Positive Politeness & Social Harmony in Literary Discourse

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Abstract

The strategies of politeness are not arbitrarily chosen by speakers in interaction. Instead, the choice of a strategy is constrained by a number of contextual features (socio-cultural variables), such as the relative power of the speakers, the social distance of the speakers and what the speakers happen to be negotiating at the time of speaking. This study focuses on the linguistic strategies of politeness, and more specifically on the positive politeness, as represented in fiction. The novel chosen is that of Montgomery's *Anne of Green Gables*- a novel in which the main character Anne Shirley tries her best to establish common grounds with others until she achieves friendly and social harmonious relationships with nearly everybody. To show the above point, Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness is adopted to account for the linguistic strategies, in addition to some subsequent contribution provided by Spencer-Oatey (2002) to account for sociality rights and obligations. This model is chosen to explore the relation between language use and the social relationship of the speakers. A point of departure, and according to O'Driscoll (1996), Brown and Levinson's hierarchy of politeness strategies allows attention to positive to cover more ground than that subsumed under positive politeness (super-strategy 2). That is why baldly on-record (super-strategy 1) is used to pay positive face. The analysis shows that most of Anne's directives in this speech event, which are linguistic realizations of both super-strategy 1 and 2, are meant to establish common grounds to achieve friendly and harmonious relationships with others.

Keywords: Politeness, positive politeness strategies, social power, social distance, rank of imposition.

1. Introduction

One of the prevalent pragmatic theories used in the analysis of literary works is that of politeness theory. Among the many theories on politeness, Brown and Levinson's theory (1987) is used most often in examining literary texts such as plays, short stories and novels (Ermida, 2006). This study adopts Brown and Levinson's (1987) theoretical framework which is basically set out to integrate a description of language use with an account of the social relations of the interactants. In other words, Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness model conceives politeness as a management of face and obligations (Chikogu, 2009). Central to the Brown and Levinson's notion of politeness phenomena is the concept of 'face'. Face is the 'public self-image' which speakers in a society claim for themselves. It has two related aspects, called 'positive' and 'negative' face. Positive face refers to the positive consistent self-image or 'personality' claimed by interactants, including the desire that this image should be appreciated and approved of by others. Negative politeness, on the other hand, refers to the speaker's basic claim to territories, personal preserves and the right to non-distraction: in other words, the speaker's freedom of action and freedom from imposition.

In social interaction, speakers often perform acts which may be said to 'threaten' the face wants of both speakers and hearers and such acts are called face threatening acts (hence FTAs). Such acts intrinsically threaten face or, in Brown and Levinson's (1987, p.65) words, 'run contrary to the face wants of the addressee and/or of the speaker'. Brown and Levinson postulate the existence of strategies to minimize such FTAs and to protect the mutual vulnerability of face. The choice of a strategy depends on the context of interaction, the social relationships of the speakers and the amount of imposition which the FTAs entail.

According to Brown and Levinson (1987), an FTA can be performed in one of five ways called super-strategies being ordered from the most to the least threatening and as schematized in figure 1.1 below:
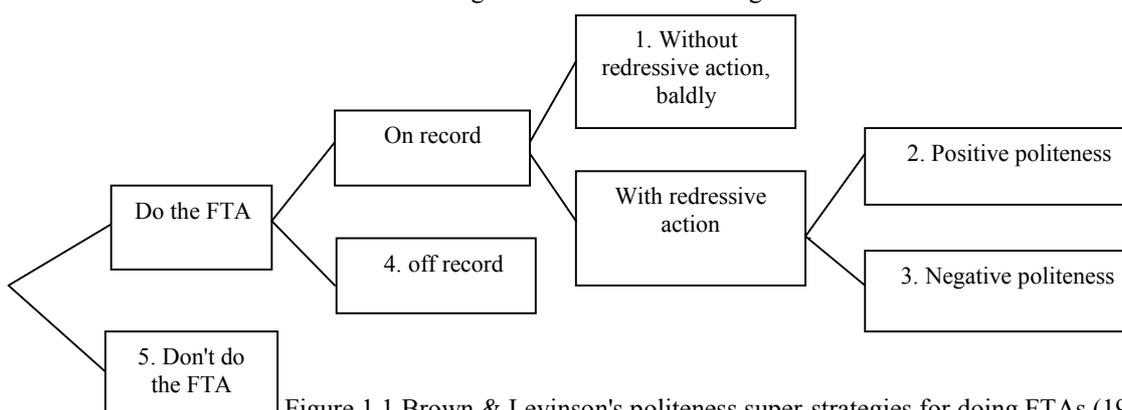

Figure 1.1 Brown & Levinson's politeness super-strategies for doing FTAs (1987, p.60).

Generally speaking, human interaction is awash with face-threatening situations (Ermida, 2006). In the presence of such situations, speakers may refrain from doing the FTA or they may go ahead and carry it out where there are two possibilities: to do so off record by providing indirect hints to the hearers or to so on record where there are another two possibilities. Either the act is done 'without redressive action, baldly in the most direct, clear and unambiguous way possible' or done with redressive action, through positive politeness or negative politeness. Redressive action basically means action that 'gives face' to the addressee. The next section will discuss some positive politeness strategies.

2. Positive politeness strategies

Positive politeness is meant to meet the hearer's 'positive face needs'. An utterance like *"have a good day"* counts as an example of 'positive politeness' since the speaker wishes the hearer what the hearer wishes for himself. It is approach-based in that S wants H's face by treating him as a member of in-group, a friend a person whose wants and personality traits are known and liked. Brown and Levinson (1987) in their politeness theory provide a comprehensive description of the various strategies speakers have at their disposal when they address positive face. Below is a summary of some of the positive politeness strategies (which are also referred to as outputs and which are necessary for the present study):

1. **Notice, attend to H (his interests, wants, needs, goods)**
S should take notice of aspects of H's noticeable changes, remarkable possessions or anything which looks as though H would want S to notice and approve of it.

2. **Intensify interest to H**
It is done by using 'vivid present' by pulling H right into the middle of the events being discussed and also by using directly quoted speech, tag questions or expressions that draw H as a participant into the conversation such as 'you know?', 'see what I mean', 'isn't it'.

3. **Use in-group identity markers**
S can implicitly claim the common ground with H by using any of the innumerable ways to convey in-group membership including in-group usage of address forms, language or dialect, jargon, slang and ellipsis.

4. **Seek agreement**
The raising of 'safe topics' and looking for those aspects of topics on which it is possible to agree and sticking to them are examples of seeking agreement. Repetition to stress emotional agreement, stress and surprise are other examples.

5. **Presuppose/raise/assert common ground**
This is done by gossip or small talk as a strategy for softening requests, point-of-view operations by switching into the addressee's point of view (including personal-center switch from S to H, time switch by using 'vivid present', place switch by using 'here' and 'this' rather than 'that' and 'there', avoidance of adjustment of reports to H's point of view by using direct quotes, and presupposition manipulations including: presupposing knowledge of H's wants and attitudes (using negative questions which presume 'yes' as an answer), presupposing that H's values are the same as S's values (the sequencing of statements conjoined with 'and' or 'but'), presupposing familiarity in S-H relationship (using generic familiar address forms to strangers), and presupposing H's knowledge (by using in-group codes including language, dialect, jargon, local terminology and by using pronouns where the referent has not been made explicit).

6. **Include both S and H in the activity**
When S really means 'you' and me' and when he uses the inclusive forms 'we' and 'let's', he can call upon the cooperative assumptions and thereby redress FTAs.

7. **Give (or ask for) reasons**
This is another aspect of including H in the activity through which S gives reasons as to why he wants what he wants and this is done by using indirect suggestions that demand rather than give reasons.

8. **Give gifts to H (goods, sympathy, understanding, cooperation)**
One way of satisfying H's positive-face wants is by giving gifts, not only tangible gifts but human relations wants as well like the need to be liked, admired, cared about, understood, listened to, and so on.

3. Analysis and discussion of the speech event of Anne's first meeting with Matthew Cuthbert

3.1 Summary

Before meeting Anne Shirley and the minute he reaches the station house in chapter two of the novel, Matthew Cuthbert meets the stationmaster who tells him "*But there was a passenger dropped off for you-a little girl*". To this news Matthew is rather astonished as they have sent for a boy, not a girl "*I'm not expecting a girl*". It's getting dark and Matthew decides to take the girl with him to Green Gables with the hope of discussing this matter with Marilla Cuthbert, his sister. On their way, a long conversation takes place through which Anne keeps talking and asking questions and Matthew keeps listening and enjoying the company of this little female orphan who bewitches him from the very beginning. She nearly does all the talk in this speech event. This is due to her talkative and endearing nature and to Matthew's habit of keeping silent when meeting strange people especially women (Montgomery, 2003).

3.2 Power (P), Distance (D) and Ranking of Social Imposition (R)

In terms of P, both characters seem socially unequal as Matthew is more powerful since he is of a higher social standing and status. He has come to fetch this little girl to help him and his sister with the farm. Anne, on the other hand, is the interactant without power as she seeks employment as a farmhand and hopes to be given shelter, a family and a home to belong to. But at the same time Anne can be thought of as being empowered by language as "P may be assessed as being great because H is eloquent and influential" (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p.76). As for D, since both characters are total strangers, it can be read as high. Yet, Anne does not acquiesce in her powerless or subordinate position for long. Using language as a tool to reassert herself, she lessens the D, creates a bit of intimacy and affection in her first attempt to achieve social harmony. R, which is the degree to which the act required of the hearer is considered an imposition (Chun & Yun, 2010, p.266) and which is culturally and situationally determined (Brown & Levinson, 1987), is estimated to be very low. Accordingly, Anne is making use of the directives in an attempt to show her endearing nature on one hand and to bring Matthew into conversation on the other hand and as will be discussed in great detail in the following sections where she adopts a set of politeness strategies to decrease social distance, and to meet the face-wants requirements reaching into maintaining friendly social relationships.

3.3 Discussion of the positive politeness strategies

(1)   Anne*:*   "*I suppose you are Mr. Matthew Cuthbert of Green Gables?.... I wouldn't be a bit afraid. And it would be lovely to sleep in a wild cherry tree all white with bloom in the moonshine, don't you think? You could imagine you were dwelling in marble halls, couldn't you? And I was quite sure you would come for me in the morning, if you didn't tonight.*"

(2)   Matthew*:*   "*I'm sorry I was late. Come along. The horse is over in the yard. Give me your bag.*"

(3)   Anne: "*Oh, I can carry it... We've got to drive a long piece, haven't we? Mrs. Spencer said it was eight miles... Mrs. Spencer said it was wicked of me to talk like that, but I didn't mean to be wicked. It's so easy to be wicked without knowing it, isn't it? They were good....*"

As intimated above, in their first conversation, Anne and Matthew are no more than total strangers. As such Anne tries her best to establish a sort of common grounds with Matthew. Anne's directive 2 in (1) "*... don't you think?*", is suggestive in that it is uttered to get Matthew to agree with the idea of Anne's sleep in a wild cherry tree until Matthew's arrival the following day, i.e. positive politeness strategy 5 'seek agreement'. According to Brown and Levinson (1987, p.112), a characteristic feature of claiming common grounds with H is to seek ways in which it is possible to agree with him" and ultimately to satisfy an interest in maintaining a relationship with him.

A way from the above point, Anne's discourse style in this speech event is almost characterized by the heavy use of 'tag questions' which can be encoded as linguistic realizations of super strategy 2 (positive politeness). They are linguistically realized by statements followed by tag questions to elicit "some response, however minimal, from the addressee" (Holmes, 1982, p.44) to let him confirm or reject the speaker's propositional content as in directive (3) "*You could imagine you were dwelling in marble halls, couldn't you?*", (4) "*We've got to drive a long piece, haven't we?*", and (5) "*It's so easy to be wicked without knowing it, isn't it?*". In all these examples, Anne is trying to draw her interlocutor as a participant into the conversation but unfortunately she does so without giving him a chance to reply with 'yes' or 'no'. It is until directive 7 in (4) "*What did that tree, leaning out from the bank, all white and lacy, made of*" with the discourse goal 'To get information' where Anne gives Matthew the chance to reply:

(4) Anne*:*   "*Isn't that beautiful? What did that tree, leaning out from the bank, all white and lacy, make of?*"

(5) Matthew*:*   "*well now, I dunno,*"

(6) Anne*:*   "*Why, a bride, of course-a bride all in white with a lovely misty veil.... And I've never had a pretty dress in my life that I can remember-but of course it's all the more to look afterward to, isn't it?.... It's delightful when your imaginations come true, isn't it?.... but how are you going to find out about things if you don't ask questions? And what does make the roads red?*"

(7) Matthew*:*   "*Well now, I dunno,*"

(8) Anne: "*Well, that is one of the things to find out sometimes. Isn't it splendid to think of all the things there are to find out about? It just makes me feel glad to be alive-it's such an interesting world. It wouldn't be half so interesting if we knew all about everything, would it? There'd*

be no scope for imagination then, would there? But am I talking too much? People are always telling me I do. Would you rather I didn't talk? If you say so I'll stop. I can stop when I make up my mind to it, although it's difficult."

(9) Matthew*:* *"Oh, you can talk as much as you like. I don't mind."*

(10) Anne*:* *"Oh, I'm so glad… And people laugh at me because I use big words. But if you have big ideas you have to use big words to express them, haven't you?*

(11) Matthew*:* *"Well now, that seems reasonable,"*

(12) Anne*:* *"Mrs. Spencer said that my tongue must be hung in the middle…. You do get so attached to things like that, don't you? Is there a brook anywhere near Green Gables? I forgot to ask Mrs. Spencer that"*

(13) Matthew*:* *"Well now, yes, there's one right below the house."*

In both directives 8 and 9 in (6), Anne shifts back to her habit of issuing negative tag questions which are supposed to receive a positive response (positive face strategy 5 of 'seek agreement') from her interlocutor. But again Matthew is not given a chance to respond.

The discourse marker 'And' in (6) is used here to aid the discourse coherence and according to Shiffrin (1987, pp.143-44), it initiates a turn in which "the speaker tries to take control of the conversation's subject". Rossen-Knill (1995) believes that discourse markers serve both to enhance text coherence and to attend to H's positive-face wants and this is significant in that "the act of making a text more coherent is in itself a means to draw the hearer into a relationship with the speaker, thus creating through successful communication a social group in which both speaker and hearer are members" (p. 142).

Directive 12 in (8) "*Isn't it splendid to think of all the things there are to find out about? It just makes me feel glad to be alive*-", which is a linguistic realization of super-strategy 2, is issued with the discourse goal 'To get Matthew to agree to her proposition' and again she is utilizing positive politeness strategy 5 'seek agreement' followed by positive strategy 13 'give reasons. This is part of 'claiming common grounds' and 'conveying that S & H are cooperators'.

One more time, Matthew is not given a chance to reply until directive 16 in turn (8) when Anne issues "*Would you rather I didn't talk? If you say so I'll stop. I can stop when I make up my mind to it, although it's difficult."* with the discourse goal 'To get information'. A number of outputs are used to minimize the imposition including positive politeness strategy 1 'attend to H's wants, interests and concerns' as reflected in *'if you say so, I'll stop'*, positive politeness strategy 13 'give reasons' as in *'I can stop when I make up my mind'* and negative politeness strategy 2 'hedges' represented by the use of 'rather' and negative politeness strategy 3 'be pessimistic' due to the use of the subjunctive 'would'. In directive 20 (14), Anne seems to seek agreement (positive politeness strategy 5) for both propositions "*Dreams don't often come true, do they? Wouldn't it be nice if they did?"* as part of her strategy of 'claiming common point of view, opinions, etc'.

In addition to super-strategy 2, Anne shows preference for super-strategy 1 (bald on-record).This strategy is characterized by issuing wh-questions and yes/no questions to get information. In directive 11 in (16), for instance, Anne asks her first real question "*And what does make the roads red?"* to which Matthew answers with "*Well now, I dunno*". Anne's directive starts with the connector 'And' which is generally used to initiate turns and to give the speaker the chance to take control over conversation. This is typical of Anne who enjoys being the productive side in conversation. In turn (12), Anne issues another directive with the discourse goal 'To get information from Matthew' being followed by positive politeness strategy 13 'give reasons' which conveys that S and H are cooperators. Therefore, Anne's speech style seems to stem from her desire to acknowledge and uphold Matthew's social identity face as a friend (rather than a master) since she is after maintaining a friendly social relationship with him.

(14) Anne*:* *"Fancy! It's always been one of my dreams to live near a brook. I never expected I would, though. Dreams don't often come true, do they? Wouldn't it be nice if they did? But just now I feel pretty nearly perfectly happy. I can't feel exactly perfectly happy because –well, what color would you call this?"*

(15) Matthew*:* *"It's red, ain't it?"*

(16) Anne*:* *"Yes, it's red. Now you see why I can't be perfectly happy… what is an alabaster brow? I never could find out. Can you tell me?"*

(17) Matthew*:* *"Well now, I'm afraid I cant."*

(18) Anne*:* *"Well, whatever it was it must have been something nice because she was divinely beautiful. Have you ever imagined what it must feel like to be divinely beautiful?"*

(19) Matthew*:* *"Well now, no, I haven't,"*

(20)   Anne: *"I have, often. Which would you rather be if you had the choice-divinely beautiful or dazzlingly clever or angelically good?"*

(21)	Matthew:	*"Well now, I-I don't know exactly"*
(22)	Anne:	*"Neither do I. I can never decide..."*
(23)	Matthew:	*"I guess you are feeling pretty tired and hungry. But we haven't very far to go now-only another mile"*
(24)	Anne:	*"Oh, Mr. Cuthbert, that place we came through-that white place-what was it?"*
(25)	Matthew:	*"Well now, you must mean the Avenue. It is a kind of pretty place."*
(26)	Anne:	*"Pretty? Oh, pretty doesn't seem the right word to use. Nor beautiful either. They don't go far enough. Oh, it was wonderful-wonderful. It's the first thing I ever saw that couldn't be improved upon my imagination. It just satisfied me here"-she put one hand on her breast- "it made a queer funny ache and yet it was a pleasant ache. Did you ever have an ache like that, Mr. Cuthbert?"*
(27)	Matthew:	*"Well now, I just can't recollect that I ever had."*

In directives 21, 22, 24, and 25, identified in turns (14), (16), (20) and (24) respectively, which are all linguistic realizations of super-strategy 1 (baldly, on-record), Anne makes enquiries about many things: "*…what color would you call this?", "What is an alabaster brow?", "Which would you rather be if you had the choice…?",*and *"Oh, Mr. Cuthbert, that place we came through-that white place-what was it?".* Such questions are intended to keep pace with Matthew who shows interest in the new comer's company and this interest is conveyed in his replies *"It's red, ain't it?", "Well now, I'm afraid I can't"* and *"Well now, you must mean the Avenue"*. None of Anne's questions seem imposing on Matthew, who has already been told by the stationmaster about the girl's talkative nature and seems really enjoying her talk and company as he is a man of little talk. Some outputs are used such as positive politeness strategy 3 'intensify interest to H' as in directive 22 in (16) "*Can you tell me?"* where 'for S to communicate to H that he shares some of his wants is to intensify interest of his own (S's) contributions to the conversation by 'making a good story" (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p.106).

Anne's directive in turn (18) Anne asks "*Have you ever imagined what it must feel like …?*" is a linguistic realization of bald on record (super-strategy 1) with the intention to draw her interlocutor again into conversation as part of 'claiming common grounds'. The same applies to directive 26 in (26) which is mitigated by negative politeness strategy 5 'give deference' represented by the use of the honorific 'Mr.' where S raises H by paying him "positive face of a particular kind, namely that which satisfies H's wants to be treated as superior", i.e., H is of higher social status than S (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p.178). Getting Matthew to be involved in her talk by replying to her questions, Anne seems to be successful in establishing a friendly and harmonious relationship with him.

(28)	Anne:	*"I have it lots of times-whenever I see anything royally beautiful… the White Way of Delight. Isn't that a nice imaginative name? When I don't like the name of a place or a person I always imagine a new one and always think of them so…. Have we really only another mile to go before we get home? I'm glad and I'm sorry… Oh, isn't that pretty!"*
(29)	Matthew:	*"That's Barry's pond"*
(30)	Anne:	*"Oh, I don't like that name, either. I shall call it-let me see-the Lake of Shining Waters. Yes, that is the right name for it. I know because of the thrill. When I hit on a name that suits exactly it gives me a thrill. Do things ever give you a thrill?"*
(31)	Matthew:	*"Well now, yes. It always kind of gives me a thrill to see them ugly white grubs that spade up in the cucumber beds. I hate the look of them."*
(32)	Anne:	*"Oh, I don't think that can be exactly the same kind of a thrill. Do you think it can? There doesn't seem to be much connection between grubs and lakes of shining waters, does there? But why do other people call it Barry's pond?"*
(33)	Matthew:	*"I reckon because Mr. Barry lives up there in that house…."*
(34)	Anne:	*"Has Mr. Barry any little girls? Well, not so very little either-about my size"*
(35)	Matthew:	*"He's got one about eleven. Her name is Diana."*
(36)	Anne:	*"Oh! What a perfectly lovely name!"*
(37)	Matthew:	*"Well now, I dunno. There's something dreadful heathenish about it, seems to me…."*
(38)	Anne:	*"….Isn't it splendid there are so many things to like in this world? There, we're over…."*
(39)	Matthew:	*"We're pretty near home now. That's Green Gables over-"*
(40)	Ann	*"Oh, don't tell me. Let me guess. I'm sure I'll guess right. That's it, isn't it?"*
(41)	Matthew:	*"Well now, you've guessed it! But I reckon Mrs. Spencer described it so you could tell."*

Anne's use of negative constructions is not necessarily intended to elicit positive responses as in directives 27 and 34 in (28), and (38) which are linguistic realizations of super-strategy 2 (positive politeness). Rather, they are used to intensify interest 'positive politeness strategy 3'. While in directive 29 in (28) "*Oh, isn't that pretty!",* Anne is really seen to seek agreement (positive politeness strategy 5) from H as she gives him a chance to reply.

In directive 31 in (32), Anne does not give her interlocutor a chance to assert her proposition that "*There doesn't seem to be much connection between grubs and lakes of shining waters, does there?*" though it is intended to draw him into conversation. Before getting a response from him, she issues directive 32 in (32) starting with 'But' "*But why do other people call it Barry's pond*" which is a linguistic realization of super-strategy 1 (bald on record) with the discourse goal 'To get information from Matthew'. The choice of super strategy 1 is due to the fact that the Rx is relatively small, i.e., small impositions are found in requests for free goods including information (Brown & Levinson, 1987, P.80). While in directive 35 in (40) the tag question *"That's it, isn't it?"* is intended to elicit an agreement from H (positive politeness strategy 5). In both cases, S is actually claiming common grounds with H. Directives 28, 30 and 33 in (28), (29) and (34)are linguistic realizations of super-strategy 1 where yes/no questions are issued with the discourse goal 'To get information from Matthew'.

It is through such super-strategies and the sub-strategies that accompany them, the orphan female tries her best to establish a sort of familiarity and common ground in order to minimize the social distance and to initiate a smooth and friendly social relationship with Matthew who, despite the P and D variables, seems welcoming and interested in her talk and company from the beginning and in return, she equally feels comfortable and satisfied in her first meeting. All this will be elaborated on in the next section.

3.4 Functions fulfilled in relation to the strategies

In accordance with the face threatening approach, directives are considered to be acts that inherently impose on both S's and H's face wants in different degrees. They can threaten our desire to be liked, appreciated and then accepted as a member of a group (positive face wants) or the desire not to be imposed upon (negative face wants). Along the way to Green Gables in the first speech event, Anne has a long conversation with Matthew which is characterized by the heave use of directives, nearly 35 directives, with the discourse goal 'to get the hearer to do something'. Given the fact that P of H over S is high due to age and social standing (although Anne can also be seen as 'influential' via the use of language), D is high since both S and H are total strangers although according to Brown & Levinson (1987, p.251) Anne can be said to belong to societies where low D is the emphasis and P is minimized), Rx of such directives, as seen in the previous section, is not high as they are not that imposing, it can be argued that the overall threat Wx to face wants is relatively low. In this regard, Brown and Levinson argue that "the choice of a strategy encodes the perceived danger of the FTA, i.e., Wx- but it does not of itself indicate which of the social factors P, D or R is most responsible in determining the value Wx" (1987, p.176). Based on this, Anne's intention, in this novel, is to maintain social relations with others. Therefore, she shows preference for low numbered super-strategies, i.e., on-record with redress to positive-face and baldly, on-record.

Basically, Anne's intention behind using such strategies, realized via directives, is to fulfill a number of functions among which the primary functions of maintaining a friendly social relationship and of identifying with others (represented by Matthew). Among the different ways to achieve this is the heavy use of tag questions. Such questions are linguistic realizations of super-strategy 2 (positive politeness) which are meant to draw Matthew into conversation so as to raise or establish common grounds rather than imposing on H's negative face wants.

Tag questions are partly intended to seek agreement and ultimately to 'claim common grounds'. They may serve a number of important pragmatic functions among which is the 'politeness function' where they are used as a means of bringing the hearer into the discourse (Anderson, 2000, p.1) such as Anne's utterance (10). Both Coates (1988) and Holmes (1995) use the term 'facilitative' to refer to this function. In other words, tag questions, and due to this function, are used as devices for facilitating talk. In short, tag questions are meant to encourage people to talk and participate in the discourse, but this slightly applies to Matthew who rather prefers to keep silent or to reply with short answers. Yet, and despite the social distance between the two, Anne keeps on talking and asking questions as part of establishing a friendly and harmonious relationship with this old man whom she feels comfortable with. The other linguistic realization of super strategy 2 is that of using negative questions such as "*Oh, isn't that pretty*!" and *"isn't it splendid that there are so many things...?"* to elicit positive responses, i.e., intended to seek agreement and ultimately to establish common grounds.

Super-strategy 1(bald on record) is also reflected through the use of questions (whether yes/no questions or wh-questions) and this is highly revealing in speech event one where Anne issues nearly 13 directives with the discourse goal 'to get Matthew to give information' such as in "*well, what color would you call this*?", "*what did that tree ... made of*?", "*Is there a brook near Green Gables*?", and "*Did you ever have an ache like that, Mr. Cuthbert*?" where the face threat is very small and the intention is to establish common grounds, to minimize the social distance and to bring along social cohesiveness. In other words, Anne's main function of using different super and sub-strategies is to achieve a sort of a harmonious social life and friendly relations with others.

3.5 Conversational behavior and character interpretation in relation to politeness strategies

A look at table 1.1 below and section 3.3 above(and the many directives and the different strategies used to represent them) gives the idea that Anne, the socially marginalized female orphan, has actually established herself as a speaker since this speech event is framed by a 'speaker-listener (or speaker-audience)' relationship. This is due to two facts

according to Montgomery: first, Anne has a tongue of her own and second, Matthew is dreading all women except Marilla and Rachel (2003, pp.17-18). Once she meets Matthew, Anne feels that she is much closer to satisfying her rights in leading a normal life, different from the one she experienced with the Thomas's and the Hammond's. Bearing this in mind, she enjoys the long way to Avonlea where she never stops asking Matthew different questions, partly to get answers to questions in her mind and partly to draw him, as a participant, into conversation to enjoy his company and this in return she reflects her endearing and talkative nature.

To achieve the above points, Anne relies heavily on the low numbered super-strategies 1 and 2 characterized by the heavy use of questions such as "*I suppose you are Mr. Matthew Cuthbert of Green Gables*?", "*We've got to drive a long piece, haven't we?",* and *"Isn't that beautiful?"* which are intended only to draw H into conversation. Other questions such as "*But if you have big ideas you have to use big words to express them, haven't you?*", "*what is an alabaster brow? Can you tell me*?", and "*But why do other people call it Barry's pond?*" are intended to get relatively short answers. Such directives are meant to establish friendly social relationships with others as suggested in the previous sections.

The researcher believes that Anne's speech style which shows both her talkativeness and her endearing nature, and which is reflected via super-strategies 1 and 2, is related to Spencer-Oatey's (2002) 'sociality rights' where Anne is entitled to associations with others, namely 'interactional association/dissociation'. In other words, Anne as an individual is entitled to an appropriate amount of conversational interaction and social chit-chat with others. But Anne is seen to exceed this 'appropriate amount' where she adopts the role of a speaker in the 'speaker-audience' relationship and issues 35 directives (see table 1.1 below). Nevertheless, Matthew seems interested in her company.

According to Spencer-Oatey (2002), the appropriate amount of conversation usually depends on three main points one of which is that of 'personal preferences'. Anne's preferences seem directed towards leading a new life in Avonlea different from that she spent with the Thomas's and Hammond's due to infringement in her 'equity rights' where she was not entitled to personal consideration from others to be treated 'fairly' and 'not unduly imposed upon or unfairly ordered about' (Spencer-Oatey, 2002). Now, she feels she is approaching her dream now, a dream to belong to a family, a home to belong to as reflected in directive (27) "*Have we really only another mile to go before we get home*". Yet, it is still early for Anne to be evaluated in terms of personal qualities (according to her competence and abilities) and social identities or social roles to show the value she claims for herself. The table (1.1) below provides a summary of the politeness super and sub-strategies used by Anne to represent her directives through which she gets her interlocutor 'Matthew' to do something.

Table 1.1. Politeness super and sub-strategies for Anne's directives

No.	Directive(s)	Utterance no.	Anne's discourse goal	Politeness-super strategy	Positive politeness strategy	Negative politeness strategy	Off-record Strategy
1	I suppose you are Mr. Matthew Cuthbert of Green Gables?	1	To get Matthew to assert her proposition	3		2:hedge 5:give deference	
2	I wouldn't be a bit afraid, and it would be lovely to sleep in a wild cherry tree all white with bloom in the moonshine, don't you think?	1	To get Matthew to agree	2	5:seek agreement	2:hedge	
3	You could imagine you were dwelling in marble halls, couldn't you?	1	To get Matthew to agree	2		3:be pessimistic	
4	We've got to drive a long piece, haven't we? Mrs. Spencer said it was eight miles.	3	To get Matthew to agree	2	13:give reasons		
5	Mrs. Spencer said it was wicked of me to talk like that, but I didn't mean to be wicked. It's so easy to be wicked without knowing it, isn't it?	3	To get Matthew to agree	2	5:seek agreement 13:give reasons		

6	Isn't that beautiful?	4	To get Matthew to agree	2			
7	What did that tree, leaning out from the bank, all white and lacy, make you think of?	4	To get Matthew to talk	2			
8	And I've never had a pretty dress in my life that I can remember-but of course it's all the more to look afterward to, isn't it?	6	To get Matthew to agree	2	5:seek agreement		
9	It's delightful when your imagination come true, isn't it?	6	To get Matthew to agree	2	5:seek agreement		
10	…but how are you going to find out about things if you don't ask questions?	6	To get Matthew to excuse her habit of asking	4			1:give hints
11	And what does make the roads red?	6	To get information	1			
12	Isn't it splendid to think of all the things there are to find out about? It just makes me feel glad to be alive-it's such an interesting world.	8	To get Matthew to agree	2	5:seek agreement 13:give reasons		
13	It wouldn't be half so interesting if we knew all about everything, would it?	8	To get Matthew to agree	2	5:seek agreement		
14	There would be no scope of imagination then, would there?	8	To get Matthew to agree	2	5:seek agreement		
15	But am I talking too much? People are always telling me I do.	8	To get information	1	13:give reasons		
16	…Would you rather I didn't talk? If you say so I'll stop. I can stop when I make up my mind to it, although it's difficult.	8	To get information	2	1:attend to H's wants 13:give reasons	2:hedge	
17	And people laugh at me because I use big words. But if you have big ideas you have to use big words to express them, haven't you?	10	To get Matthew to agree	2	5:seek agreement	2:hedge	
18	You do get so attached to things like that, don't you?	12	To get Matthew to agree	2	3:intensify interest		

19	Is there a brook anywhere near Green Gables? I forgot to ask Mrs. Spencer that.	12	To get information	1	13:give reasons		
20	Dreams don't often come true, do they? 1:14Wouldn't it be nice if they did?	14	To get Matthew to agree	2	5:seek agreement	2:hedge	
21	I can't feel exactly perfectly happy because-well, what color would you call this?	14	To get information	1			
22	What is an alabaster brow? I never could find out. Can you tell me?	16	To get information	1	3:intensify interest		
23	Have you ever imagined what it must feel like to be divinely beautiful?	18	To get information	1			
24	Which would you rather be if you had the choice-divinely beautiful or dazzlingly clever or angelically good?	20	To get information	1		2:hedge	
25	Oh, Mr. Cuthbert, that place we came through-that white place-what was it?	24	To get information	1		5:give deference	
26	Did you ever have an ache like that, Mr. Cuthbert?	26	To get information	1	1:attend to H's interest	5:give deference	
27	They should call it-let me see-the White Way of Delight isn't that a nice imaginative name?	28	To get Matthew to agree	2	3:intensify interest		
28	Have we really only another mile to go before we get home? I'm glad and I'm sorry.	28	To get information	1		2:hedge	
29	Oh, isn't that pretty!	28	To get Matthew to agree	2	5:seek agreement		
30	Do things ever give you a thrill?	30	To get information	1			
31	There doesn't seem to be a connection…,does there?	32	To get Matthew to agree	2			
32	But why do other people call it Barry's pond?	32	To get information	1			
33	Has Mr. Barry any little girls? Well, not so very little either-about my size.	34	To get information	1		2:hedge	

| 34 | Isn't it splendid there are so many things to like in this world? | 38 | To get Matthew to agree | 2 | | | |
| 35 | That's it, isn't it? | 40 | To get Matthew to agree | 2 | 5:seeking agreement | | |

4. Conclusion

The analysis attempted in this paper has aimed at showing how the positive politeness strategies, especially the ones examined here, are capable of reflecting the people's intention to establish common grounds and ultimately achieving and maintaining friendly and harmonious relationships with others. More specifically, this study shows how the character 'Anne Shirley', the socially marginalized female orphan with low P, except for that of being 'eloquent and influential', and low D is successful in manipulating low-numbered strategies, namely super-strategy 1 (baldly, on record) and super-strategy 2 (on record with redress to positive face) to pay positive face wants, i.e., positive politeness in her interaction with the people of Avonlea to achieve social harmonious relationships with them.

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