex, race and age are not contributing to any skewing of the results. The only social factor (among those considered) which is significantly influencing the variation of bald imperatives and non-bald imperatives in the data is that of status.

Conjoined clauses. It is conceivable, however, that surrounding linguistic context might be exerting some influence on the distribution of forms. One aspect of the linguistic environment which requires consideration is whether conjoined clauses give different results from non-conjoined or initial clauses. Conceivably, polite forms might only be necessary in initial clauses, where encoding politeness again within a conjoined clause could be redundant (of course, there is a sense in which any politeness after a first offering is redundant). It appears from the

⁶ Age grading is a phenomenon resulting from the influence of mainstream societal values on speakers of different ages. Middle aged speakers, who presumably are more likely to be a part of the working world, are more influenced linguistically by the standard, whereas younger and older speakers are less effected by the pressures towards standard speech. Since non-imperatives in the data represent standard usage (they are used more by MC speakers), the patterns evidenced with regard to age are expected.

data, however, that conjoined clauses preceded by 'and' do not show different tendencies from other clauses; non-bald imperatives are just as likely to occur after 'and' as before it, within each class:

Table 7: Conjoined verses non-conjoined clauses

conjoined clauses		initial clauses	
Bald imperatives	Other	Bald imperatives	Other
WC 26/42=61%	16/42=39%	103/138=79%	42/138=21%
MC 16/50=32%	34/50=68%	36/131=27%	94/131=71%

These results show that MC speakers use a slightly higher percentage of bald imperatives in conjoined clauses than in initial clauses, while the WC speakers use a slightly lower percentage of bald imperatives in conjoined clauses than in initial clauses. The results are equivocal and are not statistically significant. It is unlikely, therefore, that clauses which are conjoined are influenced by the linguistic context.

In general, then we may be satisfied that the principal determining factor in the variation reported here is as stated above — social status.

4 Interpretation

The focus of this study has been the variation in English of certain forms which are issued in the genre of direction-giving. Foregrounded clauses functioning as suggestions may be

constructed syntactically either as direct bald imperatives or as something else. It is claimed here that this variation may find an explanation in terms of politeness behavior which manifests itself linguistically within social interaction. The forms chosen are motivated by speakers' estimations of the seriousness of FTA's, and their subsequent choice of politeness strategies. Suggestions elaborated for negative politeness reflect a higher estimation of W_x , and the subsequent choice of a lower risk strategy. Suggestions delivered directly with no elaboration reflect lower assessed values of W_x , and consequent application of the higher risk bald-on record strategy.

The ensemble of foregrounded constructions used to suggest directions fall into two major categories; bald imperatives and non-bald imperatives. Bald imperatives are the most efficient, direct means of performing suggestions. They represent conformity to principles of conversational cooperation. For instance, they respect the quantity maxim, saying no more than is strictly necessary for the purposes of communicating some speech act. The manner maxim is also respected, since bald imperatives make illocutionary force transparent, require little or no inference on the part of H, and so are unambiguous in intent.

Imperatives normally occur where face redress is deemed unnecessary in the context of the situation. The bald imperatives in the data reflect speakers' momentary assessments of the situation, such that W_x is low in value and the pressure towards efficiency overrides concern for redressing H's face. In the context of direction-giving, this is understandable, because H has requested

th

w

th

s

s

so

he

su

th

m

im

H

ap

ba

the

inf

ga

for

H's

imp

ser

'Oth

stra

the

stra

the information, suspending negative face wants, and presumably will benefit from S's suggestions. The bald imperatives in the data, therefore, give evidence for speaker choice of the bald-on record strategy. 177/361 clauses (49%) counted in the data realize this strategy.

On the other hand, 184 of the 361 clauses (51%) deviated in some way from the direct bald imperative form, and it is claimed here that these clauses are reflexes of the negative politeness superstrategy. All of these deviations have something in common; they violate some maxims of cooperation. They 'flout' the quantity maxim in that they could have been more succinctly stated as imperatives. They also flout the manner maxim in that they require H to do some inference work, since S's intention is not immediately apparent in the meanings of his/her words — S's departure from bald imperative form opens the door to misunderstanding (although the more conventionalized departures clearly require less inferencing on the part of H).

Nonetheless, what S loses in clarity and efficiency, he/she gains in face redress. The deviations from maximally efficient form seen in the data serve as signals to H that S is paying heed to H's negative face wants. The greater the divergence from bald imperative form, the greater the inference that politeness is being served. The various constructions in the data falling into the 'Other' category are reflexes of the negative politeness output strategies. All of these forms, furthermore, can be traced back to the negative politeness superstrategy by way of intermediate level strategies. The choice of this lower-risk, negative politeness

superstrategy follows from speaker estimation of higher W_x values in context. W_x is perceived as serious enough to require some face redress. In sum, the bald-on record strategy evidenced in the data results from a lower estimate of W_x , while the negative politeness strategy results from a higher W_x estimate.

The results of this study give evidence for strong social class preferences for one strategy over the other. The WC speakers preferred the bald-on record strategy, using bald imperatives 69.1% of the time in suggesting directions, compared to 28.9% for the MC. On the other hand, the MC speakers tended to choose the negative politeness strategy (71.1% compared to 30.9% for the WC). Given what has been said so far, it appears to be the case that, within the same context of direction-giving, MC speakers assign higher values to W_x than WC speakers. This higher value motivates the choice of the lower risk negative politeness strategy.

Recall that W_x is composed of the summative values assigned by S to the three independent social factors D, P and R. S's perception of the seriousness of an FTA is determined by S's assessment of the social relationship existing between S and H (D and P) as well as S's assessment of the amount of imposition his/her act entails (R). The variation seen in the data results from fluctuating estimates of W_x , and since W_x is based entirely on the values assigned to D, P and R, it must be one or more of these factors which is causing the variation. I claim here that in the context of giving directions to a stranger, the factor of social distance is the only one subject to fluctuating values from one

class to another, and therefore variable D values lead to the quantitative results of this study.

In the context of direction-giving to a stranger, both P and R are held constant across classes. P values are assumed to be low for all subjects, because the interviewer was a stranger to all of them — a higher P value would require S's perception of H as more powerful and of higher status. Given that the interviewer is from the middle class and assuming that he was perceived as such, one might then expect the WC subjects to assign a higher value to P than the MC subjects with relation to the same hearer.

However, the data argue against this line of reasoning, since higher P values assigned by WC speakers would lead to opposite results — a greater negative politeness emphasis. The directness of WC forms in direction-giving indicates low P values. Furthermore, if the WC is assigning low P values in relation to a MC speaker, it is unlikely that MC speakers will be assigning higher P values with relation to that same speaker. For these reasons, it is assumed that P values are consistently low across social classes in the context of giving directions to a MC stranger.

An alternative interpretation is available with regard to how P is assessed across classes. It is possible that WC speakers in the context of giving directions perceive greater situational power over H, with normal status-based power relations temporarily suspended. It could be argued that this temporary suspension of status roles allows the reversal of asymmetrical power in S's favor. Perhaps WC speakers are more likely to seize the opportunity to take the power role, whereas MC speakers are normally invested

with such power and are not as tempted to take advantage of the same opportunity.

This interpretation is somewhat bizarre and, in fact, is not tolerated by B&L's theory because P values are determined by S's perception of H's power over S, not vice-versa. That is, if H has no power over S, than low values will result. S's power over H is irrelevant, since the same low values result. B&L do not allow for negative values in assessing P, and so power over H is not effective in calculating Wx of an FTA. If this is true, than whether S perceives greater situational power over H is insignificant. What matters is that H does not have power over S. In the context of direction-giving, this results in low P values for all speakers. P, then, can be excluded as a contributing factor in the variation seen in the data.

In addition, we may exclude R as an explanatory factor. Since the giving of directions has been requested by H and the information is of benefit to H, R values are assumed to be low for all speakers. It is unlikely in this culture that a speaker from any class would rank direction-giving suggestions as high in imposition.

This leaves only one factor to account for the variation in the data — social distance. It is supposed here that variable D values result in the rational choice of different strategies and their respective linguistic realizations. The MC preference for the elaborated negative politeness strategy points to overall higher D assessments. WC preference for bald-on-record speech points to overall low D values. In other words, MC speakers tend to perceive greater social distance between themselves and a stranger than do

WC speakers, and this difference manifests itself linguistically in politeness behavior.

B&L hypothesize that in complex, stratified societies dominated (lower status) groups have 'positive politeness cultures', while dominating (higher status) groups have 'negative politeness cultures' (245). Furthermore, they suppose that the factor which motivates more negative politeness in higher status groups is that of social distance;

If we find more reciprocal negative politeness in higher strata than in lower strata, then this must signify that there are higher D values in higher strata, and lower D values in lower strata. (246)

The results of this paper's study provide empirical evidence in support of B&L's hypothesis. The higher status MC uses more negative politeness than the lower status WC in the same situation. Further, it was shown to be the case that the variable social factor is D. The results point to the correctness of B&L's hypothesis but are not conclusive, since they represent variable politeness behavior in a very limited sphere — the genre of direction-giving within a northern U.S. city. Other genres, regions and cultures must be investigated along the same lines for the hypothesis to be adequately justified. Nonetheless, the quantitative results of this study provide a piece of evidence that there is a 'class ethos' in American society (at least in central Michigan), and this difference in ethos results from differing perceptions of social distance.

5 Other issues

Some other issues need to be addressed. One involves the possible role of social network membership as an explanation of varying perceptions of social distance across classes. Another involves the possibility that D, P, and R are not exhaustive factors in determining the seriousness of an FTA. These issues will be considered in turn.

5.1 Social Networks. One explanation for why perceptions of social distance vary across social groups is that members of different classes belong to social networks of varying density (246). WC speakers generally belong to denser social networks than MC speakers (Milroy, 1980). One could argue that density of social network correlates with frequency of interaction between members. It is plausible then that part of the WC ethos results from participation in dense social networks where low D values are cultivated. Conversely, MC ethos may result from participating in loose-knit networks where member interaction is less frequent and D values are higher.

The social networks explanation for variable perceptions of D makes it possible to understand the results with respect to gender and race; there is no reason to assume that the black or female subjects belong to looser or denser networks than white or male subjects from the same class. One reason for this is that since all interviews were conducted during the workweek, in the daytime and in public, most subjects were probably either employed or else students. There is no great difference then, in the data, between

men and women, blacks and whites, because the density of networks across these lines are not significantly different. Further research should be done to test the effects of social network membership on politeness behavior.

5.2 Are *P*, *D* and *R* exhaustive? B&L concede in their 1987 revision that *P*, *D* and *R* may not be exhaustive in calculating the weightiness of an FTA (16). The residue of factors not covered by *P*, *D* and *R* are the presence of an audience, the 'liking' factor, and aspects of situational formality. It will be argued here that none of these residue factors had any influence on the results.

5.2.1 Audience. B&L note that the original 1978 presentation of 'Politeness Theory' underplayed the importance of third parties. This factor has to do with an interactional feature, rather than the social identities of participants — what Alan Bell (1984) calls 'audience design.' Clearly, the presence of parties other than *S* and *H* might influence politeness behavior. To avoid this condition, all of the 76 interviews reported on so far involved the same audience design; a speaker, a hearer, and no others present.

15 additional subjects were interviewed under the same conditions, except where at least some third party was present, and the results for these subjects are as follows;

Table 8: Use of non-bald imperatives with third party present

WC	17/36	46%	n=10
MC	5/23	21%	n=5

The number of tokens is quite small, and so these results should not be taken too seriously. There is, however, an interesting reversal of preference between the classes. The WC speakers used the negative politeness strategy 27% more than the M/C. Perhaps the presence of a third party alters a speaker's perception of the social relationship between S and H. A further study similar to the present one could be done to examine the effects of audience design on politeness in verbal interaction.

5.2.2 Liking. B&L accept in their 1987 revision that 'affect' should be an independent factor alongside D, P, and R (p.16). They contrast affect with familiarity (distance), following the work of Slugoski (1985), and note that these separate factors may yield opposite results; people might use greater politeness for friendly relationships and less politeness for familiar relations (low D values) — "intimates don't necessarily like each other" (p.16).

With regard to the context of giving directions to a stranger, it is unlikely that affect comes into play in speakers' assessments of the weightiness of FTA's. Assuming that 'liking' is assessed in values as the other factors are, it is doubtful that values for liking for any subject will be high in relation to a stranger.⁷ Therefore,

⁷ Although it is conceivable that dislike or liking of 'types' could play a role in assessing 'affect' toward a stranger.

this 'residue' factor can be excluded as a possible contributing factor to the variation examined in this paper's study.

5.2.3 Formality. In addition to audience and liking, B&L recognize in their revision the potential influence of kinds of situation and setting on the assessment of Wx of FTA's. For example, whether one is in church, in school, or at the ballpark might influence FTA assessment. Also, the spatial/temporal setting could have some effect on the perceptions of Wx. For instance, a request on a city street from a stranger made at night could be perceived as more threatening than if it were made in the day.

Could situation or setting be exerting some influence on cross-class variation in direction-giving? Although this consideration is fraught with complexity due to the innumerable aspects of 'formality', it is claimed here that such situational factors have been controlled for, for the most part. All of the subjects were interviewed in public places, during the week, in the daytime. It appears that the only differing setting condition was the neighborhood where the interviews were conducted.

It is conceivable that this factor might have influenced the variation across classes. One may speculate along the following lines; WC subjects were probably interviewed within their own home neighborhoods, whereas Lansing MC subjects in all likelihood commute into the inner city for work. The majority of East Lansing subjects (all MC) were presumably students and live on or close to campus (16 out of 20 were between 16 and 25 years of age).

Perhaps being in one's home environment effects one's perception of face-threat and results in lower W_x values.

This notion may be tested given the data and the distribution of MC subjects. The prediction is that the East Lansing MC subjects will be more direct than the Lansing MC subjects because they were interviewed in a 'home environment'. However, the data do not confirm this prediction;

Table 9: Use of non-bald imperatives in and out of home environment

MC	Lansing	71/98 = 72.4%	n=18
	East Lansing	57/82 = 69.5%	n=20

Of the 18 Lansing subjects, bald imperatives were used 27.6% of the time, while for the 20 East Lansing subjects, bald imperatives were used 30.5% of the time. The place of interview therefore, was not a significant factor between Lansing and East Lansing speakers. This still leaves open the possibility that neighborhood has a strong effect on WC speakers' perceptions of FTA threat. This issue requires further research.

Finally, it should be considered whether the direction-giving destination presumed by subjects in this study had some effect on the variable. The results given above serve to disconfirm this, because there is no significant difference between MC Lansing and

East Lansing groups who were asked for directions to distinct destinations (Potter Park and Spartan Village respectively).

In sum, although there may be residue factors in assessing the weight of FTA's, the ones conceded by B&L do not seem to be contributing to the variation of bald imperatives and non-bald imperatives in the data. Variable assessments of the D factor across classes remains the most plausible explanation available.

6 Conclusion

One might argue that the distinct class preferences for different kinds of linguistic form are simply characteristics of separate social class varieties. In this view, separate varieties have historically developed to their present state and linguistic output therefore is in large part shaped by the codes of the varieties. If this is true, then the variation seen in this study requires no more than acknowledgment of distinct social class varieties in use.

This line of reasoning is inadequate for several reasons. First, the fact that there is variation in the data within classes and within the speech of individuals shows that speakers are proficient in producing either of the variants. They all have available to them the choice of forms. Saying that groups or individuals simply prefer certain forms is merely descriptive and sheds no light on why such forms are preferred. B&L's theory provides a framework and tool for understanding such preferences. Social forces, it is

claimed, exert an influence on language usage, in part by way of politeness behavior;

For us then, the social valence of linguistic form has two especially important sources: the intrinsic potential impact that a specific communicative intention may have on a social relationship, and the ways in which by modifying the expression of that intention participants seek to modify that impact -- such modification measuring for participants the nature of the social relationship. (281)

So linguistic forms in use are not simply handed down by code but rather may be determined by context specific perceptions of the social situation and of the potential threat of certain verbal actions. Variable usage, therefore, may be determined by variable politeness emphases as they spring from social interaction.⁸

The results of the quantitative analysis provided in this paper show distinct preferences across two large social classes for bald imperatives verses non-bald imperatives in the genre of direction-giving. A plausible explanation for the preferences evidenced in the data is that ethos, or quality of interaction, varies from one group to the next. The same situation is perceived differently by speakers from the working class and the middle class. More specifically, it is the factor of perceived social distance which is variable across classes. This results in greater or lesser speaker estimation of the weightiness of an FTA (a suggestion). Higher Wx values then result in the choice of a lower risk politeness strategy

⁸ It is suggested by B&L (246) that Bernstein's (1971) distinction between 'elaborated' and 'restricted' codes (often associated with higher and lower status groups respectively) can to a certain extent be attributed to higher status negative politeness emphases and lower status positive politeness emphases.

(negative politeness), while lower W_x values lead to the choice of the higher risk bald-on record strategy. These strategies in turn are realized by linguistic means which serve their purposes.

Further studies are needed to provide more support for B&L's hypothesis that higher status groups are negative politeness cultures, while lower status groups are positive politeness cultures. This paper has not addressed the latter part of this hypothesis. Future work should look at other natural language phenomena, in other cultures, and with focus on other linguistic variables. Also, the roles of audience design, neighborhood, and social network with relation to politeness and class ethos require greater consideration.

.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

Middle Class Data

Male/40 years old/ Black/ subject no1 (7/7)

[Do you have any idea how I can get to Potters Park from here?]

Potters Park, You're gonna go to the zoo. Are you walking or are you driving? I'll tell you, it's a little bit far then. Well I don't know how you, you are to walking.. **Best thing to go.. is to go to Kalamazoo..** which is south of here. From Kalamazoo you want to go east. it'll be to your left.. **you take Kalamazoo, to Pennsylvania..** Okay, on Pennsylvania, **you're gonna turn right, which is south. you go down, you go underneath the railroad track viaduct, Potter Park is. on the left..** It's right off Pennsylvania.. I'm trying to think if you can take. **the best is walk along the river all the way to the park, I know they were working on buildin it all the way to the park, I'm not sure. but that way I gave you is guaranteed**

Female/45 years old/ White/ subject no2 (7/7)

[Do you have any idea how I can get to Potters Park from here?]

um it's quite a ways. are you walking? okay, it is quite a ways. okay, um.. it's on Pennsylvania Ave.. which is. is um let's see, one, two, three, it's about four streets over, main streets over, and um, **if you walk down let's see this is Washington, if you walk down there you gonna walk. it's a long way. it's probably.. three quarters, no maybe a mile, more than that down to Pennsylvania..** and then once you get to Pennsylvania **you go right, but then it's down probably. another good mile and a half.. okay you don't mind**

walking. Yea it is a nice day. I think that's the easiest way to get there that I can tell you. the river. riverwalk might make it to there, but I'm not sure.. and the riverwalk is as you're walking down here you come to a bridge that goes over the river. you get to the other side, there's an entrance down onto, and there's a riverwalk, a wooden walk along the river which is nice, you can take that for quite a ways. and I'm not sure if it takes you all the way to Penn, er to the park or not but it might. okay? good luck.

M60Wno3 (5/6)

[Can you tell me how I can get to. to Potters Park?] you walkin? that's quite a ways.. ah.. I'd go down here to main street.. you gonna have to walk over a bridge you gotta go all the way to Pennsylvania.. and you turn right, and it's about. about St Joe, a good mile.. after you hit Pennsylvania. south. yes you can't miss it.. Just before you come. to a bridge, a little bridge. it should be on the lefthand side. Go right down here to St. Joe Street, it's a light down there, and you turn left, and uh. [something]

F50Wno4 (1/3)

[Do you know where I can find Potters Park? how I can get there?] Yes.. You could take, Kalamazoo street right here.. down um to Pennsylvania.. turn right and go under the bridge, the railroad bridge, it's right directly to your left.. It's right off of Pennsylvania.. You're walking it? *[Is it far?]* No, I run out there practically every day.. so uh it'll take you twenty minutes, twenty five minutes..

M35Wno5 (6/6)

[Excuse me. Do you know how to get to Potters Park?] yea I think so.. That's where the creek is and the zoo and all that stuff? Yea. you go down to um.. Michigan I. I'm not from here. are you gonna walk? oh jeez kindalongway... yea it's um, you go down to uh.. not this road, it's Michigan? Is that right? Michigan goes that way I've been there. Tell you what, if you go down the road here, and you're gonna go south.. and it's on Michigan, if there's a big road going that way. called Michigan, that'll be the road. and you go maybe five miles or something, it's a long way... it's down there on your left you should get it fine, it's pretty much that way, it's south, it's a big road I think it's Michigan, and you go. that way, it'll be about five miles [something] good luck.

F20W

[..how I can get to Potters Park from here?] from here I think. I think it's actually on Kalamazoo, I think what you have to do is is.. I'm not familiar with this area.. either um... I really don't know. I mean maybe... [something] oh this is my boss right here, he'll know...

M30Wno6 (10/11)

[continued; last subject leaves] Potters Park? It is, okay you wanna go up to Cedar, okay and hang a right. and um.. you'll go. or no I'm sorry not Cedar. Pennsylvania. and that's.. let's see up over the railroad tracks that way... to the next light. You'll go through this light, you'll go through another light, another light, so it's the fourth light is Pennsylvania, and you'll hang a right. and you'll

go... it's right off Pennsylvania it'll be on your left hand side.. it's real easy to find. Yea, you'll see. cause there's like an overpass type of thing. yea railroad track overpass.. and it's just as you get by that. it's on your left hand side.. *[Is it far?]* No not too far, are you walking? yea, cause actually there's the ah. the riverwalk too you can take right to it,.. the riverwalk. I'm trying to think where you catch that.. So if you go up to Michigan here, it's just there.. Do you know where Michigan's at? okay yea you'll go that way to Michigan and you'll hang a right, and you'll just go like one block, and there's like stairs... Have a good walk

M30Wno7 (1/2)

[Do you know where. how I can get to Potters Park from here?]
oh yea it's a distance.. Your best bet is. is the riverwalk.. right after you get to the river you'll see where everybody goes joggin.. get on the riverwalk, I think it's about three mi it's a three mile walk. cause I go joggin there all the time.. that's the river right there. that's Grand River. and there's a walkway where everybody jogs. and if you follow that for about three or four miles it'll go right to Potter Park..*[three or four miles?]* at least...

F40Wno8 (0/4)

[Do you know how I can get to Potters Park?] ooh yea. try and think the best way.. go up here to Cedar S er to Pennsylvania, and go directly south let's see it's about. be about four streets up four main streets up.. go downtown maybe and catch a bus out that way..
[I don't know. It's a nice day out] I know. It's hard to ignore the day.

F25Bno9 (2/4)

[excuse me. Do you know the way to Potters Park?] Potters Park? It's on. ooh what is that? [it was an insect] It's on Pennsylvania Street.. you can't walk.. shit it's a long way! Um I'm trying to think of the easiest. the easiest way to go that I know is to get on the expressway. I don't really know an easy way to get there walking. The way I would go is I would turn right down there and get on 496 East and get off on Pennsylvania.. I'm not sure how to get there walking.

M35Wno10 (2/3)

[Do you know the way to Potters Park?] uhh. the zoo. uh yea it's a ways away. you gotta go down there to Pennsylvania Ave which is about. half mile down. and then it's up about. boy a mile or two. Yea it's a ways.. yea okay, good luck, go down there to.. let me see, is it Pennsylvania? Yea you go down to... I'm sure it's Pennsylvania. Like I say, it's down there across the river, and up a couple more blocks, it's about a half mile that way and then it's probably about a mile and a half or so south. Yea down Pennsylvania.

M45Wno11 (3/3)

[excuse me sir. Do you know how I can get to Potters Park?] Potters Park? ooh boy, that's quite a ways from here.. um.. the best way is. [something] um... Potter Park, I think it's off of Pennsylvania.. Do you know where Pennsylvania Ave is? Pennsylvania is probably about.. ah ten or twelve blocks that way..

it runs this way.. I would suggest go down. where are you parked? You're not okay. Oh you're on foot! oh okay. Ask for better directions than I'm going to give you. So you don't go in the wrong. I think you can get to it on Pennsylvania, probably if you went down Kalamazoo probably [something], but get better directions. If you're walking I don't want to send you the wrong way. But it's that way. You're looking at at least a mile, a mile and a half...

F50Wno12 (2/5)

[Do you know where Potter Park is?] On Pennsylvania Ave..
[Where is that?] uh. It runs north and south, and it's um, I'm trying to think how many blocks. oh it's gotta be four five blocks east.. well you can take any of these streets if you can go. east. right see this is east, go east and take it to Pennsylvania Ave. turn right t'south, and it's down there on the left, it's just just past the viadock, there's a viadock with a train track that runs over top.. the entrance is just past that...

F40Wno13 (5/7)

[Can you tell me where Potters Park is?] oh yea. you're way far away from it.. um. it's off Pennsylvania Ave, south Pennsylvania, so if you took Michigan, which is one block over yet, and take that this way. this is east, you'll run into Pennsylvania, and then you'll want to go to the right, you'll go south. It's a long, it's a long yea, you can, in fact there's a riverwalk that you can follow, [something] If you go down Michigan there's a riverwalk. along the way that you can get there. I mean people walk it on their lunch hour. It's a

few miles.. I don't do that. but .. but it's probably [something] three miles... You're gonna take Michigan to Pennsylvania. and head south....[noise override]

F25Wno14 (5/7)

[Hey, um, do you have any idea how I can get to Potter Park from here?] Yea, um... Let me think... How well do you know the area? *[well, pretty well]* Okay, if you get b-- right back on 496... and take the Pennsylvania exit, there's like one for Cedar street and Pennsylvania, and you go past that, and turn right onto Pennsylvania, and you're gonna go up about... six, eight block... I think you'll pass three lights and Potter Park is you, you'll go under a bridge, under a viaduct that has a flashing light that says 'low' for trucks. right on your immediate left is Potter Park... *[okay]* it's like-- and you won't you won't go-- if you get to Mt Hope you've gone too far. It's between.. 496 and Mt Hope.

M60Wno15 (2/6)

[excuse me. Do you know how I can get to Potter Park from here?] Potter Park? Sure. Go up here to this first light. Turn left. Go down to.. the.. one. two. third light it's about ah six blocks that way. It's Pennsylvania Ave. Turn right. Just keep going. You'll see Potter Park on the left. You'll go down there underneath the railroad viaduct, and Potter Park's right on the left.

F65Wno16 (3/4)

[Excuse me. Do you know how I can get to Potter Park from

here?] Potter Park. Wait a minute. um.. it's on ah Pennsylvania. You know where Pennsylvania is? [*umm. not quite sure*] Trying to think how you get to Pennsylvania from here... You would have to go down um. Kalamazoo to Pennsylvania.. and turn right.. This is Kalamazoo, you take it down to Pennsylvania and you turn right. and that'll take you down to Potter Park.

F60Wno17 (4/5)

[*Excuse me, do you know how I can get to Potter Park from here?]* Potter Park, oh dear, it's a walk but it- you walking? It's that way. Uh go down... it's like on Pennsylvania. But you gotta walk.. like. miles [*really?*] yea. [*okay*] but if you go down this way.. and. there's a boardwalk and you can walk along the river and that'll take you to Potter Park or you go down to Pennsylvania and that'll take you. [*okay good*] you're gonna be walking!

M65Wno18 (6/8)

[*Excuse me, do you know how I can get to Potter Park from here?]* um. you're driving? [*yeah*] okay.. you gotta pick up a one-way.. go down- the next street down. one block just opposite going this way.. okay cro- past the bridge crossing the river? Okay, that's Kalamazoo Street. Take Kalamazoo... You want to go to Pennsylvania which is ah... You take Kalamazoo and that'll be a one-way going south after the bridge, then a one-way going north, then you cross a railroad tracks, and a lumber yard on your right- up a hill is a stop light and that's Pennsylvania. You take Pennsylvania south. okay. you'll go under a railroad overpass, and

then immediately left, right there, that's it. [*okay. alright then*] okay but it's about.. after you cross the railroad y- say it's about three blocks, actually three lights, at the third light make a right, that's Pennsylvania.

F20Wno19 (1/2)

[*Do you have any idea where the Union is?*] It's... you might probably want to go down this way and then it's that way. like go all the way down towards Grand River. it's right on Grand River. Yea it's just a little further down.

F20Wno20 (6/8)

[*Do you know how I can get to Spartan Village from here?*] Spartan Village? It's about. You're quite a ways from there though.. um... your best bet is to go down by the river, and follow it all the way down, and you'll go through the gardens, and then um turn left and you'll see Sparty, and you'll want to go to the right of Sparty, and you just keep walking.. um you'll be walking southwest.. It's kind of, Spartan Village is, you just have to walk diagonal through campus. It's probably a good three quarters of a mile...

F20Bno21 (5/5)

[*... can find Spartan Village from here?*] Spartan Village is like is way over by the south side of campus.. it's past there.. and it's like you have to. if you go straight down this road you hit Harrison, and then you turn left.. it's straight down. it's like across

f. do you know where the MSU credit union is? the main. the main one? yea Harrison Road, you turn left, you go south, you can't miss it cause there'll be a sign that says Spartan Village..

F25Wno22 (1/3)

[do you know how I can find Spartan Village from here?] **keep** going that way.. um it's um actually it'd be easiest if you went up here to Shaw. and then to Wilson.. and then all the way.. you've got two directions of Shaw and then Wilson's the next one.. north.. so either way you know **go** all the way to the west edge of the... *[how far is Spartan Village from there? from the corner or the edge]* I'm making sure I'm thinking of the right one.. the. cause I get Cherry Lane er whatever those are over there. yea um it's on the other side of Harrison...

M35Wno23 (1/4)

[excuse me. Do you know how I can get to Spartan Village from here?] Spartan Village? uh. well it's way back off campus that direction. .. **get** the bus *[Is it that far?]* It's a long ways. **go** down to Harrison Road.. you **go** left.. and it's **go** down there past the railroad tracks on the right..

F20Wno24 (1/1)

[Do you know how I can get to Spartan Village from here?] I figure it's far away.. it's um like beyond campus *[can I walk?]* sure but it's you have to keep on going like straight through heading north. past here. but if you ask for directions from somebody else

once you get a little bit closer, that might help...

F20Wno25 (9/9)

[Do you know how I can get to Spartan Village from here?] oh wow. you got a hike and a half. you have to go all the way to the other side. Do you know where south campus is? Like Case Hall and.. okay you want to go around. wait... quickest way for you to go is go straight this sidewalk, and you'll want to go to the right. you're gonna pass a bunch of tennis courts, you'll come to like [something] it'll be like James Madison College and what's it Case Hall or Wunders.. you wanna keep going that direction and it's a good another like half mile all the way down Harrison Road. you might want to catch a bus. yea it's a good mile from here at least.. So you probably want to grab a bus. if you can. it'll take you up there.

F20Wno26 (4/4)

[Do know how I can get to Spartan Village from here?] um It's that way.. um it's a little bit of a walk.. you have to go all the way down to Harrison.. you turn left.. yea, it's a big it's like a fourlane wide road, it's divided.. and you take a left and be on the righthand side, you ha. you're gonna walk down a little ways.. it's a little ways away.

F25Wno27 (1/6)

[Do you know how I can get to Spartan Village from here] Yes I do.. okay um what you have to do is. I kinda take [something] you're

walking? This'll be the quickest way.. Go all the way down this street to Harrison. It'll be about three and a half more blocks then take a left and walk past the railroad tracks until you see Crescent Road. and you'll be right at Spartan Village.. Crescent Road like contains Spartan Village.. [*okay. so it's like a twenty minute walk?*] yea. maybe about twenty twenty five minutes. so you walk straight and take a left then go straight past the railroad tracks, and it'll seem like it's taking you longer than it should but it's on um the right Crescent Road...

M20Bno28 (8/10)

[*excuse me. Do you know where Spartan Village is*] that's um.. well. you can take actually.. this road right here and then go straight down to um where you get to Case. and just make a.. well actually let me tell you the best way.. just take straight down here Shaw. you take Shaw. Go straight down Shaw Lane till you get to Harrison.. and you make a left on Harrison.. and you go straight down, and it's gonna be past um Quality Dairy and that's Trowbridge.. so you go past there and you'll see um Spartan Village.. and you just like make a right on the street.

F20Wno29 (0/1)

[*Sorry to bother you. Do you know where I can find Spartan Village?*] oh jeez. That's way other corner. [*On that side?*] uhuh. keep going that way.. Yea you got a ways.

F20Bno30 (3/3)

[Do you know where I can find Spartan Village from here?] um
 It's a walk. you can't walk there. you have to catch the bus..
 Spartan Village is.. opposite end of the campus.. you have a map?
[no. I don't. I wish I did] I couldn't tell you cause I don't catch the
 bus see I go. like you know where Shaw is? Yea but you know wh,
 you know where the bus stops? you have to catch.... if you
 caught the Spartan Village that'll take you right there..

M25Wno31 (2/5)

[Say. Do you know the way to Spartan Village from here?]
 Spartan Village? I know. you're goin the right way goin this way
 because isn't it next. off of Harrison? Thing is. do you know if y.
 Have you been in there? cause if you go in there and ask one of the
 people that are downstairs, they can probably give you a map, like
 in the bookstore, they can probably just give you a map of it.. Well
 tell you the truth wait a sec. I've got a map of it.. I know it's just
 off of Harrison.. All right.. bad map... There's Spartan Village right
 here.. and we are.. right.. I'm a screwed up. and here's ah Harrison. So
 you just go take this. all the way till you get to Harrison which is
 the big road. and then take a left. go over the tracks and it'll be on
 your right side.. [looks like a little walk] yea it is a walk..

M20Wno32 (2/2)

[Say. excuse me. Do you know how to get to Spartan Village from here?] Spartan Village? It's like way down that way.. Just. basically
 just keep heading this way. Just ask more people as you go along.
 cause if I give you directions now you'll probably get lost like half

way.. *[it's pretty far?]* ah.. bout three quarters of a mile to a mile...

F25Wno33 (4/4)

[Do you know the way to Spartan Village from here?] Spartan Village? um it's way on the other side of Campus.. Are you looking. Are you sure you're not looking for Cedar Village? ...It's way over there.. Just walk in that direction.. you might want to take the bus.. *[Do you know where the bus is?]* you want to go up to Shaw.. It's up there, and then, like there's probably like a busstop right behind that building there in yellow.. and you better look for a sign.. for the bus.. *[it's too far to walk isn't it?]* It's a long. you can walk, it's just a long walk.. I mean if you have time go ahead...

F25Wno34 (3/3)

[Do you know the way to Spartan Village from here?] um Spartan Village is all the way on the opposite side of campus.. Best way would be to go down.. Bogue are you driving.. oh you have a very long walk.. it's. do you know where um. like Holden, Wilson, Case Hall? it's past that.. Do you know. it's past the stadium It's. do you know where um.. Goodrich Shoprite is? over on Trowbridge? um It's on Harrison Road. Lemme show you a map.. it's easier.. Spartan Village and we are right there.. So I guess there's not really an easy way to go, but you need to go all the way down to Harrison, um Do you want me to make a copy of this for you? okay.. yea and then just keep walking and yea. yea there's a. this is a big shopping center, Goodrich shoprite's right there, and there's a Mobil station *[something]* ...

M25Wno35 (2/3)

[Excuse me. Do you know how I can get to Spartan Village from here?] um... let's see... I never remember which is Spartan Village and which is University housing... um... You would.. go out to ah... Harrison *[okay]* and ah. turn left. and you gotta go over the railroad tracks. and it's on the right. It's a long way.

M55Wno36 (4/4)

[Excuse me. Do you know how I can get to Spartan Village from here?] Oh boy. It's quite a long way. *[is it?]* yea. I'll just tell you how far it is. You go to the end of this road right here.. You gotta take Shaw Lane all the way to ah Harrison. and then you go south on Harrison. and you pass some railroad tracks and it's on the righthand side. But you're talking about a total walk of.. a mile and a quarter... at least.

M55Wno37 (1/2)

[excuse me. Do you know how I can get to Spartan Village from here?] uh... yeah.. You'd have to go over to ah. ah.. Harrison and take a left and Spartan Village is on the both sides of Harrison further down. I don't know what part you need to go to...

M55Wno38 (1/3)

[say. Do you know how I can get to Spartan Village from here?] yeah but it's far away from here, you walking or driving? *[I'm driving]* You're driving. okay. Drive to the end of this road which

will be Harrison, okay, and at Harrison you take a left, and go down about a half of a mile.. and there'll be a big sign there for Spartan Village, it'll be on the righthand side.

Working Class Data

M35Wno1 (1/2)

[excuse me. Do you have any idea how I can get to Potter Park?]

Potter Park? Do you know where the river walk is? Right over here? Right down here, you'll come to um. there's a river walk that goes right to Potter Park. Just walk right down this street and the river's right down there just past Jake's plumbing. The river walk starts right on the other side of that. It follows the river. and ah it goes right to Potter Park. Don't go into town. go the other way.

M25Wno2 (0/5)

[Do you have any idea how I can get to Potter Parkfrom here?]

Right across the river there's a. a walkway. It'll take you right to it. Go up here to this [pushpoint?], take a right and go over this bridge right there. then go right down the bridge. and stay on the walkway. it'll take you right to Potter Park

M60Bno3 (0/3)

[I'm trying to find Potter Park. Can you tell me how I can get there?] Potters Park? Okay... go right down the railroad tracks... you come.. the next. the first over there is Potters Park. Right. Right there. Oh you gotta go down all the way in the park. you going w the

animals right? Okay... go right here go right down the railroad tracks.. next street over. which is ah. Pennsylvania.. you come out about far from the entrance of Potter Park as the end of that sandbeach. [*thanks for your help*] you welcome

M25Bno4 (0/0)

[*Do you have any idea how I can get to Potter Park?*] You're on it right there.. at the end of the block. you can see it. you can see the block

M25Wno5 (0/3)

[continued-- subject 4 leaves] where you gotta go man? Potter Park? Go down to the road. Go down the light. hang a left. and it's about half a block down on the right hand side.. Matter of fact. from that park right there. it's right across the street from it. There you go.

F25Wno6 (0/0)

[*Do you have any idea how I can get to Potter Park from here?*] Potters Park? It's just right straight down here. Yup right straight down.

M30Wno7 (0/3)

[*Can you tell me how I can get to Potters Park from here?*] Yea. Go straight up. the next light. that'll be Pennsylvania and turn left. take it straight down. you'll run right into Potters Park.

F45Wno8 (3/6)

[Excuse me.. Do you have any idea how I can get to Potters Park from where we are here?] Um Uh. right down here to the light. Cedar Street er. no wait. go to the second light, which is Pennsylvania.. yea it's around Mt. Hope right here. you hit one light and go to the second light which is Pennsylvania, take a left. on Pennsylvania, and it's down probably.. equivalent to about six blocks, and Potter Park is to your right. It was before you get to there's a railroad bridge you can see a railroad bridge as you're coming up on it.. well then there's an entrance dual entrance there just go keep to your right... *[Do you know where zoo is in relation to the park?]* Yea it's within the park. you'll go through to the ah. the park is before you get to the zoo. It's all actually all one combination there..

F60Wno9 (0/3)

[Sorry to bother you. Do have any idea how I can get to Potters Park from here?] Go to the second traffic light that way. take a a left and you're probably.. go down probably ten blocks. *[and the zoo is in there somewhere?]* yup you'll you can't miss it as you're heading. as you're heading north on Pennsylvania

M60Wno10 (0/6)

[Can you tell me how I can get to. to Potters Park?] Turn right here right at this red light. go down next red light go through it go down the next red light, that's Pennsylvania. Turn left go right straight down there about two blocks it's over on your right hand side. *[And the zoo's in there?]* the zoo's there. yea you can't miss it.

there's a sign th all over on Pennsylvania

M35Wno11 (0/4)

[Excuse me sir. Do you have any idea how I can get to Potters Park?] Yea. Go back down this way to Pennsylvania. Walk that way on Pennsylvania and you'll see a big overpass. the park's right there *[and the zoo's in there?]* Yup. it's about a mile and a half that way. Walk down here to Pennsylvania, go left, and it's down about a half a mile. You'll see a big sign out there.

M40Wno12 (1/5)

[Excuse me. Can you tell me where I can find um how I can get to Potters Park from here?] Yea. Just go straight up ah ah to the end of the street here. ah make a little jog left, take ah Baker Street. walk straight down to ah where it ends at Pennsylvania., and take a left about a block and it's there

M35Wno13 (1/4)

[Can you tell me how I can get to Potters Park from here?] Um Go over to Pennsylvania and Pennsylvania straight down. That's it. Shouldn't be.. let's see. No you go back this way. up Pennsylvania and back this way about... tell you what... fastest way.. go to this light that's Baker.. take it all the way till it hits Pennsylvania.. ends on Pennsylvania Potters Park's right across the street

M30Bno14 (0/4)

[Can you tell me how I can get to Potters Park from here?] Yea. that's easy. you see this street right here where that truck is right

there? Go straight till the very end. When you get to the very end, make a left and go about uh. about a half a block I think. and you'll see the uh, the entrance. This is a place you ride to a park.. That's not Potters Park. Know what I'm saying? But there's another park right next to it. Go over a little bridge. once you go over that little bridge, that's Potters Street.

M60Wno15 (5/21)

[Excuse me. Can you tell me how I can get to Potters Park from here?] Lemme show you a short way. Are you walkin? All right you could here, go out here, go down, or, you can go right here, the light, go right straight down.. that's a rough part of town I'm sending you through. I should not send you through the roughest part of town but. or you can go right here. [some sentence].. [something] might be closer.. be closer.. [something] be closer going this way here.. gotta go down here. ah second light.. the second light hear? turn right.. go down to.. keep walking like you're going over towards that street there. but when you go across the bridge when you get close cross the bridge, turn right right there other side of the bridge there bicycle trail. Walk right down there walk right to Potter Park.. [something] unless you wanna go this other route.. I say this way is faster... It makes more sense [something] this route. And you'll like and you'll like this you'll like this view here. Oh real nice.. I go down that bicycle trail all the time. it's a six mile drive.. you ride your bike a lot? Well you'll like it [something]. Well you need to go down there, show your bicycle that old guy they got a bicycle trail there where I'm puttin you on. um goes right back

thataway across the street, goes all the way down to.. Shawassee, comes all the way back thisaway, goes right to about Potters Park. and when you get to Potters Park walking back, Potters Park, you can't miss it.. there'll be a bridge there you can't see it back to your left you see the trial there, Potter Park and not only that going across Potter Park you can go all the way there, to ah. Kalamazoo.. six mile six mile run.. long ride. ride it all the time. and my wife.. oh yea but at night it's good riding you know, nobody fool with you [something] they ain't got lights all way y they just gotta finish em [something] but they ain't got lights you know but nice view, you'll like it there. just go down that second light, turn right, or you can go the first light here you ought to, go the first light here, turn right, see that yellow building there? go down th next street, then turn left, go up there first street, you'll see the bridge down make a right there.. don't go back to the left. you'll be goin towards Shawassee. and the Civic Center.. [something] turn right come by [something] back around Potter Park. You'll like it that way better.. Be good interviewing.. It goes all the way around. well you could walk or ride the bike... You'll like it down there. You'll like that view

M30Wno16 (5/10)

[Can you tell me how to get to Potters Park from here?] Just go down Mt. Hope, just, you wanna get on Pennsylvania, it's a big ah, go right here to Mt. Hope, [something] go right here the light.. are you driving or walking? Just go right here the light, take a left, take it right down to ah, Pennsylvania, when it gets to Pennsylvania do you wanna go right or left? It's only a block one

way or the other.. Yea. when you get there you'll be able to see it. You'll look for the overpass okay. look for the overpass.. and when you see the overpass it's right there.. I'm just backwards from in here. but whe just take it over to Pennsylvania, When you get right there you can see it

M60Wno17 (0/3)

[Excuse me sir. Can you tell me how I can get to Potters Park from here?] Go up d. to the light and turn right. turn left..

M65Wno18 (0/3)

[could you ah tell me how I can get to Potters Park from here?] Go straight down there. bout eight blocks just over the bridge and to your right *[how about the zoo. is it in there?]* yup that's right keep right going to the right. you get right to the zoo at the other end of it. You'll see it, just over the bridge. railroad bridge, river bridge there, and turn right. It's down about eight blocks here.

M30Wno19 (4/5)

[Do you have any idea how I can get to to Potters Park from here?] Just walk right down to that next corner, take a right, just keep walking down that way and you go underneath a small viaduct right there and you'll see a riverwalk, you can cross over there.. *[how far is it?]* oh probably.. maybe a mile..

F35Bno20 (0/0)

[Do you know how I can get to Potters Park?] Potters Park?

Right down the road there. It's about a mile down the road, it'll be on your lefthand side.. Just. right down Pennsylvania here. you going to [interruption], yes, Pennsylvania.. it's just straight down. about a mile. probably not even that far.. just beyond the bridge there. onto your left. You'll see a big old sign Potters Park.. [*Is the zoo right in there?*] yea the zoo right in there. [okay thanks] you welcome

F55Wno21 (3/3)

[*Do you know how I can get to Potters Park from here?*] Okay, you go right straight down Pennsylvania, you go through one, two, and then two lights, and then Potters Park is just on the other side of that railroad track that's over. over the. over Pennsylvania. that you go under, and Potters Park is on your left hand side. [*the zoo's somewhere in there?*] Yea, well you follow those roads back, and it takes you to the zoo.. [*thank you. have a good day*] you too.

F60Wno22 (4/8)

[*Can you tell me how I can get to Washington Ave?*] Whereabouts on Washington Ave do you want to be? well Washington is. is ah. about three big streets behind us. actually two big ones.. I guess the best way would be go up to the first traffic light here, and turn to your right. and walk right straight across till you get to Washington ave. and turn right again... It's right basically behind us.. but you can't walk the freeway cause the police'll have you so. yea so the best way is go out the first traffic light. just turn right, and it'll take you right over to Washington Ave.. and then you'll have to turn right and walk back about a block...

M65Bno23 (0/5)

[excuse me sir. Do you know how I can get to the Capitol from here? The capital building?] yup. I'll tell you how to get there... You're going down to the capitol? Go straight up this road. take that street there.. Go to Michigan Ave.. [something] and when you get to Michigan.. go left.. If you miss the capitol building you know what to do? you tear it down. cause you run straight into it.. you can't miss it. see go up this street here. s'bout.. uh freeway is two blocks from here, then you got. about three more blocks. that'll be Kalamazoo, and you got two more blocks. that be Michigan Ave.. so in other words you got one, see that light right there, one, two, three, four, five lights the fifth light, you'll see a car wash down the glass company there at Michigan Ave.. you can't miss it man...

M55Bno24 (3/5)

[excuse me sir. Do you know how I can get to Potters Park] yea. let's see the easiest way. well let me see.. you can go over this way here.. keep going straight down until you get to Pennsylvania. let me see. no. yea you can go straight down here till you get to Pennsylvania.. take Pennsylvania back. it's about.. about where them tracks come out. o off Pennsylvania. Or you can walk down the tracks!

M45Wno25 (2/3)

[I was wondering if you can tell me how I can get to Potters Park] [something] it's that way. it's almost straight directly across..

it's on Pennsylvania.. take this street right here.. uh it'll jog around. but it'll go to Pennsylvania.. and I think you gotta hang a right. but it's right close right in here somewhere.. but you gotta get on Pennsylvania.. it's. Cedar's next one. then Pennsylvania..

M50Wno26 (3/3)

[sorry to bother you. C'tell me how I can get to Potters Park?]

Potters Park. I think that's the one over here.. That's by the zoo, ain't it? All right. just right.. cross that street right through there it'll take you right straight to it.. it's the next street after. Cedar. it's Pennsylvania.. *[okay. and it's off of Pennsylvania?]* yea.. allright If you go across this stoplight there. the next stoplight down. is Pennsylvania.. you stay right on Baker Street.. and it's a little bit to the left...

F50Wno27 (0/7)

[say. can you tell me how I can get to Potters Park?] Potters

Park? okay. go down here to Mt Hope let's see. no. better yet... um. I can send you back down here to Bakers Street.. take Bakers Street right straight through and you'll run right into Potters Park.. but the area is not too good.. so. if you want it's gonna take you a ways out of your way and go down here to Mt Hope.. and make a left and go to Pennsylvania and make another left. and come back.. But Baker Street is a little. a little bit of a problem beyond Cedar, between Cedar and Pennsylvania. so it's up to you whatever way you wanna go..

M50Wno28 (13/24)

[Do you know how I can get to Potters St? uh Potters Park?] not this light, next light down, you turn that way. okay and keep going straight down. Then ah. just keep going straight down and you'll see the Potters Park on that side. There's a bridge there. there's a thing you can walk across. Potters Park is right in there. Best I can tell you. [something] Just go down straight, not that light there. the next light down, there's a church on this side.. and you turn. you go up on this side and turn that way. and you go straight down and you keep going straight [something] till the road ends. and you'll see a road goes this way and one goes this way. [something] *[Is there any way I can take Mt. Hope?]* Yea you can go down this way here. and go thataway then cut all the way straight down.. ... and keep goin. and go ah ah straight down. and then you ah. then you turn. and Potters Park's right there.. yea instead of going this way, if you're gonna go this way then you gotta cut over.. so you just go.. I've been there before.. and go straight down that way, go to the light, and keep going straight.. you'll see you'll see a road go this way like I told you.. and you turn. this way. and walk straight down. that way, and you'll head right to it..

F45Wno29 (0/3)

[Excuse me. Do you know how I can find Potters Park?] Go right straight down Pennsylvania to.. ah go down. I'm sorry. Mt Hope till you get to Pennsylvania. go left on Pennsylvania. and it's probably about three blocks down. down Pennsylvania on the right. This is Mt Hope.. Mt Hope to Pennsylvania, and then down Pennsylvania about

thr three or four blocks down [*okay and the zoo's in there?*] yes uhuh.

M60Bno30 (2/4)

[*What's the best way to get to the Capital Building from here?*] Go straight up here. let's see.. one red light. one, two, three, four, the fifth red light and you [stutters] could you'll see the fifth red light that's right straight down. and then go down. that should take y that should be [something] you can see it. [stutters] you'll know it if you see the high rise one. But you just go up straight Logan here.. till about the fifth red light.. and then you'll turn

F30Wno31 (0/2)

[*Do you know how I can get to Potters Park?*] Five lights down, that's Pennsylvania, turn right and it's about a half a mile on the lefthand side of the road.. [*so I go down this road?*] umhuh Five lights to Pennsylvania and turn right. yep and then it's just like a half a mile down.. [*but to the right*] well it's on the lefthand side.. but when you come right up Pennsylvania, it's right off Pennsylvania..

F25Bno32 (3/4)

[*Say, Do you know how I can get to Potter Park from here?*] um Go down k- um.. Baker Street right there, right, right where that light at? Not this light but the next light? and you turn right. and you go all the way down, then when you get to a light down there on Baker Street, you turn left.

M25Wno33 (0/4)

[Can you tell me how I can get to Potter Park from here?] Let me think about where I'm at.. Go down the second, one, two, third light's Pennsylvania.. Take a left and go down about... five six blocks and you're there with no problem. [inaudible] on your right hand side and just pass that on the right.. Third light- third light take a left. four blocks on your right hand side. That's the park.

F65Bno34 (0/4)

[excuse me. Do you know how I can get to Potter Park from here?] Potter Park.. uh.. go down um... it's on Pennsylvania.. Do you know how to get to Pennsylvania? [No] Go up here to ah. Mt Hope.. Take Mt Hope all the way to Pennsylvania. and make a left on Pennsylvania, and then Potter Park is about two or three blocks down on the right.. So you will see it.

M65Wno35 (0/3)

[Sir? Can you tell me how I can get to Potter Park?] Potter Park. Yea- Go.. are you acquainted with Lansing at all? Go straight back down here to ah... Pennsylvania. Take a left on Pennsylvania, it's down there a block and a half on the right.

F30Wno36 (0/2)

[Do you know how I can get to Potter Park from here?] Um. yeah. Go straight up Mt Hope to Pennsylvania, turn left, and it's up-

it's a little ways down on your right I'd say.. It's a big huge sign.. there's like a bridge.. right next to it that you'll see.

F50Wno37 (0/2)

[*Can you tell me how I can get to Potter Park from here?*]
Potter Park? Go straight down here to ah Pennsylvania. Turn... left on Pennsylvania. [*okay. and that'll take me there?*] {Confers with another cashier} It'll be on the righthand side.

M20Wno38 (2/4)

[excuse me. Do you know how I can get to Potter Park from here?] yeah it's over there on Pennsylvania. I'm pretty sure um... take 49- let's see here, okay, actually... you have to take 496 over here till you see south Cedar uh uh Larch and uh Pennsylvania Ave. Get off at that exit which is a few miles up there. and then what you want to do is you want to head uh south on Pennsylvania Ave. and then you'll come across it. It'll be- it'll be on- heading south it'll be on your lefthand side, and then you should see it. If you don't [something] it's around there somewhere, I'm not- I can't tell you exactly but I know it's on Pennsylvania Ave south.

LIST OF REFERENCES

LIST OF REFERENCES

- Bell, A. 1984: Language style as audience design. *Language and Society* 13, 145-204.
- Brown, P. and Levinson, S. 1987: *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage*. Cambridge University Press.
- Grice, H.P. 1975: Logic and conversation. In P. Cole and J.L. Morgan (eds), *Syntax and Semantics 3: Speech Acts*, New York: Academic, 41-58 (reduced version of William James Lectures, Harvard University, 1967).
- Hopper, P.J. and Thompson, S.A. 1980: Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse. *Language* 56. 251-299.
- Kleiner, B. 1992: Transitivity in Direction-giving. Unpublished paper, Michigan State University.
- Koike, D. A. 1992: *Language and Social Relationship in Brazilian Portuguese: The Pragmatics of Politeness*. Austin; University of Texas Press.
- Labov, W. and Fanshel, D. 1977: *Therapeutic Discourse*. New York: Academic.
- Labov, W. 1972c: *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.
- Milroy, L. 1980: *Language and Social Networks*. Oxford.
- Morgan, J. L. 1978: Two types of Convention in Indirect Speech Acts. In *Syntax and Semantics*, vol. 9, ed Peter Cole, 261-280. New York: Academic Press.
- Preston, D. 1989: *Sociolinguistics and Second Language Acquisition*.
- Searle, J.R. 1976: The classification of illocutionary acts. *Language and Society* 5, 1-24.

Swales, J. 1985: A genre based approach to language across the curriculum. Paper delivered at the RELC Conference, Singapore. Cited in Preston, 1989; 51.

General References

Austin, J.L. 1962: *How to do thing with words*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Geertz, C. 1960: *The Religion of Java*. Glencoe, Ill.

Goffman, E. 1979: Footing. *Semiotica* 25, 1-29.

Irvine, J. T. 1975: Wolof speech styles and social status. *Working papers in sociolinguistics*, no. 23. Southwest Educational Development Lab, Austin, Texas.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIV. LIBRARIES



31293008857207