

DIRECTNESS IN PENINSULAR SPANISH REQUESTS:
NATIVE SPEAKER AND LANGUAGE LEARNER PERCEPTIONS

by

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(Under the Direction of Sarah E. Blackwell)

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the linguistic feature of directness found in Peninsular Spanish requests and how directness is perceived by both native speakers of Spanish and second language learners (L2) of Spanish. The objectives were to define directness and to highlight that directness and politeness should be considered as separate entities, contrary to the position often taken in previous literature. Perceptions of both native speakers and L2 learners of Spanish were collected in order to analyze and compare their evaluations of directness. The participants provided their judgments of 25 written requests by ranking each one in terms of directness, politeness, and acceptability in a Likert-scale task. The prompts participants evaluated in this task consisted of a variety of utterance types that Spanish speakers could use to order a drink in a café. For these service encounter requests, variables including mitigation, request strategies, and politeness markers such as *por favor* were manipulated by being either present or absent in the requests. The goal of this study was to gain a better understanding of how structures typically classified as “direct” are perceived by both native and L2 speakers of Spanish in regard to directness, politeness, and acceptability.

INDEX WORDS: directness, L2 pragmatics, pragmatic variation, speech acts, study abroad

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The present study aimed to examine how native speakers of Spanish and second language (L2) learners of Spanish perceive directness in Peninsular Spanish requests. The overall objectives were to study directness as a linguistic feature and to gain a better understanding of what it entails and how it is perceived by native Spanish speakers and second language (L2) learners of Spanish.

Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) proposed a framework that divided request strategies into categories based on their indirectness. In their framework, they identified and defined three types of requests: direct requests, conventionally indirect requests, and non-conventionally indirect requests. Using this framework as a baseline, many empirical studies have applied Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989) ideas to analyze Spanish requests (Bataller, 2015; Félix-Brasdefer, 2009; Le Pair, 1996; Marsily, 2018; Placencia, 2005; Ruzickova, 2007). However, the previous literature tends to hone in on indirectness, while directness lacks the same attention. Another gap in this area of study is that there is no testing on the perception of (in)directness in requests, but rather on their production and pragmatic variation across cultures.

Although Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989) framework is “meant to yield to the relative degree of directness preferred in making requests in any given language,” as mentioned in the framework's earlier developments by Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984:201), one generalized framework for all languages does not represent each unique variety accurately. Furthermore, how do we know that directness is even perceived the same way in all language varieties? This question opens the door to the present study's investigative agenda.

This chapter provides introductory information on directness in Section 1.1, and the objectives of the study and the research questions are found in Section 1.2. Next, Section 1.3 presents the rationale and justifications for the study, and Section 1.4 overviews the methodology. Then, Section 1.5 outlines the expected outcomes, and Section 1.6 gives an overview of the thesis structure.

1.1 Directness in the Spanish language

(In)directness has been observed in previous studies on service encounter requests in several varieties of Spanish (Bataller, 2015 on regional varieties of Peninsular Spanish; Félix-Brasdefer, 2009 on Mexican Spanish; García, 2007 on Argentinian Spanish; Le Pair, 1996 on L1 Spanish and L2 Spanish of native Dutch speakers; Márquez Reiter, 2002 on Uruguayan and Peninsular Spanish; Marsily, 2018 on Peninsular Spanish and French; Placencia, 2005 on Quiteño and Madrileño Spanish; Ruzickova, 2007 on Cuban Spanish). Their major focus tends to be on how indirectness is expressed in Spanish, while lacking further exploration on directness.

Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) proposed a framework that demonstrated how certain requests are realized with varied levels of (in)directness, from direct requests made with the imperative form (*Limpia el escritorio*, ‘clean up the desk’), to indirect requests involving *suggestory formulas* (*¿Por qué no limpias el escritorio?*, ‘Why don’t you clean up the desk?’), and non-conventionally indirect requests such as hints (*Tu escritorio parece una papelera*, ‘your desk is a bit of a mess’) as described in the work on Spanish requests by Le Pair (1996:659). According to Blum-Kulka (1987), direct requests are understood as “the ones in which requestive force is either marked syntactically or indicated explicitly, as in Mood Derivables and Performatives” (Blum-Kulka, 1987:134). For example, in *move your car*, the imperative mood signals a

command (Blum Kulka, 1987:133). Conventionally indirect requests are understood as “patterns that derive their relative transparency either from conventions in the wording of the speech act, such as Hedged Performatives, or from conventions regarding the semantic contents which, by social convention, count as potential requests” (Blum-Kulka, 1987:134). For instance, in *I would like to ask you to move your car*, the example includes the request (*to move the car*) but mitigated the directive through hedging (*I would like to ask you*) to soften its force (Blum Kulka, 1987:133).

Several studies have incorporated Blum-Kulka et al.’s (1989) framework. For instance, Le Pair (1996) studied request strategies in native speakers of Spanish and in L2 learners of Spanish with an L1 in Dutch. He used a Discourse Completion Task (DCT) to study how directive speech acts and strategies are utilized in L1 and L2 Spanish and observed that indirectness was a common strategy in request forms both in Spanish and universally.

Márquez Reiter (2002) examined conventional indirectness in Uruguayan and Peninsular (Madrileño) Spanish varieties. She determined that conventionally indirect requests, such as *¿Podrías atenderme el teléfono mientras salgo a hacer un mandado?* ‘Could you answer the phone for me while I pop out to run an errand?’ (2002:136-137), are more common when the interlocutors are unfamiliar with each other, and that Uruguayan Spanish incorporates more mitigation than Peninsular Spanish.

Placencia (2005) also utilized Blum-Kulka et al.’s (1989) framework to analyze pragmatic variation in recordings of requests by Madrileño (from Madrid, Spain) and Quiteño (from Quito, Ecuador) speakers of Spanish in corner store service encounters. She found that speakers of both varieties used more direct forms, but that there was more mitigation in Quiteño Spanish. For example, in comparison to the Madrileños, the Quiteños used more politeness markers (*por favor*

‘please’) and diminutives (*-ito* ‘a little’). Additionally, she found that the Quiteños frequently utilized the polite form of address *usted* (‘you’ formal) or produced the request verb using the *usted* (formal) form instead of the *tú* (informal) form. Sometimes the Quiteños stacked multiple forms of mitigation in the same utterance, as in *Por favor, deme pancito* ‘Please, give me a little bread’ (2005:586). In this example, *por favor* ‘please’ is a politeness marker, *deme* encodes the polite form of address (*usted*) instead of informal *dame* (*tú*), and a diminutive is added to *pan* ‘bread’ in *pancito*.

Márquez Reiter et al. (2005) highlighted that the framework for request forms proposed by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) emphasizes that although the ‘universality’ of indirectness has been noted in many languages (English, Spanish, French, and Hebrew), it actually applies to the idea of “shared pragmatic properties” instead of “cross-linguistic equivalence in form and usage” (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989:37 cited by Márquez Reiter et al., 2005:3). This study is discussed in further detail in Chapter 2 (Section 2.3), along with other empirical studies on Spanish requests.

Although there is a substantial amount of research addressing the notion of indirectness in the production of requests in Spanish, insufficient attention has been given to the notion of directness in language use. A key task in the present study is to determine what constitutes direct language in Spanish and understanding how directness is perceived by language users. The perception of directness may be subject to variation due to individual differences, but polling language users for their judgments on Spanish requests allows for a glimpse into the understanding of this linguistic feature from the speaker’s perspective.

Mir (1993) alluded to the idea of directness when discussing and critiquing Brown and Levinson’s (1987) politeness strategies stating that “some of these strategies involve to do the act ‘on record’...directly, effectively and clearly” (Mir, 1993:2). Mir also highlights the fact that

Brown and Levinson's ideas about politeness lack context and additionally are refuted by non-western cultures outside of the Anglo-speaking world. She studies native speakers of English, native speakers of Spanish, and L2 learners of English with an L1 in Spanish by examining their request productions in a DCT to see how the context influences the direct strategy selection. Ultimately, Mir's results from native speakers of Spanish provided further counterevidence against Brown and Levinson's (1987) claim. This leads her to suggest the idea that politeness reflects cultural values, which differ cross-culturally and cannot be generalized into a universal idea.

Another reason for studying directness is based on the fact that the linguistic feature of directness has an impact on second language learners when they employ their interlanguage to communicate. Previous studies have examined how L2 learners express requests in service encounters abroad (Shively, 2011; Bataller 2010). For instance, Shively's (2011) study found that L2 learners may produce Spanish requests differently than native speakers and may or may not adapt to the cultural norm of their host country throughout their experience abroad, despite receiving explicit instruction and implicit exposure to the language. In the student audio recordings from Shively's study, pragmatic differences in the production of requests by the L2 Spanish learners are seen frequently.

1.2 Aim of the present study and research questions

The focus of this study is the linguistic feature of directness found in directive speech acts (e.g., requests, invitations) produced in different varieties of Spanish. It aims to explore how directness in these speech acts is discerned by both native speakers of Spanish and L2 learners of Spanish. The central objectives were to define the concept of directness and to determine how

directness is perceived in Spanish directive speech acts. Additionally, it attempts to contribute to our understanding of directness in Spanish requests by collecting the perceptions of such directives from both native speakers and L2 learners in order to gain a better understanding of the interpretation of this linguistic feature. The following questions guide this study.

1. How is directness expressed linguistically in Spanish? What factors make an utterance more or less ‘direct’? (e.g., syntactic form, use of mitigation)
2. According to previous studies, what linguistic constructions are perceived as more direct in Spanish requests? For instance, does the incorporation of mitigation influence one’s judgment of directness in requests? If so, how and to what extent?
3. How do native speakers of Spanish perceive directness in Peninsular Spanish requests? Do native speakers of other varieties of Spanish perceive Peninsular Spanish requests differently than Spaniards? If so, how and to what extent?
4. How do English-speaking learners of Spanish (L2 learners) perceive directness in Peninsular Spanish requests? How do the perceptions of directness of native speakers of Spanish and L2 learners differ?

This study tackles these questions through the review of previous literature and the analysis of the perceptions of directness by native speakers of Spanish and L2 learners of Spanish.

1.3 Rationale and justification of study

First and foremost, it is crucial to categorize (in)directness and politeness as separate entities, going against what has been claimed in traditional theories of politeness. In previous studies, notions of directness and politeness have been intertwined and interrelated, suggesting that they are one and the same. In the words of Mir (1993), “Brown and Levinson (1987), Lakoff (1973)

and Leech (1983) have been the fundamental basis for any study of verbal politeness behavior for a long time,” but cross-cultural pragmatic evidence has proved these theories to be “oversimplistic” (Mir, 1993:1).

In their widely accepted politeness theory, Brown and Levinson (1987) maintained that three factors, namely, social distance, relative power, degree of imposition, are influential in decision-making strategies in relation to face-threatening acts (known as FTAs). Positive and negative politeness were additional concepts included in Brown and Levinson’s politeness theory. Positive face refers to the desire of being socially approved by others, having to do with affiliation and solidarity. On the other hand, negative face refers to the desire to not be imposed upon, having to do with individuality and autonomy. Brown and Levinson (1987) also provided an outline of linguistic constructions and mitigation strategies for conveying positive or negative politeness as part of their politeness theory.

As Félix-Brasdefer (2019) points out, Brown and Levinson’s (1987) model of politeness did not take other cultures into consideration that view directness, involvement, solidarity, and imposition as positive attributes and as the norm. Additionally, he notes that these concepts vary according to the culture, the geographical region, and to the context of the situation. In fact, in some Latin American countries, being direct and frank is the norm based on their cultural values of respect, imposition, and ‘confianza’ (Félix-Brasdefer, 2008). For instance, in Peninsular Spanish, unsolicited direct advice is not considered to be imposing (Hernández-Flores, 1999).

Looking outside of traditional western societies, there is intercultural evidence that refutes the idea of universal politeness. Mir’s (1993) study discussed divergence from the “universal” way of thinking by providing examples from various cultures. For example, Mir highlighted that in standardized modern Chinese, invitations are not thought of as Face-Threatening Acts (Gu,

1990), and in Japanese, group solidarity is prioritized over the individual (Matsumoto, 1988, 1999), providing evidence that both countries conceptualize negative face in a different way. Mir also observed, citing Wierzbicka (1985), that in Polish, the imperative form has many functions, and in fact demonstrates politeness when used to make a request, which differs from English polite requests, which are not typically expressed via direct commands. Additionally, Blum-Kulka (1990) identified two separate types of politeness that serve different functions in Hebrew: *solidarity politeness* that utilizes (mitigated) direct realizations and *conventional politeness* that uses indirect realizations.

Through this brief review of previous studies, it becomes clear that although directness and politeness may share some similar features, there are more factors to be considered cross-culturally that prove them to be separate entities. Directness does not always convey impoliteness, and indirectness does not always convey politeness (Mir 1993).

1.4 Overview of methodology

The present study intends to gain a better understanding of how directness is perceived in Peninsular Spanish requests. The participants in this study consist of two populations, native speakers of Spanish and L2 learners of Spanish, which are then subdivided for further analysis. For instance, native speakers are distinguished by macrodialect (e.g., Peninsular Spanish, Latin American Spanish) and L2 learners are split based on Study Abroad experience (e.g., Study Abroad experience, no Study Abroad experience).

This study evaluates the participants' perceptions of directness through the collection of judgments compiled in a Likert-scale task. The task consisted of a questionnaire in which the participants evaluate constructions used to carry out requests in Peninsular Spanish, which were

modeled from typical service encounters (e.g., ordering a coffee or beverage at a café or bar) in terms of their directness, politeness, and acceptability. The requests employ a variety of different strategies, manipulating different levels of directness (e.g., direct vs. indirect). Furthermore, other variables are altered to tease out the effect of each additional attribute employed in service encounter requests (e.g., mitigation, politeness marker *por favor* ‘please’, syntactic downgrading, etc.).

The prompts for the questionnaire were modeled after the criteria found in Blum-Kulka et al.’s (1989) request strategy framework and were based on already existing request structures found in previous studies (Bataller, 2015; Márquez Reiter, 2002; Placencia, 2005). These prompts also feature varied speaker and hearer orientation constructions (e.g., if the speech act is centered around the speaker (I) *I would like...* or the hearer (you) *Can you bring me..?*), as well as mitigation structures such as diminutives (*-ito* suffix), the politeness marker *por favor*, the mitigating expression *cuando puedas*, and the polite form of address *usted*.

1.5 Expected results and conclusions

In accordance with previous literature, it can be argued that imperatives and commands reflect directness, while interrogatives and use of mitigation may be seen as more indirect constructions for making a request. It is expected that Peninsular Spanish requests will be regarded as more direct by speakers of Latin American Spanish. For example, Placencia (2005) studied request structures produced by Quiteños and Madrileños and found that Quiteño Spanish used more indirect forms (e.g., *me puede traer*), more mitigation, more politeness markers, and formal address *usted*, both pronominally and embedded into the verbal form (e.g., *deme, regáleme*).

As for the L2 learner perceptions, the hypothesis is that Peninsular Spanish directives will be perceived by the learners in this study as more direct and impolite given the contrast in English directives (e.g., indirect and polite). Many of Shively's (2011) participants defaulted to the pragmatic norms of their native language in that they overused the politeness marker *por favor* 'please' and they directly translated phrases from their native language, such as *puedo tener* 'Can I have?' to make a request, although it sounds unnatural in Spanish. If L2 learners reflect their native language's pragmatic norms when producing L2 speech, then it is possible that their perceptions of the L2 language will be influenced by their native language's pragmatic norms in turn. This suggests that the L2 learners in the present study may show a preference to their native language's pragmatic norms as well. However, there may be variation in the L2 participants' perceptions when considering their proficiency and prior language experience.

Hypotheses for each research question for the present study are outlined below.

H1: Directness is expressed linguistically in Spanish through the imperative form (e.g., *Pásame la sal*), which explicitly and directly states the speaker's wants. Factors that make a directive more or less "direct" may correspond with the lengthiness or inclusion of mitigation to soften the request (e.g., diminutives, politeness markers, mitigating expressions, syntactic downgrading).

H2: Linguistic constructions that are perceived as more direct in Spanish requests are ones that take the structure of an imperative or a command (e.g., *Pásame la sal*). The use of mitigation may influence one's judgment of directness due to its softening effect on the speech act (politeness markers *por favor*, mitigating expressions *cuando puedas*, or the use of polite address form *usted*).

H3: Native speakers' perceptions may vary based on their pragmatic and cultural norms of their macrodialect. For example, Spaniards would regard directness as the norm, as it supports the cultural values of *confianza* and solidarity. However, Latin American Spanish speakers may perceive Peninsular Spanish directness as impolite, due to the use of linguistically direct forms (e.g., the imperative), the absence of formal address *usted*, and the lack of mitigation and politeness markers.

H4: L2 learners of Spanish will perceive linguistically direct forms to be more direct than native speakers of Spanish; however, this may vary based on their proficiency and language experience. For example, students with experience abroad or substantial exposure to the Spanish language may be more likely to demonstrate their pragmatic awareness of the language and respond on the Likert-scale task more similarly to native speakers. Like Shively's (2011) participants, it is probable that L2 learners may incorporate more mitigation or politeness markers (*please*) than Spanish speakers.

1.6 Structure of the thesis

Following this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 provides a comprehensive overview of the literature relevant to the present study, from early approaches to (in)directness and politeness, to pragmatic variation, request strategies, mitigation, and L2 pragmatic development. Chapter 3 overviews the methodology of the study including details about the participants, the questionnaires (instrument), and the proposed framework for the analysis of the participants' perceptions. Chapter 4 reveals the results of the study, examines the provided perceptions, and discusses the analysis of the participants' judgments. Chapter 5 addresses pedagogical

implications and general ramifications that emerge as a result of the study. References and appendices follow the conclusion of the study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Directness and politeness were often interrelated in early foundational studies in pragmatics (e.g., Brown & Levinson, 1987; Leech 1983; Haverkate, 1988; Searle 1979). However, there are a few researchers that examined directness as a separate entity from politeness (e.g., Culpeper & Haugh, 2014; Grainger & Mills, 2016; Haverkate 1979). Additionally, some linguists have studied examples of (in)directness in real world examples from Twitter or Discourse Completion Tasks (Decock & Depraetere; 2018; Shafran, 2019; Depraetere et al., 2021). Section 2.1 of this chapter focuses on this issue. Section 2.2 examines the association between directness and politeness and the degree to which they are related. For instance, Brown and Levinson (1987) linked politeness to indirect language, claiming that this correspondence was a “universal” phenomenon, despite empirical evidence refuting this idea. Next, in Section 2.3, the framework proposed by Blum Kulka et al., (1989) on request strategies is outlined. Subsequently, research that has applied this framework to study Spanish requests is examined (Bataller, 2015; Félix-Brasdefer 2009; Le Pair, 1996; Marsily, 2018; Placencia, 2005; Ruzickova, 2007). Then, research on the production of requests in various Spanish varieties is reviewed in terms of cross-cultural variation in strategy selection and use of mitigation (e.g., politeness markers, diminutives, mitigating expressions). Finally, Section 2.4 outlines the relationship between (in)directness and requests in English and identifies cultural differences between Spanish speakers and English speakers, which may account for the variety of request formulations constructed by English-speaking L2 learners of Spanish. This section concludes with a discussion of the impact of study abroad on second language development in terms of

pragmatic competence (Shively, 2011; Bataller, 2010; Bataller, 2016). The final section provides a summary of the key points made in this chapter.

2.1 Foundational approaches to (in)directness

In seminal frameworks in pragmatics and earlier work on speech acts in Spanish, the focus was largely on indirectness in language use, almost completely neglecting directness (e.g., Brown & Levinson, 1987; Grice, 1975; Haverkate, 1988; Searle 1975). One commonly accepted notion proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987) was that modern politeness is conveyed through indirect language and indirect strategies. However, there is work providing contradicting evidence from languages other than English, showing that direct language does not always convey impoliteness (Blum-Kulka, 1990 on English and Israeli; Gu, 1990 on standardized modern Chinese; Matsumoto 1998, 1999 on Japanese; Le Pair, 1996 on Spanish and L2 Spanish of native Dutch speakers; Marsily, 2018 on Peninsular Spanish and French; Marti, 2006 on Turkish and Turkish-German bilinguals; Ogiermann, 2009 on English, German, French, and Russian; Wierzbicka, 1985 on Polish). Previous work has addressed and defined *direct strategies* and *direct speech acts* but lacks a concrete definition of *directness* as a concept.

Searle (1969, 1975) used (in)directness as a way to characterize utterances within his taxonomy of speech acts. Searle's work further developed and expanded upon Austin's (1962) previous theory of speech acts. In Austin's (1962) theory, he labeled the three components of a speech act as locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary. The locutionary act refers to the utterance itself, the illocutionary act constitutes the force of action the utterance conveys, and the perlocutionary act refers to the effect on the addressee as a result of carrying out a speech act and in light of the circumstances of that utterance. The illocutionary force can also be defined as the communicative intent expressed by the speaker under appropriate circumstances with the

appropriate people (Félix-Brasdefer, 2019:315). Austin (1962) also identified different types of illocutionary forces, dividing them into five different categories: verdictives, exercitives, commissives, behabitives, and expositives. According to his classifications, verdictives represent official findings or declarations, such as to acquit or to convict. Exercitives represent the act of imposing one's power or influence upon another, such as to order or to urge. Commissives represent committing oneself to a future act, such as to promise or to swear. Behabitives represent acts that deal with one's attitudes or emotions, such as to apologize or to thank. Finally, expositives represent the statement of one's views or arguments, such as to affirm or to deny. Searle (1969) then renamed and redefined these five classifications in his taxonomy as declaratives, directives, commissives, expressives, and representatives (or assertives).

Searle (1975) examined indirect language and discussed how it can be related to speech acts, including directives such as requests and invitations. He defined indirect speech acts as “cases in which one illocutionary act is performed indirectly by way of performing another” (1975:60). Searle (1975) proposed that under the appropriate preparatory conditions (e.g., mutual background knowledge, context), indirect language can be used to perform a speech act such as a request. According to Searle (1975), indirect speech acts have the illocutionary force of a request through the construction of a question, such as *Can you pass the salt?*, with the underlying intent to request that the hearer pass the salt (1979:31). By forming a question about the one's ability to pass the salt, it is implied that the speaker wants the hearer to take action and pass the salt because of the explicit reference to the hearer. However, Searle noted that the proper understanding of this utterance involves a multi-step inferencing process to calculate the communicative meaning of the speaker's utterance, which he dubbed an *Illocutionary Force Indicating Device* or IFID. An IFID aids in the inferencing process as a linguistic tool “used to

indicate that an utterance of a sentence containing that element has a certain illocutionary force or range of or illocutionary forces” (Searle & Vanderveken, 1985:2). Conventionalized utterances, such as *Can you pass the salt?*, are automatically understood as a request due to its conditioning from formulaic use over time and from *IFIDs* that give clues to the speaker’s intended meaning.

Indirect requests can be distinguished even further when separated into conventional or non-conventional constructions. Searle (1975) discussed how directives formed with *Can you...?* are conventional requests as a result of their conditioned use, provided the preparatory conditions are present (the situational context needed for the utterance to make sense). In contrast, non-conventional constructions (e.g., hints), are not conditioned to be recognized as a request. Non-conventional requests rely on the hearer’s felicitous interpretation of the utterance, on the preparatory conditions, and on other felicity conditions proposed by Searle, as well as the principles of conversation, and common knowledge between the interlocutors outlined by Grice (1975).

Grice (1975) studied *conversational implicatures*, which may be featured in indirect speech acts in the form of implicit language. Blackwell (2021) defines implicature as “any meaning a speaker can convey beyond the meaning of what is explicitly said” (Blackwell 2021:15). For instance, Grice (1975) provides the example *I am out of petrol* and the response to this utterance is *there is a garage round the corner* (1975:51). Although at the surface level the response may not seem relevant (violating Grice’s Relevance maxim), the speaker is using indirect language to imply that there may be petrol available for purchase at the nearby garage. The implicit language used in this example can be connected with indirect language (hints) and reflects indirectness.

Leech (1983) related indirectness with politeness and judged illocutions based on a scale of indirectness. According to Leech (1983), one may “increase the degree of politeness by using a more and more indirect kind of locution” (1983:108). He claims that the more indirect an illocution may be, the more polite it is because the level of optionality rises, and the force of the illocution is lowered, becoming more tentative. For instance, Leech presented *answer the phone* as an utterance with less indirectness and in turn has less politeness, while *could you possibly answer the phone?* has more indirectness, therefore is more polite (1983:108). Leech (1983) presented these examples in addition to others on a scale of increasing indirectness, without a mention of directness. Instead of proposing a scale characterizing utterances as (more or less) indirect and (more or less) direct, Leech (1983) did not include directness as a means to characterize different locutions.

Brown and Levinson (1987) also related indirectness to being polite, claiming that the use of indirect language entails politeness. They referred to indirect language for politeness purposes as a *super strategy* and proposed that indirect language works in harmony with the values of politeness such as individual autonomy, avoiding imposing on others, and free will. In fact, Brown and Levinson (1987) went a step further to name this relation a *universal phenomenon*. However, the authors made this claim based on English-speaking cultures.

Haverkate (1988) calls for a clear definition of directness and indirectness, as he observed that the majority of the existing literature at the time explored indirectness, while avoiding the topic of directness. Haverkate’s (1988) work discusses politeness strategies in regard to verbal interaction and uses Searle’s (1975) proposal when considering speech acts and their objective directness and indirectness. According to Haverkate “politeness is the chief motivation for speakers to express themselves indirectly” (1988:62). His claim supports Brown and Levinson’s

(1987) generalization, with all authors agreeing that politeness and indirect expressions are interrelated.

The foundational works on pragmatics and speech acts discussed in this section all relate their findings to indirect language or the concept of indirectness. While indirectness enjoyed substantial attention from Grice (1975), Searle (1975), Leech (1983), Brown and Levinson (1987), and Haverkate (1988), directness lacks the same attentiveness from prominent figures in pragmatics and speech acts theory. Searle (1975) discussed indirectness in regard to illocutionary force in speech acts, Grice (1975) related indirect language to conversational implicatures, Leech (1983) judged utterances based on a scale of indirectness, and Brown and Levinson (1987) claimed that using indirect language constitutes politeness. Although Haverkate (1988) focused on indirectness, his previous work (1979) dove into directness with greater detail and attention.

2.1.1 Directness in speech acts

Following Searle's lead, Haverkate (1979) continued the discussion on (in)directness in speech acts but gave more attention to directness than previous authors had. Searle's previous works (1969, 1975) discussed the relation between grammatical sentence type (the form) and its illocutionary force (the function). Haverkate (1979) described Searle's taxonomy, defining direct speech acts as "characterized by a one-to-one correspondence between syntactic form and illocutionary function" (1979:101), and indirect speech acts as utterances with "more than one illocutionary function" (1979:101). Davidson's (1975) examples below illustrate these distinctions. Utterance (1) is a direct speech act, since the imperative syntactic form corresponds directly with the illocutionary function or force of the directive, in this case, a command. Utterances (2) and (3) are both indirect speech acts, as the former is expressed via an assertion

(i.e., a declarative sentence), and the latter is an interrogative using the conditional *would*.

According to Searle's (1975) account, both speech acts involve more than one illocutionary function, as assertions and interrogatives do not inherently encode a directive speech act.

Davidson (1975) applies Searle's (1969, 1975) approach to the following examples, in which the hearer must infer the intent of the speaker in order to interpret and take action to comply with the speaker's request.

- (1) Move your car.
- (2) I must ask you to move your car.
- (3) Would you move your car?

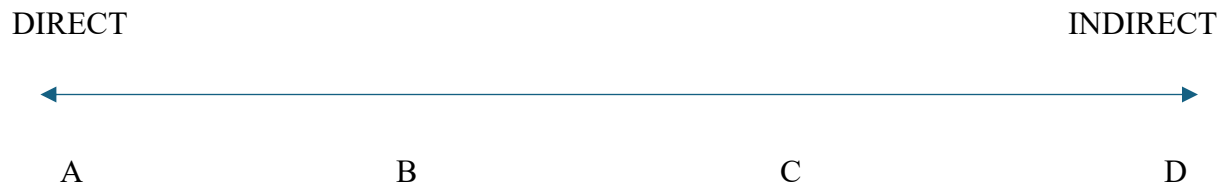
(Davidson, 1975:143-144).

Haverkate (1979) gives directness the same amount of attention as indirectness in his framework, elaborating on Searle's (1969, 1975) framework but with the intent of exploring directness as well. He summarizes the indirect versus direct opposition in regard to classifying sentence types.

These syntactic categories [declarative, interrogative, and imperative sentence types] correlate with one, and not more than one, particular function. Nowadays, then, the category of direct speech acts is intended to reflect this one-to-one correspondence, while the category of indirect speech acts comprises all other cases, that is, all speech acts in the performance of which the speaker performs more than one illocutionary act at the same time.

(Haverkate, 1979:101).

Following this characterization, Haverkate also outlines a continuum that takes the form of a four-point scale, with speech acts ranging from direct constructions to indirect constructions and with illustrative examples in Spanish. This continuum is presented below.



(Based on Haverkate, 1979:105).

(4) *¿Me traes un vaso de agua?* ‘(Do) you bring me a glass of water?’

(5) *Tráeme un vaso de agua* ‘Bring me a glass of water’

(Haverkate, 1979:93).

(6) *Quisiera que se encendiera la luz* ‘I would appreciate it if the light was put on’

(7) *Hace falta encender la luz* ‘It is necessary to put on the light’

(Haverkate, 1979:99).

(8) *¿Está cerrada la puerta?* ‘Is the door closed?’

(Haverkate, 1979:97).

(9) *¿Hay sal en la mesa?* ‘Is there salt on the table?’

(Haverkate, 1979:105).

(10) *Hace un frío tremendo aquí* ‘It is terribly cold in here’

(Haverkate, 1979:96).

According to Haverkate (1979), utterances (4) and (5) represent the level of directness at Point A. These examples express the speaker’s intent and also make reference to the hearer. Utterances (6) and (7) represent the level of (somewhat) directness at Point B. They express the speaker’s intent but do not reference a hearer. Utterances (8) and (9) represent the level of (somewhat) indirectness at Point C. These examples are a little more indirect because they do not show a one-to-one correspondence between the form and illocutionary function (using an interrogative instead of an imperative to form a request), and they do not reference the hearer. Utterance (10) represents the level of indirectness at Point D, but it does not specify the speaker’s intent but instead makes a hint without including hearer reference. Haverkate refers to the continuum as *degrees of requesthood* and emphasizes that the different scalar points do not represent clear distinctions with regard to level of directness, but rather a general and gradual shift from more direct constructions to indirect constructions.

In order to separate directness and indirectness through different linguistic constructions, Haverkate suggests a framework of analysis using the following three phrases as a basis:

(11) Can you pass the salt?

(12) It is cold in here.

(13) Such remarks ought not to be made public.

(Haverkate, 1988:62-64)

Haverkate proposes that (11) aligns itself with directness, as it explicitly highlights the speaker's desire for the salt and makes explicit reference to the hearer. On the other end of the spectrum, aligned with indirectness, would be (12), which does not include specific information about the implied request nor to whom it is directed. Haverkate maintains that (13) takes the middle ground, as the speech act in question is present, but it is not directed to anyone in particular.

As previously mentioned, utterances such as (12), which give rise to implicatures, are subject to interpretation according to the underlying conditions in the context. The context can significantly alter the meaning of an utterance. For example, if it is a chilly winter day, one might say *It is cold in here* simply as a comment, whereas if there is an open window or door, the same utterance may be used to hint that someone should close the window or the door, taking the form of an indirect request. According to Fraser and Nolen (1981), "No sentence is inherently polite or impolite. We often take certain expressions to be impolite, but it is not the expressions themselves but the conditions under which they are used that determines the judgment of politeness" (1981:96). Haverkate also claims that "even a flat imperative need not necessarily be interpreted as a categorical order" (1988:64). Haverkate further explains his reasoning in the following quote.

In an appropriate context, the imperative utterance 'Close the door' may sound polite. On the other hand, sentence types expressing hearer-based preconditions, such as those introduced by 'Can you...?' and 'Would you be so kind...?', which serve as conventional frames for conveying polite requests, cannot be automatically employed for that purpose. Thus 'Can you lend me \$50,000?' directed to a stranger will not be regarded as sufficiently polite, because such a delicate and confidential appeal to the interlocutor requires ample motivation by specific pre- and/or post-sequences.

(Haverkate, 1988:64).

Haverkate emphasizes that the politeness of a request depends largely on the situational context, including the relationship between interlocutors, the directive in question, the setting (e.g., professional, informal), the power dynamic, and other factors. Aside from the linguistic construction and request strategy selected by the speaker, these factors can be expected to affect the politeness reading of the utterance.

2.1.2 Modern takes on directness

Culpeper and Haugh (2014) revisited Searle's (1969, 1975) proposal of the mismatch between the speech act and what kind of sentence type is used, a frequently occurring feature in the English language. They presented the following tables that show the sentence type corresponding directly to the illocutionary force or speech act (Table 1), and subsequently, mismatches between sentence types and speech acts in English (Table 2). All utterances in Table 2 are requests, although the sentence types are varied. The illocutionary force indicates that the given speech act does not function as a question or as an assertion, but rather a request.

Table 1. Sentence type and speech act correspondences

Sentence Type	Example	Speech Act
Imperative	<i>Finish your homework!</i>	Command
Interrogative	<i>Have you finished your homework?</i>	Question/Inquiry
Declarative	<i>My homework is finished.</i>	Assertion

(Culpeper & Haugh, 2014:168).

Table 2. Sentence type and speech act mismatches

Sentence Type	Example	Speech Act
Imperative	<i>Pass me the salt.</i>	Request
Interrogative	<i>Can you give me the salt?</i>	Request
Declarative	<i>This could do with a little salt.</i>	Request

(Culpeper & Haugh, 2014:168).

Culpeper and Haugh claim that “‘directness’ seems to refer to the explicitness with which the illocutionary point is signaled by the utterance, and complex processes of conventionalization or standardization feed that explicitness” (Culpeper & Haugh, 2014:169). The authors highlighted Searle’s (1969, 1975) concept of *pragmatic explicitness* to discuss the transparency embedded in the illocutionary force instead of *(in)directness* to classify a given speech act. The transparency referred to by the authors accounts for the *illocutionary point*, the *target*, and the *semantic content*. The following three components determine the explicitness of the speech act. First, the illocutionary point reveals the illocutionary force. Then, the presence of hearer referencing (i.e., explicit reference to the addressee, e.g., *can you?* or *would you?*), accounts for the target. Lastly, the clear encoding of the speaker’s intent in the utterance is based on semantic content. In examples (14), (15), and (16) the imperative form is used to make a command, which serves as the *illocutionary force indicating device* (IFID) that indicates the illocutionary point. Both (14) and (15) contain the explicit statement of the word *quiet* to convey that the speaker wants the hearer to quiet down, whereas (16) is not quite as explicit, since it uses *noiseless* instead of *quiet* (the semantic content). Utterance (15) is the only one with a reference to the

hearer *you* (the target), therefore making it the most explicit, or the most direct, since it contains all three components outlined by Culpeper and Haugh.

(14) Be quiet!

(15) You be quiet!

(16) Be noiseless!

(Culpeper & Haugh, 2014:170).

Culpeper and Haugh (2014) outline different aspects of what makes an utterance more direct than others. The examples above illustrate how hearer referencing, the illocutionary point, and the semantic content play a role in the understanding of pragmatic explicitness and directness.

Grainger and Mills (2016) highlight that directness is not just “simply the opposite of indirectness,” as it deserves its own individual treatment and attention (2016:51). According to these authors, “theorists are often reluctant to define directness explicitly, for they assume that it is evidently simply people ‘speaking their minds’: it is the base form of an utterance where there is no inferencing required from the hearer to understand the utterance,” and “consists of the propositional content alone” (Grainger & Mills, 2016:51). Due to the variability of directness cross-linguistically, some cultures will view direct language positively due to being clear and explicit, while others may perceive it negatively and consider direct language to be face-threatening and impolite. The key takeaway from Grainger and Mills (2016) is that directness itself is subjective and so are the evaluators of directness, since what is viewed as simple and clear language depends on the individual speakers and their cultural norms.

Additionally, some linguistics have focused their attention on (in)directness in real world examples from Twitter or their own means of data collection (e.g., Discourse Completion Tasks). Decock and Depraetere (2018) examined (in)directness in complaints from business emails and social media and identified that the degree of explicitness and face-threat are two key components in analyzing (in)directness. The researchers highlighted a few strategies that are frequently used in complaints such as implicit complaints, the use of a verb or a noun illustrating a speech act, and *constitutive elements* expressed on-record. Decock and Depraetere (2018) also observed a combination of different degrees of (in)directness and face threatening language in all strategies.

Shafran (2019) studied the language of L2 English speakers who were native speakers of Hebrew and Arabic to see how power and social status affected directness and the use of politeness marker *please* in a Discourse Completion Task. She found that in situations of lower status speakers addressing someone of a higher status, there were less direct requests and more indirect requests. L1 Arabic speakers used the politeness marker *please* more than L1 Hebrew speakers in all the DCT situations. The L1 Hebrew speakers particularly used *please* when addressing someone of a lower status.

Depraetere et al. (2021) analyzed (in)directness in complaints in French found on Twitter from France and Belgium. The selected complaints in this study were between then National Railway companies of each company and their customers. The researchers studied the level explicitness (i.e. (in)directness) following Decock and Depraetere's (2018) model that used (in)directness and face-threat, in addition to (im)politeness to analyze the complaints. Depraetere et al. (2021) found that the French customers were more explicit and direct than the Belgian customers.

2.1.3 Defining directness

Based on the ideas proposed by Haverkate (1979, 1988), Culpeper and Haugh (2014), and Grainger and Mills (2016), a working definition of directness can be established. Directness refers to the clear and explicit reference to propositional content in an utterance, whether it be an action, a specific person, or an imperative construction, leaving little room for interpretation of the speaker's intent. For example, *Pass the salt* is clear and makes reference to the propositional content (the salt). Additionally, directness refers to the utterance's exact correspondence to the speech act with no ambiguity or need to infer the speaker's intent, such as an imperative performing as a command or a request. What remains to be explored is the effect of said directness, or rather the language interpreter's perception of directness. Is directness perceived to be impolite by some, or would it be considered appropriate given the communicative situation? The way directness is perceived is subjective and may be influenced by a variety of social factors, such as distance and power, as well as supra-segmental variation, for instance, in intonation. Perception may be subject to variation based on different backgrounds and language norms, as noted by Grainger and Mills (2016), so it can be expected that native speakers will judge directness differently than second language learners.

In this section, some foundational approaches to (in)directness from prominent figures in the field of pragmatics and speech act theory were reviewed. Austin (1962) and Searle's (1969, 1975) contributions to characterizing speech acts provide a strong base for future researchers to continue to develop and expand upon their original taxonomies. Austin (1962) discussed the role of locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary acts and then identified five types of illocutionary acts. Searle's (1969, 1975) taxonomy redefined Austin's (1962) illocutionary acts, outlined their forms and functions used, and highlighted how indirect language is utilized in

English. Grice (1975) included indirectness and implicit language in his theory of conversational implicature. Leech (1983) analyzed utterances based on a scale of indirectness in relation to politeness, and Brown and Levinson (1987) associated indirect language with politeness and named it a universal phenomenon. Haverkate (1979, 1988) addressed both indirectness and directness, giving equal attention to both notions. Haverkate (1979) outlined the *degrees of requesthood* and provided and analyzed examples in terms of their directness and structure. Culpeper and Haugh (2014) and Grainger and Mills (2016) revisited the idea of directness offering additional perspectives on this issue. Culpeper and Haugh (2014) commented on previous works by Searle (1969, 1975) with regard to form and function of speech acts, as well as pragmatic explicitness. Grainger and Mills (2016) discussed directness as a separate entity from indirectness. Then, Decock and Depraetere (2018) and Depraetere et al. (2021) studied (in)directness in Twitter complaints based on explicitness and face-threat and Shafran (2019) studied the level of indirectness in relation to power in L2 speakers of English. In Section 2.1.3, a concrete definition of directness as a concept was proposed that includes what is entailed in the notion of directness. Next, Section 2.2 discusses the relation of politeness and directness, and how Brown and Levinson (1987) propose the universal association of indirect language and politeness.

2.2 Politeness and directness: Related or unrelated?

As previously mentioned, Brown and Levinson's (1987) generalization that indirect language conveys politeness has been widely accepted in pragmatics and speech act research, leading many to believe that the correspondence of politeness and indirect language is a universal phenomenon. Previous to the publication of Brown and Levinson's proposal, Searle

(1975) discussed the role of indirectness with regard to politeness, claiming that politeness is “the most prominent motivation for indirectness” (Searle, 1975:76). Additionally, Searle claimed that “ordinary conversational requirements of politeness normally make it awkward to use flat imperative sentences” (Searle, 1975:64), although some of the later literature refutes this idea, considering it anglo-centric (e.g., only focusing on English speaking cultures). For instance, Wierzbicka (1985) observed that while Brown and Levinson’s (1987) claim may apply to the English language, it cannot be applied universally, and she provided counter evidence from Polish. In Polish, the imperative (considered a direct form) has more syntactic functions aside from making commands, and according to Wierzbicka, this direct structure is considered polite in Polish. This finding suggests that the association of indirectness and politeness can be expected to vary based on language users’ subjective perceptions and judgments. Wierzbicka also asserted that indirectness is subject to cultural norms and language attitudes. Her observations contradict Brown and Levinson’s (1987) generalization that indirect language conveys politeness universally.

2.2.1 Some *universals* in politeness

Brown and Levinson (1987) base their ideas on one’s public image or their *face*: their representation that needs to be maintained and protected in society, an idea originally from Goffman (1967). *Face Threatening Acts* (FTAs) are actions that may potentially threaten one’s public image or *face*. Brown and Levinson (1987) introduce the notion of *positive face*, which refers to establishing oneself and maintaining a positive image in society, while *negative face* focuses on lowering the level of imposition upon others and not infringing on one’s autonomy. These aspects of politeness, they argue, are essential in order to achieve a socially appropriate

and successful interaction in society. Brown and Levinson (1987) then present two contrasting types of politeness: *positive politeness* as “the expression of solidarity” and *negative politeness* as “the expression of restraint” (1987:2). To expand upon their definitions, *positive politeness* is also expressed via the inclusion of the addressee or hearer in the interaction and *negative politeness* refers to the idea of not imposing on someone else’s free will.

According to Brown and Levinson, “conventional indirectness encodes the clash of wants, and so partially achieves them both” (1987:132). For example, when making a request, the speaker is imposing upon the hearer’s free will. Therefore, the request is a potential FTA, but the use of conventional indirectness allows the speaker to protect their own face. The authors named negative politeness as a *super-strategy*. The *super-strategy* in question simultaneously includes on-record delivery, protects the speaker from a potentially FTA, and minimizes the level of imposition. Additionally, Brown and Levinson claimed that “constructing indirect speech acts... [as a] marked feature of English usage... is probably universal” given that “indirect speech acts are certainly the most significant form of conventional indirectness and have received a good deal of attention from linguists” (1987:132). Brown and Levinson (1987) outlined how politeness and indirect language work in harmony with each other and emphasized that they consider indirect speech for the purpose of politeness a universal trend. The problem is that Brown and Levinson have formulated this generalization based on English-speaking perspectives, including the notion that indirect strategies are more polite because they mitigate imposition. Although this generalization attempts to account for English-speaking cultures, there is empirical evidence that contradicts this generalization. In fact, in other cultures, this universal phenomenon is proven to be not so universal through cross-cultural evidence, contradicting

Brown and Levinson's (1987) proposal (Blum-Kulka, 1990; Gu, 1990; Matsumoto 1998, 1999; Le Pair, 1996; Marsily, 2018; Ogiermann, 2009; Wierzbicka, 1985).

For instance, Wierzbicka (1985) highlighted that the majority of the theories in pragmatics are constructed around Anglo-Saxon norms. She noted that both modern eastern and western cultures do not fit into the ideas outlined in popular pragmatic thought, further confirming the anglo-centrism proposed by well-known pragmatists and widely accepted universal theories. According to Wierzbicka, anglo-centric ideas “place[s] special emphasis on the autonomy of every individual, which abhors interference in other's people's affairs (*It's none of my business*), which is tolerant of individual idiosyncrasies and peculiarities, which respects everyone's privacy, which approves of compromises and disapproves of dogmatism (assertiveness) of any kind” (Wierzbicka, 1985:30). These findings suggest that (in)directness and politeness should be considered as separate entities. The following section provides concrete cross-cultural evidence refuting Brown and Levinson's claimed ‘universality’ of the inherent correspondence of politeness and indirect language.

2.2.2 Disentangling politeness and directness through cross-cultural evidence

The use of indirectness does not always indicate a polite speech act in all cultures, and in some languages, it is rather impolite. For example, the expression of politeness in Japanese (Matsumoto, 1998; 1999) and modern Chinese (Gu, 1990) differs from the expression of politeness in American English and other Anglo-Saxon cultures. In Japanese, group solidarity is prioritized over individual autonomy, given that empathy and belonging are valued aspects, along with dependence and reciprocity, which are deeply rooted in their cultural values (Matsumoto, 1998; 1999). In modern Chinese (the official standardized variety of Chinese),

offering an invitation (a directive speech act) is not considered an FTA (face-threatening act) nor is it considered a threat to one's negative face (Gu, 1990). In other words, an invitation does not infringe upon one's autonomy or free will—a core value in Anglo-Saxon cultures. Gu's (1990) observation provides evidence that speech acts considered to be FTAs may differ cross-culturally.

Wierzbicka's (1985) observations illustrated how imperatives in Polish are not perceived in the same way that native English speakers perceive imperatives in English. For instance, in Polish, the imperative is used for a variety of purposes, some of which reflect politeness such as when making a request (Wierzbicka, 1985). According to Wierzbicka (1985), while an imperative could be considered offensive in English, "in Polish [it] constitutes one of the milder, softer options in issuing directives" (1985:154). For example, in *wynosić się stad!* 'get away from here!', the infinitive *wynosić* is normally perceived to be offensive, but when the infinitive is employed to realize a command, it comes off as a "more neutral imperative" (1985:155). In English, the imperative is generally avoided for the purpose of requesting something, and instead there is a common preference towards using the conditional or interrogative form (Ervin-Tripp, 1976).

Furthermore, Blum-Kulka (1990) talks about two types of politeness in her study, *solidarity politeness* and *conventional politeness*, in order to compare and contrast Hebrew and English in Israeli and American families respectively. According to Blum-Kulka (1990), *solidarity politeness* involves incorporating mitigated directness and including the hearer, while *conventional politeness* refers to indirectness and non-involvement. For instance, Blum-Kulka presented an example of *solidarity politeness* of a mother addressing her son saying *first sit down, sweetheart*, which utilizes mitigated directness and addresses the hearer, the son

(1990:272). In the example, *sit down* is in the imperative form, but the directness is mitigated through the inclusion of the term of endearment *sweetheart*. On the other hand, *conventional politeness* may consist of forms such as *can you* or *could you* or the use of a non-conventional hint such as a father addressing his son: *David, we don't usually sing at the table* (1990:272). Blum-Kulka (1990) analyzed the directives produced by Israeli and American parents, as well as immigrant families (American families who immigrated to Israel). The Israeli families used more solidarity politeness and less conventional politeness, while the American families used more conventional politeness and less solidarity politeness. The American immigrant families occupied a space in the middle, using less solidarity politeness than the Israeli families but more than the American families, and they also used more conventional politeness than the Israeli families but less than the American families.

Le Pair (1996) compared request strategies used by native speakers of Spanish and by second language learners of Spanish whose first language was Dutch in a Discourse Completion Task (DCT). His research shows that the native Spanish speakers used more direct strategies than the second language learners of Spanish, but that both groups used conventional indirectness most frequently overall. For instance, the native speakers of Spanish used imperative forms and statements of obligation and want in their requests twice as often as the Dutch non-native Spanish speakers. When making conventional indirect requests, the native speakers focused more on the interlocutor's willingness to comply, whereas the non-native speakers questioned the interlocutor's ability to carry out the request, highlighting cultural values. Le Pair's goal was to explore intercultural competence and a second language (L2) learner's interlanguage, but his research also proved that indirectness norms vary depending on the culture. His research showed that although both groups utilized conventional directness most frequently, the native Spanish

speakers still used more directness than the L2 learners. Even within the category of conventional directness, the reasoning for the strategy selection differed between the two groups: willingness versus ability for the native speakers and L2 learners, respectively.

Marti (2006) studied the relationship between indirectness and politeness in requests in speakers of Turkish and bilingual speakers of Turkish and German. Marti used a DCT to generate sample request constructions and then had her participants rank the politeness of the Turkish requests. Her results indicated that indirectness and politeness are related but not in an exact linear relation. Turkish monolinguals showed a preference towards more direct strategies than the Turkish-German bilinguals. The Turkish-German bilingual speakers preferred more indirect requests than the monolingual speakers, potentially due to pragmatic transfer from German norms.

Ogiermann (2009) compared English and German to Russian and Polish with regard to indirectness and politeness. She observed that direct requests are rather frequent in Polish and Russian when compared to English and German—two languages that prefer to employ conventionally indirect requests. Additionally, she found that the politeness marker *please* has its own unique realization and set of rules in all four languages, however, it appeared to share the same function of “softening the imposition inherent in a request” (Ogiermann, 2009:203). In her data, *please* occurred the most in English, then in German, then Russian, and least often Polish. According to Ogiermann, the Polish equivalent of *please* is not allowed to be in the directive speech act per Polish grammar rules, which may be responsible for the low frequency of this politeness marker. Additionally, the Russian equivalent of *please* is not grammatically permitted with ability questions as in conventionally indirect requests (Rathmayr, 1994; Mills 1992), and in fact, appears ‘exclusively’ with the imperative (Betsch, 2003). Ogiermann’s (2009) empirical

work provides evidence that politeness and indirectness are not utilized the same in all languages. The norms in Russian and Polish significantly differ from those in English and German.

Marsily (2018) compared two corpora in order to do a contrastive analysis of the (in)directness of requests in Peninsular Spanish and French and found that the two languages pattern similarly with regard to the use of direct requests. She selected two parallel examples from each language that employed a direct imperative form in addition to mitigation: *attends une minute* ‘wait a minute’ in French and *espera un momento* ‘wait a moment’ in Spanish (2018:138). The use of *une minute* and *un momento* mitigate the directness expressed in both languages. Upon comparing requests from the data in the two corpora, she found that direct constructions occurred the most commonly in both languages. Furthermore, speakers of both languages showed a preference for mood derivable strategies. Of the mood derivable strategies, the imperative mood occurred more than any other mood (e.g., indicative, subjunctive) for both groups. An imperative mood accounts for commands (*espera un momento*) while the subjunctive uses a subordinate clause (*por favor, que se enteren todos* ‘please be all aware’ 2018:138). According to Marsily (2018), following the prevalence of the imperative mood for both French and Spanish, the infinitive was the second-most commonly occurring in the Spanish corpus while the indicative was the second-most commonly occurring in the corpus for French.

The cross-cultural evidence presented in this section does not support Brown and Levinson’s (1987) generalization that associates indirectness with politeness. A key differentiating factor between Anglo-Saxon cultures and the ones described in this section may be a result of cultural differences or perhaps due to differences in the role positive politeness and negative politeness in the languages studied. Therefore, directness and politeness should be considered as separate

entities, as each culture may relate them in different ways. Brown and Levinson's (1987) framework adequately describes English speaking cultures; however, when considering other languages of the world, their framework does not prove to be sufficient.

2.2.3 Politeness in Spanish

Blum-Kulka's (1990) notion of *conventional politeness* corresponds with the cultural values of *confianza* (referring to mutual trust, familiarity, and community affiliation) in Spanish-speaking countries, both in Spain and in Latin America. In fact, in some Latin American countries, being direct and frank is the norm based on their cultural values of respect, imposition, and 'confianza' (Félix-Brasdefer, 2008). Recuero (2007) comments on the trends in previous literature on politeness in Spanish and how there is a primary focus on the correspondence of syntactic structures, linguistic strategies, and mitigation use. According to Recuero, there is a "stereotype held among European and non-Mediterranean cultures, as well as among some Latin American cultures, that Peninsular Spanish speakers are very direct, or even rude," as a result of the linguistic mechanisms incorporated into directive speech acts (Recuero, 2007:24). Previous studies show that Spaniards commonly employ positive politeness (Vázquez Orta, 1995; Ballesteros Martin, 2001), emphasizing values of solidarity, *confianza*, and inclusion instead of negative politeness seen in Anglo-Saxon cultures. For instance, positive politeness does not prioritize social distance, aligning with cultural values in Spanish speaking countries. (Le Pair, 1996).

Placencia (1998) contrasted hospital service encounters in Peninsular Spanish and Ecuadorian Spanish and found that these varieties use different levels of indirectness and formality, since Peninsular Spanish is not as formal as Ecuadorian Spanish and is characterized

by less mitigation. Placencia's (1998) findings were further supported in Placencia (2005), where she studied Peninsular Spanish and Ecuadorian Spanish in cornerstore service encounters. In her (2005) study, she focused on the language representative of the capital cities of the respective countries, Quiteño Spanish (from Quito, Ecuador) and Madrileño Spanish (from Madrid, Spain). Similar to her previous (1998) findings, Madrileño Spanish used less mitigation, less *usted* (formal address *you*), and more direct forms than when compared to Quiteño Spanish. Further discussion on Placencia (2005) in terms of strategy selection and mitigation can be found in Sections 2.3.3 and 2.3.4 respectively.

Márquez Reiter's (2002) examined conventional indirectness and tentativeness in Peninsular Spanish and another Latin American variety of Spanish: Uruguayan Spanish. Her study used roleplay scenarios that elicited participants' request realizations in hypothetical situations that manipulated the social distance, power, and level of imposition. She found similar patterns to Placencia's work in that Spaniards incorporate less mitigation in their utterances, internally and externally. Internal mitigation alters the portion of the speech act that realizes the request while external mitigation modifies the parts of the utterance outside of the portion that realizes the request. Some *alerters* (e.g. devices used to get the hearer's attention, *oye* 'hey'), *perdón* 'sorry', *disculpa* 'excuse me', and greetings (*hola buenos días*, 'hello good morning') were employed prior to the request as external mitigation (2002:142-145). As for internal mitigation, diminutives were employed (e.g., words with *-ito* suffix, *ratito* 'a little while) as well as *algo* 'some', *poco* 'little', and time expression *un minuto* 'one minute (2002:147). The internal and external mitigation observed by Márquez Reiter in this study contributes to politeness. The lack of mitigation in Peninsular Spanish in Márquez Reiter's data may be a potential factor to

why other cultures perceive this variety of Spanish to be more direct or less polite than others.

The discussion on mitigation is continued in Section 2.3.4.

Hernández Flores (2003a) highlights that deep familiarity is a core value in Spain.

Therefore, in many contexts interlocutors do not see it necessary to add to nor elaborate upon directive speech acts, due to the *confianza* rooted in their communities. Additionally, Hernández Flores's (2003a) work points to the idea that imperatives occur commonly in contexts of familiarity. The employment of imperatives occurs more commonly in Spanish speakers when compared to Anglo-Saxon cultures (Vázquez Orta, 1995; Ballesteros Martin, 2001; Lorenzo-Dus & Bou Franch, 2003). Curcó's (1998) study suggests that Spaniards would consider imperatives to be more polite and acceptable than speakers of Mexican Spanish, for instance.

In this section, Brown and Levinson's (1987) claim of universality for indirect language and politeness is examined and reviewed in Section 2.2.1. Their generalization claimed that the use of indirectness for the purpose of politeness to be a super-strategy, as it simultaneously protects the speaker from a potential FTA and maintains a low level of imposition. Following the general acceptance of Brown and Levinson's claim, other researchers have published works providing empirical evidence that contradicts this generalization. Brown and Levinson's ideas reflect English speaking cultures well, but do not adequately describe all cultures. Cross-cultural counter evidence is provided in Section 2.2.2 on Chinese, Japanese, Polish, Russian, German, French, and Spanish (Gu, 1990; Matsumoto 1998, 1999; Marsily, 2018; Marti, 2006; Ogiermann, 2009; Wierzbicka, 1985). Following the disproof of Brown and Levinson's (1987) framework, further evidence from Spanish is reviewed with more detail in Section 2.2.3. Recuero (2007) highlighted current trends in Spanish politeness studies. Placencia (1998, 2005) and Márquez Reiter (2002) contrasted macrodialects of Spanish (Peninsular and Latin American) and

differentiated politeness norms between them, particularly in terms of mitigation. Finally, Hernández-Flores (2003a) summarized key cultural values for Spanish speaking countries. Through an examination of the previous literature, it is clear that indirectness and politeness do not necessarily have the same universal relation in all cultures. The cultural values of each country play a large role in determining what is perceived as polite versus impolite, which is why they should be regarded as separate entities.

2.3 (In)directness in Spanish requests

This section overviews speech acts in Spanish, linguistic strategies for requests, and pragmatic variation in the Spanish speaking world in terms of request strategy and mitigation use. Section 2.3.1 features Márquez Reiter and Placencia's application of speech acts frameworks proposed by Austin (1962) and Searle (1975) with illustrating examples. Next, Section 2.3.2 presents Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989) framework for request strategies and demonstrates how Le Pair (1996) applies this framework to his study on Spanish request strategies. Then, Section 2.3.2 illustrates how modern empirical studies still utilize Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989) framework (Bataller, 2015; Félix-Brasdefer, 2009; Placencia, 2005; Ruzickova, 2007). Section 2.3.3 summarizes pragmatic variation in terms of request strategy selection both interculturally (Félix-Brasdefer, 2009; Márquez Reiter, 2002; Placencia, 2005) and intraculturally (Bataller, 2015; García, 2007; Ruzickova, 2007). The last section, Section 2.4.3 presents the role of mitigation in Spanish requests and its pragmatic variation across Spanish speaking countries (Placencia, 2005).

2.3.1 Speech acts in Spanish

Márquez Reiter and Placencia (2005) applied Austin (1962) and Searle's (1975) framework to the following example *Bombón!* uttered by a woman walking with her friends out in the street to a young man walking by. Table 3 below outlines all three components of the speech act *Bombón!*

Table 3. Components of the speech act *Bombón!*

Locutionary act	“Uttering of words with a certain sense and reference”	‘Bonbon’ literally refers to chocolate, but figuratively means ‘stunner’ or ‘beauty’
Illocutionary act	“Uttering of words with a certain force”	The illocutionary force is a cat call or a <i>piropo</i> in Spanish
Perlocutionary act	“The effect brought off by the utterance”	How the speaker feels as a result of the utterance spoken

(Márquez Reiter and Placencia, 2005).

According to Márquez Reiter and Placencia (2005), indirectness is used to indicate “cases where the surface or literal meaning of an utterance does not correspond to its illocutionary force” (Márquez Reiter & Placencia, 2005:26). The authors claim that imperatives demonstrate a “direct correspondence for requests” as seen in (17) with the imperative form of *Tráeme* ‘Bring me’ (Márquez Reiter & Placencia, 2005:26). Utterances (18) and (19) present an indirect request since the utterances do not correspond to a directive illocutionary force.

(17) *Tráeme algo de comer por favor que ya no aguanto del hambre.* ‘Bring me something to eat please, I cannot stand/tolerate the hunger anymore.’

(18) *¿Me puedes traer algo de comer?* ‘Can you bring me something to eat?’

(19) *Me muero de hambre.* ‘I’m dying of hunger.’

(Placencia, 1999, my translations)

In (18), *¿me puedes traer?* ‘can you bring me?’ references the hearer with the *you* form (*tú*) *puedes*, similar to (17), with the hearer-oriented imperative *tráeme* (*tú*), while in (19) there is no direct reference to the hearer. The clarity and explicitness of the request decreases as the sentences shift from direct (17), to indirect (18), to an indirect hint (19). Particularly in (19), there is no request being made, since the utterance simply hints at the speaker’s desire to eat without specifying that they want something to eat.

2.3.2 Linguistic strategies for Spanish requests

Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) present a framework for analyzing request strategies that is utilized in numerous studies on requests in Spanish (Bataller, 2015; Félix-Brasdefer, 2009; Le Pair 1996; Placencia, 2005; Ruzickova, 2007; Shively, 2011). Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) gave an overview of linguistic strategies based on the illocutionary force of making a request. These strategies are outline below in Table 4 with examples that illustrate the illocutionary force employed.

Table 4. Request strategies with examples illustrating their illocutionary force.

<u>Strategy</u> (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989)	<u>Examples</u> (Le Pair, 1996)	<u>Illocutionary Force</u> (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989)
(1) Mood derivable - Imperative	<i>Limpia el escritorio</i> ‘Clean up the desk’	Derivable from grammatical mood – Imperative/Command
(2) Explicit performative	<i>Te pido que limpies el escritorio</i> ‘I’m asking you to clean up the desk’	Explicitly stated by speaker
(3) Hedged performative	<i>Tengo que / voy a / quiero pedirte que limpies el escritorio</i>	Utterance states the illocutionary force

	‘I have to / am going to / want to ask you to clean up the desk’	
(4) Locution derivable - Obligation statement	<i>Tienes que / debes limpiar el escritorio</i> ‘You have to / should clean up the desk’	Derivable from the semantic meaning of the locution - Obligation
(5) Scope stating - Want statement	<i>Quisiera que limpiaras el escritorio</i> ‘I would like you to clean up the desk’	Utterance states speaker’s intent (desire for interlocutor’s compliance)
(6) Suggestory formula (specific to the language)	<i>A ver si limpias el escritorio / ¿Por qué no limpias el escritorio?</i> ‘How about cleaning up the desk? / Why don’t you clean up the desk?’	Utterance suggests the desired action via routine formulaic expression (conventionally indirect)
(7) Reference to preparatory conditions (Query)	<i>¿Te importa / podrías limpiar el escritorio?</i> ‘Would you mind / could you clean up the desk’	Utterance references preparatory conditions: the interlocutor’s ability, willingness or possibility (conventionally indirect)
(8) Strong hints	<i>Tu escritorio parece una papelera</i> ‘Your desk is a bit of a mess’	Partial reference to intended request based on situation (nonconventionally indirect, direct implication)
(9) Mild hints	<i>Parece que has estado muy ocupado</i> ‘You’ve been quite busy, haven’t you?’	No clear reference to intended request, needs to be interpreted through the context of the situation (nonconventionally indirect, indirect implication)

(Blum-Kulka et al., 1989:17-18, 278-281).

(Examples and translations from Le Pair, 1996:659).

As seen above in the table, according to Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), strategies (1) imperative, (2) explicit performative, (3) hedged performative, (4) obligation statement, and (5) want statement are considered to be *direct* strategies. Strategies (1) through (5) are characterized as direct request formulations due to their clarity of the semantic content and illocutionary force, and in some cases, the strategies identify a target as well (hearer orientation). Strategies (6) and

(7) are considered *conventionally indirect* strategies, since the structures used do not have a one-to-one relationship with the syntactic form and illocutionary function. However, these indirect strategies are known to be associated with common request realizations and are conventional through hearer inferencing. Strategies (8) and (9) are considered *non-conventionally indirect* as they do not encode any specific information about the request since the speech act does not match with the syntactic form. The speech acts hint at the speaker's desire and there is no hearer reference. As a result, both strong and mild hints are labeled as *non-conventionally indirect* strategies due to their vague and avoidant nature and lack of specification.

Aside from the verbal construction strategies, there are other components that contribute to the realization of a request. Alerters and supportive moves are employed alongside the verbal request strategy (the 'head act') in order to facilitate a directive speech act. The head act is the "minimal unit that can realize a request" (Márquez Reiter & Placencia, 2005:31) such as a verbal construction (*Ponme*, 'put me') or ellipsis, the simple statement of the request without a verb (*un café con leche*). Alerters are known as "opening utterances such as terms of address or attention getters" that function as an introduction to the request, and the supportive moves are "units external to the request that modify its impact by either mitigating or aggravating the force of the utterance" (Márquez Reiter & Placencia, 2005:31). Utterance (20) labels the alerter, head act, and supportive moves employed in the following directive.

(20) <i>Raquel,</i>	<i>por favor tráeme algo</i>	<i>que tengo hambre</i>
'Rachel,	please bring me something	I am hungry'
ALERTER	HEAD ACT	SUPPORTIVE MOVE

(Placencia, 1999, my translation).

Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) categorized the modifications in the request into internal modification and external modification. Internal modification alters or adds to the head act while external modification alters the language outside of the head act, such as adding a supportive move. For example, justification for the request (*que tengo hambre* ‘I am hungry’) is external modification because it contributes to the supportive move(s), while adding *por favor* ‘please’ would be considered internal modification because it modifies the head act. There are many devices used for internal modification of head acts, notably lexical downgrades (*por favor*) and syntactic downgraders (*quisiera* ‘I would like’, imperfect subjunctive form instead of *dame* ‘give me’, imperative form) and diminutives (*-ito* suffix as in *un poquito* ‘a little bit’).

Additionally, Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) discussed how the perspective can also shift between speaker-dominant reading or a hearer-dominant reading when realizing a request. For instance, the request may formulate from the hearer’s point of view (21) or the speaker’s point of view (22). There is a shared speaker and hearer dominance that consists of an *inclusive we* construction (23) and an impersonal instruction (24).

(21) *Borra eso Lolita cariño* ‘Erase this, Lolita (diminutive) honey - (You)

(22) *Quería pegatinas* ‘I wanted stickers’ - (I)

(Placencia, 1998:85; Placencia, 1998:105, my translations).

(23) *Antes de salir, ¿dejamos alzando los juguetes* ‘Before leaving, we put up the toys?’

- (Inclusive we)

(Márquez Reiter & Placencia, 2005:33), my translations).

(24) *Hace falta colocar esta mesa en el rincón* ‘The table needs to be put in the corner’

- (Impersonal)

(Haverkate, 1979:100, my translations).

In Spanish, hearer-dominant verb forms are more common than speaker-dominant verb forms according to previous literature (Placencia, 2005; Shively, 2011). For example, Placencia (2005) documented and analyzed service encounter request forms in corner stores via audio recording in both Quito, Ecuador, and Madrid, Spain. Her participants produced more hearer-dominant requests (*Me pones una grande y una pequeñita* ‘Can you give me a big one and a small one?’) than speaker-dominant requests (*Quiero dos de esas* ‘I want two of those’) in her data (Placencia, 2005:587). She also found that direct requests were commonly used in both varieties, however Madrileño (from Madrid, Spain) Spanish used less internal modification (mitigation and formality) than Quiteño (from Quito, Ecuador) Spanish. Although Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) laid out a concrete overview of request strategies, their corresponding linguistic forms in Spanish are shown to vary geographically as seen in Placencia (2005) and other previous literature (Bataller, 2015; Félix-Brasdefer, 2009; Márquez Reiter, 2002; Ruzickova, 2007). The following section details previous literature on request form variation in the Spanish speaking world.

2.3.3 Variation in Spanish request forms

Request forms in Spanish are subject to variation in many aspects, including the linguistic strategy used, grammatical structure, lexical choice, mitigation, and politeness markers

employed. Request realizations undergo *intercultural variation* (i.e., variations in different language varieties such as comparing Ecuador and Spain), and *intracultural variation* within a language variety (e.g., from different geographic regions of the same country, such as comparing urban Valencia to rural Andalucía, both in Spain).

When considering the many varieties of Spanish, social norms and cultural values vary, resulting in different perceptions of directness and politeness. For instance, when considering the macrodialects of Spanish, Peninsular (Spain) Spanish and Latin American Spanish, Márquez Reiter (2002) observed that “Latin American varieties may regard Spaniards as quite direct and rather abrupt and Spaniards may consider some Latin American speakers as rather formal” as a result of their cultural differences (2002:136).

The communicative context must be considered in order to properly analyze request forms. For example, while Placencia (2005) observed that Ecuadorian Spanish and Peninsular Spanish varieties produced more direct requests in service counter interactions, Márquez Reiter (2002) found many instances of conventionally indirect requests in email communication and in Uruguayan Spanish and Peninsular Spanish. This suggests that a variety of different linguistic strategies, both direct and indirect, may be used to make a request, but the communicative context ultimately influences the strategy employed. To clarify, Placencia’s (2005) direct request data appeared in oral discourse for informal service encounters while Márquez Reiter’s (2002) conventionally indirect request data appeared in written discourse for more formal email communication. Additionally, Márquez Reiter pointed out that “the less familiar the interlocutors are with each other, the more likely it is for their requests to be realised indirectly” (Márquez Reiter, 2002:135).

That being said, direct requests are still possible with *desconocidos*, or nonfamiliar interlocutors, since there were many instances of direct realizations in Placencia's (2005) data from the clients in service encounters with nonfamiliar interlocutors. The point of differentiation between Ecuadorian and Peninsular Spanish was that the Quiteños incorporated more mitigation and formality into their requests than the Madrileños. For example, a Quiteño participant said *Por favor deme pancito* 'Please give me (formal) a little bit of bread' while a Madrileño participant said *Hola me das una especial* 'Hello, you give me (informal) a special' (Placencia, 2005:586). The Quiteño used a formal command, encoding the formal 'you' (*usted*) while the Madrileño did not use a formal command. Additionally, the Madrileño used no internal modification of the request, while in addition to *usted* encoded in the verb, the Quiteño stacked on two additional internal modifications: a politeness marker (*por favor* 'please') and a mitigating diminutive (*-ito* ending) onto the head act (*pancito*).

Félix-Brasdefer (2009) studied how power dynamics and social distance influenced the realizations of requests in Mexican, Costa Rican, and Dominican Spanish of male participants. His data showed that in situations of equal power and lower social distance, the participants used more direct forms. However, in situations of equal power and higher social distance, the participants used more conventionally indirect forms. In all of the situations, non-conventional indirect forms were only used twice by the Mexican participants, once by the Costa Rican participants, and were not used by the Dominican participants.

Intracultural pragmatic variation is highlighted in Bataller (2015), where service request realizations were compared in two different geographic zones of Spain, one rural and one urban. Bataller examines requests in urban Valencia and small town Huétor Santillán, Granada, and found variations in mitigation and personalization. Her results revealed that direct request

strategies were realized in almost all cases in both regions (over 95% in Valencia and over 97% in Huétor Santillán) with elliptical and command forms being the most commonly employed in both locations. Participants from rural Huétor Santillán incorporated more mitigation (40%) than in urban Valencia (24%). Diminutives were rather popular in Huétor Santillán (34%) when compared to other forms of mitigation. The increased use of personalization and mitigation in Huétor Santillán suggest a closer-knit community as opposed to an urban city like Valencia, but in both cases, *confianza* still appears to be a core value since all Spaniard participants in this study treated each other with familiarity and informality.

Social factors, such as gender, can also be considered when analyzing intracultural variation. García (2007) studied request variation in Argentinian Spanish from men and women in Buenos Aires through a series of service encounter role play scenarios. She found that although gender did not prove to be a significant differentiating factor, the men showed a preference for direct requests and the women incorporated more mitigation into their request realizations.

Ruzickova (2007) recorded and analyzed service encounter interactions and product requests from both men and women in Havana, Cuba. Her results show a mix of linguistic strategies from conventionally indirect requests as the most common (50.8%), then direct requests (37.9%), then hints which fall under non-conventional indirect requests (11.2%). The women in the study produced very similar amounts of conventionally indirect requests (45%) as direct requests (44%), while the men produced more conventionally indirect requests (57%) than direct requests (29%). However, the women produced more politeness strategies with their requests than the men did, which may soften the perception of directness when using a more direct linguistic strategy.

2.3.4 Mitigation and politeness markers in Spanish requests

Albeda Marco and Estellés Arguedas (2021) defined pragmatic mitigation as a tool to preserve one's self-image through the use of a linguistic expression that can minimize an utterance's illocutionary force. The authors listed examples of mitigating devices that are often employed to soften the force of an utterance: "morphological, syntactic, lexical, semantic, [and] prosodic alterations" along with the employment of "a diminutive suffix, an evidential expression, an assertion acting as an indirect request and an example of vague language" (Albeda Marco & Estellés Arguedas, 2021:73).

Some internal mitigation employed by the Quiteños in Placencia's (2005) study were diminutives, *por favor* 'please' as a politeness marker, lexical downgrading (e.g., *regalar* 'to gift'), syntactic downgrading (e.g., using a softened verb form such as the imperfect subjunctive *quisiera* 'I would like'), and using vague language via 'hedging' to be indirect (e.g., *a few of those*, *unas barras de pan* 'a few loaves of bread', *some of those*, *tres de esas* 'three of those'). Additionally, the polite and formal *usted* were used pronominally (*usted*, as is) and verbally (encoded into the verb form, *deme*). See Table 5 for examples of internal modification from Placencia's data.

Table 5. Examples of internal modification in service encounter requests.

QS = Quiteño Spanish, MS = Madrileño Spanish (abbreviations from Placencia, 2005).

Internal Modification	Examples
Diminutives	1. Lehecitas (QS) 2. Pancito (QS) 3. Diez pancitos (QS) 4. Me pones una grande y una pequeñita (MS)

	5. Una barrita (MS) 6. Lechec ita (QS) 7. Un ito (QS) 8. Doc itas leches (QS) 9. Agü ita (QS) 10. Est ico (QS) 11. Frequ ito (QS)
<i>Por favor</i> (Politeness marker)	12. Por favor (QS)
Lexical downgrading	13. Regáleme (QS)
Hedging or Vague Language	14. Unas tres lechecitas (QS) 15. Quiero dos de ésas (MS) 16. Unas seis de ésta s (QS) 17. Unos diez (QS)
<i>Usted</i> (Formal address)	18. Regáleme (QS) 19. Deme (QS) 20. Cámbieme (QS) 21. Déjeme (QS)
Other mitigating expressions (*using <i>usted</i> formal address)	22. Tenga la bondad* ‘have the kindness’ (QS) 23. Me hace el favor* ‘do me the favor’ (QS) 24. Hágame el favor ‘do me the favor’ (QS) 25. Sea buenito ‘it would be good/great’ (QS)

(Placencia, 2005:584-591, my translations).

In Placencia’s data, 91 instances of internal modification were recorded for the Quiteños while only 9 instances were from the Madrileños. Of the internal modification documented in this study, the diminutives seemed to be the top choice for both groups. Out of all the times internal modification was identified, the Quiteños preferred diminutives, followed by hedges, then politeness forms, and lastly verb alterations such as lexical downgrading. The Madrileños preferred diminutives to politeness forms and didn’t use any verb alterations or hedges.

There were many instances from Placencia’s data where multiple forms of internal modification were incorporated into the head act, including as politeness forms, *usted*, and mitigation (25).

(25) Regáleme	unas	tres	lechecitas	por favor.
‘Gift me	about	three	little milks	please’
USTED & LEXICAL DOWNGRADE	HEDGING	DIMINUTIVE	POLITENESS MARKER	

(Placencia, 2005:584, my translations).

What remains to be established is the effect of stacking internal modification. Does the combination of more than one mitigation device or politeness marker increase the perceived politeness or decrease the inherent directness of the utterance?

The synthesis of the results and ideas from the previous literature point to the conclusion that both direct and indirect request strategies may be used for Spanish service counter requests, although direct realizations were more common in Peninsular Spanish than in Latin American Spanish. When considering mitigation, the trends show that Latin American varieties of Spanish incorporate more internal modification to the head act in the form of mitigation, politeness markers, and formal address (*usted*). If mitigation is incorporated to soften the illocutionary force of the request, would it then be considered more polite or less direct?

Section 2.3 reviewed (in)directness in Spanish requests. Starting with speech acts, Márquez Reiter and Placencia (2005) applied Austin (1962) and Searle (1975)’s work to Spanish. Next, linguistic strategies were reviewed through the revision of Blum-Kulka et al.’s (1989) framework and then applications of their framework were discussed in current empirical studies in terms of strategy selection (Bataller, 2015; Félix-Brasdefer, 2009; Placencia, 2005; Ruzickova, 2007). Pragmatic variation of strategy selection was overviewed interculturally (Félix-Brasdefer, 2009; Márquez Reiter, 2002; Placencia, 2005) and intraculturally (Bataller, 2015; García, 2007; Ruzickova, 2007). Finally, mitigation use was reviewed and contrasted interculturally in

Placencia (2005) to demonstrate different manifestations of mitigation employed in request strategies.

2.4 (In)directness in English

Returning to Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory, indirectness and politeness were associated together as a universal pair. Although Section 2.2.2 refuted this framework as universal, it adequately describes the norms for English-speaking individuals. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), the goal of employing indirect strategies is to mitigate imposition and save face to protect one's public image. To achieve these social goals, negative politeness is employed which inherently indexes social distance, individual autonomy, and not imposing on the free will of another person. As a result, some indirect requests have been conditioned into conventionally recognized request forms via formulaic expressions and frequency of use over time. Section 2.4.1 illustrates request strategy and mitigation norms in English and Section 2.4.2 overviews research on pragmatic competence for L2 learners in Study Abroad settings.

2.4.1 Request strategies and mitigation in English

Grainger and Mills (2016) noted that English speakers incorporate "heavy" amounts of mitigation and politeness strategies, an "extensive use" of conventional indirectness, social distance, hedging, and "deferential politeness" (Grainger & Mills, 2016:120). Additionally, the authors claimed that English speakers produce rather 'wordy' utterances as part of their strategy of being indirect and hesitant.

Ervin-Tripp (1976) reviewed linguistic structures of directives in American English. She discussed the functions that linguistic strategies entail through the employment of certain English directive structures as “deference, solidarity, coldness, sarcasm, rudeness, and qualifiedly specified compliments or insults can be communicated systematically by such [directives]” (Ervin-Tripp, 1976:25). Since English frequently uses indirect structures, the author noted that “people do not often literally say what they mean” but that meaning can still be communicated through indirectness (Ervin-Tripp, 1976:25-26). A classic example of an indirect request is seen in the following example (26).

(26) *Is Sybil there?*

(Ervin-Tripp, 1976:26).

Although this interrogative structure is asking if Sybil is there physically in presence, native speakers of English automatically understand that this utterance (26) is actually a directive speech act, implying that the speaker wants to speak with Sybil. The following table outlines frequently occurring directive structures in English.

Table 6. Directive structures in English.

Directive Structure	Example
Need statement	<i>I need a match.</i>
Imperative	<i>Gimme a match.</i>
Embedded imperative	<i>Could you gimme a match?</i>
Permission directive	<i>May I have a match?</i>
Question directive	<i>Gotta match?</i>

Elliptical	<i>A match.</i>
Hint	<i>The matches are all gone.</i>

(Ervin-Tripp, 1976:29).

These directive structures offer a wide variety of realizations, but social factors, preparatory conditions, and situational context will influence which directive forms are employed so that they are appropriate to the given circumstances. For example, in service encounter requests in American English, indirect request structures function well—despite not being as explicit as direct requests—because that is the norm in “the transactional work setting, where who is to what is very clear” (Ervin-Tripp, 1976:29). Additionally, Ervin-Tripp (1976) noted that in American English, speakers tend to avoid using the imperative and direct forms and often chose conditional forms or interrogatives for request realizations.

Félix-Brasdefer (2015) documented the language of service encounter requests in Yucatán, México and Indiana, United States. When analyzing the variation of request forms between these two languages, he found that Mexican Spanish and American English significantly differ in terms of which request strategies are frequently employed. For the Americans, the most commonly used strategies were conventional indirectness, want statements, and need statements. For the Mexicans, the most frequently occurring strategies were ellipticals, assertions, and imperatives. A key differentiating factor between the two groups is that Americans tended to employ speaker-oriented requests while the Mexicans preferred to use more hearer-oriented requests. Previous studies support the same notion that in American English, speaker-oriented constructions are more common than hearer-oriented ones (Pinto, 2002; Vélez, 1987). Pinto (2002) and Vélez (1987) presented results from their data that want statements, need statements,

and conventional indirectness with an orientation towards the speaker were the most common request strategies for English-speakers.

Additionally, Pinto's (2002) data showed instances of mitigation and politeness markers that accompany the requests, such as *please* (used in 67% of the data), and syntactic downgrading (e.g., the conditional, *I would like*) to soften the illocutionary force of the request. Vélez (1987) also accounted for the extended interactions outside of the directive act. For example, greetings and small talk (e.g., *how are you?* queries) were common at the start of the interaction, and these conversations normally ended with a *thank you* as a common closing.

2.4.2 American Students as L2 Spanish learners

Previous studies that contrast empirical data from English and Spanish (Félix-Brasdefer, 2015; Pinto, 2002; Vélez 1987) have shown examples of common service encounter language, request strategies, mitigation and politeness trends, and cultural differences. Second language learners usually realize requests with a speaker-oriented perspective and employ conventionally indirect request strategies such as permission and question directives, or want and need statements. Additionally, L2 learners often employ a substantial amount of mitigation and politeness markers into their directive structures.

Shively (2011) studied L2 pragmatic development trends in the Study Abroad setting by recording her participants, American university students, and analyzing their service encounters request productions in Toledo, Spain. Her study followed the students for the duration of the study abroad program, analyzing data at the beginning, middle, and end of the stay. At the beginning of the program, students almost exclusively used speaker-oriented forms (92%), and by the end demonstrated more of a split between speaker-oriented forms (42%), hearer-oriented

forms (33%) and ellipsis (25%). The use of conventional indirectness, want statements, and need statements (the most commonly used request forms in English) decreased throughout the program, and subsequently, the use of imperatives, simple interrogatives, and ellipsis (common request forms in Spanish) increased.

Qualitative data was collected by Shively (2011) via journal entries that highlighted some of the students' perceptions of the Spanish language. For example, a less proficient student noted that "they are more authoritarian here [in Spain] and in my opinion they make their orders into a sort of command: 'Give me coffee.' I have been taught to say, 'May I please have a coffee?' It's just so different here." (Shively, 2011:1830). Shively noted that her students show evidence of being influenced by the norms of their first language (English). Additionally, her students showed a preoccupation with the *tú* versus *usted* dichotomy, wanting to be polite. They used politeness marker *por favor* 'please' rather frequently—at least once per audio recording—in accordance with standard English routine politeness. Students did not produce a lot of internal mitigation, except for a few instances of syntactic downgrading to *quisiera* 'I would like', a common strategy in English (a syntactically downgraded want statement). Shively (2011) did not notice any student productions of other internal mitigation that native speakers might use, such as lexical downgrading, diminutives, and hedging. Additionally, she noticed how more advanced students produced more native-like speech and patterns, whereas less proficient students patterned more similarly to the norms of their native language. The results from Shively's (2011) study highlight that L2 pragmatic competence is not always acquired at the same time as the language itself, although explicit pragmatic instruction, implicit exposure to the target language, as well as socialization aided some students' pragmatic development.

Bataller (2010) also studied the development of L2 request forms in the Study Abroad setting in Valencia, Spain. Her study showed similar results to Shively (2011) in that her students adapted more towards the language norms of native speakers throughout the duration of the program. For example, she noticed the decrease of need statements and permission queries (*puedo tener un café* ‘can I have a coffee’ 2010:170) as request strategies, and an increase of more direct strategies, similar to native speakers. Bataller (2016) focused on the L2 development of internal mitigation of request forms in service encounter role-play scenarios at the beginning and end of a Study Abroad program. She found that the L2 participants used the politeness marker *por favor* ‘please’ less at the end of the program than at the start. The students employed more mitigation, such as hedging and syntactic downgrading, and more conversational speech cajolers such as *vale* ‘okay’, *bueno* ‘well’, and *pues* ‘well/then’ more than at the start of the program, but not to the extent of native speaker norms.

The previous literature on L2 learners in study abroad contexts (Shively, 2011; Bataller, 2010; Bataller, 2016) illustrated that contact and socialization with the native speaker populations abroad can help students adapt to the cultural norms and achieve more native-like speech over time. Although students’ linguistic behavior may not pattern exactly as that of native speakers, the results show that improvement is possible.

This section provided an overview of English request strategy constructions and mitigation uses in English, and L2 development in terms of pragmatic competence in Study Abroad contexts. First, Grainger and Mills (2016) discussed some politeness norms and Ervin-Tripp (1976) presented commonly occurring directive structures in English. Félix-Brasdefer (2015) contrasted service encounter language in American English and Mexican Spanish and found that American English utilizes more speaker-oriented requests while Mexican Spanish

realizes more hearer-oriented requests. Additionally, the top strategies employed by speakers of Mexican Spanish were more direct and whereas speakers of American English preferred more indirect strategies. Then, Shively's (2011) contributions towards L2 pragmatic competence were discussed. Shively (2011) monitored the development of American Study Abroad students who were learning Spanish and observed that some students adopted the linguistic norms of the host country meanwhile others did not. Bataller's (2010, 2016) studies provided further confirmation of these results with regard to L2 development and acquiring pragmatic competence. Section 2.4 as a whole discussed native speakers of English in terms of their L1 norms and practices, and their L2 habits for request strategy selection.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This chapter overviews the methodology of the study including a description of the participants, the recruitment process, the questionnaires designed, data collection protocols, and the analysis framework. This study's design features two central groups of participants: native speakers of Spanish and L2 learners of Spanish. These two groups are then divided into subgroups; the native speakers were separated based on their macrodialect (e.g., Peninsular Spanish, Latin American Spanish) and the L2 learners were split based on their Study Abroad experience. For this study, the data was collected using two questionnaires, the first one was a biographical questionnaire, asking about the participants' language background and experience. The second one was about their perceptions of linguistic prompts with various request and mitigation constructions in regard to directness, politeness, and acceptability. The individual participant biographic data can be found in Appendix A, the biographic questionnaires are located in Appendix B, and perception questionnaires are presented in Appendix C.

First, Section 3.1 discusses the participants, the criteria used to determine eligibility for participation in the study, and how they were grouped for analysis. Next, Section 3.2 describes the contents of both the biographic questionnaire and the perception questionnaire. The description of the perception questionnaire includes a breakdown of all linguistic tasks presented to the participants. Finally, in Section 3.3 the analysis framework is outlined, describing how the participants' responses are evaluated, how correlations and trends are identified, and which methods are implemented to draw conclusions from the data.

3.1 The participants

The design of this study divided the participants into two main groups. The first group is comprised of native speaker participants while the other group consists of second language (L2) learners of Spanish. All native speakers were contacted through a variety of means of networking, including previously established connections between potential participants and the investigator, such as host families and friends from Spain, and members of the Latino community in Athens, Georgia. The L2 learner participants were contacted through their University of Georgia email based on class participation at the upper level (3000-4000 level classes, representing third and fourth-year university classes respectively). All participants had to be eighteen years old of age to be eligible for this study. Heritage speakers were excluded from the study due to their complex language background and development, significant language contact between English and Spanish, and differing degrees of bilingualism. The questionnaire for native speakers was distributed via WhatsApp, Instagram, and email, while the questionnaire for L2 learners was distributed via university email. The participants could directly access the survey link, guiding them to Qualtrics to complete both the biographical questionnaire and the perception questionnaire.

The native speakers of Spanish were divided into two subgroups based on their macrodialects: speakers of Peninsular (Spain) Spanish (Subgroup A) and Native speakers of Latin American Spanish (Subgroup B). The L2 learner participants consisted of American native English speakers with an L2 of Spanish who were enrolled in upper-level Spanish courses at the University of Georgia. The L2 learners were further divided into two subgroups based on their study abroad experience. The minimum criteria to be considered as a study abroad L2 learner in this study is to have spent at least four consecutive weeks in one location. Upper-level L2

learners who had studied abroad for four or more consecutive weeks in the same place comprised Subgroup C, while Subgroup D consisted of upper-level L2 learners who had not studied abroad (they either had no abroad experience or shorter length visits to a Spanish-speaking country).

The goal of the study was to gain a better understanding of how directness in Peninsular Spanish requests would be perceived by all groups: native speakers of Peninsular Spanish, native speakers of Latin American Spanish varieties, L2 learners of Spanish with study abroad experience, and L2 learners of Spanish without study abroad immersion. One goal of the study was to better understand L2 learners' perceptions of what has been considered to be direct language used in Spanish requests. The upper-level Spanish learner participants were expected to provide a variety of responses, partially depending on their prior exposure to the language, involvement in the Latinx community, study abroad experience, and general input received (e.g., what dialects are spoken by their professors, media tools used in the classroom, etc.). In order to see how firsthand exposure during minimum four-week long stays in a Spanish-speaking country would affect their perceptions of direct language, the L2 Spanish learner participants were divided into the two subgroups, Subgroup C (L2 learners with study abroad experience) and Subgroup D (L2 learners with no study abroad experience).

3.2 The questionnaires

All participants completed a survey that included a biographical questionnaire followed by a perception questionnaire. For the native speakers, everything was written in Spanish. For the L2 learners, the biographical questionnaire, the instructions for the perception questionnaire, the opening written response question, and the multiple-choice perception Likert-scale responses

were all written in English. The prompts in the perception questionnaire were written in Spanish, and the productions elicited by the opening written response were to be written in Spanish.

3.2.1 The biographical questionnaire

The purpose of the biographical questionnaire was to gather basic information from all the participants to see any potential connections between sociolinguistic factors or participants' language experiences. The biographical questionnaire for native speakers asked participants to indicate their country of origin, age range, gender, highest level of education received, occupation, whether or not they spoke any other languages (and at what level), and if they have ever lived in another country, and if so, for how long. For the L2 learners, it asks where they were from, their age, gender, when they started learning Spanish, and what, if any, study abroad experience they had (where and for how long). Additionally, to better understand each participants' individual language experience, they were asked where they used their Spanish, which Spanish varieties they were most familiar with, their reason for taking Spanish at the university, how many upper-level (i.e., 3000 to 4000-level) classes they had taken or were currently taking at the university, and their confidence level when speaking Spanish (see Appendix B for the complete biographic questionnaires).

3.2.2 The perception questionnaire

The perception questionnaire consisted of an opening written response question (similar to a DCT) and 25 perception questions. Each perception question featured a prompt: a request form that speakers of Peninsular Spanish may use to ask for a beverage. Then, the participants were asked to rank the prompt based on directness, politeness, and acceptability. The following

instructions were presented at the start of the survey, along with the given communicative context to be used with each prompt (27).

(27)

Instructions: You are going to read a context and a series of phrases. Indicate your perception of each one in regard to (a) directness, (b) politeness, and (c) acceptability.

Context: A person walks into a café that they've never been to before and orders a coffee at the counter.

The opening question in the perception questionnaire presented the following hypothetical situation and required a written response from each of the participants (28).

(28) How would you order a *café con leche* in Spanish?

The purpose of this task was to identify the request forms and mitigation strategies each participant would hypothetically use in the production of a request in Spanish.

Next, the participants were presented with 25 prompts, in which they were tasked with ranking the directness, politeness, and acceptability of each item. Each prompt consisted of a request strategy and the use or absence of mitigation strategies. The different types of request strategies (e.g., command form: *dame* 'give me') and uses of mitigation (e.g., diminutive: *un cafecito* 'a little coffee') were manipulated in order to observe how they affected the participants' perceptions of directness, politeness, and acceptability. Participants were instructed to judge each request on a Likert scale of 1-4 instead of 1-5 in order to avoid neutral responses. Then, the participants evaluated each of 25 requests for a drink (e.g., *¿me das un cortado?* 'you give me a cortado?', *me gustaría un vasito de agua* 'I would like a little glass of water'), judging each one

in terms of directness as either very indirect (1), somewhat indirect (2), somewhat direct (3) or very direct (4). Similarly, they judged each request's politeness regarding whether they perceived it as very impolite (1), somewhat impolite (2), somewhat polite (3), or very polite (4). In terms of acceptability of the requests, participants judged them as unacceptable (1), somewhat unacceptable (2), somewhat acceptable (3), or very acceptable (4).

The perception questionnaire prompts were modeled based on Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989) request strategy framework and common request structures used by native speakers of Peninsular Spanish reported in previous studies (Bataller, 2015; Márquez Reiter, 2002; Placencia, 2005). The prompts also varied regarding speaker and hearer orientation. There were six total request strategies used in this study, which are outlined below in Table 7. Four of the request strategies were hearer-oriented, (e.g., *¿(tú) me puedes dar un cortado?* 'can you give me a cortado?') with emphasis on the *you*, being directed towards the hearer. Two request strategies were speaker-oriented (e.g., *(yo) quiero una Coca-Cola* 'I want a Coca-Cola) in that they focused on the *I*, emphasizing the speaker. Requests also varied with regard to the presence or absence of four mitigation structures: diminutives (e.g., *cafecito*, with the *-ito* suffix), the politeness marker *por favor*, syntactic downgrading, such as use of the imperfect subjunctive form, *quisiera*, mitigating expressions (*cuando puedas*), and formal address using *usted*. Formal address *usted* was only used once in the perception prompts, codified into the command form *deme* 'give me (formal)'. Altogether, the request forms evaluated in the perception questionnaire involved six request strategies (command form, simple interrogative, conventionally indirect interrogative, ellipsis, want statement, syntactically downgraded want statement) and the presence or absence of four mitigation forms (diminutive, politeness marker *por favor*, mitigation expression, *cuando puedas*, and one instance of the use of formal address *usted*). A complete list of the questionnaire

prompts, illustrating the six request strategies and use or absence of mitigation is presented in Table 7.

Table 7. Perception questionnaire prompts.

<u>Prompt</u>	<u>Strategy</u>	<u>Mitigation</u>
1. <i>Dame un café con leche</i>	Command	None
2. <i>Dame un vasito de agua</i>	Command	Diminutive
3. <i>Por favor, dame un cortado</i>	Command	Politeness marker (<i>por favor</i>)
4. <i>Cuando puedas, una Coca-Cola</i>	Command	Mitigating expression
5. <i>Deme una limonada</i>	Command	<i>Usted</i> (formal you)
6. <i>¿Me das un café con leche?</i>	Simple interrogative	None
7. <i>¿Me das un vasito de agua?</i>	Simple interrogative	Diminutive
8. <i>Por favor, ¿me das un cortado?</i>	Simple interrogative	Politeness marker (<i>por favor</i>)
9. <i>Cuando puedas, ¿me das una Coca-Cola?</i>	Simple interrogative	Mitigating expression
10. <i>¿Me puedes dar un café con leche?</i>	Conventionally indirect interrogative	None
11. <i>¿Me puedes dar un vasito de agua?</i>	Conventionally indirect interrogative	Diminutive
12. <i>Por favor, ¿me puedes dar un cortado?</i>	Conventionally indirect interrogative	Politeness marker (<i>por favor</i>)
13. <i>Cuando puedas, ¿me puedes dar una Coca-Cola?</i>	Conventionally indirect interrogative	Mitigating expression
14. <i>Un café con leche</i>	Ellipsis	None
15. <i>Un vasito de agua</i>	Ellipsis	Diminutive

16. <i>Por favor, un cortado</i>	Ellipsis	Politeness marker (<i>por favor</i>)
17. <i>Cuando puedas, una Coca-Cola</i>	Ellipsis	Mitigating expression
18. <i>Quiero un café con leche</i>	Want statement	None
19. <i>Quiero un vasito de agua</i>	Want statement	Diminutive
20. <i>Por favor, quiero un cortado</i>	Want statement	Politeness marker (<i>por favor</i>)
21. <i>Cuando puedas, quiero una Coca-Cola</i>	Want statement	Mitigating expression
22. <i>Quisiera un café con leche</i>	Softened want statement (Syntactic downgrading)	None
23. <i>Quisiera un vasito de agua</i>	Softened want statement (Syntactic downgrading)	Diminutive
24. <i>Por favor, quisiera un cortado</i>	Softened want statement (Syntactic downgrading)	Politeness marker (<i>por favor</i>)
25. <i>Cuando puedas, quisiera una Coca-Cola</i>	Softened want statement (Syntactic downgrading)	Mitigating expression

Five types of beverages were alternated in the prompts to avoid being overly repetitive and to also function as a distractor from the other independent variables (e.g., strategy, mitigation). Each beverage was paired with a particular mitigation strategy. For example, the absence of mitigation was paired with *un café con leche*, the diminutives were paired with *un vasito de agua*, the politeness marker *por favor* was paired with *un cortado*, the mitigation expression *cuando puedas* was paired with *una Coca-Cola*, and formal address form *usted* was paired with *una limonada*. The first three request strategies, command (*dame*), simple interrogative (*¿me das?*), and conventionally indirect interrogative (*¿me puedes dar?*), utilize the verb *dar* ‘to give’. *Poner* ‘to put’ as in *¿me pones un café con leche?* (‘you put [give] me a coffee with milk) and

regalar ‘to gift’, as in *¿me regalas un café solo?* (‘you gift me a plain coffee’), are also commonly occurring verbs that can be used in Spanish requests, (see, e.g., Márquez Reiter, 2002; Placencia, 2005; Bataller 2015). The motivation for selecting *dar* was because it occurs in requests in all varieties of Spanish. Requests with *poner* are used frequently in Peninsular Spanish and requests employing the verb *regalar* are often seen in Colombian, Ecuadorian, and Costa Rican Spanish, for instance. Although the prompts are modeled after Peninsular Spanish, *poner* was not selected in order to avoid the influence of lexical selection in the perception ratings, since the focus was on the perception of the grammatical structures used for the requests.

Additionally, the prompts were presented in a random order in the survey as a further attempt to avoid being overly repetitive, and to distract participants from paying attention to the manipulated variables. For example, no strategy or use of mitigation appears back-to-back. The random order was pre-determined for all surveys, so all participants encountered each of the survey items in the same order (see Appendix C for the complete perception questionnaire).

3.3 Analysis framework

There were a variety of frameworks of analysis used to review the results of the study. First, the participants were divided into their respective subgroups based on the responses to the biographic questionnaire; Spaniards were placed in Subgroup A, Latin Americans were in Subgroup B, L2 learners with Study Abroad experience went to Subgroup C, and L2 learners with no Study Abroad experience made up Subgroup D. Any L2 learners with less than four consecutive weeks of Study Abroad in the same location were placed in Subgroup D.

Next, the participants’ productions from the opening written response question were analyzed based on the type of request strategy selected and mitigation employed. For instance,

the request strategies may include commands (*dame...* ‘give me...’), simple interrogatives (*¿me das...?* ‘you give me...’), conventionally indirect interrogatives (*¿me puedes dar...?* ‘can you give me...’), ellipsis (no verb, *un café solo* ‘a plain coffee’), want statements (*quiero...* ‘I want...’), syntactically downgraded want statements (*quisiera*, ‘I would like’), and more. The frequency of each request strategy from this task was calculated and the results were presented in a bar graph to demonstrate the range of request constructions (hypothetically) used by each subgroup. Then, each subgroups’ perception ratings were averaged for each dimension of the perception prompts, starting with directness, then politeness, and last acceptability. The averages were analyzed by strategy selection and then by mitigation use.

The first level of analysis of the perception scores (the participants’ Likert scale rankings 1-4) considered all request strategies. Average scores were calculated for all subgroup’s perception rankings for each individual prompt. First, each of the six request strategies with no mitigation were analyzed by comparing each groups’ average ranking of directness and politeness (e.g., each groups’ average score for the command strategy *dame* ‘give me’, each groups’ average score for the want statement *quiero* ‘I want’, etc.). The average scores for each (non-mitigated) request strategy were displayed in a bar graph to visualize the differences between the four subgroups. Then, another level of analysis considered how the alternating mitigation strategies influenced the perception of directness and politeness with different request strategy selections. This analysis went through each of the six strategies individually, in order to see the effects of different employments of mitigation on each request form. For example, starting with the command form *dame* ‘give me’, the average scores for [*dame* + no mitigation], [*dame* + diminutive], [*dame* + *por favor*], [*dame* + *cuando puedas*], and [*deme*] were analyzed together for each subgroup. The averages from each subgroup were presented on a bar graph to

illustrate the effect of the mitigation and the variation between the four subgroups. The same mitigation effects analysis was completed individually for all six strategies. The acceptability ratings for all groups were discussed and the data was presented similar to the directness and politeness analyses: starting with an overview of all strategies (non-mitigated) and then reviewing each individual strategy with alternating mitigation. Finally, superlatives (highest and lowest score ratings) for strategy selection and mitigation use were identified for each group and overall, in terms of most direct, most polite, most indirect, and most impolite.

In this section the participants were discussed, as well as the criteria used to determine eligibility for participation in the study, and how they were grouped for analysis. Section 3.2 described the contents of both the biographic questionnaire and the perception questionnaire. The description of the perception questionnaire included a breakdown of all linguistic tasks presented to the participants. Lastly, in Section 3.3 the analysis framework was outlined, describing how the participants' responses were evaluated, how correlations and trends were identified, and which methods were implemented to draw conclusions from the data.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS & DISCUSSION

This chapter overviews the results generated from the biographic and perception questionnaires. Starting with the biographic questionnaires in Section 4.1, participant distribution is summarized to show what kind of population and sociolinguistic statistics are included that may influence participants' perspectives. Moving onto the perception questionnaire, in Section 4.2, the opening written response question is presented as a representation of the baseline responses to see the request strategies and mitigation that participants may produce as their norm before evaluating their perceptions. Next, the perception results from directness and politeness ratings are analyzed through a few different frameworks (as described previously in Section 3.3) and presented with quantitative displays of the data in order to discuss the trends and tendencies. Section 4.3 analyzes the perception of bare request strategies with no mitigation use and Section 4.4 considers the perception of individual request strategies with alternating mitigation uses. Then, in Section 4.5, the acceptability ratings are summarized and are qualitatively discussed. Finally, general discussion and conclusions are presented in section 4.6 to conclude the chapter.

4.1 Biographical questionnaire results and participant distribution

This study recruited 95 participants to provide their perceptions of the directness of Peninsular Spanish requests. There are 37 native speaker participants and 58 second language (L2) learner participants. All L2 learner participants from this study are advanced undergraduate students (3000-4000 class levels) at the University of Georgia.

These two central groups were further divided into subgroups, splitting the native speakers by their macro-dialect and separating L2 learners based on their Study Abroad experience. The subgroups are as follows: Subgroup A is made up of native speakers of Peninsular Spanish (from Spain), Subgroup B consists of Latin American native Spanish speakers, Subgroup C features L2 learners who have studied abroad, and Subgroup D has L2 learners who have not studied abroad. Of the 37 native speaker participants, there were 18 Spaniards and 19 Latin Americans that represented Mexico, El Salvador, Honduras, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Perú, Argentina, and Chile. As for the L2 learners, there were 24 students with Study Abroad experience and there were 34 students with no Study Abroad experience. Most of the Study Abroad students completed their programs in Spain, but there were a few others who studied in Perú, Mexico, and Costa Rica as well.

In Subgroup A (the Spaniards), the participants represented a variety of zones such as Cádiz, Madrid, Toledo, Oviedo, and Ciudad Real. There were both male and female participants, ranging from 18-59 years of age, with varying levels of education from the completion of secondary school up to university and graduate studies. Some occupations indicated by this group were students, teachers, servers, and various financial, commercial, and administrative positions.

Subgroup B (the Latin Americans) represented nine different countries (Mexico, El Salvador, Honduras, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Perú, Argentina, and Chile), included both males and females, and covered an age range from 18 to 60+. These participants covered all levels of education, from completion of primary school to secondary school, university, and graduate studies. Some of the occupations represented in this group were students, teachers,

amas de casa ('family caretakers'), chefs, factory or assembly line workers, a veterinarian, a poultry scientist, an engineer, a musician, and a housekeeper.

In Subgroup C, the L2 learner participants with study abroad experience consisted of both males and females and their age ranges were from 19-22 years of age. As previously mentioned, many students (18) had studied abroad in Spain, in cities such as Cádiz, Valencia, Sevilla, Barcelona, and Granada. Four students studied abroad in Perú, one student studied abroad in Mexico, and one student studied abroad in Costa Rica. As for their language backgrounds, 11 students had been studying since elementary school, eight students since middle school, three since high school, and two had not started until recently at the University of Georgia. Students in this group have taken as little as one upper-level class up to eleven upper-level classes and mostly represent majors and minors of Spanish (except for one student who was learning Spanish just for fun, and one student who needed Spanish for an international business program requirement).

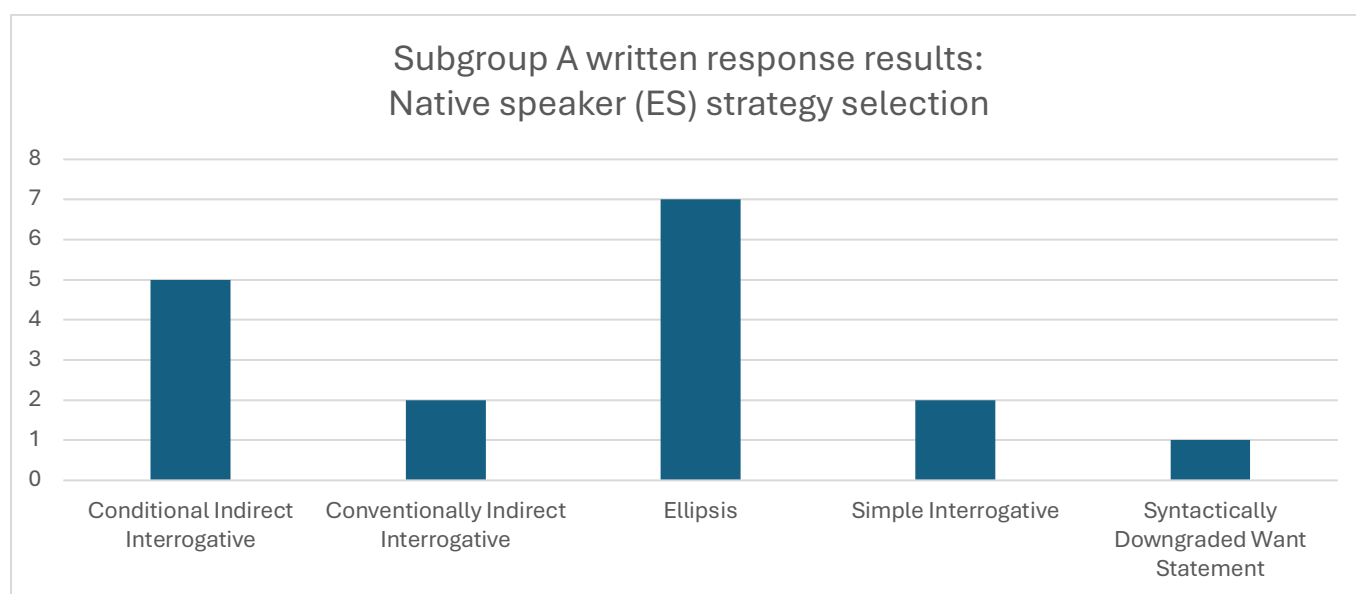
Subgroup D consisted of the L2 learner participants without study abroad experience (although some have had the opportunity to travel abroad for less than four consecutive weeks). This group was made up of both males and females and ranged from 18 to 23+. Six of these students have been learning Spanish since elementary school, 18 since middle school, nine since high school, and one since starting at the University of Georgia. All students in this group represented Spanish majors and minors, ranging from one upper-level class up to ten upper-level classes. See Appendix A for the complete participant distribution and individual biographic profiles of the participants.

4.2 Opening written response task results

This section discusses the strategy selection and mitigation uses from all four subgroups in order to get a baseline understanding of what some of the request selections, grammatical structures, and mitigation uses are employed in native speaker and L2 learner productions. The opening written response question results are presented in the form of a bar graph in the figures below to illustrate the distribution of the common request strategy selections chosen. Instances of mitigation are also discussed with each subgroup.

Subgroup A (the Spaniards) demonstrated five strategy selections: conditional indirect interrogative (*¿me podría poner?*, ‘could you put me/give me?’), conventionally indirect interrogative (*¿me puede(s) poner?*, ‘can you put me/give me?’), ellipsis (no verb, *un café con leche*, ‘a coffee with milk’), simple interrogative (*¿me pones?*, ‘you put me/give me?’), and syntactically downgraded want statement (*quería*, ‘I wanted’). See Figure 1 for the strategy selection distribution of Subgroup A.

Figure 1. Subgroup A written response results: Native speaker (Spain) strategy selection



As illustrated above, ellipsis was the most popular choice (seven tokens), then followed by the conditional indirect interrogative (five tokens), the conventionally indirect interrogative and the simple interrogative (both with two tokens), and lastly, one instance of a syntactically downgraded want statement (one token). All instances of interrogatives from Subgroup A's written responses used the verb *poner* 'to put' instead of *dar* 'to give'. As for mitigation, there were 14 uses of politeness marker *por favor* 'please', and one instance of *cuando usted pueda* 'when you can' utilizing formal address *usted* from one of the university-aged participants. There were only two responses that did not include any type of mitigation.

Subgroup B (the Latin Americans) represented many strategy selections: conventionally indirect interrogative (*¿me puedes dar?*, 'can you give me?'), simple interrogative (*¿me da?*, 'you give me?'), conditional indirect interrogative (*¿me podría dar?*, 'could you give me?'), syntactically downgraded want statement (*me gustaría*, 'I would like'), a do-you-have query (*¿tiene?* 'do you have'), ellipsis (no verb, *un café con leche*, 'a coffee with milk'), want statement (*quiero*, 'I want'), and command (*dame*, 'give me'). See Figure 2 for the strategy selection distribution of Subgroup B.

Figure 2. Subgroup B written response results: Native speaker (Latin America) strategy selection

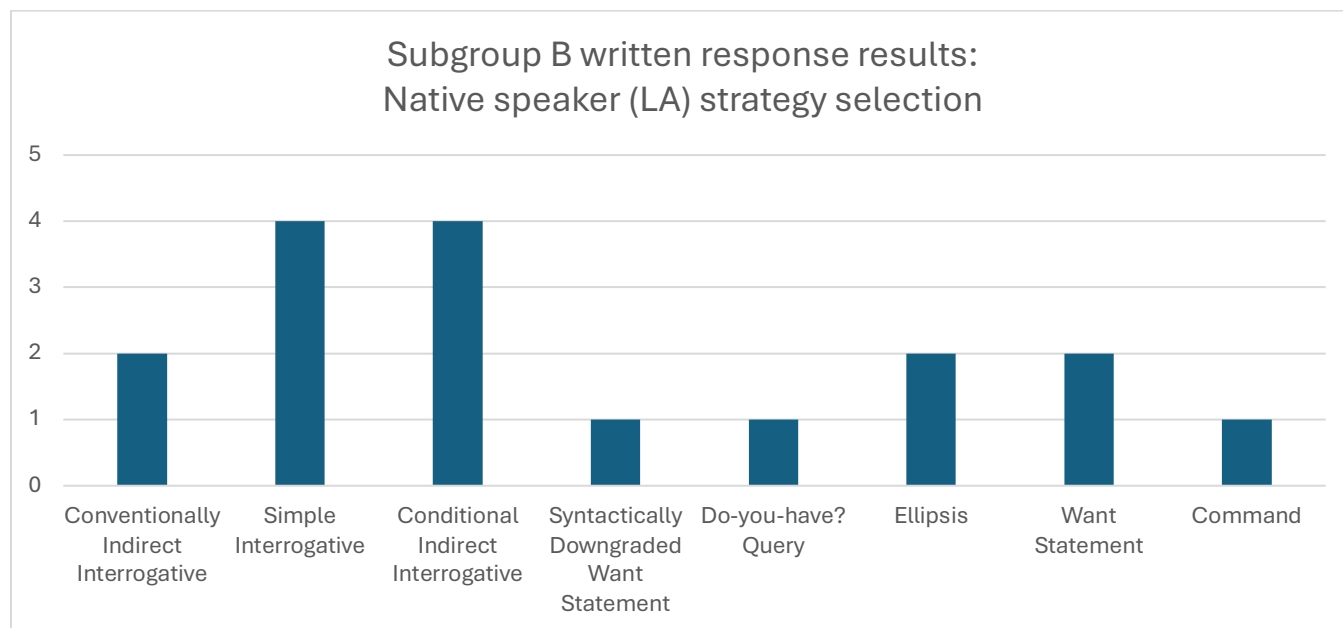


Figure 2 shows the simple interrogative and conditional interrogative as the most popular choice (4 tokens each), followed by the conventionally indirect interrogative, ellipsis, and want statement (2 tokens each), and lastly, a syntactically downgraded want statement, a do-you-have query, and a command (1 token each). The command was produced by the Dominican participant, which was accompanied by politeness marker *por favor*.

In the interrogative strategies, the verb *dar* ‘to give’ was used in most cases, although there was a case of *¿me sirve?*, using the verb *servir* ‘to serve’. Additionally, there was one instance of *Te pido un café con leche*, using the verb *pedir* ‘to ask for’ instead of *querer* ‘to want’, which was analyzed as a want statement. The Latin American participants demonstrated a wider distribution of strategy selections than the Spaniards (Subgroup A utilized five strategies while Subgroup B utilized eight strategies). The only type of mitigation used in Subgroup B’s responses was politeness marker *por favor* ‘please’, which occurred 14 times. There were four responses produced with no mitigation.

Subgroup C (the L2 learners with Study Abroad experience) represented six strategy selections: ellipsis (no verb, *un café con leche*, ‘a coffee with milk’), syntactically downgraded want statement (*quisiera*, ‘I would like), simple interrogative (*¿me puedes poner?*, ‘can you put me/give me?’), want statement (*quiero*, ‘I want’), conventionally indirect interrogative (*¿me puedes dar?*, ‘can you give me?’) and can-I-have query (*¿puedo tener?* ‘can I have’). See Figure 3 for the strategy selection distribution of Subgroup C.

Figure 3. Subgroup C written response results: L2 learner (Study Abroad) strategy selection

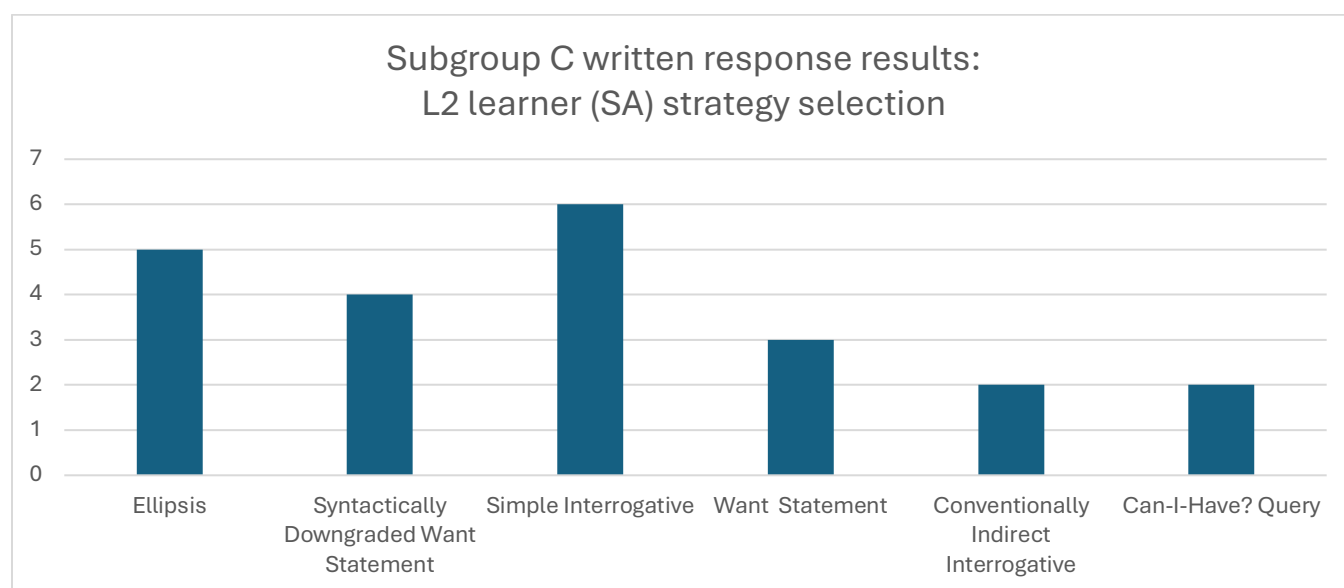


Figure 3 demonstrates the simple interrogative to be the most popular (6 tokens), closely followed by ellipsis (5 tokens). Then, there were two speaker-oriented strategies, syntactically downgraded want statements and want statements follow (4 and 3 tokens, respectively). The least popular strategies selected in this task were the conventionally indirect interrogative and the can-I-have query (2 tokens each). The simple interrogative had some variation with regard to lexical choice for the verb: the verbs *poner* ‘to put’, *dar* ‘to give’, and *regalar* ‘to gift’ were used. *¿Me regalas un café?* ‘you gift me a coffee?’ was produced by the student who studied abroad in

Costa Rica. The only mitigation strategy employed amongst Subgroup C was the use of politeness marker *por favor* ‘please’ occurring in 17 of the responses, meaning there were seven requests produced without any type of mitigation.

Subgroup D (the L2 learners with no Study Abroad experience) had a distribution of seven strategy selections: simple interrogative (*¿me da(s)?*, ‘can you give me?’), can-I-have query (*¿puedo tener?*, ‘can I have’), want statement (*quiero*, ‘I want’), syntactically downgraded want statement (*quisiera*, ‘I would like), command (*dame* ‘give me’), ellipsis (no verb, *un café con leche*, ‘a coffee with milk’), and conventionally indirect interrogative (*¿me puedes dar?* ‘can you give me?’) See Figure 4 for the strategy selection distribution of Subgroup D.

Figure 4. Subgroup D written response results: L2 learner (Non-Study Abroad) strategy selection

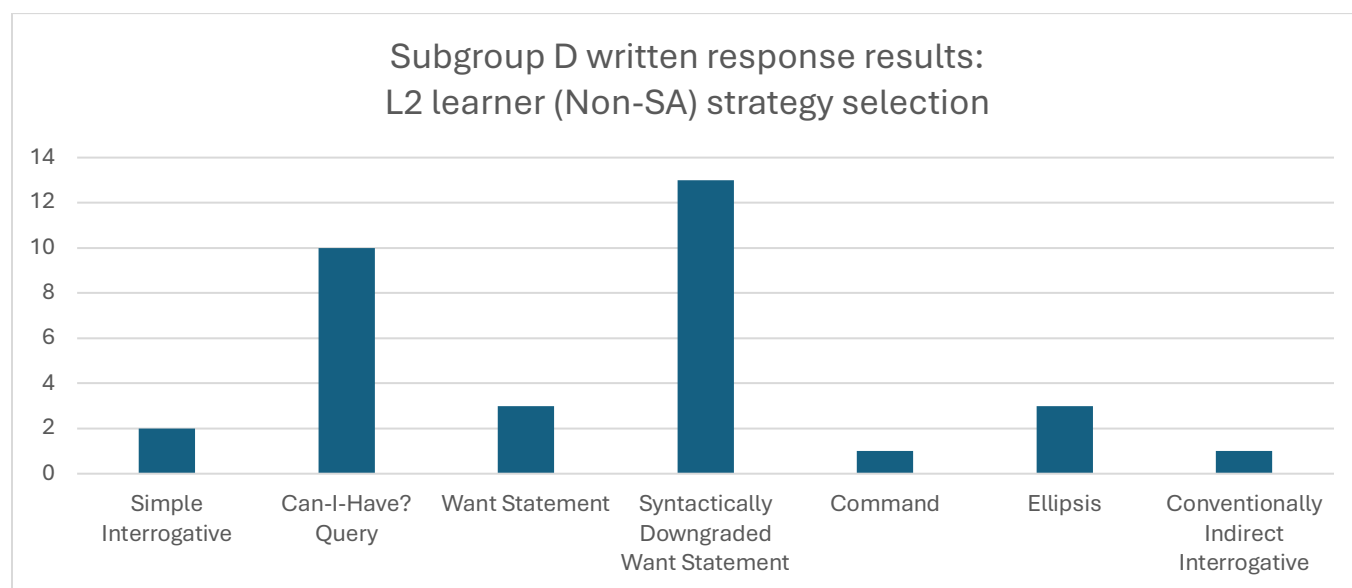


Figure 4 proved speaker-oriented request forms to be the most popular with this group. The syntactically downgraded want statement was the most popular selection (13 tokens), followed by the can-I-have query (10 tokens). All other strategy selections seem to be rather unpopular by

comparison. The more unpopular strategies were the want statement (another speaker-oriented request form), and ellipsis was up next (3 tokens each), then the simple interrogative (2 tokens) and lastly, the command and conventionally indirect interrogative (1 token each). In the construction of the simple interrogatives, most responses employed the verb *dar* ‘to give’, as well as one instance of *traer* ‘to bring’. However, there were no instances of the verb *poner* ‘to put’, commonly used in Spain for food-service requests. This contrasts with Subgroup C, whose responses showed many instances of *poner*, given that most of the study abroad students completed their program in Spain.

The construction *podría tener* ‘could I have’ occurred a few times in Subgroup D’s responses, representing a direct translation from English food-service request norms. All groups had a few instances of speaker-oriented requests, but for the most part the native speakers preferred hearer-oriented requests. Subgroup D showed a large majority of speaker-oriented requests (76% of the responses produced), reflecting the cultural values and social norms in English-speaking cultures. Additionally, there were many occasions of the direct translation of *¿puedo tener?* ‘can I have?’, which is not a typical request form or structure produced by native speakers of Spanish. This could be evidence of the lack of input received in this group, since these students have not had the chance to study abroad or have an immersion experience with sufficient exposure to the Spanish language.

Similar to the previous groups, politeness marker *por favor* ‘please’ was the most popular selection for mitigation, occurring in 29 instances of the request productions from Subgroup D. Additionally, there was one instance of the diminutive *-ito* in *¿podría tener un cafecito con leche por favor?* ‘could I have a little coffee with milk please?’, stacking two mitigation strategies by

combining politeness marker *por favor* ‘please’ with the diminutive *cafecito* ‘little coffee’. There were only five responses produced without any mitigation in Subgroup D.

4.3 Perception of request strategy (no mitigation)

This section focuses on the perception ratings provided by the participants. Section 4.3 looks at the overall perceptions of directness and politeness, analyzing the results based on the request strategy without any influence from mitigation. Section 4.4 provides the perceptions of directness and politeness based on each individual strategy when influenced by mitigation. Section 4.5 overviews the results of the acceptability ratings. The Likert scale ratings are presented in charts and graphs in each of these sections, with (1) being the lowest score and (4) being the highest score. See Table 8 below for a breakdown of the Likert scale criteria for each of the three perception evaluation areas.

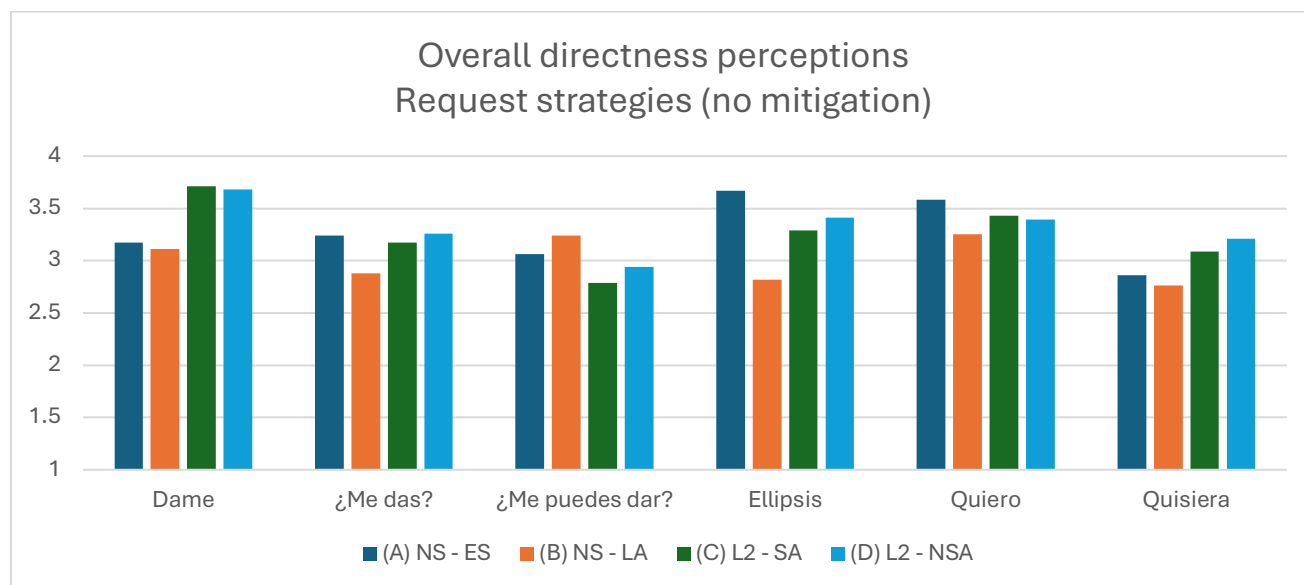
Table 8. Likert scale scoring breakdown

DIRECTNESS	(1) Very indirect	(2) Somewhat indirect	(3) Somewhat direct	(4) Very direct
POLITENESS	(1) Very impolite	(2) Somewhat impolite	(3) Somewhat polite	(4) Very polite
ACCEPTABILITY	(1) Unacceptable	(2) Somewhat unacceptable	(3) Somewhat acceptable	(4) Very acceptable

The analysis in this section started with the evaluation of directness for the selected request strategies with no mitigation and then was followed by the evaluations of politeness. In order to observe the control group, the first analysis of the perception evaluation ratings focused on each individual strategy without the influence of mitigation. See Table 9 below for the table with the averages from each group and Figure 5 for a graphic representation of the data.

Table 9. Overall directness perceptions based on request strategies (no mitigation)

	(A) NS-ES	(B) NS-LA	(C) L2-SA	(D) L2-NSA
<i>Dame</i>	3.17	3.11	3.71	3.68
<i>¿Me das?</i>	3.24	2.88	3.17	3.26
<i>¿Me puedes dar?</i>	3.06	3.24	2.79	2.94
Ellipsis	3.67	2.82	3.29	3.41
<i>Quiero</i>	3.58	3.25	3.43	3.39
<i>Quisiera</i>	2.86	2.76	3.09	3.21

Figure 5. Overall directness perceptions based on request strategies (no mitigation)

The general trend in the graph above highlighted that L2 learners generally consider Spanish requests to be more direct in comparison to native speakers. Overall, the want statement (*quiero*) received the highest ratings of directness, very closely followed by the command form (*dame*). The L2 learners considered the command form (*dame*) to be the most direct, while the native speakers (henceforth NS) considered the want statement (*quiero*) to be the most direct on average. As for the most indirect (or least direct) request form, the L2 learners considered the conventionally indirect interrogative (*¿me puedes dar?*) most indirect while the NS considered

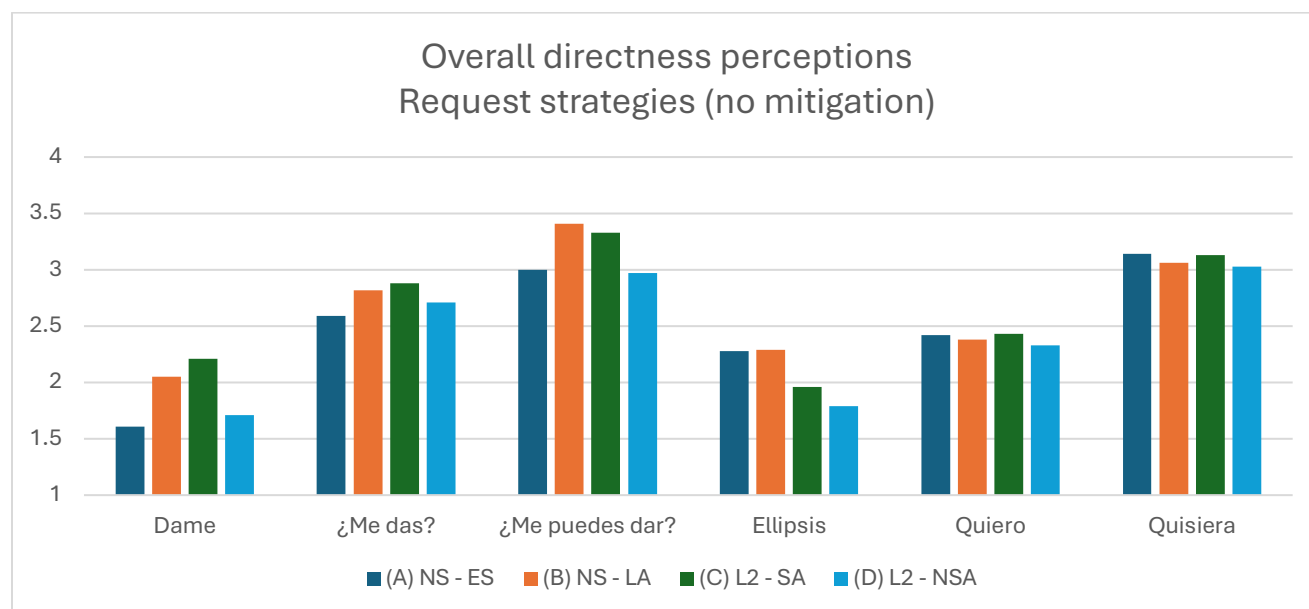
the most indirect form to be the syntactically downgraded want statement (*quisiera*). Overall, the syntactically downgraded want statement earned the lowest directness scores, making it the most indirect request strategy across the board.

Now shifting to politeness, see Table 10 below for the averages from each group and Figure 6 for a graphic representation of the data.

Table 10. Overall politeness perceptions based on request strategies (no mitigation)

	(A) NS-ES	(B) NS-LA	(C) L2-SA	(D) L2-NSA
<i>Dame</i>	1.61	2.05	2.21	1.71
<i>¿Me das?</i>	2.59	2.82	2.88	2.71
<i>¿Me puedes dar?</i>	3.00	3.41	3.33	2.97
<i>Ellipsis</i>	2.28	2.29	1.96	1.79
<i>Quiero</i>	2.42	2.38	2.43	2.33
<i>Quisiera</i>	3.14	3.06	3.13	3.03

Figure 6. Overall politeness perceptions based on request strategies (no mitigation)



There was more variation in the politeness ratings than in the directness ratings. Overall, the command form (*dame*) was considered the most impolite, with the lowest politeness scores from

all groups. Ellipsis and the want statement (*quiero*) were generally considered impolite by both groups, although ellipsis received particularly low scores from the L2 learners. The L2 learners considered the ellipsis to be the most direct and the most impolite strategy whereas the NS gave the command form (*dame*) the lowest politeness scores. The conventionally indirect interrogative received the highest politeness scores overall, making it the most polite request form.

4.4 Perception of individual request strategies with alternating mitigation

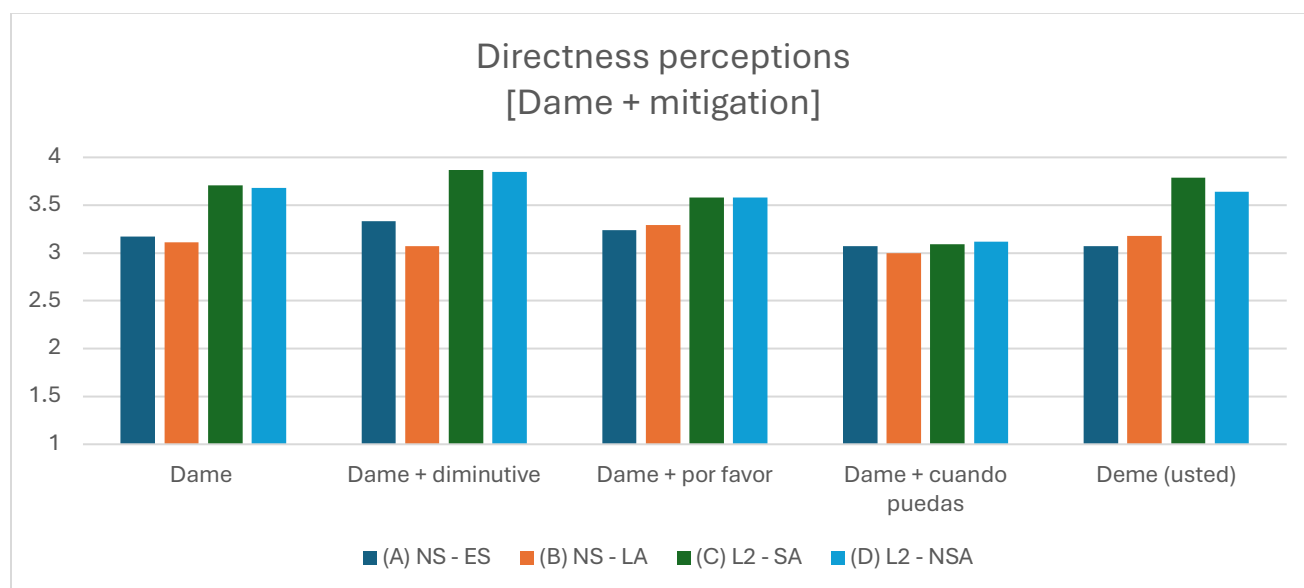
This section considers the scores of each individual request form regarding alternating mitigation strategies to see how the influence of mitigation may affect perceptions of directness and politeness. For each request strategy, the directness ratings were analyzed first and then the politeness ratings followed.

4.4.1 Analysis of command form (*dame*)

Starting with the command form (*dame*, ‘give me’), there were four mitigation forms featured in the varied constructions in the linguistic questionnaire, and one construction with no mitigation employed for each strategy to serve as the control group for this section. The mitigation forms were the diminutive form *-ito*, politeness marker *por favor* ‘please’, mitigating expression *cuando puedas* ‘when you can’, and the formal address *usted* encoded into the command form of the verb (*deme*). This subsection is the only one that included formal address *usted* as one of the forms of mitigation. See Table 11 below for the table with the averages from each group and Figure 7 for a graphic representation of the data.

Table 11. Directness perceptions of command form (*dame*)

	(A) NS-ES	(B) NS-LA	(C) L2-SA	(D) L2-NSA
No mitigation	3.17	3.11	3.71	3.68
Diminutive (-ito)	3.33	3.07	3.87	3.85
<i>Por favor</i>	3.24	3.29	3.58	3.58
<i>Cuando puedas</i>	3.07	3.00	3.09	3.12
<i>Usted</i>	3.07	3.18	3.79	3.64

Figure 7. Directness perceptions of command form (*dame*)

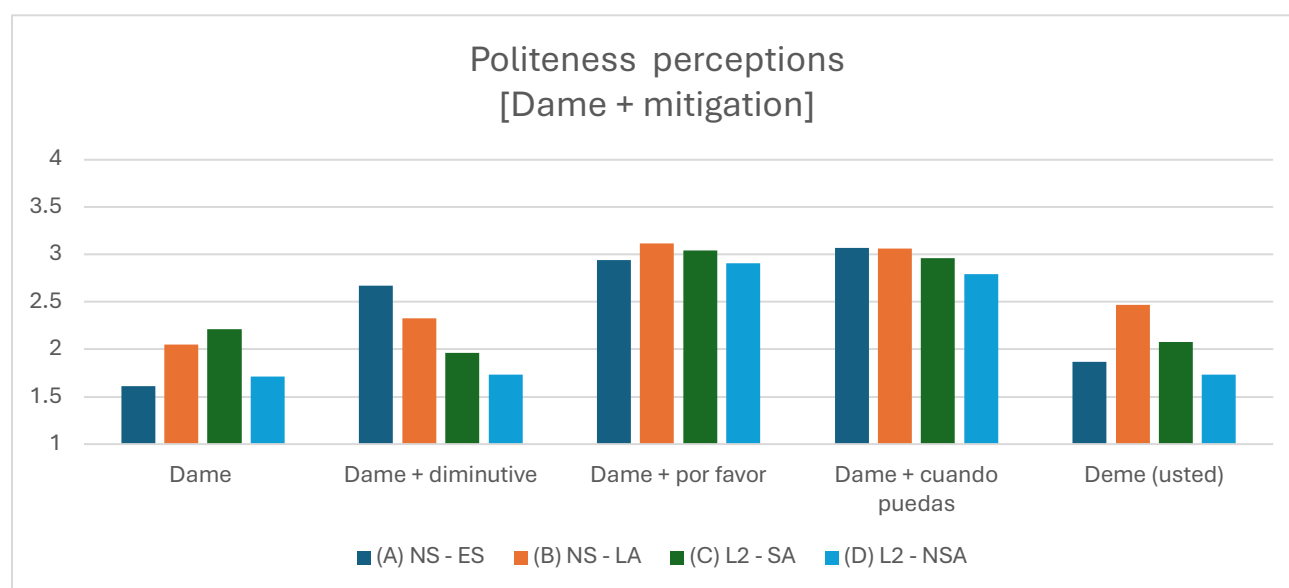
As seen in Figure 7 above, all L2 learner participants considered all instances of the command strategy *dame* to be more direct when compared to the NS participants. The only mitigation form that seemed to mitigate *dame*'s directness was the mitigating expression *cando puedas* 'when you can'. The incorporation of the various mitigation strategies did not seem to impact NS's perception of directness, as it remained constant across all mitigation uses and in the control group. NS from Latin America gave [*dame* + diminutive] a lower directness score than the NS from Spain. The data presented in Figure 7 does not show evidence of influence from mitigation.

Next, the command form *dame*'s politeness scores was analyzed with consideration to the varying mitigation uses. See Table 12 below for the table with the averages from each group and Figure 8 for a graphic representation of the data.

Table 12. Politeness perceptions of command form (*dame*)

	(A) NS-ES	(B) NS-LA	(C) L2-SA	(D) L2-NSA
No mitigation	1.61	2.05	2.21	1.71
Diminutive (-ito)	2.67	2.33	1.96	1.73
<i>Por favor</i>	2.94	3.12	3.04	2.91
<i>Cuando puedas</i>	3.07	3.06	2.96	2.79
<i>Usted</i>	1.87	2.47	2.08	1.73

Figure 8. Politeness perceptions of command form (*dame*)



The results displayed above in Figure 8 showed varying scores of politeness with different employments of mitigation. [*Dame + por favor*] and [*dame + cuando puedas*] appeared to have the highest scores for politeness. The NS considered the use of the diminutive and encoded formal address *usted* to be more polite than *dame* without any mitigation. On the other hand, the L2 learners did not seem to perceive [*dame + diminutive*] or [*dame + usted*] more polite than the

control form with no mitigation. In sum, *por favor* and *cuando puedas* had the most influence on the politeness ratings of the command form request strategy *dame*, increasing its perceived politeness.

4.4.2 Analysis of simple interrogative (*¿me das?*)

Next, the simple interrogative request strategy *¿me das?* ‘you give me?’ was analyzed for directness. In addition to the control group (no mitigation), three mitigation forms were utilized to analyze this strategy (and for all the forthcoming strategies as well): the diminutive form *-ito*, politeness marker *por favor* ‘please’, and mitigating expression *cuando puedas* ‘when you can’. See Table 13 below for the table with the averages from each group and Figure 9 for a graphic representation of the data.

Table 13. Directness perceptions of simple interrogative (*¿me das?*)

	(A) NS-ES	(B) NS-LA	(C) L2-SA	(D) L2-NSA
No mitigation	3.06	3.24	2.79	3.26
Diminutive (<i>-ito</i>)	3.27	3.12	2.91	3.09
<i>Por favor</i>	3.29	3.24	2.91	2.82
<i>Cuando puedas</i>	3.17	3.00	2.54	2.94

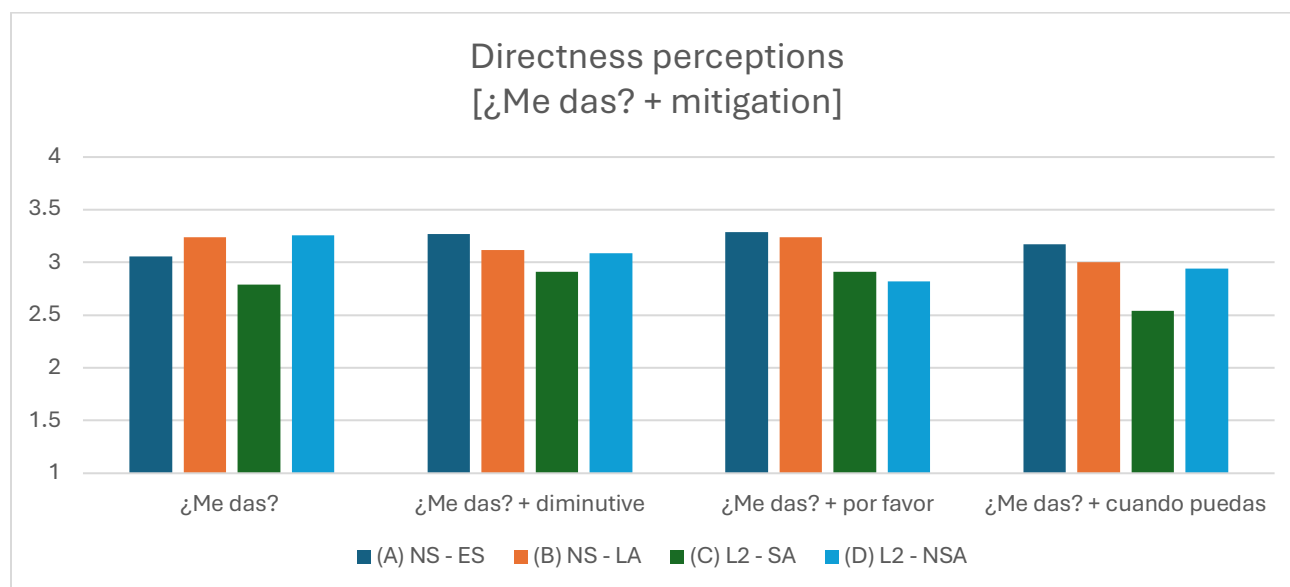
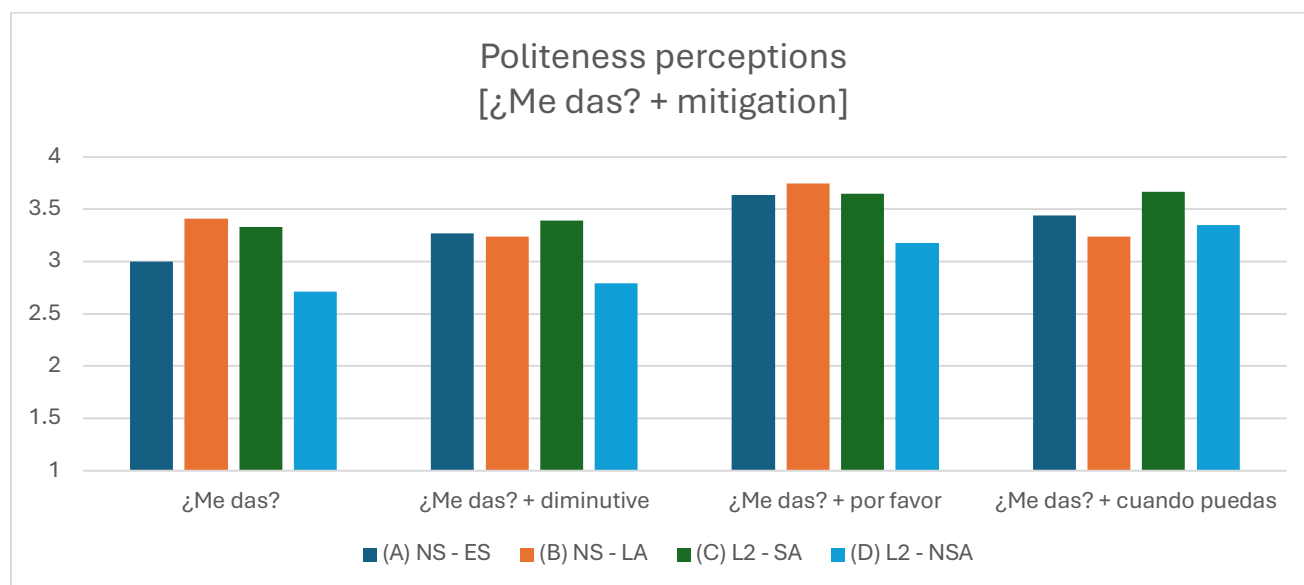
Figure 9. Directness perceptions of simple interrogative (*¿me das?*)

Figure 9 showed that all the perceptions of directness appeared similar across the board and there was not much variation. This form was generally perceived to be somewhat direct by the NS and somewhat indirect by the L2 learners. Mitigation did not seem to affect the results in this case, the only significant change was that the L2 learners with Study Abroad experience considered [*¿me das? + cuando puedas*] to be more indirect than the other constructions.

For this request strategy, there was more fluctuation in the perception of politeness than directness. See Table 14 below for the table with the averages from each group and Figure 10 for a graphic representation of the data.

Table 14. Politeness perceptions of simple interrogative (*¿me das?*)

	(A) NS-ES	(B) NS-LA	(C) L2-SA	(D) L2-NSA
No mitigation	3.00	3.41	3.33	2.71
Diminutive (-ito)	3.27	3.24	3.39	2.79
Por favor	3.64	3.75	3.65	3.18
Cuando puedas	3.44	3.24	3.67	3.35

Figure 10. Politeness perceptions of simple interrogative (*¿me das?*)

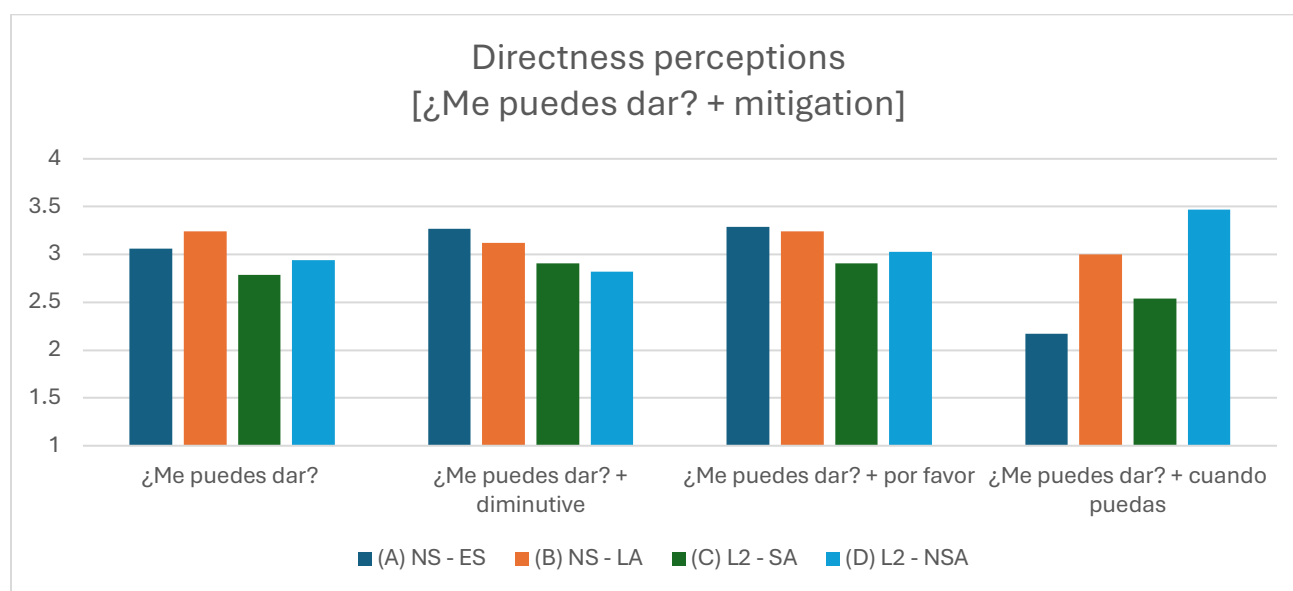
The L2 learners with no Study Abroad experience generally perceived these constructions to be less polite than the rest of the participants. For all groups, politeness marker *por favor* increased the politeness perception ratings the most, followed by *cundo puedas*. The L2 learners did not perceive a difference between the control [*¿me das?*] or [*¿me das?* + diminutive]. This was the same pattern as seen with the mitigation employed in the command form request strategy. The L2 learners seemed to perceive request forms with mitigation in the form of lexical additions (e.g., *por favor*, *cundo puedas*) more polite than morphologically encoded mitigation forms (e.g., diminutive *-ito*, formal address *usted*).

4.4.3 Analysis of conventionally indirect interrogative (*¿me puedes dar?*)

Now turning to the analysis of the conventionally indirect interrogatives (*¿me puedes dar?* ‘can you give me?’), directness perceptions were reviewed first and then the politeness perceptions were analyzed. See Table 15 below for the table with the averages from each group and Figure 11 for a graphic representation of the data.

Table 15. Directness perceptions of conventionally indirect interrogative (*¿me puedes dar?*)

	(A) NS-ES	(B) NS-LA	(C) L2-SA	(D) L2-NSA
No mitigation	3.06	3.24	2.79	2.94
Diminutive (-ito)	3.27	3.12	2.91	2.82
<i>Por favor</i>	3.29	3.24	2.91	3.03
<i>Cuando puedas</i>	2.17	3.00	2.54	3.47

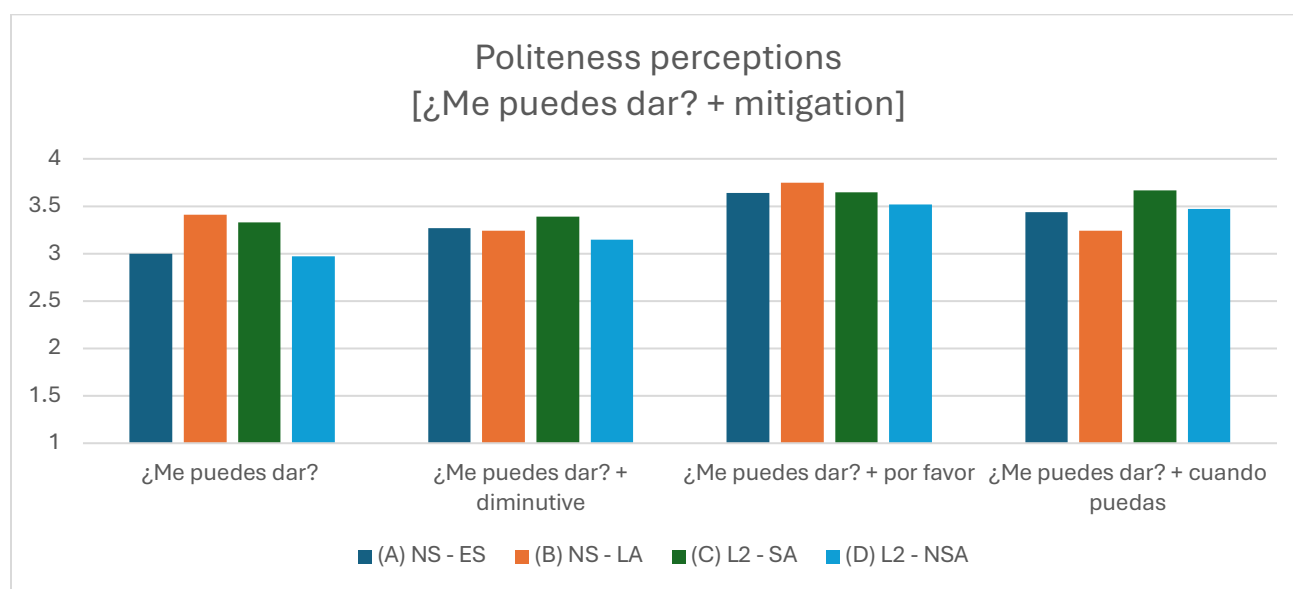
Figure 11. Directness perceptions of conventionally indirect interrogative (*¿me puedes dar?*)

In the figure above, all constructions of the conventionally indirect interrogatives except for [*¿me puedes dar? + cuando puedas*] demonstrated that the L2 learners consider this form to be less direct than the NS. [*¿Me puedes dar? + cuando puedas*] showed considerably different levels, which may be a result of outliers, considering that the average perception for Subgroup A was rather low and the average perception for Subgroup D was rather high.

The next analysis looked at the politeness perceptions of the conventionally indirect interrogatives strategy. See Table 16 below for the table with the averages from each group and Figure 12 for a graphic representation of the data.

Table 16. Politeness perceptions of conventionally indirect interrogative (*¿me puedes dar?*)

	(A) NS-ES	(B) NS-LA	(C) L2-SA	(D) L2-NSA
No mitigation	3.00	3.41	3.33	2.97
Diminutive (-ito)	3.27	3.24	3.39	3.15
<i>Por favor</i>	3.64	3.75	3.65	3.52
<i>Cuando puedas</i>	3.44	3.24	3.67	3.47

Figure 12. Politeness perceptions of conventionally indirect interrogative (*¿me puedes dar?*)

The politeness perception ratings in Figure 12 were overall higher for the construction that includes politeness marker *por favor*. The trend seen in the previous analyses continued in this data set as well. The L2 learners' perceptions of lexical addition mitigation influenced the request structure to be perceived more polite than morphologically encoded mitigation. The L2 participants gave the morphologically encoded diminutive almost identical ratings to the control group with no mitigation.

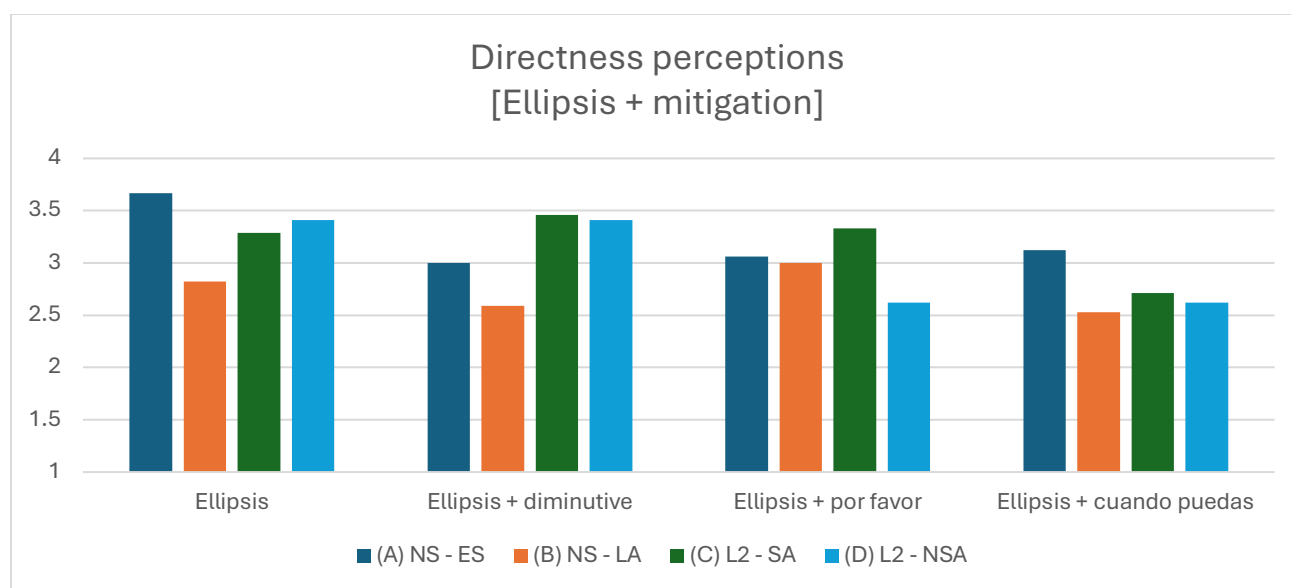
4.4.4 Analysis of ellipsis (no verb)

This next section analyzed the request strategy of ellipsis with varying uses of mitigation. This section had no verbal construction, only the statement of the item that the speaker was requesting (e.g., *un café con leche*, *un vasito de agua*). The analysis started with the perceptions of directness. See Table 17 below for the table with the averages from each group and Figure 13 for a graphic representation of the data.

Table 17. Directness perceptions of ellipsis (no verb)

	(A) NS-ES	(B) NS-LA	(C) L2-SA	(D) L2-NSA
No mitigation	3.67	2.82	3.29	3.41
Diminutive (-ito)	3	2.59	3.46	3.41
<i>Por favor</i>	3.06	3	3.33	2.62
<i>Cuando puedas</i>	3.12	2.53	2.71	2.62

Figure 13. Directness perceptions of ellipsis (no verb)



Ellipsis was generally seen as a more direct strategy, receiving similar directness ratings as the command form request strategy. The directness ratings decreased when adding the diminutive to

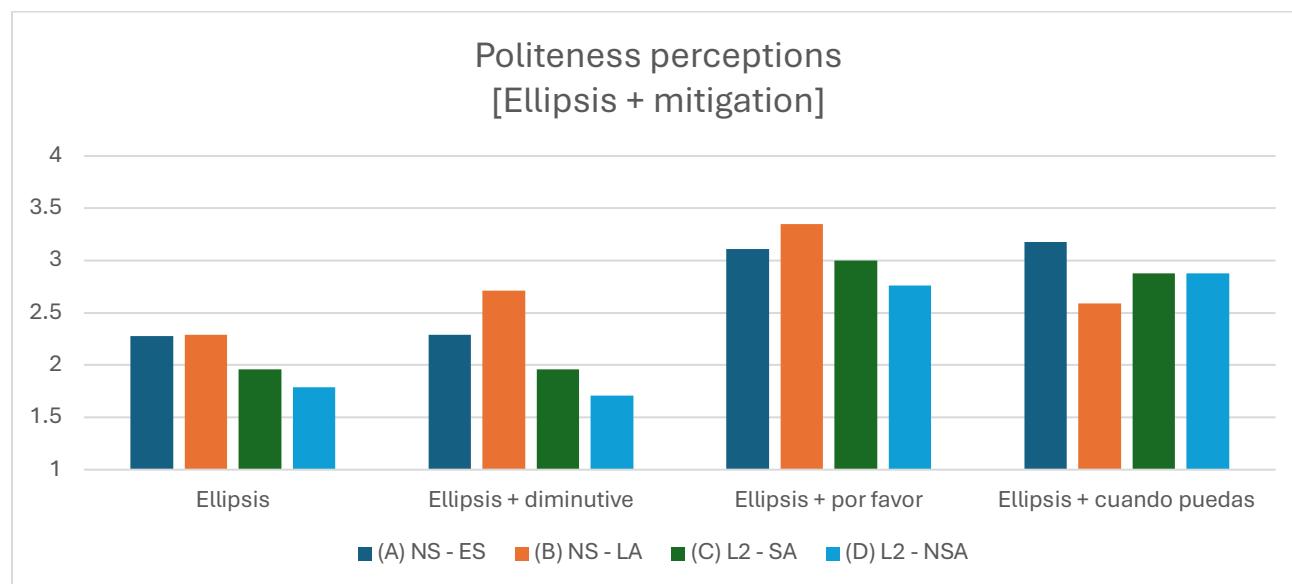
the request for the NS but shows no difference from the control group (the ellipsis with no mitigation) for the L2 learners. The directness levels were lower for the ellipsis with additional lexical mitigation, *por favor* and *cuando puedas*, patterning similarly to the data in the previous request structures.

Next, the analysis examined the politeness ratings for the request strategy of ellipsis. See Table 18 below for the table with the averages from each group and Figure 14 for a graphic representation of the data.

Table 18. Politeness perceptions of ellipsis (no verb)

	(A) NS-ES	(B) NS-LA	(C) L2-SA	(D) L2-NSA
No mitigation	2.28	2.29	1.96	1.79
Diminutive (-ito)	2.29	2.71	1.96	1.71
<i>Por favor</i>	3.11	3.35	3	2.76
<i>Cuando puedas</i>	3.18	2.59	2.88	2.88

Figure 14. Politeness perceptions of ellipsis (no verb)



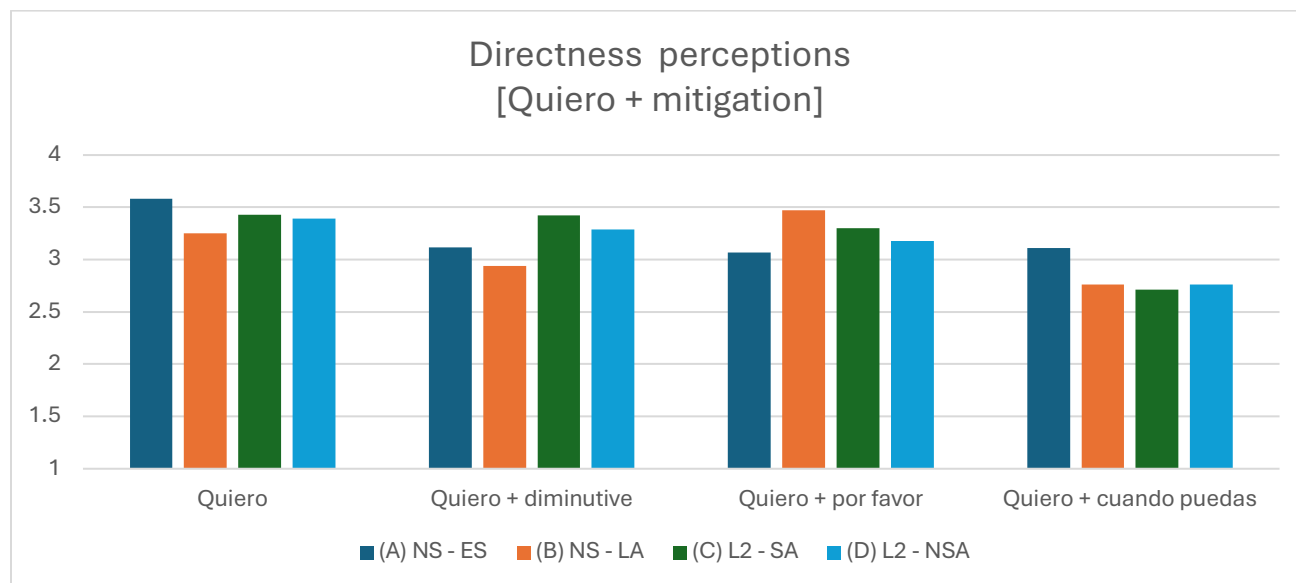
The data displayed in Figure 14 significantly varied between ellipsis and [ellipsis + diminutive] when compared to [ellipsis + *por favor*] and [ellipsis + *cuando puedas*] for all participants. The L2 learners gave almost the exact politeness scores for ellipsis without mitigation and ellipsis with the diminutive. On the other hand, the Spaniards showed a slight increase in the perceived politeness scores, whereas the Latin Americans found the diminutive to be much more polite than the plain ellipsis request form. The politeness ratings skyrocketed with the incorporation of a lexical mitigation addition for [ellipsis + *por favor*] and [ellipsis + *cuando puedas*], occurring in all four groups.

4.4.5 Analysis of want statement (*quiero*)

Section 4.4.5 and 4.4.6 analyzed speaker-oriented request forms (e.g., *quiero* ‘I want’, *quisiera* ‘I would like’). Similar to the previous subsections, directness was analyzed first and then followed by politeness. See Table 19 below for the table with the averages from each group and Figure 15 for a graphic representation of the data.

Table 19. Directness perceptions of want statement (*quiero*)

	(A) NS-ES	(B) NS-LA	(C) L2-SA	(D) L2-NSA
No mitigation	3.58	3.25	3.43	3.39
Diminutive (-ito)	3.12	2.94	3.42	3.29
<i>Por favor</i>	3.07	3.47	3.3	3.18
<i>Cuando puedas</i>	3.11	2.76	2.71	2.76

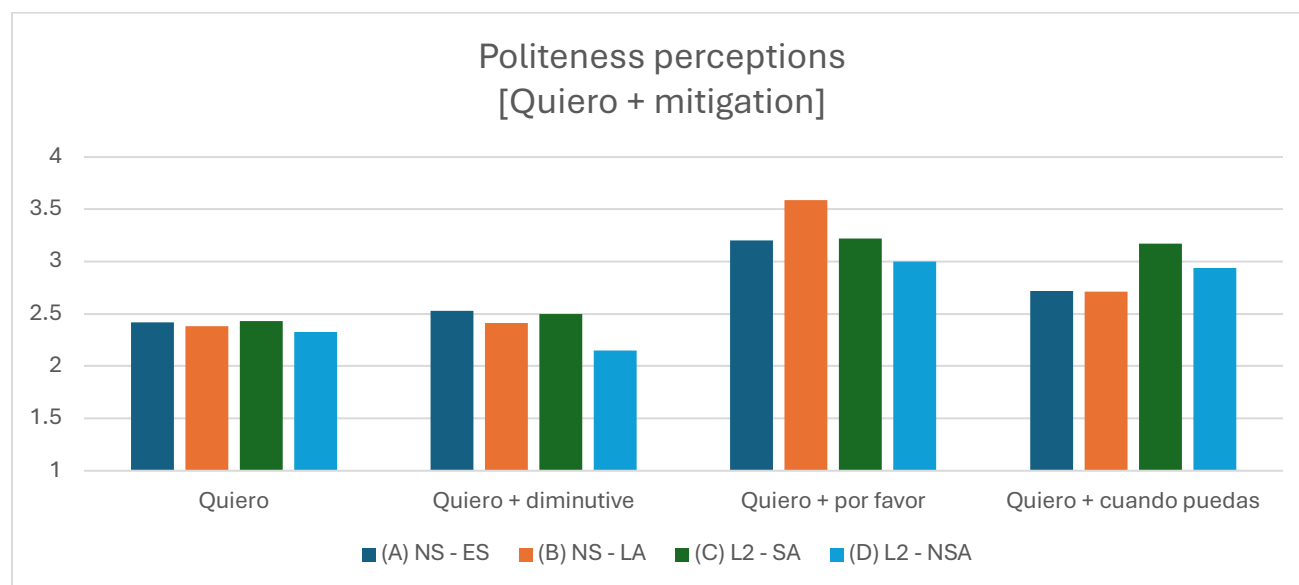
Figure 15. Directness perceptions of want statement (*quiero*)

The want statements received generally high scores in regard to directness, potentially due to the forwardness and ‘directness’ of using a want statement with speaker-orientation. The inclusion of mitigation did not influence the directness ratings very much, only slightly in [*quiero + cuando puedas*] for the Latin Americans and all L2 learner participants.

Now moving to politeness, see Table 20 below for the table with the averages from each group and Figure 16 for a graphic representation of the data.

Table 20. Politeness perceptions of want statement (*quiero*)

	(A) NS-ES	(B) NS-LA	(C) L2-SA	(D) L2-NSA
No mitigation	2.42	2.38	2.43	2.33
Diminutive (-ito)	2.53	2.41	2.5	2.15
<i>Por favor</i>	3.2	3.59	3.22	3.00
<i>Cuando puedas</i>	2.72	2.71	3.17	2.94

Figure 16. Politeness perceptions of want statement (*quiero*)

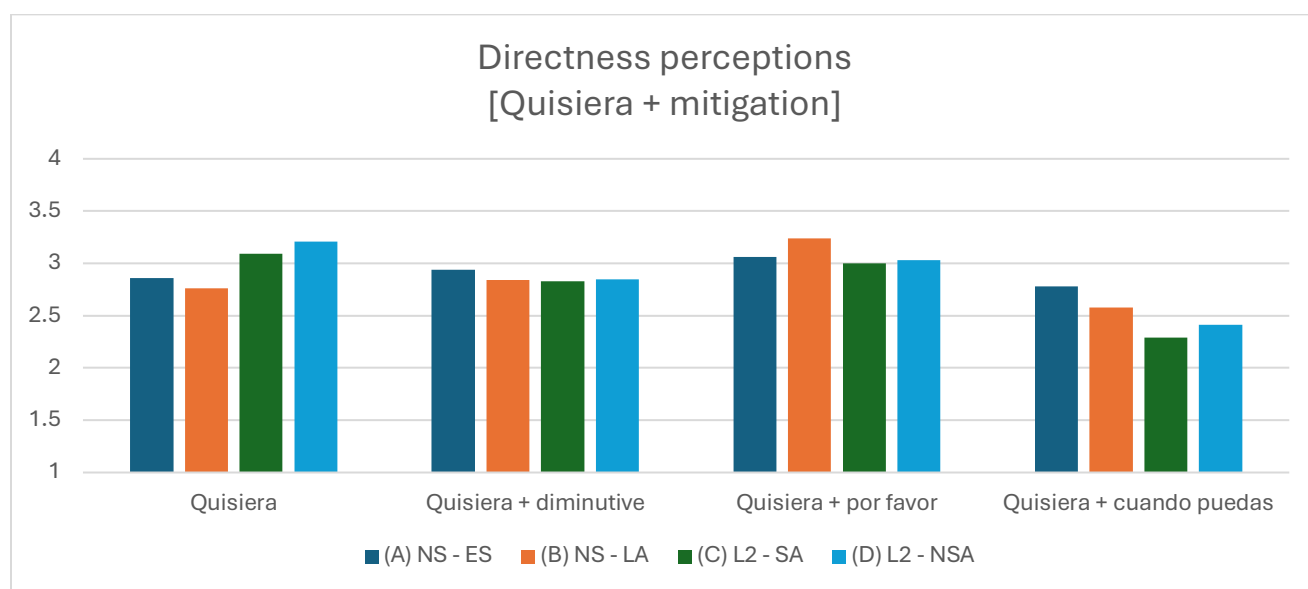
Although the mitigation did not strongly influence the directness perceptions of the want statement *quiero* request strategy, it increased politeness scores when additional lexical mitigation was used. The politeness ratings for [*quiero + por favor*] and [*quiero + cuando puedas*] were perceived more politeness than non-mitigated *quiero* and [*quiero + diminutive*] for all participants. Adding the politeness marker *por favor* increased the scores the most in the politeness perceptions.

4.4.6 Analysis of syntactically downgraded want statement (*quisiera*)

The last subsection of this analysis looked at the syntactically downgraded want statement *quisiera* ‘I would like’. The syntactic downgrading was considered mitigation in previous literature (Shively, 2011) so this subsection provided an analysis of this ‘mitigated’ request strategy in addition to the influence of mitigation. Starting with directness, see Table 21 below for the table with the averages from each group and Figure 17 for a graphic representation of the data.

Table 21. Directness perceptions of syntactically downgraded want statement (*quisiera*)

	(A) NS-ES	(B) NS-LA	(C) L2-SA	(D) L2-NSA
No mitigation	2.86	2.76	3.09	3.21
Diminutive (-ito)	2.94	2.84	2.83	2.85
<i>Por favor</i>	3.06	3.24	3	3.03
<i>Cuando puedas</i>	2.78	2.58	2.29	2.41

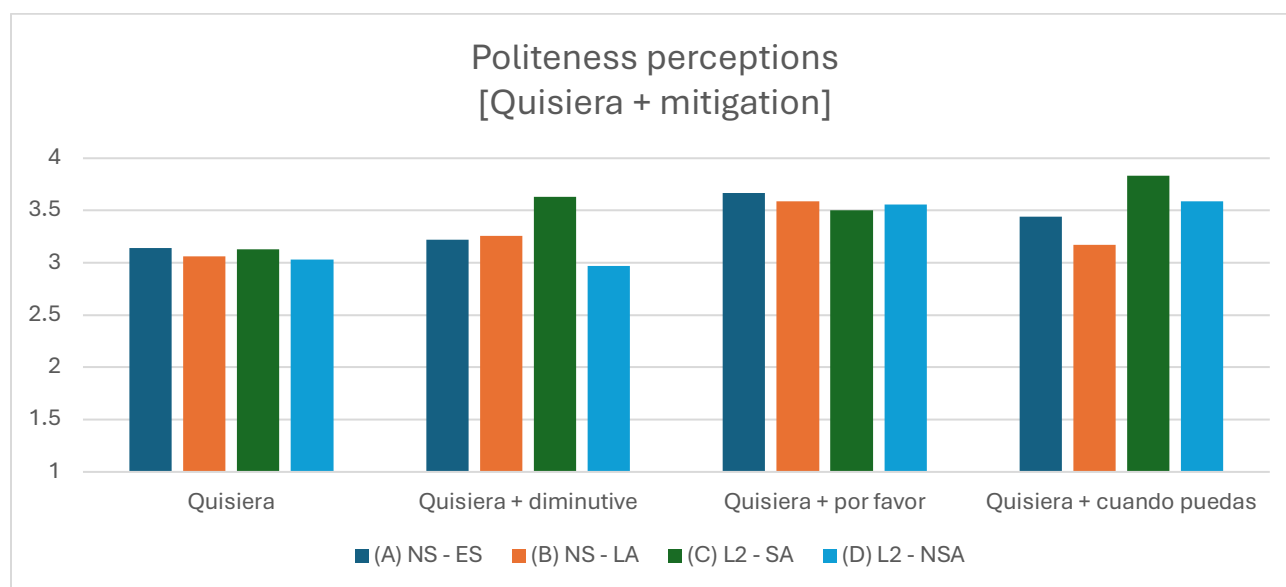
Figure 17. Directness perceptions of syntactically downgraded want statement (*quisiera*)

For all four of the groups, syntactically downgraded want statement *quisiera* occupied a space between somewhat direct and somewhat indirect. Adding mitigation did not influence the participants' perceptions of directness, except for lowering the perceived directness with *cando puedas* to more somewhat indirect than the other constructions with *quisiera*.

Lastly, the politeness perceptions of the syntactically downgraded want statement was analyzed below. See Table 22 below for the table with the averages from each group and Figure 18 for a graphic representation of the data.

Table 22. Politeness perceptions of syntactically downgraded want statement (*quisiera*)

	(A) NS-ES	(B) NS-LA	(C) L2-SA	(D) L2-NSA
No mitigation	3.14	3.06	3.13	3.03
Diminutive (-ito)	3.22	3.26	3.63	2.97
<i>Por favor</i>	3.67	3.59	3.5	3.56
<i>Cuando puedas</i>	3.44	3.17	3.83	3.59

Figure 18. Politeness perceptions of syntactically downgraded want statement (*quisiera*)

The politeness ratings for *quisiera* were perceived to be between somewhat polite and very polite. Plain *quisiera* almost received an exact score of three (3.0) for somewhat polite, and [*quisiera* + diminutive] slightly increased politeness readings for all groups except for the non-Study Abroad L2 learners. The L2 learners with Study Abroad experience found the inclusion of the diminutive in conjunction with *quisiera* to be more polite than the other participant groups. The trend of the increasing politeness ratings with additional lexical mitigation *por favor* and *cando puedas* was confirmed once again for all participant groups.

4.5 Acceptability

The ratings for acceptability of the different linguistic constructions are summarized in this section. Most of the request strategies with mitigation were perceived to be acceptable, while on the other hand, the non-mitigated strategies had mixed results. For both NS and L2 learners, three of the six linguistic strategies showed up as mostly unacceptable without the inclusion of mitigation: the command form *dame* ‘give me’, the elliptical form (no verb), and the want statement *quiero* ‘I want’. Both interrogative structures *¿me das?* ‘you give me?’ and *¿me puedes dar?* ‘can you give me?’ and the syntactically downgraded want statement *quisiera* ‘I would like’ received acceptable ratings in all cases, with and without mitigation.

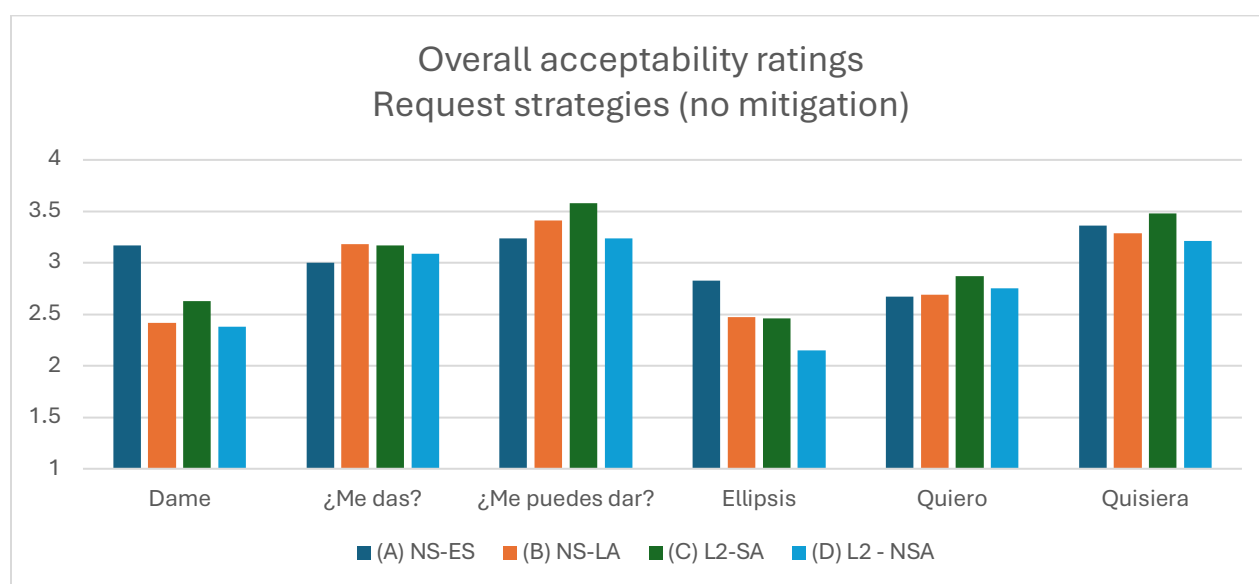
Section 4.5 features a brief analysis highlighting the acceptability results for each request strategy, followed by the presentation of a chart with the average ratings for each group and a visual display of the data on a bar graph. To start, all request strategies are presented without any mitigation to provide a baseline for each construction. Then, each individual strategy is shown with the alternating mitigation forms to see how mitigation can impact the perception of acceptability.

4.5.1 Acceptability of all request strategies (non-mitigated)

All participants deemed both interrogative strategies *¿me das?* ‘you give me?’ and *¿me puedes dar?* ‘can you give me?’ and the syntactically downgraded want statement *quisiera* ‘I would like’ as acceptable without mitigation. The Spaniards (Group A) were the only group to perceive the command form (*dame*) to be acceptable without mitigation, while the Latin Americans (Group B) and both groups of L2 learners (Groups C and D) perceived this strategy as unacceptable without mitigation. All participants perceived the elliptical form (no verb) and the want statement (*quiero*) ‘I want’ as unacceptable without mitigation.

Table 23. Overall acceptability ratings based on request strategies (no mitigation)

All strategies	(A) NS-ES	(B) NS-LA	(C) L2-SA	(D) L2 - NSA
<i>Dame</i>	3.17	2.42	2.63	2.38
<i>¿Me das?</i>	3	3.18	3.17	3.09
<i>¿Me puedes dar?</i>	3.24	3.41	3.58	3.24
Ellipsis	2.83	2.47	2.46	2.15
<i>Quiero</i>	2.67	2.69	2.87	2.75
<i>Quisiera</i>	3.36	3.29	3.48	3.21

Figure 19. Overall acceptability ratings based on request strategies (no mitigation)

4.5.2 Acceptability of command form (*dame*)

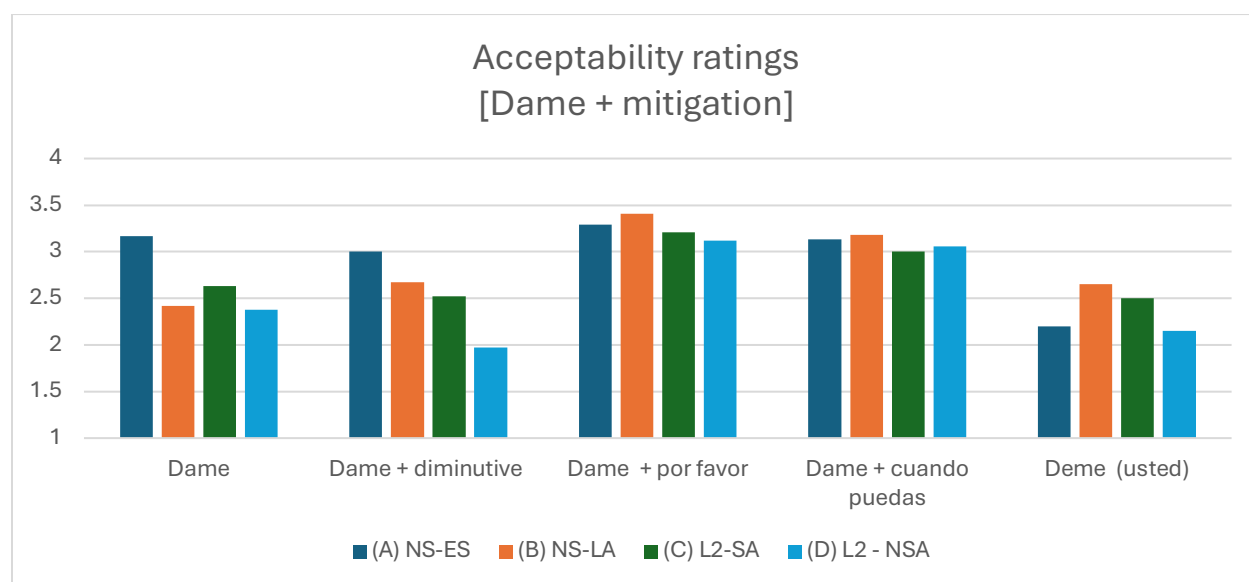
As mentioned above, non-mitigated *dame* ‘give me’ was only perceived as acceptable by the Spaniards (Group A), while the other groups perceived this form to be unacceptable. The structure [*dame* + diminutive] was barely perceived to be acceptable by the Spaniards (Group A), and the other groups perceived this construction to be unacceptable, especially the non-Study Abroad L2 learners (Group D). When *dame* ‘give me’ was paired with *por favor* or *cuando*

puedas, it was perceived as acceptable on average in all groups. The encoded *usted* ‘you [formal]’ in this request strategy *deme* ‘you [formal]’ was perceived unacceptable by all participants without mitigation.

Table 24. Acceptability ratings of command form (*dame*)

<i>Dame</i>	(A) NS-ES	(B) NS-LA	(C) L2-SA	(D) L2 - NSA
<i>Dame</i> (no mitigation)	3.17	2.42	2.63	2.38
<i>Dame</i> + diminutive	3	2.67	2.52	1.97
<i>Dame</i> + <i>por favor</i>	3.29	3.41	3.21	3.12
<i>Dame</i> + <i>cuando puedas</i>	3.13	3.18	3	3.06
<i>Deme</i> (<i>usted</i>)	2.2	2.65	2.5	2.15

Figure 20. Acceptability ratings of command form (*dame*)



4.5.3 Acceptability of simple interrogative (*¿me das?*)

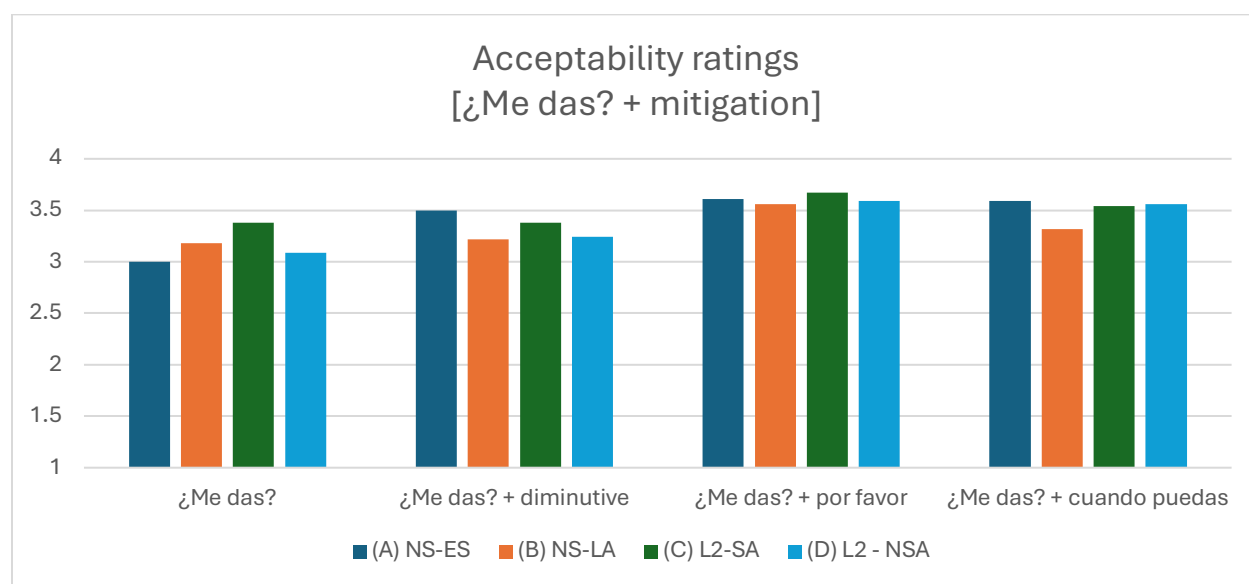
All constructions that included *¿me das?*, both mitigated and non-mitigated, were perceived to be acceptable by all groups. The acceptability ratings increased across the board

when mitigation is added to the bare request form, particularly with lexical additions *por favor* and *cuando puedas*.

Table 25. Acceptability ratings of simple interrogative (*¿me das?*)

<i>¿Me das?</i>	(A) NS-ES	(B) NS-LA	(C) L2-SA	(D) L2 - NSA
<i>¿Me das?</i> (no mitigation)	3	3.18	3.38	3.09
<i>¿Me das?</i> + diminutive	3.5	3.22	3.38	3.24
<i>¿Me das?</i> + <i>por favor</i>	3.61	3.56	3.67	3.59
<i>¿Me das?</i> + <i>cuando puedas</i>	3.59	3.32	3.54	3.56

Figure 21. Acceptability ratings of simple interrogative (*¿me das?*)



4.5.4 Acceptability of conventionally indirect interrogative (*¿me puedes dar?*)

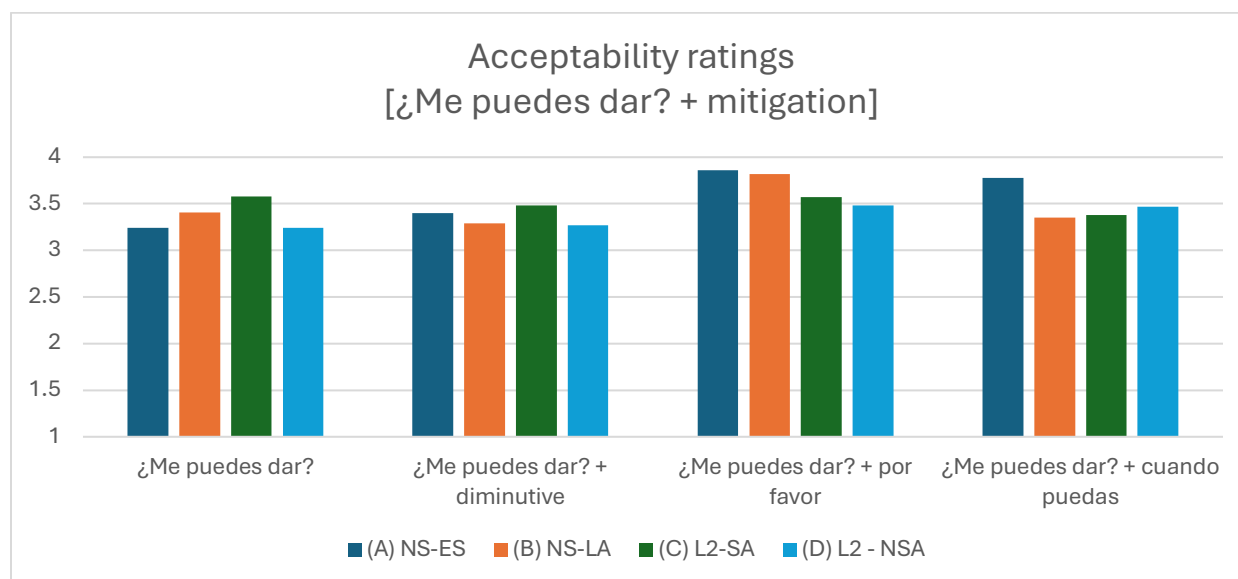
Similar to the simple interrogative, all constructions that included *¿me puedes dar?*, both mitigated and non-mitigated, were perceived to be acceptable by all groups. The acceptability ratings increased for all groups when mitigation is added to the bare request form, especially alongside *por favor* and *cuando puedas*. When compared to the simple interrogative *¿me das?*

‘you give me...?’, the acceptability ratings are higher for *¿me puedes dar?* ‘can you give me...?’, the conventionally indirect interrogative.

Table 26. Acceptability ratings of conventionally indirect interrogative (*¿me puedes dar?*)

<i>¿Me puedes dar?</i>	(A) NS-ES	(B) NS-LA	(C) L2-SA	(D) L2 - NSA
<i>¿Me puedes dar?</i> (no mitigation)	3.24	3.41	3.58	3.24
<i>¿Me puedes dar?</i> + diminutive	3.4	3.29	3.48	3.27
<i>¿Me puedes dar?</i> + <i>por favor</i>	3.86	3.82	3.57	3.48
<i>¿Me puedes dar?</i> + <i>cuando puedas</i>	3.78	3.35	3.38	3.47

Figure 22. Acceptability ratings of conventionally indirect interrogative (*¿me puedes dar?*)



4.5.5 Acceptability of ellipsis (no verb)

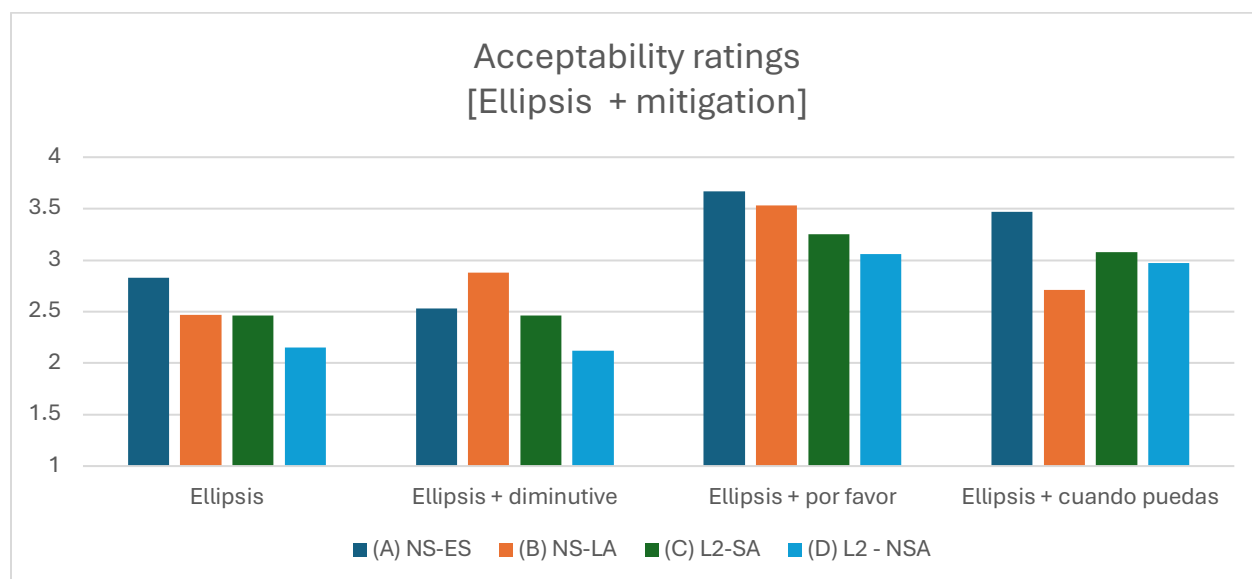
Both the non-mitigated elliptical and [elliptical + diminutive] structures were considered to be unacceptable by all groups. The Latin American and non-Study Abroad L2 learner

participants also found [elliptical + *cuando puedas*] to be unacceptable, meaning that the only acceptable request form for all groups requires the use of politeness marker *por favor*. This may suggest that *por favor* is a more powerful mitigation marker than *cuando puedas*.

Table 27. Acceptability ratings of ellipsis (no verb)

Ellipsis	(A) NS-ES	(B) NS-LA	(C) L2-SA	(D) L2 - NSA
Ellipsis (no mitigation)	2.83	2.47	2.46	2.15
Ellipsis + diminutive	2.53	2.88	2.46	2.12
Ellipsis + <i>por favor</i>	3.67	3.53	3.25	3.06
Ellipsis + <i>cuando puedas</i>	3.47	2.71	3.08	2.97

Figure 23. Acceptability ratings of ellipsis (no verb)



4.5.6 Acceptability of want statement (*quiero*)

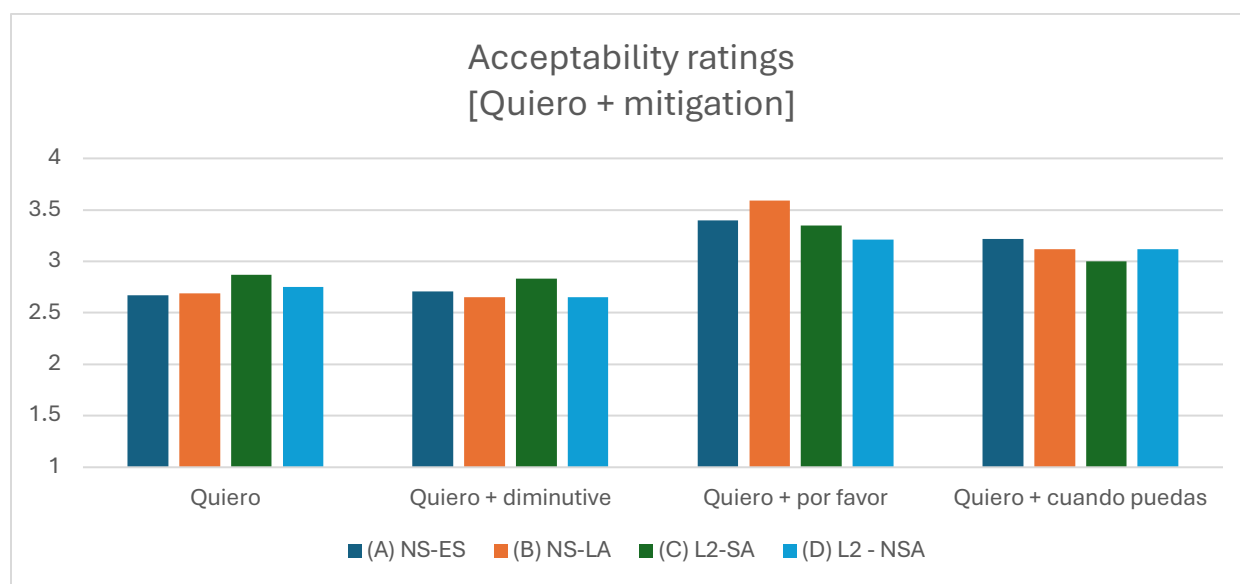
All participants found *quiero* with no mitigation and [*quiero* + diminutive] to be unacceptable. However, when politeness marker *por favor* or *cuando puedas* accompanies the

request form, all groups perceive these structures to be acceptable. Similar to what was seen with the conventionally indirect interrogative *¿me puedes dar?* ‘can you give me...?’, *por favor* received higher acceptability ratings than *cuando puedas*.

Table 28. Acceptability ratings of want statement (*quiero*)

<i>Quiero</i>	(A) NS-ES	(B) NS-LA	(C) L2-SA	(D) L2 - NSA
<i>Quiero</i> (no mitigation)	2.67	2.69	2.87	2.75
<i>Quiero</i> + diminutive	2.71	2.65	2.83	2.65
<i>Quiero</i> + <i>por favor</i>	3.4	3.59	3.35	3.21
<i>Quiero</i> + <i>cuando puedas</i>	3.22	3.12	3	3.12

Figure 24. Acceptability ratings of want statement (*quiero*)



4.5.7 Acceptability of syntactically downgraded want statement (*quisiera*)

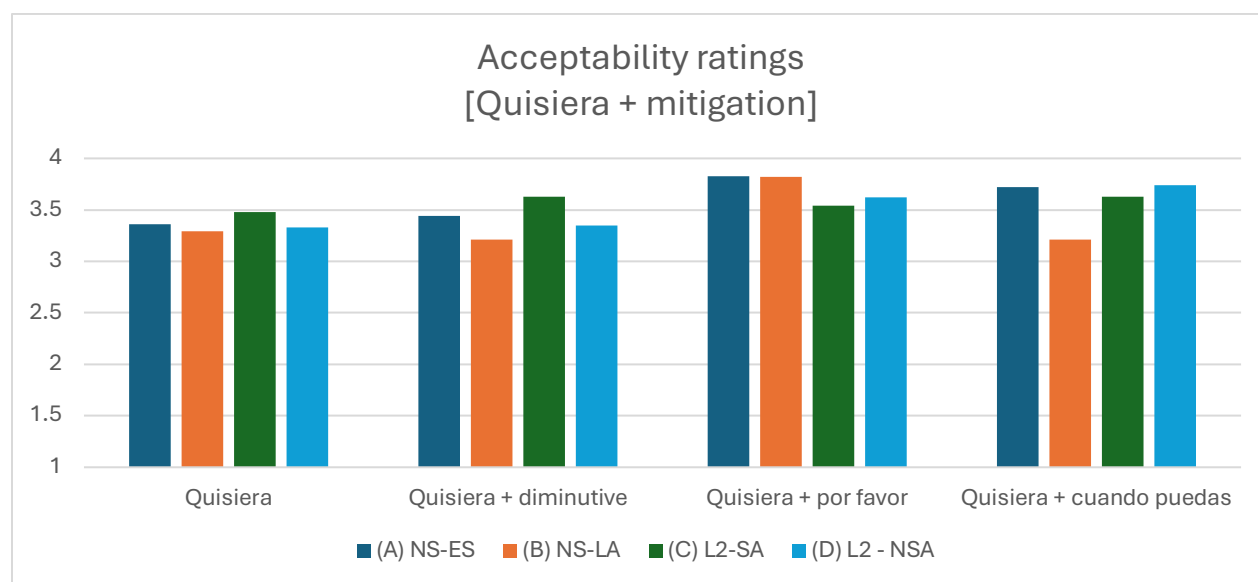
All constructions utilizing *quisiera*, both mitigated and non-mitigated, were perceived as acceptable by all groups. Additionally, the acceptability ratings increased across the board when mitigation is added to the bare request form, particularly with lexical additions *por favor* and

cuando puedas. Overall, it seems that the syntactically downgraded want statement *quisiera* received some of the highest acceptability ratings on average.

Table 29. Acceptability ratings of syntactically downgraded want statement (*quisiera*)

<i>Quisiera</i>	(A) NS-ES	(B) NS-LA	(C) L2-SA	(D) L2 - NSA
<i>Quisiera</i> (no mitigation)	3.36	3.29	3.48	3.33
<i>Quisiera</i> + diminutive	3.44	3.21	3.63	3.35
<i>Quisiera</i> + <i>por favor</i>	3.83	3.82	3.54	3.62
<i>Quisiera</i> + <i>cuando puedas</i>	3.72	3.21	3.63	3.74

Figure 25. Acceptability ratings of syntactically downgraded want statement (*quisiera*)



All request strategies were perceived to be acceptable when combined with politeness marker *por favor*, including more direct strategies such as the command form (*dame*), ellipsis, and the want statement (*quiero*). Mitigating expression *cuando puedas* received similar high acceptability ratings (although not as high as *por favor*), as almost all request strategies were

perceived to be acceptable when combined with this form. The [ellipsis (no verb) + *cuando puedes*] construction was perceived acceptable by the Spaniards (Group A) and the Study Abroad L2 learners (Group C), while the Latin Americans (Group B) and the non-Study Abroad L2 learners (Group D) considered this construction to be unacceptable. *Cuando puedes* received acceptable ratings from all other groups in all other instances (including with the command form and the want statement). Additionally, although both unacceptable, non-mitigated *dame* was perceived to be slightly more acceptable than ellipsis by all groups except for the Latin Americans (Group B), however only by a slight difference of (0.05). The want statement *quiero* was perceived to be more acceptable than ellipsis by all groups, as well as more acceptable than *dame* by all groups except the Spaniards (Group A).

According to the data, the more direct forms (*dame*, ellipsis, *quiero*) need to be mitigated to be considered acceptable. Both interrogative forms *¿me das?* and *¿me puedes dar?*, and the syntactically downgraded want statement *quisiera* were perceived to be more acceptable forms by all groups. The diminutive did not seem to have much of an effect on the acceptability ratings, as they appeared to be perceived similar to the non-mitigated constructions. However, when additional lexical mitigation is added to the request construction, *por favor* and *cuando puedes* increased the perception of acceptability for all forms. Although when comparing the two forms of mitigation, *por favor* seems to be the most effective at raising acceptability ratings overall.

4.6 General discussion and conclusions

The results suggested a few common trends, for both strategy selection and the use of mitigation in request forms. First, the conventionally indirect interrogative *¿me puedes dar?* ‘can you give me’ and *quisiera* ‘I would like’ were generally considered the most polite and least

direct by all groups. On the other hand, the command form *dame* and ellipsis were given high ratings of directness with low ratings of politeness. *Quiero* was also perceived more direct and less polite. The simple interrogative appeared to take a middle ground, receiving the most neutral ratings for directness and was still perceived to be rather polite.

The role of mitigation was perceived differently depending on whether it was a lexical addition to the request form or if it was morphologically encoded into the structure of the request form. All groups were influenced by politeness marker *por favor* and mitigating expression *cuando puedas*, lowering the level of directness and increasing the level of politeness with the inclusion of these mitigation uses. However, *por favor* worked best to increase the perception of politeness while *cuando puedas* was more effective at lowering the perceived directness. The L2 learners particularly preferred the lexical additions, as they did not indicate a difference in the perceived directness and politeness of constructions that included morphologically encoded mitigation such as the diminutive (e.g., *vasito*) or the formal address *usted* (e.g., *deme*). It may be easier for L2 learners to identify these mitigation forms as a lexical addition to the request rather than a slight change in the details of the verbal makeup. It is possible that some lower-level L2 learners' interlanguage may not be advanced enough to recognize these minute mitigation changes seen in verbal encoding of diminutives or from *usted*. Additionally, *por favor* 'please' is a popular politeness marker used in English and *cuando puedas* 'when you can' is similar to 'when you have a moment' or other like phrases used in service-encounter language. In English, there is no verbal encoding of a diminutive *-ito* into the word nor encoding formal address *usted* into request forms. To add a little extra politeness, English-speakers could ask for *a little more coffee* (similar to diminutive) or use formal address such as *sir* or *ma'am* since there is no *usted* equivalent in English.

The NS participants indicated a slight increase in politeness for the structures with morphologically encoded mitigation, but there was not much of a change in the perceived directness. The Latin American participants perceived *deme* (verbally encoded *usted*) much more polite than the Spaniards. This may suggest that the diminutive and formal address *usted* may not be a strong form of mitigation when compared to *por favor* or *cuando puedas*. It also may be that the use of the diminutive is a more stylistic choice and does not have as much of a mitigating effect as previously thought. Additionally, it may be that native speakers of Spanish are not as sensitive to minute alterations in certain request strategies or in mitigation uses. A handful of the NS participants had mentioned that “the same question keeps repeating” or “it keeps asking me the same question over and over again”.

4.6.1 An alternative analysis

During the analysis of the data, an alternative analysis was included in order to analyze the L2 learners in a different format: based off the number of classes they had taken at the university instead of Study Abroad experience. In the alternative analysis, L2 participants with five or more upper-level classes at the 3000-4000 level were separated from those who had taken one to four classes. This distinction was made because the Spanish minor is awarded with the completion of five upper-level classes, and the typical progression of coursework includes an Introduction to Hispanic Linguistics class as the fourth class, equipping students with important linguistic knowledge of their L2. However, after comparing averages and looking for trends in data displays, the alternative analysis revealed very similar results to the original analysis where L2 learners were separated by Study Abroad experience. Students who had taken five or more upper-level classes patterned similarly to the students who had studied abroad and the students who had taken one to four classes mirrored the results of the non-Study Abroad students. After

implementing the alternative analysis and not seeing significant differences from the original analysis, it was not continued and was not included in the presentation of this study.

4.6.2 Strategy superlatives

Following the analysis of the averaged perception scores from all participants both with and without mitigation, superlatives were identified for most direct, most polite, most indirect, and most impolite for each group. For the NS participants from Spain, the most direct strategy was the want statement (*quiero*) and ellipsis, and most indirect strategy was the syntactically downgraded want statement (*quisiera*). Switching gears to politeness, for the Spaniards, the most polite strategy was the syntactically downgraded want statement (*quisiera*) and the most impolite strategy was the command form (*dame*). The Latin Americans considered ellipsis the most direct and the conventionally indirect interrogative (*¿me puedes dar?*) the most indirect. For politeness, the Latin Americans considered the conventionally indirect interrogative (*¿me puedes dar?*) the most polite and the command form (*dame*) the most impolite.

The L2 learners with Study Abroad experience considered the command form (*dame*) to be the most direct and the conventionally indirect interrogative (*¿me puedes dar?*) the most indirect. In terms of politeness, the L2 learners with Study Abroad experience considered the conventionally indirect interrogative (*¿me puedes dar?*) the most polite and the command form (*dame*) and ellipsis the most impolite. The L2 learners with no Study Abroad experience had the same perspective as the L2 learners with Study Abroad experience, considering the command form (*dame*) the most direct and the conventionally indirect interrogative (*¿me puedes dar?*) the most indirect. For politeness, the non-Study Abroad L2 learners considered the syntactically downgraded want statement (*quisiera*) and the conventionally indirect interrogative (*¿me puedes dar?*) the most polite and the command form (*dame*) the most impolite.

The perceptions from all the L2 participants seemed to be aligned with Brown and Levinson's (1987) framework, as they are members of an Anglo-speaking culture. However, the NS perceptions were more variable and ambiguous. It may be that native speakers do not pay much attention to differences and variation in request forms. Native speakers may not even consider directness to be negative, rather that it is polite to clearly express one's intent. Finally, it is important to note that the perception of directness and politeness is subject to individual differences from person to person, depending on internalized values.

This chapter reviewed all of the results generated from the questionnaires used in this study. Section 4.1 looked at the distribution of the participants from the biographic questionnaire results and summarized the important sociolinguistic points from each subgroup. Then, Section 4.2 discussed the productions elicited from the opening written response question in the perception questionnaire and analyzed the strategies selected and mitigation employed in the participants' responses. Section 4.3 examined the averaged scores of each subgroup's perception of directness and politeness from all six request strategies without the presence of mitigation. Section 4.4 discussed each individual request strategy in terms of the alternating mitigation uses and presented the average perception scores for directness and politeness for each subgroup. Section 4.5 qualitatively overviewed the acceptability ratings from all subgroups. The chapter culminated with general discussion and conclusions in Section 4.6.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This chapter presents the conclusions and outcomes of the study. Section 5.1 starts off by addressing some of the overarching themes for this study and provides some concluding thoughts. Then, each research question is answered individually. Next, Section 5.2 presents some theoretical considerations to contemplate at the conclusion of the study. Finally, Section 5.3 identifies some of the study's limitations and highlights some future directions for further investigation.

5.1 Conclusions

The notions of directness and politeness are rather subjective, and have very broad distributions, far past the criteria used in the Likert scale (e.g., somewhat direct, very direct, etc.). The perceptions of politeness and directness do not form a binary dichotomy, but rather a spectrum or continuum. The L2 learners' perceptions primarily supported Brown and Levinson's (1987) universal theory of the correspondence of indirectness and politeness, proving transfer of their L1 cultural values and social norms from English. That is, high politeness scores are correlated with low directness scores (indirect language is polite) and vice versa, high directness scores are associated with low politeness scores (direct language is impolite). Conversely, the native speaker participants showed significant variability, in some cases supporting Brown and Levinson's (1987) ideas and, in some cases, contradicting the generalization of universality as hypothesized. The varied results presented in this study contribute to the idea that directness and politeness can be understood on a spectrum or continuum instead of an (in)direct or (im)polite

binary dichotomy. The relationship of directness and politeness is not black and white, but rather variable and influenced by individual differences in perspective.

Returning to the research questions listed in Section 1.2, the hypotheses have proven to be mostly correct for the first and second research question, whereas the third and fourth research questions revealed themselves to be more complex than originally hypothesized.

RQ1: How is directness expressed linguistically in Spanish? What factors make an utterance more or less ‘direct’? (e.g., syntactic form, use of mitigation).

Directness is expressed through clear and explicit language with little to no ambiguity of the speaker’s intent. Linguistically, directness may also refer to the utterance’s exact correspondence to the speech act (one-to-one correspondence). For example, an imperative may realize a request, or a simple interrogative may be used to ask a question (not making request). When a simple interrogative is used to formulate a request, there is not a one-to-one correspondence of the syntactic form and illocutionary act, so it may be perceived as indirect instead of direct. Syntactic form may determine an utterance’s inherent directness, as outlined in Blum-Kulka et al.’s (1989) request strategy framework, illustrating direct, conventionally indirect, and non-conventionally indirect request strategies. As for mitigation, Placencia (2005) claimed that the internal modification (i.e. use of mitigation) can soften the force of a request as seen in her data from the Quiteño’s corner store service encounters (e.g., diminutive form, hedging, lexical downgrading, etc.). Additionally, the results from this study confirmed that the syntactic form and use of mitigation may affect the perceived directness.

RQ2: According to previous studies, what linguistic constructions are perceived as more direct in Spanish requests? For instance, does the incorporation of mitigation influence one's judgment of directness in requests? If so, how and to what extent?

Previous studies present various frameworks that label certain linguistic constructions as more direct than others. According to Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), *mood derivables* (e.g., the imperative command form) and want statements are characterized as direct whereas queries (e.g., interrogative forms) are considered more indirect. Many authors applied Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989) framework to their own empirical works on Spanish, for instance, to study pragmatic variation interculturally (Félix-Brasdefer, 2009; Márquez Reiter, 2002; Placencia, 2005) and intraculturally (Bataller, 2015; García, 2007; Ruzickova, 2007). Using Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989) framework as a reference, these authors generally referred to request forms such as commands and want statements as more direct, and interrogative and syntactically downgraded forms as more indirect. In some studies that examined pragmatic variation such as Bataller (2015) and Placencia (2005), the use of mitigating devices such as diminutives, hedging, lexical downgrading, and politeness markers (*por favor*) softened the directness of requests.

RQ3: How do native speakers of Spanish perceive directness in Peninsular Spanish requests? Do native speakers of other varieties of Spanish perceive Peninsular Spanish requests differently than Spaniards? If so, how and to what extent?

Speakers of Peninsular Spanish considered want statements (*quiero*) and ellipsis (no verb) to be the most direct strategies and deemed the syntactically downgraded want statement (*quisiera*) as the most indirect.

On the other hand, speakers of Latin Americans Spanish thought ellipsis was the most direct and the conventionally indirect interrogative (*¿me puedes dar?*) was the most indirect. Between the two subgroups of native speakers of Spanish, there was some slight variation in terms of their perceptions of directness. For instance, without mitigation, the Spaniards considered the command form (*dame*), the simple interrogative (*¿me das?*), the conventionally indirect interrogative (*¿me puedes dar?*) less direct than the Latin Americans. The perceptions of directness for ellipsis, the want statement (*quiero*), and the syntactically downgraded want statement (*quisiera*) were almost the same on average. The mitigation did not seem to create any contrast between the two subgroups of native speakers except in one instance. The implementation of a diminutive lowered the perceived directness significantly in the very direct command form (*dame*) for the Latin Americans. Mitigation seemed to have more of an effect on the perceived politeness between the two groups because politeness marker *por favor* ‘please’ and mitigating expression *cuando puedas* ‘when you can’ were perceived as much more polite with the command form (*dame*) in comparison to the other mitigation uses. Additionally, the Latin Americans thought that the use of *usted* in the command form increased the request’s politeness.

RQ4: How do English-speaking learners of Spanish (L2 learners) perceive directness in Peninsular Spanish requests? How do the perceptions of directness of native speakers of Spanish and L2 learners differ?

Both L2 learner groups (with and without Study Abroad experience) perceived the command form (*dame*) to be the most direct and the conventionally indirect interrogative (*¿me puedes dar?*) as the most indirect. The L2 learner participants’ perceptions of directness in

Peninsular Spanish request forms varied significantly throughout the perception questionnaire responses, but in general all L2 learners perceived direct forms to be much more impolite than native speakers. The L2 learners were influenced by the use of mitigation, particularly by mitigation forms that consisted of lexical additions (e.g., politeness marker *por favor*, mitigating expression *cuando puedas*). For the L2 learners, the politeness marker *por favor* increased the perception of politeness and the mitigating expression *cuando puedas* lowered the perception of directness. Both subgroups of L2 learners did not seem as influenced by morphologically encoded mitigation (e.g., diminutive *-ito*, verbal encoding of *usted*). This may suggest that lexical additions may stand out more to L2 learners since they are more easily identifiable than morphological alterations to the request. The L2 learners were very aware of the presence of *por favor*, similar to Shively's (2011) participants, who used this politeness marker frequently. This finding is further supported by Ogiermann's (2009) observations, that *please* is used rather frequently by English speakers, backing up the idea that English-based pragmatic norms may influence perception. This reflects the transfer of the L1 onto the L2 and show evidence of the pragmatic transfer of the norms of their first language.

5.2 Theoretical considerations

As previously mentioned, the concepts of directness and politeness are very subjective and are heavily influenced by individual differences and perspectives. Each individual may have their own personal understanding of directness and politeness, and how they interact with one another. For instance, an American viewpoint of directness and politeness may differ from that of a Spaniard or a Latin American, and there will be even further differentiation within regional varieties or through individual differences.

Another notable theoretical consideration would be contemplating the inverse relationship of politeness and directness. Specifically in terms of politeness, does least polite coincide with impolite? Although the terminology may be similar, these two labels may not be complete inverses. Depending on the available options, least polite may not necessarily mean that it is impolite, simply that it is relatively less polite than what it is compared to. The context and circumstances may influence these relationships and theoretically speaking, the relationship between least polite and impolite occupy different spaces.

To expand on this theoretical consideration, is it possible to be more direct and more polite simultaneously? For example, a Spaniard may consider *dame un café con leche* to be perfectly acceptable and polite because the request is clear and clarity is important for a transactional interaction such as this one. Do some language users consider being clear to be polite? Another factor to consider could be the “wordiness” of a request. It seems as if the more “wordy” (i.e. longer) a request may be, the less direct it may be because it includes syntactic downgrading or illocutionary force softening devices such as hedging and mitigation. On the other hand, if a directive is less “wordy”, does that in turn make it more direct? A less “wordy” request that contains only the verb or request strategy without any mitigation or hedging may come off as more direct because there is no extra substance in the utterance.

In terms of the study design itself, the Hawthorne Effect may support why many unexpected overly polite request forms (e.g., *quería* ‘I wanted’) were produced by the Spaniards in the opening written response question. The Hawthorne Effect accounts for participants changing their behavior because they are aware of the fact that they are being observed. Self-reporting may not obtain the same results as anonymous observation at a local bar or café in a Spanish-speaking country.

Finally, cultural differences were not able to be measured in this study solely through analyzing linguistic differences and gathering quantified perceptions. Further conversation with the participants to get an explanation may have helped to better understand the cultural aspect behind their decisions and perceptions.

5.3 Limitations and future directions

The study design could have been enhanced through the inclusion of a follow-up interview or qualitative comments section accompanying the linguistic questionnaire. This addition would allow for a better understanding of the thought-processes and perspectives from the different participant groups through individual accounts.

A major limitation to this study was the lack of access to Spanish-speaking participants. The goal was to avoid Spanish speakers who have been somewhat immersed into American culture in order to avoid any potential interference from English. This decision limited the pool of potential applicants because many Spanish speakers that live in the United States have learned English and may have assimilated into American cultural norms at least to some degree. As a result, the participants were not representative of all language varieties of the Spanish-speaking world. Furthermore, grouping all Latin American participants into one group produced varied results, for example, the Dominican participant produced a very direct request *dame un café con leche* while several of the Mexican or Salvadoran participants produced rather mitigated and indirect request forms. All Latin American participants were clustered together in one group for the sake of having more even numbers for NS participant groups and to separate the *tú* ('you' informal) vs. *usted* ('you' formal) dichotomy by dividing Peninsular and Latin American Spanish speakers. The tendency is for Latin American Spanish to be more formal when considering

formality by dialectal standards. However, the T/V (*tú/usted*) dichotomy is not rigid in Latin American Spanish nor Peninsular Spanish, as some varieties of Spanish spoken in Spain employ *usted* (e.g., Canary Islands, parts of Andalucía). There is also variation of the T/V paradigm across Latin American varieties of Spanish as well, for instance, while countries such as Mexico regularly and frequently employ *usted*, other countries have a tripartite system with *tú*, *usted*, and *vos* (familiar and informal ‘you’) where another address form occupies the same space such as in Chile, Argentina, Colombia, and parts of Central America. Each language variety has their own continuum of address forms that is navigated in a different way, where *tú* and *usted* (and *vos*) occupy different spaces. For this reason, the morphologically encoding of *usted* in the command form *deme* was only employed in one instance in the survey.

Since the native speaker participants provided varied results, this may suggest that shifting gears to focus more on the cultural values and social norms could be beneficial for understanding the pragmatics of language. For instance, direct language may not be viewed in a negative way nor inherently convey impoliteness. Given the strong roots of camaraderie and *confianza* in Spanish speaking communities, using direct language structures may be more for the sake of communicating clearly and to being easily understood. There may be no need for abundant politeness and indirectness since social distance is not a priority in Spanish speaking communities as in Anglo-speaking cultures, allowing interlocutors to be more direct with each other in a more close-knit community without being considered impolite. The idea of face may be understood differently from one culture to the next, so a closer look into cultural values should be considered moving forward.

The role of L2 transfer from the L1 and interference from cultural values of the native language could be further investigated in the future and would contribute to language pedagogy

endeavors. Communicative misunderstandings may be due to the lack of L2 pragmatic development, especially in cases where L2 learners have not had enough L2 exposure or interaction with Spanish speaking communities. For example, less advanced L2 learners may not notice morphologically encoded mitigation, hearer-oriented emphasis, and other linguistic details in their second language. Furthermore, a sufficient understanding of cultural values and social norms is important for language students in order to fully understand another language, as language and culture cannot be separated.

It would be interesting to see the perceptions of long-term study abroad students, such as the participants in Shively's (2011 study). The four to six weeks that Subgroup C spent in a foreign country is rather short for study abroad program and is not long enough for immersion. L2 learners at the graduate level or adult L2 learners from the community could provide further insight as well. Adding a fluency task for L2 learners could help to better gauge the language levels of the participating students. Evaluating them solely off of Study Abroad program participation or the number of classes they have taken is not representative of their L2 capabilities. There were only six request strategies highlighted in the design of this study, and more could have been incorporated to demonstrate a wider distribution of strategies. For instance, the conditional downgraded *poner* (*me podrías poner* 'could you give me/put me') should have been included as a strategy as well because a lot of native speakers used it in their opening written response productions. Additionally, repeating this study with other lexical verbiage aside from just *dar* 'to give' may have added another layer to NS and L2 perceptions, especially in places where *poner* 'to put' and *regalar* 'to gift' are prevalent in the realization of requests. The inclusion of more participants for a bigger sample size would also significantly

contribute to this study, adding more perspectives to get a better panoramic understanding of the perception of directness and politeness.

There are many implications that should arise from the results of this study that will have ramifications not only for the field of linguistics, but also contributing to pedagogy and language teaching, intercultural and intracultural variation studies, and reaching outside of the classroom to international business and world travel. Specifically for language pedagogy, this study highlights the importance of explicit pragmatic instruction for language learners. The awareness of the notion that politeness and directness are not always related would significantly affect the ability to communicate more saliently across cultures, for language learners, international business endeavors, and other travel purposes. Understanding cultural values and being able to communicate cross-culturally in a pragmatically appropriate manner can impact affairs both inside and outside the classroom. Cultural values such as politeness are embedded and coded into language, and this is exemplary of how language and culture cannot be separated.

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Appendices

Appendix A. Biographical Questionnaire Distribution.

<u>Native Speakers: Subgroup A (Spain)</u>					
Nombre	País de origen	Edad	Género	Nivel de educación	Ocupación
A1.	Cádiz, España	18-23	Mujer	Estudios de posgrado	Camarera
A2.	Oviedo, España	18-23	Mujer	Universidad	Estudiante
A3.	Mieres, España	18-23	Mujer	Universidad	Estudiante
A4.	Oviedo, España	18-23	Mujer	Universidad	Estudiante
A5.	Oviedo, España	50-59	Mujer	Universidad	Gestora de banca
A6.	Oviedo, España	18-23	Mujer	Escuela secundaria	Estudiante
A7.	Oviedo, España	50-59	Hombre	Estudios de posgrado	Investigador senior
A8.	Toledo, España	50-59	Mujer	Universidad	Auxiliar Técnico Educativo
A9.	Madrid, España	40-49	Mujer	Universidad	Administrativo
A10.	Eibar, España	50-59	Mujer	Escuela secundaria	Pintora, Arteterapeuta, Profesora
A11.	Ciudad Real, España	50-59	Mujer	Universidad	Maestra

A12.	Madrid, España	24-29	Hombre	Universidad	Stunt performer
A13.	Toledo, España	18-23	Mujer	Universidad	Estudiante
A14.	Oviedo, España	50-59	Hombre	Universidad	Comercial
A15.	Oviedo, España	18-23	Mujer	Universidad	Estudiante
A16.	Oviedo, España	18-23	Hombre	Universidad	Estudiante
A17.	Oviedo, España	18-23	Mujer	Universidad	Estudiante/Medicina
A18.	Cádiz, España	24-29	Mujer	Estudios de posgrado	Profesora

Native Speakers: Subgroup B (Latin America)

Nombre	País de origen	Edad	Género	Nivel de educación	Ocupación
B1.	Firmat (Santa Fe), Argentina	24-29	Mujer	Estudios de posgrado	Estudiante y profesora
B2.	México	30-39	Mujer	Escuela secundaria	Ama de casa
B3.	Las salinas, México	18-23	Hombre	Universidad	N/A
B4.	CDMX, México	30-39	Hombre	Universidad	Chef
B5.	Montemorelos Nuevo Leon, Mexico	30-39	Mujer	Escuela secundaria	Ama de casa

B6.	Cuenca, Ecuador	40-49	Mujer	Estudios de posgrado	Médico Veterinario
B7.	Perú	30-39	Mujer	Escuela secundaria	Repostera
B8.	Lima, Perú	30-39	Mujer	Universidad	N/A
B9.	El salvador	50-59	Mujer	Escuela primaria	Assembly Line
B10.	Santiago, Chile	24-29	Mujer	Estudios de posgrado	Estudiante y profesora
B11.	Tegucigalpa, Honduras	30-39	Hombre	Universidad	Jornal
B12.	Lima, Perú	50-59	Mujer		Operario- fabrica
B13.	Ocatepeque, Honduras	30-39	Mujer	Escuela primaria	Ama de casa
B14.	Lima, Perú	50-59	Hombre	Estudios de posgrado	Ingenieria informatica
B15.	Puerto Rico	60+	Mujer	Universidad	Auditor
B16.	El salvador	30-39	Mujer	Universidad	Ama de casa
B17.	Tlaxcala, Mexico	30-39	Hombre	Estudios de posgrado	Poultry scientist
B18.	El salvador	30-39	Mujer	Escuela secundaria	Housekeeping

B19. Puerto Plata,
Dominican
Republic 18-23 Hombre Universidad Musico

L2 learners: Subgroup C (Study Abroad)

Name	Age	Gender	Age started learning Spanish	Study Abroad	Most familiar Spanish variety	Reason for taking Spanish	Number of Advanced Classes
C1.	20	Female	Elementary School Age (5-11)	Cádiz, Spain (6 weeks)	Mexican	Minor	3
C2.	20	Male	Middle School Age (12-14)	Cádiz, Spain (6 weeks)	Peninsular	Just because	2
C3.	21	Female	High School Age (15-18)	Monteverde, Costa Rica (6 weeks)	Peninsular	Major	11
C4.	19	Female	Elementary School Age (5-11)	Cádiz, Spain (6 weeks)	Mexican, Colombian, Peninsular	Minor	4
C5.	20	Female	Elementary School Age (5-11)	Trujillo, Perú (4 weeks)	Mexican, Peninsular	Major	5
C6.	20	Male	Middle School Age (12-14)	Cádiz, Spain (6 weeks)	Peninsular	Minor	3
C7.	21	Male	University Age (18+)	Cádiz, Spain (6 weeks)	Peninsular	Minor	4
C8.	20	Male	Middle School Age (12-14)	Cádiz, Spain (6 weeks)	Peninsular	Minor	4

C9.	20	Male	High School Age (15-18)	Cádiz, Spain (6 weeks)	Peninsular , Cuban, Mexican	Minor	5
C10.	21	Female	Elementar y School Age (5-11)	Cádiz, Spain (6 weeks)	Peninsular , Mexican	Minor	5
C11.	21	Female	Elementar y School Age (5-11)	Cádiz, Spain (6 weeks)	Mexican, Peninsular	Major	10
C12.	19	Female	Elementar y School Age (5-11)	Cusco, Perú (4 weeks)	Latin American	Minor	1
C13.	20	Female	Middle School Age (12-14)	Cádiz, Spain (6 weeks)	Peninsular , Mexican	Minor	5
C14.	20	Female	Middle School Age (12-14)	Sevilla, Spain (4 weeks)	Peninsular	Minor	1
C15.	21	Female	Middle School Age (12-14)	Trujillo, Perú (4 weeks)	Mexican, Peninsular	Major	10
C16.	22	Female	Elementar y School Age (5-11)	Cádiz, Spain (6 weeks)	Peninsular , Puerto Rican	Major	10
C17.	21	Female	Elementar y School Age (5-11)	México (4 weeks)	Mexican	Major	5
C18.	22	Female	University Age (18+)	Trujillo, Perú (4 weeks)	Latin American	Minor	5
C19.	22	Male	Middle School Age (12-14)	Cádiz, Spain (6 weeks)	Peninsular	Minor	5

C20.	22	Female	Elementary School Age (5-11)	Valencia, Spain (6 weeks)	Latin American	Minor	6
C21.	20	Female	Middle School Age (12-14)	Sevilla, Spain (6 weeks)	Mexican, Colombian, Peninsular	Major	5
C22.	20	Female	Elementary School Age (5-11)	Barcelona, Spain (4 weeks)	Peninsular	Requirement	1
C23.	20	Male	High School Age (15-18)	Granada, Spain (4 weeks)	Mexican, Peninsular	Minor	3
C24.	21	Female	Elementary School Age (5-11)	Cádiz, Spain (6 weeks)	Peninsular, Latin American	Major	7

L2 learners: Subgroup D (No Study Abroad)

Name	Age	Gender	Age started learning Spanish	Most familiar Spanish variety	Reason for taking Spanish	Number of Advanced Classes
D1.	20	Male	University Age (18+)	Peninsular	Major	5
D2.	22	Female	Middle School Age (12-14)	Venezuelan	Major	10
D3.	21	Female	High School Age (15-18)	Peninsular	Major	8
D4.	20	Female	High School Age (15-18)	Mexican	Major	4

D5.	20	Male	Middle School Age (12- 14)	Mexican	Minor	1
D6.	19	Female	High School Age (15- 18)	Peninsular	Major	1
D7.	19	Male	Middle School Age (12- 14)	Peninsular	Major	1
D8.	19	Female	Elementary School Age (5-11)	Latin American	Major	1
D9.	19	Female	Middle School Age (12- 14)	Colombian, Mexican, Peninsular	Major	1
D10.	19	Female	Middle School Age (12- 14)	Mexican, Central American	Minor	1
D11.	21	Female	High School Age (15- 18)	Peninsular	Major	1
D12.	19	Female	Middle School Age (12- 14)	Peninsular	Minor	1
D13.	19	Male	Elementary School Age (5-11)	Peninsular	Minor	1
D14.	19	Male	Middle School Age (12- 14)	Peninsular	Major	1

D15.	18	Female	Middle School Age (12- 14)	Peninsular, Mexican, Costa Rican	Major	1
D16.	18	Male	High School Age (15- 18)	Mexican	Minor	1
D17.	20	Male	High School Age (15- 18)	Mexican	Minor	2
D18.	18	Male	Middle School Age (12- 14)	Colombian	Minor	1
D19.	21	Female	High School Age (15- 18)	Peninsular, Latin American	Minor	5
D20.	19	Female	Middle School Age (12- 14)	Latin American	Minor	1
D21.	20	Male	Elementary School Age (5-11)	Peninsular, Colombian	Major	1
D22.	18	Female	Middle School Age (12- 14)	Latin American	Minor	1
D23.	19	Female	Middle School Age (12- 14)	Peninsular	Minor	1

D24.	21	Female	Middle School Age (12- 14)	Peninsular, Mexican	Major	4
D25.	21	Female	High School Age (15- 18)	Peninsular, Argentinian	Major	4
D26.	20	Female	Middle School Age (12- 14)	Peninsular	Major	4
D27.	20	Male	Elementary School Age (5-11)	Peninsular, Dominican	Minor	1
D28.	19	Female	Middle School Age (12- 14)	Mexican	Major	4
D29.	20	Male	Middle School Age (12- 14)	Colombian	Minor	1
D30.	19	Female	Elementary School Age (5-11)	Venezuelan, Peninsular	Major	4
D31.	20	Male	Middle School Age (12- 14)	Latin American	Major	4
D32.	19	Female	High School Age (15- 18)	Mexican, Venezuelan, Puerto Rican	Major	4
D33.	23+	Male	Elementary School Age (5-11)	Venezuelan	Minor	4

D34.	19	Female	Middle School Age (12- 14)	American Spanish	Major	4
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Appendix B. Biographic Questionnaires.

Biographic Questionnaire I (for native speakers)

Cuestionario biográfico

Nombre: _____

Correo electrónico: _____

1. ¿De dónde es usted? (Ciudad, País) _____
2. ¿Cuántos años tiene?
Indique un rango:
☐ 18-23
☐ 24-29
☐ 30-39
☐ 40-49
☐ 50-59
☐ 60+
3. ¿Cuál es su género?
☐ Hombre
☐ Mujer
☐ No prefiero decirlo
4. ¿Habla otras lenguas? ¿Cuáles son? ¿Qué nivel cree que tiene? (ej: francés, intermedio)

5. ¿Cuál es el nivel de educación más alto que recibió?
☐ Escuela primaria
☐ Escuela secundaria
☐ Universidad
☐ Estudios de posgrado
6. ¿Ha vivido en otro país aparte del suyo? ¿Dónde y por cuánto tiempo?

7. ¿A qué se dedica? (Ocupación)

Biographic Questionnaire II (for L2 learners)**Biographical Questionnaire II**

Name: _____

Email: _____

1. Where are you from? (City, Country) _____
2. How old are you?
 - ☐ 18
 - ☐ 19
 - ☐ 20
 - ☐ 21
 - ☐ 22
 - ☐ 23+
3. What is your gender?
 - ☐ Male
 - ☐ Female
 - ☐ Prefer not to say
4. At what age did you start learning Spanish?
 - ☐ Elementary School Age (5-11)
 - ☐ Middle School Age (12-14)
 - ☐ High School Age (15-18)
 - ☐ University Age (18+)
5. Have you ever studied abroad?
 - ☐ Yes - If so, where and for how long? _____
 - ☐ No
6. Where do you use your Spanish? Mark all that apply.
 - ☐ In classes at UGA or in UGA extra-curriculars
 - ☐ At your place of work
 - ☐ With Spanish-speaking friends
 - ☐ In the community (e.g., Casa de Amistad, other organizations)
 - ☐ Personal travel
7. What varieties of Spanish are you most familiar with? (i.e. Argentinian Spanish) _____
8. Why are you taking Spanish at UGA?

- ☐ For my major
- ☐ For my minor
- ☐ Just because

9. Mark the following courses you have taken/are currently taking at UGA

- ☐ SPAN 3010 – Spanish Cultural Dialogues
- ☐ SPAN 3020 – Writing Critically in Spanish
- ☐ SPAN 3030 – Texts in Global Contexts
- ☐ SPAN 3050 – Introduction to Spanish Linguistics
- ☐ SPAN 4003 – Medical Spanish
- ☐ SPAN 4004 – Introduction to Medical Interpreting, Ethics, and Intercultural Communication
- ☐ SPAN 4005 – Introduction to Translation
- ☐ SPAN 4030 – Latinx in the United States
- ☐ SPAN 4040 – Literary Adventures from Spain
- ☐ SPAN 4050 – Exploring Modern Spain
- ☐ SPAN 4060 – Cultures in Contact After 1492
- ☐ SPAN 4070 – Latin American Voices of Change
- ☐ SPAN 4080 – Discovering Cultural Formation
- ☐ SPAN 4081 – Spanish Film
- ☐ SPAN 4081 – Latin American Film
- ☐ SPAN 4082S – Diversity Through Dance
- ☐ SPAN 4085 – Studies in Spanish and Latin American Electronic Literature and Cyberculture
- ☐ SPAN 4090S – Practicum in Service Learning
- ☐ SPAN 4092 – Archival and Special Collections Studies in Spanish
- ☐ SPAN 4100 – Spanish Topics Across the Disciplines
- ☐ SPAN 4120 – Exploring Cultures in Spanish
- ☐ SPAN 4120 – Topics in Culture, Language, and Literature
- ☐ SPAN 4121 – Topics in Spanish-American Studies
- ☐ SPAN 4150 – Business Spanish
- ☐ SPAN 4190/1 – Internship in Spanish
- ☐ SPAN 4250 – Advanced Business Spanish
- ☐ SPAN 4345 – Christians and Muslims in Valencia
- ☐ SPAN 4550 – Introduction to the History of Spanish
- ☐ SPAN 4650 – Spanish Phonetics and Language Variation
- ☐ SPAN 4651 – Advanced Spanish Grammar
- ☐ SPAN 4652 – Spanish Dialectology and Language Variation
- ☐ SPAN 4750 – Spanish Syntax

10. How confident are you in your Spanish-speaking abilities?

- ☐ Not confident
- ☐ Somewhat confident
- ☐ Very confident

Appendix C. Perception Questionnaires.

Perception Questionnaire I (for native speakers)

Cuestionario de percepción

Instrucciones: Usted va a leer un contexto y una serie de frases. Indique su percepción de cada una en cuanto a (a) directividad, (b) cortesía, y (c) aceptabilidad.

Contexto: Una persona entra en una cafetería en la que nunca ha estado antes y pide un café en la barra.

¿Cómo pediría usted un café con leche? Escriba su respuesta abajo.

1. “Dame un café con leche”

Dame un café con leche me suena

A.

1 – Muy indirecto 2 – Más o menos indirecto 3 – Más o menos directo 4 – Muy directo

B.

1 – Muy descortés 2 – Más o menos descortés 3 – Más o menos cortés 4 – Muy cortés

C.

1 – Totalmente inaceptable	2 – Parcialmente inaceptable
3 – Parcialmente aceptable	4 – Totalmente aceptable

2. “Dame un vasito de agua”

Dame un vasito de agua me suena

A.

1 – Muy indirecto 2 – Más o menos indirecto 3 – Más o menos directo 4 – Muy directo

B.

1 – Muy descortés 2 – Más o menos descortés 3 – Más o menos cortés 4 – Muy cortés

C.

1 – Totalmente inaceptable	2 – Parcialmente inaceptable
3 – Parcialmente aceptable	4 – Totalmente aceptable

3. “Por favor, dame un cortado”

Por favor, dame un cortado me suena

A.

1 – Muy indirecto 2 – Más o menos indirecto 3 – Más o menos directo 4 – Muy directo

B.

1 – Muy descortés 2 – Más o menos descortés 3 – Más o menos cortés 4 – Muy cortés

C.

1 – Totalmente inaceptable 2 – Parcialmente inaceptable
3 – Parcialmente aceptable 4 – Totalmente aceptable

4. “Cuando puedas, dame una Coca-Cola”

Cuando puedas, dame una Coca-Cola me suena

A.

1 – Muy indirecto 2 – Más o menos indirecto 3 – Más o menos directo 4 – Muy directo

B.

1 – Muy descortés 2 – Más o menos descortés 3 – Más o menos cortés 4 – Muy cortés

C.

1 – Totalmente inaceptable 2 – Parcialmente inaceptable
3 – Parcialmente aceptable 4 – Totalmente aceptable

5. “Deme una limonada”

Deme una limonada me suena

A.

1 – Muy indirecto 2 – Más o menos indirecto 3 – Más o menos directo 4 – Muy directo

B.

1 – Muy descortés 2 – Más o menos descortés 3 – Más o menos cortés 4 – Muy cortés

C.

1 – Totalmente inaceptable 2 – Parcialmente inaceptable
3 – Parcialmente aceptable 4 – Totalmente aceptable

6. “¿Me das un café con leche?”

Me das un café con leche me suena

A.

1 – Muy indirecto 2 – Más o menos indirecto 3 – Más o menos directo 4 – Muy directo

B.

1 – Muy descortés 2 – Más o menos descortés 3 – Más o menos cortés 4 – Muy cortés

C.

1 – Totalmente inaceptable 2 – Parcialmente inaceptable
3 – Parcialmente aceptable 4 – Totalmente aceptable

7. “¿Me das un vasito de agua?”

¿Me das un vasito de agua? me suena

A.

1 – Muy indirecto 2 – Más o menos indirecto 3 – Más o menos directo 4 – Muy directo

B.

1 – Muy descortés 2 – Más o menos descortés 3 – Más o menos cortés 4 – Muy cortés

C.

1 – Totalmente inaceptable 2 – Parcialmente inaceptable
3 – Parcialmente aceptable 4 – Totalmente aceptable

8. “Por favor, ¿Me das un cortado?”

Por favor, ¿Me das un cortado? me suena

A.

1 – Muy indirecto 2 – Más o menos indirecto 3 – Más o menos directo 4 – Muy directo

B.

1 – Muy descortés 2 – Más o menos descortés 3 – Más o menos cortés 4 – Muy cortés

C.

1 – Inaceptable 2 – Algo inaceptable 3 – Más o menos aceptable 4 – Muy aceptable

9. “Cuando puedas, ¿Me das una Coca-Cola?”

Cuando puedas, ¿Me das una Coca-Cola? me suena

A.

1 – Muy indirecto 2 – Más o menos indirecto 3 – Más o menos directo 4 – Muy directo

B.

1 – Muy descortés 2 – Más o menos descortés 3 – Más o menos cortés 4 – Muy cortés

- C. 1 – Totalmente inaceptable 2 – Parcialmente inaceptable
 3 – Parcialmente aceptable 4 – Totalmente aceptable

10. “¿Me puedes dar un café con leche?”

¿Me puedes dar un café con leche? me suena

- A.
 1 – Muy indirecto 2 – Más o menos indirecto 3 – Más o menos directo 4 – Muy directo

- B.
 1 – Muy descortés 2 – Más o menos descortés 3 – Más o menos cortés 4 – Muy cortés

- C. 1 – Totalmente inaceptable 2 – Parcialmente inaceptable
 3 – Parcialmente aceptable 4 – Totalmente aceptable

11. “¿Me puedes dar un vasito de agua?”

¿Me puedes dar un vasito de agua? me suena

- A.
 1 – Muy indirecto 2 – Más o menos indirecto 3 – Más o menos directo 4 – Muy directo

- B.
 1 – Muy descortés 2 – Más o menos descortés 3 – Más o menos cortés 4 – Muy cortés

- C. 1 – Totalmente inaceptable 2 – Parcialmente inaceptable
 3 – Parcialmente aceptable 4 – Totalmente aceptable

12. “Por favor, ¿Me puedes dar un cortado?”

Por favor, ¿Me puedes dar un cortado? me suena

- A.
 1 – Muy indirecto 2 – Más o menos indirecto 3 – Más o menos directo 4 – Muy directo

- B.
 1 – Muy descortés 2 – Más o menos descortés 3 – Más o menos cortés 4 – Muy cortés

- C. 1 – Totalmente inaceptable 2 – Parcialmente inaceptable
 3 – Parcialmente aceptable 4 – Totalmente aceptable

13. “Cuando puedas, ¿Me puedes dar una Coca-Cola?”

Cuando puedas, ¿Me puedes dar una Coca-Cola? **me suena**

A.

1 – Muy indirecto 2 – Más o menos indirecto 3 – Más o menos directo 4 – Muy directo

B.

1 – Muy descortés 2 – Más o menos descortés 3 – Más o menos cortés 4 – Muy cortés

C.

1 – Totalmente inaceptable	2 – Parcialmente inaceptable
3 – Parcialmente aceptable	4 – Totalmente aceptable

14. “Un café con leche”

Un café con leche **me suena**

A.

1 – Muy indirecto 2 – Más o menos indirecto 3 – Más o menos directo 4 – Muy directo

B.

1 – Muy descortés 2 – Más o menos descortés 3 – Más o menos cortés 4 – Muy cortés

C.

1 – Totalmente inaceptable	2 – Parcialmente inaceptable
3 – Parcialmente aceptable	4 – Totalmente aceptable

15. “Un vasito de agua”

Un vasito de agua **me suena**

A.

1 – Muy indirecto 2 – Más o menos indirecto 3 – Más o menos directo 4 – Muy directo

B.

1 – Muy descortés 2 – Más o menos descortés 3 – Más o menos cortés 4 – Muy cortés

C.

1 – Totalmente inaceptable	2 – Parcialmente inaceptable
3 – Parcialmente aceptable	4 – Totalmente aceptable

16. “Por favor, un cortado”

Por favor, un cortado **me suena**

A.

1 – Muy indirecto 2 – Más o menos indirecto 3 – Más o menos directo 4 – Muy directo

B.

1 – Muy descortés 2 – Más o menos descortés 3 – Más o menos cortés 4 – Muy cortés

C.

1 – Totalmente inaceptable

2 – Parcialmente inaceptable

3 – Parcialmente aceptable

4 – Totalmente aceptable

17. “Cuando puedas, una Coca-Cola”

Cuando puedas, una Coca-Cola me suena

A.

1 – Muy indirecto 2 – Más o menos indirecto 3 – Más o menos directo 4 – Muy directo

B.

1 – Muy descortés 2 – Más o menos descortés 3 – Más o menos cortés 4 – Muy cortés

C.

1 – Totalmente inaceptable

2 – Parcialmente inaceptable

3 – Parcialmente aceptable

4 – Totalmente aceptable

18. “Quiero un café con leche”

Quiero un café con leche me suena

A.

1 – Muy indirecto 2 – Más o menos indirecto 3 – Más o menos directo 4 – Muy directo

B.

1 – Muy descortés 2 – Más o menos descortés 3 – Más o menos cortés 4 – Muy cortés

C.

1 – Totalmente inaceptable

2 – Parcialmente inaceptable

3 – Parcialmente aceptable

4 – Totalmente aceptable

19. “Quiero un vasito de agua”

Quiero un vasito de agua me suena

A.

1 – Muy indirecto 2 – Más o menos indirecto 3 – Más o menos directo 4 – Muy directo

B.

1 – Muy descortés 2 – Más o menos descortés 3 – Más o menos cortés 4 – Muy cortés

C. 1 – Totalmente inaceptable 2 – Parcialmente inaceptable
 3 – Parcialmente aceptable 4 – Totalmente aceptable

20. “Por favor, quiero un cortado”

Por favor, quiero un cortado me suena

A.
 1 – Muy indirecto 2 – Más o menos indirecto 3 – Más o menos directo 4 – Muy directo

B.
 1 – Muy descortés 2 – Más o menos descortés 3 – Más o menos cortés 4 – Muy cortés

C. 1 – Totalmente inaceptable 2 – Parcialmente inaceptable
 3 – Parcialmente aceptable 4 – Totalmente aceptable

21. “Cuando puedas, quiero una Coca-Cola”

Cuando puedas, quiero una Coca-Cola me suena

A.
 1 – Muy indirecto 2 – Más o menos indirecto 3 – Más o menos directo 4 – Muy directo

B.
 1 – Muy descortés 2 – Más o menos descortés 3 – Más o menos cortés 4 – Muy cortés

C. 1 – Totalmente inaceptable 2 – Parcialmente inaceptable
 3 – Parcialmente aceptable 4 – Totalmente aceptable

22. “Quisiera un café con leche”

Quisiera un café con leche me suena

A.
 1 – Muy indirecto 2 – Más o menos indirecto 3 – Más o menos directo 4 – Muy directo

B.
 1 – Muy descortés 2 – Más o menos descortés 3 – Más o menos cortés 4 – Muy cortés

C. 1 – Totalmente inaceptable 2 – Parcialmente inaceptable
 3 – Parcialmente aceptable 4 – Totalmente aceptable

23. “Quisiera un vasito de agua”

Quisiera un vasito de agua me suena

A.

1 – Muy indirecto 2 – Más o menos indirecto 3 – Más o menos directo 4 – Muy directo

B.

1 – Muy descortés 2 – Más o menos descortés 3 – Más o menos cortés 4 – Muy cortés

C.

1 – Totalmente inaceptable	2 – Parcialmente inaceptable
3 – Parcialmente aceptable	4 – Totalmente aceptable

24. “Por favor, quisiera un cortado”

Por favor, quisiera un cortado me suena

A.

1 – Muy indirecto 2 – Más o menos indirecto 3 – Más o menos directo 4 – Muy directo

B.

1 – Muy descortés 2 – Más o menos descortés 3 – Más o menos cortés 4 – Muy cortés

C.

1 – Totalmente inaceptable	2 – Parcialmente inaceptable
3 – Parcialmente aceptable	4 – Totalmente aceptable

25. “Cuando puedas, quisiera una Coca-Cola”

Cuando puedas, quisiera una Coca-Cola me suena

A.

1 – Muy indirecto 2 – Más o menos indirecto 3 – Más o menos directo 4 – Muy directo

B.

1 – Muy descortés 2 – Más o menos descortés 3 – Más o menos cortés 4 – Muy cortés

C.

1 – Totalmente inaceptable	2 – Parcialmente inaceptable
3 – Parcialmente aceptable	4 – Totalmente aceptable

Perception Questionnaire

Instructions: You are going to read a context and a series of phrases. Indicate your perception of each one in regard to (a) directness, (b) politeness, and (c) acceptability.

Context: A person walks into a café that they've never been to before and orders a coffee at the counter.

How would you order a *café con leche* in Spanish? Write your response below.

1. “Dame un café con leche”

Dame un café con leche **sounds**

A.

1 – Very indirect 2 – Somewhat indirect 3 – Somewhat direct 4 – Very direct

B.

1 – Very impolite 2 – Somewhat impolite 3 – Somewhat polite 4 – Very polite

C.

1 – Unacceptable 2 – Somewhat unacceptable 3 – Somewhat acceptable 4 – Very acceptable

2. “Dame un vasito de agua”

Dame un vasito de agua **sounds**

A.

1 – Very indirect 2 – Somewhat indirect 3 – Somewhat direct 4 – Very direct

B.

1 – Very impolite 2 – Somewhat impolite 3 – Somewhat polite 4 – Very polite

C.

1 – Unacceptable 2 – Somewhat unacceptable 3 – Somewhat acceptable 4 – Very acceptable

3. “Por favor, dame un cortado”

Por favor, dame un cortado **sounds**

A.

1 – Very indirect 2 – Somewhat indirect 3 – Somewhat direct 4 – Very direct

B.

1 – Very impolite 2 – Somewhat impolite 3 – Somewhat polite 4 – Very polite

C.

1 – Unacceptable 2 – Somewhat unacceptable 3 – Somewhat acceptable 4 – Very acceptable

4. “Cuando puedas, dame una Coca-Cola”

Cuando puedas, dame una Coca-Cola **sounds**

A.

1 – Very indirect 2 – Somewhat indirect 3 – Somewhat direct 4 – Very direct

B.

1 – Very impolite 2 – Somewhat impolite 3 – Somewhat polite 4 – Very polite

C.

1 – Unacceptable 2 – Somewhat unacceptable 3 – Somewhat acceptable 4 – Very acceptable

5. “Deme una limonada”

Deme una limonada **sounds**

A.

1 – Very indirect 2 – Somewhat indirect 3 – Somewhat direct 4 – Very direct

B.

1 – Very impolite 2 – Somewhat impolite 3 – Somewhat polite 4 – Very polite

C.

1 – Unacceptable 2 – Somewhat unacceptable 3 – Somewhat acceptable 4 – Very acceptable

6. “¿Me das un café con leche?”

Me das un café con leche **sounds**

A.

1 – Very indirect 2 – Somewhat indirect 3 – Somewhat direct 4 – Very direct

B.

1 – Very impolite 2 – Somewhat impolite 3 – Somewhat polite 4 – Very polite

C.

1 – Unacceptable 2 – Somewhat unacceptable 3 – Somewhat acceptable 4 – Very acceptable

7. “¿Me das un vasito de agua?”

¿Me das un vasito de agua? sounds

A.

1 – Very indirect 2 – Somewhat indirect 3 – Somewhat direct 4 – Very direct

B.

1 – Very impolite 2 – Somewhat impolite 3 – Somewhat polite 4 – Very polite

C.

1 – Unacceptable 2 – Somewhat unacceptable 3 – Somewhat acceptable 4 – Very acceptable

8. “Por favor, ¿Me das un cortado?”

Por favor, ¿Me das un cortado? sounds

A.

1 – Very indirect 2 – Somewhat indirect 3 – Somewhat direct 4 – Very direct

B.

1 – Very impolite 2 – Somewhat impolite 3 – Somewhat polite 4 – Very polite

C.

1 – Unacceptable 2 – Somewhat unacceptable 3 – Somewhat acceptable 4 – Very acceptable

9. “Cuando puedas, ¿Me das una Coca-Cola?”

Cuando puedas, ¿Me da una Coca-Cola? sounds

A.

1 – Very indirect 2 – Somewhat indirect 3 – Somewhat direct 4 – Very direct

B.

1 – Very impolite 2 – Somewhat impolite 3 – Somewhat polite 4 – Very polite

C.

1 – Unacceptable 2 – Somewhat unacceptable 3 – Somewhat acceptable 4 – Very acceptable

10. “¿Me puedes dar un café con leche?”

¿Me puedes dar un café con leche? sounds

A.

1 – Very indirect 2 – Somewhat indirect 3 – Somewhat direct 4 – Very direct

B.

1 – Very impolite 2 – Somewhat impolite 3 – Somewhat polite 4 – Very polite

C.

1 – Unacceptable 2 – Somewhat unacceptable 3 – Somewhat acceptable 4 – Very acceptable

11. “¿Me puedes dar un vasito de agua?”

¿Me puedes dar un vasito de agua? sounds

A.

1 – Very indirect 2 – Somewhat indirect 3 – Somewhat direct 4 – Very direct

B.

1 – Very impolite 2 – Somewhat impolite 3 – Somewhat polite 4 – Very polite

C.

1 – Unacceptable 2 – Somewhat unacceptable 3 – Somewhat acceptable 4 – Very acceptable

12. “Por favor, ¿Me puedes dar un cortado?”

Por favor, ¿Me puedes dar un cortado? sounds

A.

1 – Very indirect 2 – Somewhat indirect 3 – Somewhat direct 4 – Very direct

B.

1 – Very impolite 2 – Somewhat impolite 3 – Somewhat polite 4 – Very polite

C.

1 – Unacceptable 2 – Somewhat unacceptable 3 – Somewhat acceptable 4 – Very acceptable

13. “Cuando puedas ¿Me puedes dar una Coca-Cola?”

Cuando puedas, ¿Me puedes dar una Coca-Cola? **sounds**

A.

1 – Very indirect 2 – Somewhat indirect 3 – Somewhat direct 4 – Very direct

B.

1 – Very impolite 2 – Somewhat impolite 3 – Somewhat polite 4 – Very polite

C.

1 – Unacceptable 2 – Somewhat unacceptable 3 – Somewhat acceptable 4 – Very acceptable

14. “Un café con leche”

Un café con leche **sounds**

A.

1 – Very indirect 2 – Somewhat indirect 3 – Somewhat direct 4 – Very direct

B.

1 – Very impolite 2 – Somewhat impolite 3 – Somewhat polite 4 – Very polite

C.

1 – Unacceptable 2 – Somewhat unacceptable 3 – Somewhat acceptable 4 – Very acceptable

15. “Un vasito de agua”

Un vasito de agua **sounds**

A.

1 – Very indirect 2 – Somewhat indirect 3 – Somewhat direct 4 – Very direct

B.

1 – Very impolite 2 – Somewhat impolite 3 – Somewhat polite 4 – Very polite

C.

1 – Unacceptable 2 – Somewhat unacceptable 3 – Somewhat acceptable 4 – Very acceptable

16. “Por favor, un cortado”

Por favor, un cortado **sounds**

A.

1 – Very indirect 2 – Somewhat indirect 3 – Somewhat direct 4 – Very direct

B.

1 – Very impolite 2 – Somewhat impolite 3 – Somewhat polite 4 – Very polite

C.

1 – Unacceptable 2 – Somewhat unacceptable 3 – Somewhat acceptable 4 – Very acceptable

17. “Cuando puedas, una Coca-Cola”

Cuando puedas, una Coca-Cola **sounds**

A.

1 – Very indirect 2 – Somewhat indirect 3 – Somewhat direct 4 – Very direct

B.

1 – Very impolite 2 – Somewhat impolite 3 – Somewhat polite 4 – Very polite

C.

1 – Unacceptable 2 – Somewhat unacceptable 3 – Somewhat acceptable 4 – Very acceptable

18. “Quiero un café con leche”

Quiero un café con leche **sounds**

A.

1 – Very indirect 2 – Somewhat indirect 3 – Somewhat direct 4 – Very direct

B.

1 – Very impolite 2 – Somewhat impolite 3 – Somewhat polite 4 – Very polite

C.

1 – Unacceptable 2 – Somewhat unacceptable 3 – Somewhat acceptable 4 – Very acceptable

19. “Quiero un vasito de agua”

Quiero un vasito de agua **sounds**

A.

1 – Very indirect 2 – Somewhat indirect 3 – Somewhat direct 4 – Very direct

B.

1 – Very impolite 2 – Somewhat impolite 3 – Somewhat polite 4 – Very polite

C.

1 – Unacceptable 2 – Somewhat unacceptable 3 – Somewhat acceptable 4 – Very acceptable

20. “Por favor, quiero un cortado”

Por favor, quiero un cortado **sounds**

A.

1 – Very indirect 2 – Somewhat indirect 3 – Somewhat direct 4 – Very direct

B.

1 – Very impolite 2 – Somewhat impolite 3 – Somewhat polite 4 – Very polite

C.

1 – Unacceptable 2 – Somewhat unacceptable 3 – Somewhat acceptable 4 – Very acceptable

21. “Cuando puedas, quiero una Coca-Cola”

Cuando puedas, quiero una Coca-Cola **sounds**

A.

1 – Very indirect 2 – Somewhat indirect 3 – Somewhat direct 4 – Very direct

B.

1 – Very impolite 2 – Somewhat impolite 3 – Somewhat polite 4 – Very polite

C.

1 – Unacceptable 2 – Somewhat unacceptable 3 – Somewhat acceptable 4 – Very acceptable

22. “Quisiera un café con leche”

Quisiera un café con leche **sounds**

A.

1 – Very indirect 2 – Somewhat indirect 3 – Somewhat direct 4 – Very direct

B.

1 – Very impolite 2 – Somewhat impolite 3 – Somewhat polite 4 – Very polite

C.

1 – Unacceptable 2 – Somewhat unacceptable 3 – Somewhat acceptable 4 – Very acceptable

23. “Quisiera un vasito de agua”

Quisiera un vasito de agua sounds

A.

1 – Very indirect 2 – Somewhat indirect 3 – Somewhat direct 4 – Very direct

B.

1 – Very impolite 2 – Somewhat impolite 3 – Somewhat polite 4 – Very polite

C.

1 – Unacceptable 2 – Somewhat unacceptable 3 – Somewhat acceptable 4 – Very acceptable

24. “Por favor, quisiera un cortado”

Por favor, quisiera un cortado sounds

A.

1 – Very indirect 2 – Somewhat indirect 3 – Somewhat direct 4 – Very direct

B.

1 – Very impolite 2 – Somewhat impolite 3 – Somewhat polite 4 – Very polite

C.

1 – Unacceptable 2 – Somewhat unacceptable 3 – Somewhat acceptable 4 – Very acceptable

25. “Cuando puedas, quisiera una Coca-Cola”

Cuando puedas, quisiera una Coca-Cola sounds

A.

1 – Very indirect 2 – Somewhat indirect 3 – Somewhat direct 4 – Very direct

B.

1 – Very impolite 2 – Somewhat impolite 3 – Somewhat polite 4 – Very polite

C.

1 – Unacceptable 2 – Somewhat unacceptable 3 – Somewhat acceptable 4 – Very acceptable