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**POLITENESS: BRAZILIAN-PORTUGUESE REQUESTS IN
SERVICE ENCOUNTERS**

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DIRCE FISCHER ZORNIG

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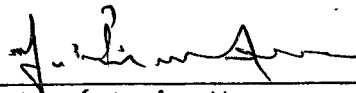
Dr. Malcolm Coulthard

ORIENTADOR



Dra. Solange de Azambuja Lira

CO-ORIENTADORA



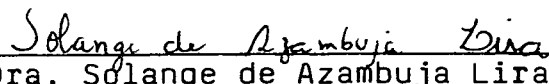
Dr. José Luiz Meurer

Coordenador do Curso de Pós-Graduação
em Inglês e Literatura Correspondente

BANCA EXAMINADORA:



Dr. Malcolm Coulthard



Dra. Solange de Azambuja Lira



Prof. Carmem Rosa Caldas Coulthard

The world is indeed a stage and society is the author of the play. The grown man in a modern state has to play many parts, and unless he knows his roles and his lines he is no use in the play. If you do not know your part there are no cues for the other fellow, and no place or excuse for his lines either.

Firth (1966:94, 1st.ed. 1937)

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RESUMO

Os mais expressivos aspectos lingüísticos que marcam a polidez em pedidos de serviço feitos espontaneamente por brasileiros na panificadora, no açougue, no banco, na farmácia e em uma loja de roupas são analisados nesta dissertação de acordo com as estratégias léxico-gramaticais propostas por Brown e Levinson (1978). Os resultados mostram que o caráter ameaçador desses pedidos é suavizado pelo emprego das alterações léxicas 'diminutivos', 'me/prá mim' e 'por favor', e das alterações sintáticas 'presente do indicativo', 'imperfeito de cortesia' e 'forma interrogativa'. Entre as variáveis sociais levadas em consideração (sexo, grupo social e espécie de mercadoria) a espécie de mercadoria trocada entre o freguês e o vendedor é a que mais influencia na escolha da estratégia de polidez. Os resultados analisados mostram também que os fregueses brasileiros usam alterações sintáticas quando fazem pedidos que envolvem maior responsabilidade ou exigem mais do vendedor tais como pedidos de remédios, de serviços bancários ou de roupas. Quando pedem por produtos diários tais como pão, leite e carne tendem a usar alterações léxicas. Considerando a teoria de polidez de Lakoff (1973) é possível estabelecer-se uma escala ascendente de polidez que começa com a forma imperativa passa pelo presente do indicativo e 'imperfeito de cortesia' e termina com a forma interrogativa nos pedidos brasileiros de serviço.

Os inícios e finais das interações de serviço coletadas também são objeto de análise. Cumprimentos, agradecimentos e

expressões de despedida são moderadamente usados por fregueses brasileiros que usualmente começam sua interação de maneira direta simplesmente pedindo o que desejam, e a terminam sem dizer nada apenas pegando a mercadoria solicitada.

Esses resultados assim como a comparação entre as interações de serviço brasileiras e americanas feita neste estudo, mostram a necessidade de alertar os alunos para os diferentes aspectos lingüísticos que marcam a polidez no português-brasileiro e no inglês a fim de que eles possam usar essas línguas efetivamente.

ABSTRACT

The most significant linguistic features that mark politeness in natural Brazilian-Portuguese requests for service at the baker's, the butcher's, the bank, the pharmacy and at a clothes-shop are examined in this dissertation according to Brown and Levinson's (1978) framework of lexico-grammatical strategies. Results show that the threatening character of service requests is mitigated through the use of the lexical alterations 'diminutives', 'me/prã mim' and 'please', and of the syntactic alterations 'present tense', 'imperfeito de cortesia' and 'question form'. Among the 'social distance' variables taken into account (sex, social group and the kind of goods) the kind of goods exchanged between customer and server is the most weighty one. It seems that Brazilian customers use syntactic alterations when making requests involving more responsibility or demanding more from the server, such as asking for medicine, bank services or clothes. When requesting daily goods, such as bread, milk and meat they tend to use lexical alterations. Considering Lakoff's (1973) politeness theory an ascending scale of politeness that starts with the imperative form (the most used requesting form) develops through the present tense and 'imperfeito de cortesia', and ends with the question form is noticeable in Brazilian-Portuguese requests for service.

Beginnings and endings are also examined in the service interactions collected. Greetings, thankings and farewells are moderately used by Brazilian customers who usually start their

interaction directly by requesting service and end it without saying anything and just picking up the requested item.

These results as well as the comparison between Brazilian-Portuguese and American service interactions developed in this study show the need of making Foreign Language learners aware of the different linguistic features that mark politeness in Brazilian-Portuguese and English so that they can use these languages effectively.

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INTRODUCTION

Effective social communication requires not only the mastery of the four language skills, but also 'the ability to be appropriate, to know the right thing to say at the right time' (Johnson and Morrow 1981:2). This dissertation is concerned with one aspect of effective social communication, the notion of politeness with particular reference to the speech act of requesting in Brazilian-Portuguese service encounter situations. My interest in service requests derives from their frequency in daily life, and service encounter areas are useful places to observe and record how people perform these requests. The following requests for service recorded with native speakers show instances of some linguistic features that function as markers of politeness:

(20.ba.m.38.B.c.) 6 pãezinhos de trigo.

(4.bu.f.25.A.c.) Me dá 2 quilos de contrafilé.

(1.bu.m.30.A.c.) 8 quilos de alcatre prá mim.

(1.ba.f.35.A.c.) Dá 8 pães de trigo e 2 leite por favor.

(19.bu.f.54.B.c.) Quero 5 quilos de colchão mole.

(6.cl.m.20.A.c.) Queria dá uma olhadinha em shorts.

Linguistic features also mark varying degrees of politeness as this ascending scale illustrates:

(10.cl.m.38.A.c.) Calças jeans.

(22.cl.m.55.B.rc.) Quero vê uma calça.

(15.cl.m.25.B.c.) Eu queria dá uma olhada numa calça.

(23.cl.m.17.B.c.) Tens calça jeans prá homem?

Thus, the first aim of this dissertation is to study the

most significant linguistic features that mark politeness in Brazilian-Portuguese requests for service taking into account Brown and Levinson's (1978) framework of lexico-grammatical strategies directed to the server's positive or negative face, as well as to attempt establishing a scale of politeness for requesting based upon Lakoff's (1973) politeness theory.

Another aim of this dissertation is to look at the beginnings and endings of interactions in order to confirm my personal observation that Brazilian customers do not greet, thank or say good-bye as often as one might expect them to.

A further aim is to investigate cross-cultural differences in the linguistic realization of politeness in Brazilian-Portuguese and English that may cause some discomfort or embarrassment between speakers in order to eliminate 'simplistic and ungenerous interpretations of people whose linguistic behaviour is superficially different from their own' (Thomas 1983:110).

In order to accomplish these aims I used customer/server interactions recorded in real service encounter areas in Florianópolis, a capital city in the Southern part of Brazil. I took into consideration the 'social distance' variables - sex, social group and the kinds of goods exchanged between customer and server - as the most weighty variable in determining the degree of politeness in the request. When I came to look at the cross-cultural differences I used the real customer/server interactions recorded in American service encounter areas reported in Merrit (1976, 1977).

This thesis consists of five chapters and two appendices. Chapter 1 presents the data, the method of collection, and

abbreviations and conventions used in the transcriptions.

Chapter 2 introduces a review of the literature concerned with the notions of 'face' and 'politeness', Face-Threatening Acts (FTA) and those politeness strategies used in service requests, and also the method of analysis adopted.

Chapter 3 presents the results and discussion of the interactions in each of the five service encounter areas under study. Chapter 4 presents the summary tables, a discussion and the conclusions of this study, while in Chapter 5 some cross-cultural aspects are considered and some learning implications are drawn. The corpus on which the analysis is based is contained in Appendices A and B.

CHAPTER 1

FIELD METHODS

1.1. *Brazilian-Portuguese Data*

Given the aim of the thesis which was to investigate which linguistic features Brazilians use in order to accomplish requests for essential things, such as bread and milk, meat, money, medicine and clothes, the best method for collecting data appeared to be the 'participant observation' at the baker's, the butcher's, the bank, the pharmacy and at a clothes-shop.

The data was all collected in the city of Florianópolis which presents peculiar geographic and socio-economic characteristics. As a non-agricultural island city without industries its main source of income is tourism. As the capital of the State of Santa Catarina with all main government institutions it has a high concentration of politicians and government employees. And, as the largest cultural centre of the state it has a high proportion of university teachers and students. All the data was collected in busy shops in the downtown area of the city with exception of the bank data part of which was collected on the University Campus. In all the five service encounter situations selected for this study most of the customer/server interaction took place at a counter where the customers made their purchases and made inquiries.

I recorded 250 customer/server interactions, 50 at each service encounter area; half were with male customers and half with female. I was also careful to have half of the customers

from social group A and the other half from group B, a division based on people's occupation and personal appearance. Group A comprised university teachers, government employees, university students, dentists, lawyers, physicians, bank employees, engineers, economists, pharmacists and businessmen, their wives and children, and people retired from these occupations. In other words, group A comprises people having tertiary level of education. Group B comprises people having up to the secondary education, such as government employees, maids, janitors, drivers, secretaries, labourers, shop-assistants, cleaners, clerks, office-boys, door-men, nurses, mechanics and small tradesmen. Knowing the occupation of the customer it was easy to establish his corresponding level of education and thus, classify him as belonging to social group A or B. But in the case of some occupations, e.g. government employee which presents two levels, I asked the customer his level of education in order to be more accurate.

1.1.1. *Method of Collection*

I used the 'participant observation' methodology (Pelto and Pelto 1978) according to which the fieldworker participates in the research as a natural observer of the event, i.e., without calling people's attention to himself, but totally immersed in the event. The fieldworker records his observation during or immediately after the event so that he will not fail to notice or remember details to which he has been exposed. These observations can be completed by careful interviewing. Thus, by pretending to be a customer I managed to come as close

as possible to the subject without letting him notice that he was being observed and that I was writing down his interaction with the server as it was occurring. I noticed the customer's personal appearance, and at the end of his interaction I complemented my observations by asking him his occupation. I not only collected information about the social variables - the customer's sex, his social group and the kinds of goods exchanged between customer and server - which are the variables taken into account in this study, but also information about the customer's age and the customer/server relationship. My purpose in doing so was to complete the picture of the social variables so that I could add further information where relevant in the analysis and also as areas for future research.

1.1.2. *Abbreviations and Conventions*

I wrote down not only the customer's requests, but the whole customer/server interaction so that the requests could be analysed and interpreted not as isolated units which may occur in some hypothetical situations, but as part of a real interactional context. I used a parenthesis () when there was something inaudible and a dotted line..... when I missed part of the interaction because the customer moved away from me or because of the noise. In the data preceding each interaction there is a parenthetical expression that gives all the information about the encounter. For example, (1.cl.f.35.A.c.) indicates encounter number 1 in my data, clothes-shop, female, 35 years old, social group A, customer. In the "Beginnings and Endings" tables some of these items are deleted, e.g. (11.46.c.)

where ll corresponds to the encounter number, 46 to the age, and c. to the customer/server relationship since the missing items ba. (encounter area), f. (sex) and A (social group) form part of the table.

1.2. *American Data*

The American data was selected from Merrit's articles "On questions following questions in service encounters" (1976) and "The Playback: An Instance of Variation in Discourse" (1977) as they were the only source of real service interactions I could find. The data consists of 25 service interactions recorded at a notions store, restaurant, market place, snack truck, cafeteria, luncheonette, school store and a drugstore. In order to identify each request I kept the same parenthetical expressions Merrit used to code 'the whereabouts of the encounter' in her data.

CHAPTER 2

ANALYSIS

Communicative decisions we take carry rewards and penalties because they do affect outcomes. We use language in the real world because we want to achieve things and when we use language effectively we are more likely to achieve our objectives. If we do not use it effectively we may suffer penalties because we fail to achieve our objectives.

Willis (1983:239)

2.1. *Review of the Literature*

2.1.1. *Introduction*

People's interaction does not consist of random utterances, rather speakers recognize a common purpose, and in order to achieve this common purpose speakers try to build their utterances into cooperative efforts. While speaking people are assumed to be working with reference to what Grice (1975:45, 46) calls the 'Cooperative Principle' and expresses through the following maxims:

1. Maxim of Quantity: the speaker should make his contribution as informative as required, but no more than that;
2. Maxim of Quality: the speaker should speak the truth, i.e., he should not say anything he believes untrue or lacks evidence for;

3. Maxim of Relation: the speaker should make his contribution relevant to the purpose of conversation;
4. Maxim of Manner: the speaker should avoid obscurity, ambiguity, disorderliness and wordiness in his use of language, i.e., he should be clear.

Thus, talking in terms of Grice's maxims is talking in a direct, clear and concise manner. However, people do not talk maxim-wise all the time. They can and they do deviate from Grice's maxims, and a major reason for doing so, as claimed by Brown and Levinson (1978:100) is 'the desire to give some attention to face.'

2.1.2. *Notion of Face, Notion of Politeness, Face Threatening Acts*

Brown and Levinson's notion of 'face' derives from that of Goffman (1967) who connects face with the notion of being humiliated or embarrassed, or 'losing face'. Thus, face, the public self-image everybody has, is something that 'can be lost, maintained, or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction' (Brown and Levinson 1978:66). Face is seen by Brown and Levinson (p.66, 67) as having two parts: the positive face, 'the positive consistent self-image or 'personality' (crucially including the desire to be ratified, understood, approved of, liked or admired)', and negative face, 'the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction - i.e. to freedom of action and freedom from imposition'. Brown and Levinson claim that people everywhere, no matter what their culture or their language, try to achieve

the same kinds of metagoals in interaction, and that they use the same strategic techniques to do so. Evidence of this assertion is provided by Brown and Levinson's (p.6) comparative study which shows that people in India, Mexico and Wales 'mark deference by hesitation and requests by a raised tone of voice.' Further observations show that these strategies, hesitation and high pitch, seem to have similar meanings across cultures. As a consequence of people having the same metagoals and using the same strategies, the restrictions they suffer seem to be the same across language and cultures. Thus, people everywhere, in order to accomplish their aims, must avoid threatening or antagonizing their hearers, or in other words, must secure the hearer's cooperation. This can be achieved by showing the hearer the speaker's concern in maintaining the hearer's face through the use of politeness strategies.

The notion of politeness is complex. Davison (1975:151-154) remarks that 'impolite' things can be said 'politely', e.g. "Oh, may I ask you to shut up?!", or 'polite' forms can be used with the purpose of expressing anger or rudeness, e.g. "Can I ask what you are going to do about my smashed headlights?" People know intuitively that polite forms can be used to mark distance, e.g. "May I offer you some lemonade?", in the same way impolite expressions can function as markers of solidarity, closeness and intimacy. e.g. "Have some lemonade." Leech (1983:109) describes politeness as 'minimizing impolite beliefs', and points out that 'politeness is a relationship between two participants' whom he calls 'self' and 'other', and who in conversation are referred to as 'speaker' and 'hearer' respectively. Goffman (1981:16) explains the function of

politeness as one of neutralizing 'the potentially offensive consequence of encroaching on another's territoriality with a demand'.

Thus, through politeness speakers may attempt to mitigate the kind of acts that constitute a threat to face, Face Threatening Acts (FTA). Brown and Levinson (1978:70-73) distinguish between acts that threaten the speaker's and/or the hearer's positive and/or negative face. Acts like offering thanks or excuses, accepting offers or making unwilling promises and offers threaten the speaker's negative face while apology, acceptance of a compliment, self-humiliation, emotional leakage threaten his positive face. Orders and requests, suggestions, reminders, warnings, offers and promises are some instances of acts that threaten the hearer's negative face while expressions of disapproval, criticism, accusations, insults, irreverence, blatant non-cooperation in an activity are face threatening acts to the hearer's positive face. At this point it is important to observe that Brown and Levinson's work emphasizes the hearer's face, and as such is basically concerned with politeness strategies used by speakers.

Given that FTAs are inescapable Brown and Levinson suggest that a speaker has two main options for doing FTAs, and his choice depends on his need to communicate the message contained in the FTA, his desire for efficiency or urgency, and his attempt to save the hearer's face. The speaker may either perform the act explicitly, or 'on record', e.g. "I promise to come tomorrow" (Brown and Levinson 1978:74) where he expresses unambiguously his intention of committing himself to that future act or he may perform the act implicitly, or 'off record', e.g. "Damn, I'm out of cash, I forgot to go to the

bank today" (Brown and Levinson 1978:74) where the speaker can express more than one clear communicative intention, i.e., he cannot be said to have committed himself to just one interpretation of his act. If the speaker chooses to go 'on record' he has three strategies to choose from:

a) with no mitigation at all which is in conformity with Grice's Maxims and occurs when the speaker's need to be efficient or urgent overrides his desire to maintain the hearer's face, e.g. "Help me";

b) with some mitigation directed to the hearer's positive face - positive politeness, 'the kernel of 'familiar' and 'joking' behaviour' (p.134), e.g. "Give me a hand, will you?";

c) with some mitigation directed to the hearer's negative face - negative politeness, 'the heart of respect behaviour' (p.134), e.g. "Could you help me please?".

There are factors that influence the speaker's choice of strategies which are the payoffs or advantages the speaker can get as a result of a particular FTA, and the circumstances in which it is used. The main advantages of performing on record are the speaker's avoidance of the risk of being misunderstood and of being seen as a manipulator. By performing on record with positive politeness, the speaker minimizes the FTA by showing that he identifies with the hearer and that they share a common want. By performing on record with negative politeness, the speaker gets one or more of the following advantages: he maintains social distance and avoids the risk of being overfamiliar with the hearer; he gives deference to the hearer in return for having made the FTA and minimizes the possibility of being in debt to the hearer, and he gives 'outs'

to the hearer by intimating that he does not necessarily expect agreement. Off record payoffs provide avoidance of the speaker's responsibility for his action and show him to be tactful. Thus, two general rules for the use of politeness strategies can be established: the use of positive politeness as 'a kind of social accelerator' (Brown and Levinson 1978:108) the speaker uses whenever he wants to come closer to the hearer, and the use of negative politeness strategies as 'a kind of social brake' (p.135) the speaker uses whenever he wants to keep some distance from the hearer and avoid overfamiliarity with him.

Brown and Levinson have established the following levels of politeness strategies in ascending order:

1. bald on record strategies,
2. on record strategies with positive politeness,
3. on record strategies with negative politeness,
4. off record strategies,

and explain that the more dangerous the speaker thinks the particular FTA is, the more likely he will be to opt for a higher numbered strategy. Lakoff (1973) associates the use of these higher numbered strategies to the increasing freedom of the hearer to refuse the FTA, or in other words, politeness increases as imposition decreases.

Besides the nature of face and practical reasoning, and the choice of strategies, the speaker must consider the circumstances in which the FTA will be performed. Van Dijk (1977a:219) points out that for an FTA to be performed successfully the speaker's position in relation to his hearer must be analysed which can be done by assessing

1. positions (e.g. roles, status, etc)
2. properties (e.g. sex, age, etc)
3. relations (e.g. dominance, authority, etc)
4. functions (e.g. 'father', 'waitress', 'judge', etc).

Brown and Levinson (1978:81-87) suggest that in order to calculate the weightiness of an FTA one must assess some sociological variables, such as the 'social distance' between the speaker and the hearer, the 'relative power' of the hearer over the speaker, and the degree to which the FTA is rated an imposition in a particular culture. 'Social distance' is a function of variables, such as sex, age, social group, frequency of interaction in a particular situation, and of 'the kinds of material and non-material goods exchanged between speaker and hearer' (Brown and Levinson 1978:82). 'Power' can be thought of as the extent to which the hearer can dominate the situation without taking into account the speaker's face. Sources of power can be either material or metaphysical and to some extent they derived from 'the temporary role of one person relative to another' (Leech 1983:126). Participants' rights and obligations and their aesthetic, cultural and moral values provide the basis for determining how much an FTA is considered to be an imposition in a culture.

Even though the weightiness of an FTA is assessed by the sum of these variables, values for distance, power and rating of imposition may change according to circumstances which make the speaker look for an appropriate strategy to make the desired FTA, e.g. the speaker performs off record when the speaker/hearer distance and the hearer's power are great, but the imposition is small, e.g. cleaner to housewife, "I think

I've done everything now" meaning "May I go now?", and the speaker also performs off record when this situation is reversed, e.g. woman to a friend, "What a pity I haven't got any money with me" intending to get her friend to lend her the money. On the other hand, the speaker performs on record with no mitigation at all when the speaker's power is weighted more than the speaker/hearer distance and the degree of imposition, e.g. teacher to student, "Write your composition now", and he also performs baldly on record when the urgency of the situation overrides any other concerns, e.g. "Hurry up". To sum up, then, values assessed for distance, power and rating of imposition are only valid when there is a particular speaker/hearer situation and when there is a particular FTA. This fact leads also to the conclusion that any speaker will tend to select the same politeness strategy under the same circumstances.

Each strategy provides an internal scale of degrees of politeness, but all of them present two general aspects concerning the linguistic realization of FTAs to serve politeness purposes. First, it involves the organization and ordering of the FTA so that a request like "If you don't mind me asking, where did you get that dress?" is more polite than "Where did you get that dress, if you don't mind me asking?" (Brown and Levinson 1978:98). The other general idea regarding outputs of all strategies implies that the more the speaker tries to maintain face, the more he will be seen as trying to satisfy the hearer's face. The speaker may achieve this effort by building a complex FTA where he uses one or other, or even several of the following: apologies, expressions of reluctance,

deference, belittling his own capacity, e.g. "I'm terribly sorry to bother you with a thing like this and in normal circumstances I wouldn't dream of it, since I know you're very busy, but I'm simply unable to do it myself, so..." (Brown and Levinson 1978:98).

2.1.3. *Requests*

The above example demonstrates simultaneously many of the concepts so far discussed - the 'notion of face', 'politeness' and 'face threatening acts'. It also presents some strategies people use while performing one of the most used functions of language in any social context, i.e., requesting. Labov (1977: 63) states that generally there is a 'compelling character to requests' and that 'all requests are basically requests for an action of some kind from the other person': service, information, confirmation, attention or approval. Brown and Levinson point out that requests are face threatening acts that primarily threaten the hearer's negative face by imposition. The speaker may minimize the imposition involved in the act of requesting itself by preferring an indirect strategy to a direct one.

Three main levels of 'directness' can be considered in requesting strategies:

- 'on record without mitigation' - most direct level,
- 'on record with mitigation' - less direct level,
- 'off record' - indirect level.

'On record without mitigation', such as imperative requesting - "Give it to me" - is the most explicit level which Brown and Levinson identify as requesting in conformity with Grice's

Maxims of Cooperation. Usually requests are made this way whenever the focus of interaction is task-oriented or whenever the speaker feels that face mitigation is irrelevant due to the need of efficiency and urgency of the situation, or familiarity is such that there is no need, i.e., inside a family. A less direct level occurs when the speaker phrases his request in a conventionally indirect way - "Can/Will you...", "Could/Would you..." - and performs 'on record with mitigation' to show his concern for the hearer's negative-face wants. The most open request level occurs when the speaker makes his request 'off record', e.g. "It's hot in here", where the hearer is free to interpret the statement as a simple comment or as a request to open or close the window and/ or the door according to situational clues.

2.1.4. *Requesting Strategies*

After the speaker's choice on the level of directness for performing the request by having taken into account the payoffs he wants to accomplish and having analysed the circumstances - his social distance from the hearer, the hearer's power and the degree of imposition involved - there are still several linguistic means the speaker can use to minimize the amount of threat in the request. Such minimizations might assume the form of *DISCOURSE STRATEGIES*, *LEXICO-GRAMMATICAL STRATEGIES*, *PHONOLOGICAL STRATEGIES* and *NON-VERBAL STRATEGIES*.

2.1.4.1. *Discourse Strategies*

Discourse Strategies are related to the context of the requesting situation and may be realized, for example, by complimenting the hearer and steering the conversation to mutual interests and general gossip so that the hearer feels confident that he has been sought out not only to do a favour. Thus, by using these discourse positive politeness strategies the speaker tries to arouse the hearer's good will in order to create a favourable emotional atmosphere for the request to happen, e.g. usually children and teenagers are very skilful in creating a favourable emotional atmosphere by talking and/or acting very politely in order to please their parents before asking them something imposing or before giving them some unpleasant news.

Discourse negative politeness strategies, which have the function of showing that the speaker is aware of the hearer's negative-face wants and tries to mitigate the inconvenience caused by the request, may be realized by admitting the inconvenience of the request ("Could I ask you a favour?"), by showing reluctance ("I don't want to interrupt you, but..."), by giving reasons for the request ("I forgot to... could you..."), and by asking forgiveness ("I'm sorry to bother you, but...").

Interestingly Brown and Levinson do not mention greetings and thanks, which Ferguson (1976:137) calls 'politeness formulas', as politeness strategies. Goody (1972), however, presents as one of the three 'general functions' linked to greetings the use of greetings as a strategy in order to achieve the desired result from the encounter by manipulating

the relationship. An interesting illustration of this point is provided by Irvine (1974 in Coulthard 1985:46) who observes that usually among the Wolof the lower status speaker greets the higher. However, a high status person may indulge in 'self-lowering' by greeting first because along with prestige there is the obligation of helping low status people. Greetings are also used as a positive politeness strategy to come closer to the hearer by greeting him informally, or as a negative politeness discourse strategy to mark identity and to maintain social distance by greeting the hearer formally. Thanks as a politeness discourse strategy shows in Goffman's (1981:16) words a 'display of gratitude for the service rendered and for its provider not taking the claim on himself amiss'.

2.1.4.2. *Lexical Alterations*

Lexico-grammatical Strategies are lexical or syntactic alterations within the structure of the request. *Lexical Alterations* may favour the establishment of a common-ground relationship between the speaker and the hearer. The use of jargon or slang terms shows that the speaker and the hearer have a joint reliance on specific things. Also due to this speaker/hearer reliance on 'shared mutual knowledge', they can use ellipsis and contraction in their requests in an interpretable manner. The use of generic forms and terms of address like 'mate', 'chief', 'luv', 'fellas' as well as the use of familiar address forms like 'honey', 'dear', 'darling', and diminutives and endearments in general to strangers claims in-group solidarity, and as such mitigates the request.

It is interesting to observe that sometimes in some cultures the use of these generic forms and terms of address with the purpose of claiming a familiarity which does not exist may antagonize the hearer. It is also interesting to observe that in some languages, Brazilian-Portuguese for example, the use of diminutives and endearments apart from their function as address forms may also have the function of stressing the speaker's desire to come closer to the hearer rather than an actual description of the speaker's actions and objects. In the same manner terms of address can be exploited to decrease the speaker/hearer distance in informal situations, they can be used to stress or increase distance in formal situations as a way of showing deference to the hearer and as such they serve a negative politeness purpose as pointed out by Brown and Levinson.

A last lexical positive politeness strategy that reduces the speaker/hearer distance, besides presupposing cooperation between them and thereby mitigating the request, is the use of the inclusive pronoun forms 'we/us' as well as the verb form 'let's' although the speaker is really meaning 'you' or 'me'.

The insertion of the adverb 'just' and the insertion of expressions like 'a tiny little bit', 'a little', 'a bit', 'a taste', 'a sip', as well as the insertion of 'please' in requests are examples of lexical negative politeness strategies that minimize the amount of imposition in the request. By performing so the speaker claims that the amount of imposition itself is not very great, and indirectly shows deference to the hearer by increasing the weightiness of the variable 'distance' and 'power'. The insertion of 'remote-possibility markers',

such as 'perhaps' and 'by any chance' indicates that the speaker is aware of the amount of imposition and feels pessimistic about the result of the request.

2.1.4.3. *Syntactic Alterations*

Mitigation in requests is also accomplished by *Syntactic Alterations* such as mood, modals, verb tenses and negation with tags which are related to the degree of politeness. According to Lakoff's (1973) politeness theory interrogatives are more polite than declaratives, which in turn are more polite than imperatives. Interrogatives are considered a more polite form of requesting since their linguistic realizations seem to give the hearer the option of refusal rather than the impression of imposition on the requested item. The modals 'will', 'can' and 'may' become conventionally indirect forms of introducing requests despite their intrinsic meanings. The past tense forms 'would', 'could' and 'might' are also used for requests with a present meaning and are more polite than the present tense forms since they sound less authoritative. 'Might' is a more diffident form than 'may' or 'would' and 'could', and by choosing it the speaker shows his hesitation about making the request. By changing from present into past tense the speaker makes himself distant from the 'here' and 'now' and performs negatively polite requests, e.g. "I wondered whether I might ask you..." (Brown and Levinson 1978:210). Apart from the speaker's attitude of hesitation and distance, syntactic negative mitigation may also express the speaker's pessimism in relation to the outcome of the request which can be realized

through the use of the negative with a tag ("You wouldn't have a smaller one, would you?") and by the use of the subjunctive ("If you gave me a discount, I would buy both.").

2.1.4.4. *Phonological Strategies*

Phonological Strategies, particularly intonation choices, may also mitigate the threatening character of requests.

Gumperz (1977:208) illustrates the importance of intonation by reporting the case of the 'newly hired Indian and Pakistani women' working in a cafeteria at a major London airport, who were considered rude and uncooperative by saying "Gravy" with falling intonation (which means 'This is gravy') instead of saying it with rising intonation "Gravy?" (which means 'Do you want some gravy?' or 'Would you like some gravy?').

Brown and Levinson are not concerned with phonological strategies and even do not mention intonation as a strategy the speaker/hearer may use to establish common-ground relationship.

2.1.4.5. *Non-verbal Strategies*

Non-verbal Strategies are expressive movements of the hands, arms, head and face. The face is by far the most communicative, e.g. establishing eye contact or smiling are non-verbal strategies that mitigate the threat of requests and may even have the illocutionary force of a request. Touching the hearer, a little touch on his arm or a pressure of the hands on his shoulder, is a non-verbal strategy quite common between friends. There are Brazilian men, for example, that

use to keep their right hand on their friend's left shoulder while speaking, and sometimes when the conversation becomes very enthusiastic a slap on the friend's back is considered natural. Thus, taking into account that touching implies a certain degree of familiarity, it is absolutely impolite and embarrassing when speakers force by touching an intimacy which does not exist.

2.1.5. *Requests for Service*

Usually people know the above strategies intuitively and use them successfully in different request situations, such as requesting information or services and asking favours. For the purpose of this study I will restrict the topic of requesting to requests for service.

A large percentage of requests for service occur in a particular social context or situation which Merrit (1977:198) identifies as 'service encounter' and defines as

an instance of face-to-face interaction between a server who is 'officially posted' in some service area and a customer who is present in that service area, that interaction being oriented to the satisfaction of the customer's presumed desire for some service and the server's obligation to provide that service.

Merrit illustrates as a 'typical service encounter' the interaction between a customer, the speaker, who enters a shop to buy something and a server, the hearer, who serves him. (From now on the terms 'speaker/hearer' will be replaced by 'customer/server' because of the characteristics of the situation under analysis, and also because speaker/hearer roles change while customer/server roles stay the same.) Since the

server is 'officially posted' in a particular service area to serve the customer, i.e., the focus of interaction is task-oriented, the degree of imposition of the requesting act is rated small, although it can increase according to the kind of goods asked for. Thus, the weightiness of the requesting act is assessed by the variables 'power' and 'social distance'. As the server's power derives from his role in relation to the customer, 'power' can be considered a constant variable and 'social distance' (sex, age, social group, frequency of customer/server interaction and the kind of goods exchanged between them) is then the most weighty variable and the one which will be emphasized in the present study.

Usually requests for service are made 'on record without mitigation' whenever the situation is urgent and efficiency is important particularly in 'rush hours' and standing in a queue, and 'on record with mitigation' in a buying/selling situation where requests can be more demanding. 'Off record requests' for service are not so frequent, but can happen when the customer's intention is ambiguous as when he utters "What lovely coats you have" which the server may interpret as a request to show him the coats or simply agree with him by saying "Yes, they've just arrived".

Even though the degree of imposition is rated small in service encounters as stated above, the customer is usually willing to create a sense of empathy in the server so that he is served well. It is also the other way round - the server may try to create a sense of empathy in the customer in order to sell. Customers and servers can accomplish this aim through 'positive politeness strategies' by creating a favourable

emotional atmosphere (small talk, compliments, greetings, thanks) and by establishing a common-ground relationship (brand names, ellipsis, terms of address, diminutives, endearments). Customers can also create a sense of empathy in the server through 'negative politeness strategies' by admitting the annoyance of the request ("Sorry if it's a bother, but..."), by giving reasons for the request ("I have a party tonight so..."), by showing deference (terms of address), by minimizing the imposition ("Could I just have a glance at..."), by being pessimistic about the results of the request ("By any chance you wouldn't ..., would you?) and by showing time distance (Past Tense - "I wondered whether ...").

Thus, positive politeness strategies and negative politeness strategies can be realized externally (Discourse Strategies) and internally (Lexico-grammatical Strategies) to the structure of the request as well as phonologically (Intonation Choices) and non-verbally (Gestures). For the purpose of this study I will take into account the most common *Lexico-grammatical Strategies* Brazilian customers use while requesting services as well as the two features of positive politeness discourse strategies - GREETINGS and THANKS (Chart of Strategies).

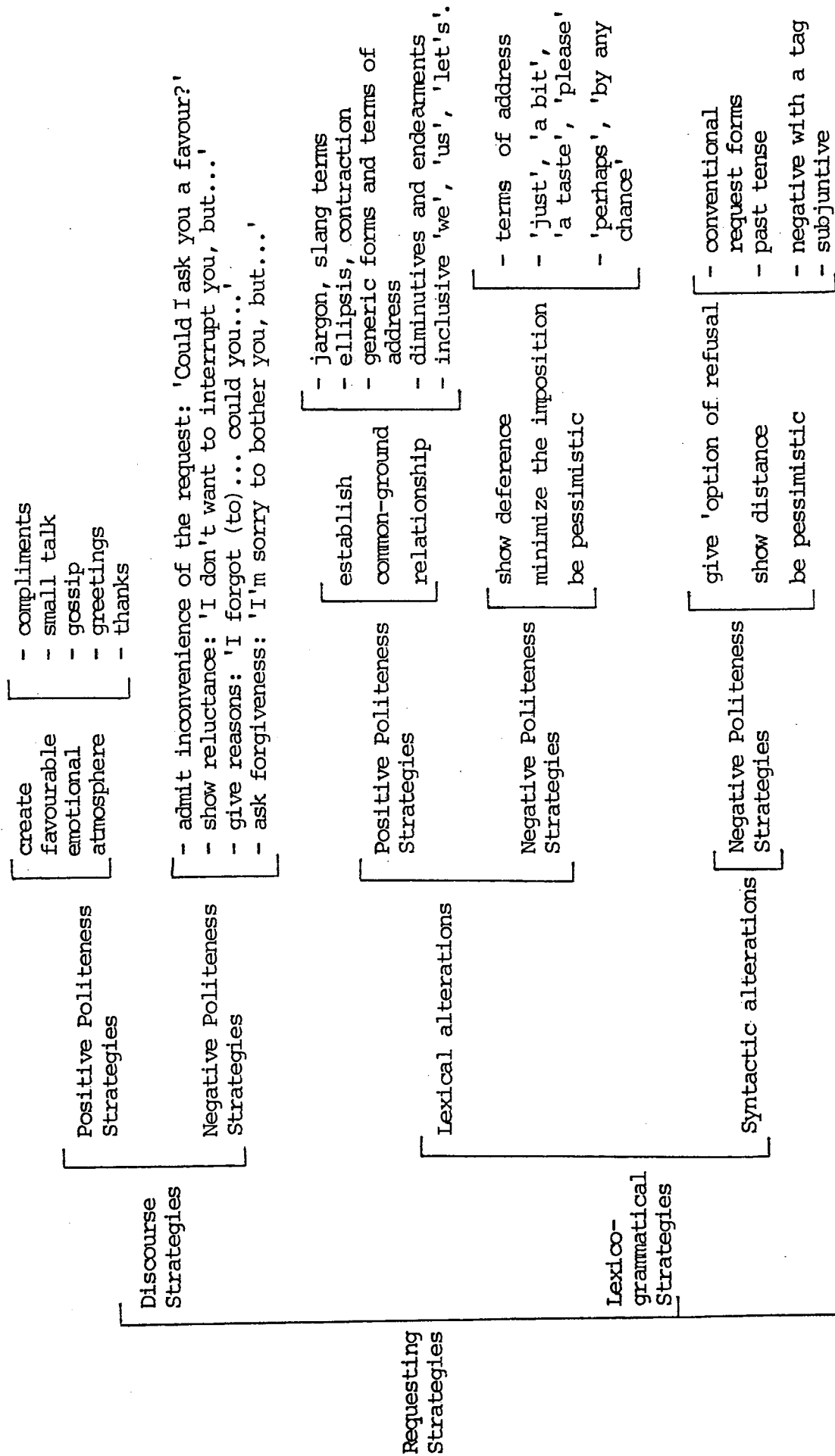


CHART of STRATEGIES

2.2. *Method of Analysis*

The analysis of data is divided into six sections. The first five sections (Chapter 3) present the results and discussion of each of the five situations under analysis and section six (Chapter 4) the summary tables, their discussion and conclusions. Each section presents three tables: Table 1 shows the most common requesting forms used in each service encounter, Table 2 the most used lexico-grammatical strategies which mitigate the threat of the requests, and Table 3 beginnings and endings of service interactions. In all the tables these subjects are related to the customers' sex and social group and to the area of the service encounter.

In order to complete Table 1 I selected the customer's first request in each interaction which was often performed in the imperative form (on record with or without mitigation), e.g.

(4.bu.f.25.A.c.)

Me dê 2 quilos de contrafilê. Bem limpinho.

(9.ban.m.33.B.c.)

Vê o saldo 8021100.

(1.ba.f.35.A.c.)

Dã 8 pães de trigo e 2 leite por favor.

(13.cl.m.70.A.rc.)

Me mostra uma cinta daquela.

(24.ph.m.27.A.c.)

Vê se me consegue isso aqui (handing the prescription), or in the form of a question, e.g.

(2.cl.m.26.A.c.)

Vocês têm calção de banho?

(10.ban.f.25.A.c.)

Você pode dar uma olhadinha no meu saldo lá por favor?

(23.ph.m.28.B.c.)

Tens esse remédio aqui?

The imperative form which usually states a clear demand for action is easily labelled as a request for service. The same, however, does not happen with the question form which allows two labels: as a request for service and as a request for information. The labelling of the customer's question as a request for service or as a request for information depends on the customer/server interaction sequence. According to Merrit (1976:340)

it is the server's response to the customer's query, and the customer's following move that dictate the pragmatic value of the customer's initial request.

Some examples,

(1). (13.bu.f.63.B.c.)

C - Tens músculo?

S - Tem.

C - Me dá 1 quilo.

S - 1 quilo de músculo.

(2). (17.cl.f.55.A.c.)

S - Senhora?

C - Vocês têm camisa esporte?

S - Temos. Qual é o tamanho?

C - 4.

S - 4 né? A senhora tem preferência de cor?

C - ()

S - Depois tem assim lisinha. Essa aqui é de linho.

É um linhozinho.

C - Deixa essa aí. Vou dar uma olhadinha. Obrigada.

(3). (20.ph.m.35.A.c.)

C - Tem () gotas?

S - (goes to fetch it) Que mais amigo?

C - Sô isso.

In (1) the customer's question is answered explicitly 'Tem', and the server does not make any move to start service until the customer really requests service with 'Me dá 1 quilo.' In this example the server has interpreted the customer's initial question as only a request for information. In (2) the server's answer is also explicit 'Temos' but it is followed by a 'request for decision information' - 'Qual é o tamanho?' Here the customer's initial question is answered as both a request for information and a request for service. In (3) the server's answer is not explicit, but it can be inferred by his action and by his next question - 'Que mais amigo?' Thus, the server answered the customer's question as a request for service and not only as a request for information. I will look at requests for information later, and the data is presented in Table 3.

The most direct way of asking for service in buying/selling situations is to state the kind of goods, e.g.

(2.ba.f.40.A.c.) 4 leites.

(9.bu.m.51.B.c.) Alcatre.

(5.cl.m.66.A.c.) Chapéu.

(2.ph.f.28.B.c.) Iodo.

(3.ban.f.49.B.c.) Pensão.

Such requests are considered to be in the elliptical imperative form. Ervin-Tripp (1976:30) states that although

imperatives normally include a verb and, if it is transitive, an object, and sometimes a beneficiary. In situations where the necessary action is obvious, it is common to produce

elliptical forms specifying only the new information - the direct or indirect object.

Another concern with elliptical requests is that it is impossible to determine their complete form since any of the following forms could be used

Dã/Me dã ...	8 pães de trigo
Vê/Me vê ...	
Eu quero/Quero ...	

or even other ones, such as

Quer/Pode me dar ...	8 pães de trigo?
Podia/Poderia me ver ...	

Besides the elliptical form, the complete imperative form ('Dã/Me dã ...', 'Vê/Me vê ...') and the question forms ('Vocês têm/Tem/Tens ...', 'Quer/Posso/Você pode/Pode ...?', 'Podia/Poderia ...?') complete the table of forms of requests.

Requesting forms can be marked by lexico-grammatical strategies indicating politeness. Table 2 presents the following syntactic mitigations: the use of the Present Tense, the 'Imperfeito de cortesia' (Past Imperfect) and of question forms.

The Present Tense forms 'Eu quero/Quero ...' represent the strategy type 'Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984:202) classify as 'scope stating': 'the utterance expresses the speaker's intentions, desire or feeling vis à vis the fact that the hearer do X.' Thus, although a direct strategy as well, present tense requests do not have the same imposing character as imperative requests.

The 'imperfeito de cortesia' form 'Eu queria/Queria...' are used 'pelo presente do indicativo, como forma de polidez para atenuar uma afirmação ou um pedido' (Cunha e Cintra 1985: 440). The use of the 'imperfeito de cortesia' as well as of the present tense, and also of the future of the past tense ('Poderia...?') in question form stresses the idea of politeness even further since by asking 'Vocês têm/Tem/Tens...?', 'Você pode/Pode...?' or 'Podia/Poderia...?' the customer is actually meaning 'Eu queria/Queria ver...' or 'Eu quero/Quero...' or even 'Dã/Me dã...'

Table 2 also presents the following lexical mitigations: the use of diminutives, of 'me/prã mim' and of 'por favor'. Diminutives do not always express a literal description of the speaker's objects and actions as Cunha and Cintra (1985:192) point out

... AUMENTATIVO e DIMINUTIVO nem sempre indica o aumento ou a diminuição do tamanho de um ser. Ou melhor, essas noções são expressas em geral pelas formas analíticas, especialmente pelos adjetivos **grande** e **pequeno**, ou sinônimos, que acompanham o substantivo.

In the situation under analysis the use of diminutives reflects the customer's desire to come closer to the server or to mitigate the imposition of the request, e.g.

(20.bu.m.36.A.c.)

'Churrasquinho' vê 2 quilos prã mim.

(18.ban.f.29.B.c.)

Dã uma 'olhadinha' na 15 () e confirma se é minha, Salete ().

The 'pronome oblíquo tônico mim' preceded by the preposition 'prã' may have an appealing function, e.g.

(1.bu.m.30.A.c.)

8 quilos de alcatre 'prã mim',

where 'prã mim' suggests the idea of the customer claiming a certain degree of personal relationship with the server. In this butcher's shop request 'prã mim' is an optional mitigation strategy and does not add relevant information. However, the same is not true with clothes-shop requests, e.g.

(25.cl.m.15.B.c.)

Queria vê uma calça 'prã mim',

where 'prã mim' is relevant as it adds further information to the requested item and helps the server to perform his function. 'Prã mim' may also appear emphatically as a repetition of the pronoun 'me' or of the possessive adjective 'meu', e.g.

(18.ba.f.20.B.c.)

'Me' vê 10 pãezinhos 'prã mim'.

(20.ban.m.50.B.rc.)

Quê vê 'meu' saldo 'prã mim'?

Although not so appealing the 'pronome oblíquo átono me' has the same function as 'prã mim', e.g.

(20.ba.f.15.A.c.)

'Me' vê 7 pães de trigo e 2 doce,

where 'me' can be substituted by 'prã mim' - Vê 7 pães de trigo e 2 doce prã mim.

The politeness formula 'por favor' as a strategy for mitigating requests is emphasized by Cunha and Cintra (1985:470)

Entre os numerosos meios que nos servimos para enfraquecer a noção de comando, devemos ressaltar pela sua eficiência, o emprego de fórmulas de polidez ou de civilidade, tais como: por favor, por gentileza,

as for instance,

(8.ban.f.47.A.c.)

Meu saldo 'por favor'.

Finally, Table 3 presents how many times and which greetings, information requests, thanks and farewell expressions are used in service encounters. Regarding information requests it is important to observe that most of them may function as prerequests and can be seen as discourse politeness strategies since they avoid both sides of interaction losing face: one does not make a request that will be refused, and the other does not have to refuse.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1. *Introduction*

I have so far considered the field methods, reviewed the literature and established the method of analysis. Now, I will present the tables with the results of my analysis of the requests in each of the five service encounter situations, explain the tables and discuss the results.

3.2. Baker's shop Interactions

Table ba.1 - FORMS of REQUESTS

Table showing forms of requests, the number of times each category of request was used and the corresponding percentage, and this distribution of instances according to the sex and social group of the customers.

Forms of requests	Nº	%	F.	M.	A	B
Elliptical form	29	58.	13	16	16	13
Dã/Me dã ...	9	18.	5	4	4	5
Eu quero/Quero...	7	14.	4	3	3	4
Vê/Me vê ...	5	10.	3	2	2	3
TOTAL	50	100.	25	25	25	25

The largest number of requests was in the 'elliptical form' (e.g. '6 trigo e 1 leite') which represents 58% of the total number of requests collected. It was more used by man (16) than women (13) and by group A customers (16) than by group B customers (13). Other significant forms include

Dã/Me dã ... 18%

Eu quero/Quero ... 14%

Table ba.2 - **SYNTACTIC and LEXICAL ALTERATIONS**

Table showing mitigation strategies and number of mitigation strategies used with corresponding totals.

Syntactic Alterations					Lexical Alterations				
Group	Sex	Pres. Tense	Imp. de cortesia	Question form	TOTAL	Dimin.	me/ prã mim	por favor	TOTAL
A 25	F 14	1	-	-	1	5	3	2	10
	M 11	2	-	-	2	2	-	3	5
B 25	F 11	3	-	-	3	2	3	-	5
	M 14	1	-	-	1	4	1	-	5
50	50	7	-	-	7	13	7	5	25

The total number of lexical alterations (25) used by baker's shop customers was higher than that of syntactic alterations (7). Lexical alterations were more used by women (15 times) and by group A customers (15 times). Diminutives were the most used lexical alteration, and women used them 7 times and so did group A customers. The 'Present Tense' was the only syntactic alteration used at the baker's, and it was more used by women (4 times) and by group B customers (4 times).

Table ba.3 - **BEGINNINGS and ENDINGS**

Table showing beginnings and endings of interactions.

Group	Sex	Greetings	Information request	Thanks	Farewell
A 25	F 14	11.46.c.) Boa Tarde. 16.50.rc.) Boa tarde. 17.30.c.) Olá. Tudo bem?	7.38.c.) Tá saindo pão?	22.41.c.) Obrigada.	-
	M 11	-	-	11.46.c.) Obrigado.	-
B 25	F 11	5.30.rc.) Oi. Tudo bem?	-	-	-
	M 14	-	-	14.21.c.) Obrigado.	-
50	50	4	1	3	-

Out of the 50 baker's shop customers 4 women (3 belonging to group A) started the encounter with a greeting and one with a request for information. Only 3 customers (2 men and 1 woman) finished the encounter by saying 'Obrigado' 2 of whom belonged to group A. None of the customers said good-bye.

In this research almost all the baker's shop customers opted for making their requests directly by using the imperative mood: elliptical and complete forms (Table ba.1), e.g.

(4.ba.f.15.B.c.)

10 pães doce.

(7.ba.m.29.A.c.)

Dá 2 leites e 1 pão caseiro.

The imposing character of these requests is mitigated by the use of the 'present tense' (Table ba.2), e.g.

(6.ba.m.61.A.c.)

Eu quero () trigo e 2 leites

(3.ba.f.28.B.c.)

Quero 8 trigo,

by the use of 'diminutives' which in this context do not describe the size of the bread, but rather function affectively and mark the customer's desire to come closer to the server as do 'me/prá mim' which emphasize the personal relationship, and by the use of 'por favor', e.g.

(25.ba.f.42.A.c.)

8 'pãezinhos' de trigo

(7.ba.f.38.A.c.)

Então 'me' dá 6 de sal e 2 desse 'docinho'

(11.ba.m.46.A.c.)

() trigo e 4 'massinha' 'por favor'

(18.ba.f.20.B.c.)

'Me' vê 10 'pãezinhos' 'prá mim'.

'Faz favor' appears as a variant form of 'por favor', e.g.

(10.ba.m.27.A.c.)

6 pães e 1 leite 'faz favor'.

Besides the above lexical positive politeness strategies Brown and Levinson (1978:116) associate the use of ellipsis with positive politeness as well since by using it the customer indicates that he wants to come closer to the server by showing they share some mutual knowledge. Some usual examples of omission of words in baker's shop requests are

(5.ba.m.52.A.c.)

5 pães

(24.ba.f.50.A.c.)

8 trigo

(7.ba.f.38.A.c.)

Então me dá 6 de sal...

(6.ba.f.14.A.c.)

4 de água, 4 doce e 2 leite,

whose complete form would be

'5 pães de trigo'

'8 pães de trigo'

'Então me dá 6 pães de sal...'

'4 pães de água, 4 pães doce e 2 litros de leite.'

In order for these requests to be understandable customer and server must share the knowledge that 'pão', 'trigo', 'de sal', 'de água' all refer to the same kind of bread in the same manner 'leite/leites' refers to 'litro de leite'. Cunha and Cintra (1985:602) explain some of these omissions of words as cases of 'derivação imprópria, nos quais o termo expresso absorve o conteúdo significativo do termo omitido', e.g. 5 pães (de trigo), 8 (pães de) trigo, 2 (litros de) leite.

Table ba.2 shows that baker's shop customers prefer lexical mitigation strategies to syntactic ones, and among the lexical strategies positive ones (diminutives, *me/prá mim*) are preferred to negative politeness strategies (*por favor*).

Very few customers (4) greeted the servers (Table ba.3), only one, a woman, started the interaction with a request for information, and only 3 thanked for the service which shows that Brazilian customers are rather moderate in their use of 'Obrigado' (as well as 'por favor') at the baker's shop.

It is very difficult to see any marked differences regarding degrees of politeness in the requests so far analysed. The urgency of the situation, and the desire to save time through efficiency overrides the customer's concerns about the server's positive or negative face, though intonation is a very strong way of marking politeness in Brazilian-Portuguese and I was not able to take account of this. By applying Lakoff's (1973) politeness theory that interrogatives are more polite than declaratives, which in turn are more polite than imperatives - it is significant to notice that there are no occurrence of question forms and only 7 uses of present tense at the baker's shop.

3.3. Butcher's shop Interactions

Table bu.1 - FORMS of REQUESTS

Table showing forms of requests, the number of times each category of request was used and the corresponding percentage, and this distribution of instances according to the sex and social group of the customers.

Forms of requests	Nº	%	F.	M.	A	B
Elliptical form	22	44.	10	12	10	12
Vê/Me vê ...	9	18.	3	6	3	6
Dá/Me dá ...	8	16.	4	4	3	5
Eu quero/Quero	6	12.	5	1	4	2
Tem/Tens ...?	4	8.	3	1	2	2
Pesa ...	1	2.	0	1	0	1
TOTAL	50	100.	25	25	22	28

The largest number of requests was in the 'elliptical form' (e.g. '1 quilo de asa') which represents 44% of the total number of requests collected. The number of men who used this form was slightly higher (12) than that of women (10). Group B customers used it 12 times while group A customers used it 10 times. Other significant forms include

Vê/Me vê... 18%

Dá/Me dá... 16%

Table bu.2 - SYNTACTIC and LEXICAL ALTERATIONS

Table showing mitigation strategies and number of mitigation strategies used with corresponding totals.

Syntactic Alterations						Lexical Alterations			
Group	Sex	Pres. Tense	Imp. de cortesia	Question form	TOTAL	Dimin.	me/prá mim	por favor	TOTAL
A 22	F 11	3	-	1	4	2	2	1	5
	M 11	1	-	1	2	1	4	-	5
B 28	F 14	2	-	2	4	1	3	-	4
	M 14	-	-	-	-	1	6	-	7
50	50	6	-	4	10	5	15	1	21

The total number of lexical alterations (21) used by butcher's shop customers was higher than that of syntactic alterations (10). Lexical alterations were more used by men (12 times), and almost equally used by group A (10 times) and group B customers (11 times). 'Me/prá mim' was the most used lexical alteration and it was more used by men (10 times) and by group B customers (9 times). The 'Present Tense' was the most used syntactic alteration, and it was more used by women (5 times) and by group A customers (4 times).

Table bu.3 - BEGINNINGS and ENDINGS

Table showing beginnings and endings of interactions.

Group	Sex	Greetings	Information request	Thanks	Farewell
A 22	F 11	-	3.45.c.) Tem colchão mole?	9.56.c.) Pode. Obrigada. 10.25.c.) Obrigada. 24.42.c.) É. Obrigada. 25.50.c.) Sô. Obrigada.	-
	M 11	-	-	1.30.c.) Obrigado. 8.75.c.) É. Pesa ele. Obrigado. 14.52.c.) Obrigado. Tô obrigado. 17.37.c.) Obrigado e igualmente.	-
B 28	F 14	-	7.18.c.) Bisteca de porco é 19 mil? 13.63.c.) Tens músculo? 15.40.c.) Tens colchão?	-	-
	M 14	-	5.62.c.) Tem posta?	21.20.c.) Obrigado.	-
50	50	-	5	9	-

None of the butcher's shop customers opened the encounter with a greeting, and 5 (4 women and 1 man) opened it with a request for information, 4 of whom were group B customers. Out of the 50 customers 9 (4 women and 5 men), 8 of whom were group A customers, closed the encounter by saying 'Obrigado'. None of the customers said good-bye.

The majority of the requests made at the butcher's shop (Table bu.1) are in the imperative mood, either the elliptical or the complete form, with the exception of four requests uttered in the form of a question:

(11.bu.f.50.A.c.)

Só tem esses churrasquinhos?

(14.bu.f.30.B.c.)

Tens patinho?

(17.bu.f.49.B.c.)

Tem lombo?

(2.bu.m.31.A.c.)

Tem alcatre?

As happened at the baker's shop the elliptical form is not only the most used, but also the most popular requesting form at the butcher's.

The butcher's shop data presents the following instances of lexical mitigation strategies (Table bu.2):

1. Out of all diminutive forms that appear at the butcher's - churrasquinho (twice), chuletinhas, patinho, asinha, lombinho and filezinho - 'lombinho' and 'filezinho', even though diminutive forms of 'lombo' and 'filé' are not considered mitigation strategies since they name distinct kinds of meat: 'lombinho' stands for pork loin while 'lombo' refers to loin of beef, and 'filezinho' means exclusively pork while 'filé', refers to cattle.

2. As occurred at the baker's shop the use of the 'pronomes oblíquos me/mim' at the butcher's also claims personal relationship and is emphatic, e.g.

(4.bu.f.25.A.c.)

'Me' dā 2 quilos de contrafilé (which means the same as 'Dā 2 quilos de contrafilé'),

(1.bu.m.30.A.c.)

8 quilos de alcatre 'prā mim' (which is the same as '8 quilos de alcatre').

Interestingly all instances of 'prā mim' at the butcher's are provided by men:

(1.bu.m.30.A.c.)

8 quilos de alcatre prā mim.

(20.bu.m.36.A.c.)

Churrasquinho, vê 2 quilos prā mim.

(5.bu.m.62.B.c.)

Pesa 2 quilos prā mim.

(6.bu.m.39.B.c.)

Patinho prā mim.

(7.bu.m.22.B.c.)

2 quilos de paleta prā mim.

3. The single example of the use of a lexical negative politeness strategy is given by the request

(24.bu.f.42.A.c.)

1 quilo de alcatre e meio dessa moída 'faz favor' which shows that butcher's shop customers prefer lexical positive politeness strategies. Results of Table bu.2 also substantiate that butcher's shop customers prefer lexical alterations as mitigation strategies to syntactic ones.

Results of Table bu.3 show that usually customers do not greet nor say good-bye at the butcher's since out of 50 customers no one did so. The number of customers who finished

the encounter by saying 'Obrigado' at the butcher's is exactly three times more than that at the baker's shop. A possible explanation for this higher number of thanks at the butcher's may rest upon the server's sex: butcher's shop servers are usually men while baker's shop servers are usually women (most of whom teenagers) and both male and female customers seem to be more at ease when addressing a female server. Brouwer's (1982:697) research about sex differences in language use at the ticket offices at the Central Station in Amsterdam substantiates this conclusion by claiming that 'both women and men - were more polite to the male ticket sellers than to the female ticket sellers.'

The number of customers who started their encounter with a request for information at the butcher's is also higher than that at the baker's. The butcher's shop customers who started their interaction with the information request 'Tem/Tens...?' were making a request about availability since at the time this data was collected (August 86) there was a shortage of meat. Although I am not concerned with the psychological aspect of the interactions under investigation, the special situation Brazilian consumers of meat were living at that time ('Cruzado Plan') - standing in queues for hours - makes worth noticing some unusual interactions as the following

(23.bu.f.46.B.c.)

C - 1 quilo de asa.

S - Com desodorante ou sem desodorante?

C - Pode ser sem. Eu desinfeto em casa.

where the server tries to lessen the tension of the situation by joking.

Regarding Lakoff's (1973) politeness theory the following

ascending scale of politeness is noticeable in butcher's shop requests:

- elliptical/complete imperative forms

(4.bu.m.30.A.c.)

Meio quilo de carne moída.

(4.bu.f.25.A.c.)

Me dê 2 quilos de contrafilé.

- softened imperative form

(1.bu.f.35.A.c.)

Eu quero lombinho.

(19.bu.f.54.B.c.)

Quero 5 quilos de colchão mole.

- question form

(2.bu.m.31.A.c.)

Tem alcatre?

(14.bu.f.30.B.c.)

Tens patinho?

3.4. Clothes - shop Interactions

Table cl.1 - FORMS of REQUESTS

Table showing forms of requests, the number of times each category of request was used and the corresponding percentage, and this distribution of instances according to the sex and social group of the customers.

Forms of requests	Nº	%	F.	M.	A	B
Vocês têm/Tem/Tens ...?	17	34.	9	8	10	7
Elliptical form	15	30.	9	6	6	9
Eu queria/Queria	12	24.	5	7	6	6
Quero ...	3	6.	0	3	1	2
Posso ver?	1	2.	1	0	1	0
Deixa eu dar uma olhadinha.	1	2.	1	0	0	1
Me mostra ...	1	2.	0	1	1	0
TOTAL	50	100.	25	25	25	25

The largest number of requests was in the question form ('Vocês têm/Tem/Tens...?') which represents 34% of the total number of requests collected. It was almost equally used by men (8) and women (9), and it was more used by group A customers (10) than by group B customers (7). Other significant forms include

Elliptical form	30%
Eu queria/Queria ...	24%

Table cl.2 - SYNTACTIC and LEXICAL ALTERNATIONS

Table showing mitigation strategies and number of mitigation strategies used with corresponding totals.

Syntactic Alterations						Lexical Alterations			
Group	Sex	Pres. Tense	Imp. de cortesia	Question Form	TOTAL	Dimin.	me/ prá mim	por favor	TOTAL
A 25	F 12	-	4	5	9	4	-	-	4
	M 13	1	2	6	9	1	1	-	2
B 25	F 13	-	1	5	6	3	-	-	3
	M 12	2	5	2	9	-	-	-	-
50	50	3	12	18	33	8	1	-	9

The total number of syntactic alterations used by clothes-shop customers was much higher (33) than that of lexical alterations (9). Syntactic alterations were more used by men (18 times) and by group A customers (18 times). The 'question form' was the most used syntactic alteration, and it was more used by women (10 times) and by group A customers (11 times). 'Diminutives' were the most used lexical alteration and they were more used by women (7 times) and by group A customers (5 times).

Table cl.3 - **BEGINNINGS** and **ENDINGS**

Table showing beginnings and endings of interactions.

Group	Sex	Greetings	Information request	Thanks	Farewell
A 25	F 12	3.35.c.) Oi. Você tem... 7.34.c.) Boa tarde. Pijama...	10.42.c.) Moça, qual é o preço daquele pijamão ali da vitrine? 11.22.c.) Tens jardineirinha de brim pra criança?	1.35.c.) () Obrigada. + 3.35.c.) Não dessa aqui não. Obrigada. + 6.50.c.) Deu filha. Obrigada. + 7.34.c.) Obrigada. + 10.42.c.) Obrigada. 11.22.c.) Então deixe. Obrigada. + 17.55.c.) Vou dar uma olhadinha. Obrigada. +	-
	M 13	13.70.rc.) Boa tarde. Como vai?	-	2.26.c.) Tã. Obrigado, hem. + 3.20.c.) Obrigado. + 5.66.c.) Muito obrigado. + 6.20.c.) Tã. Deu. Obrigado. + 7.60.c.) Obrigado. + 10.38.c.) Obrigado. 11.22.rc.) Obrigado. 13.70.rc.) Muito obrigado e desculpe o incômodo. +	14.60.rc.) Até logo.
B 25	F 13	12.23.c.) Boa tarde.	12.23.c.) Tens alguma camisinha de gola, xadrezinha ou lisinha pra 2 anos?	14.64.c.) Muito obrigada. + 19.18.c.) Então deixa. Obrigada. + 20.23.c.) Tã. Obrigada. + 21.30.c.) Não. Obrigada. + 22.24.c.) Obrigada. + 24.60.c.) Obrigada. +	23.18.c.) Tchau.
	M 12	-	-	15.25.c.) Tã Obrigado. + 16.32.c.) Obrigado. 23.17.c.) Vou dar uma volta por aí. Obrigado. +	-
50	50	4	3	24	2

+ no purchase

Only 4 (3 women and 1 man) of the clothes-shop customers, 3 of whom were A customers, opened the encounter with a greeting, and 3 women opened it with a request for information. Almost half of the customers closed the encounter by saying 'Obrigado' and out of these 24 customers 13 were women. Group A customers said 'Obrigado' more often (15 times) than group B customers (9 times). The asterisk after the thanks indicates that there was no purchase. Out of the 50 customers only 2 closed the encounter by saying 'Até logo' (1 male A customer) and 'Tchau' (1 female B customer).

The three most popular forms of requesting service at the clothes-shop are (Table cl.1):

1. The question form 'Vocês têm/Tem/Tens ...?', the most used, whose illocutionary force is 'Eu queria ...', 'Eu quero...!' or even 'Eu quero/Queria ver ...', e.g.

(2.cl.m.26.A.c.)

C - Vocês têm calção de banho?

S - Lycra?

C - É.

S - Médio?

C - É. Acho que é.

2. The 'elliptical form', e.g.

(7.cl.f.34.A.c.) Pijama prá homem.

(25.cl.f.40.B.c.) Blusa.

(5.cl.m.66.A.c.) Chapéu.

(20.cl.m.25.A.c.) Terno.

3. The 'imperfeito de cortesia' form, e.g.

(16.cl.m.32.B.c.)

C - Queria vê calça.

S - Tamanho?

C - 40, 42.

S - Calvin Klein tu gosta, não?

.....

Other variations of the form 'Queria ver' are

(23.cl.f.18.B.c.)

'Queria olhã' uma calça jeans.

(15.cl.m.25.B.c.)

Eu 'queria dã uma olhada' numa calça.

(6.cl.m.20.A.c.)

'Queria dā uma olhadinha' em shorts,

where the expression 'dar uma olhada/olhadinha' mitigates the verb ver/olhar.

After the baker's shop (Table ba.2) the clothes-shop is the place where customers use most diminutives (Table cl.2), e.g.

(1.cl.f.35.A.c.)

Eu queria vê 'roupinha' prá nenen de 9 meses.

(2.cl.f.48.A.c.)

Queria 'vestidinho' de menina nº 1.

(11.cl.f.22.A.c.)

2 'aninhos'.

(12.cl.f.23.B.c.)

Deixa eu dar uma 'olhadinha'.

(16.cl.f.33.B.c.)

'Conjuntinho' prá menino.

(18.cl.f.50.B.c.)

Tens 'meinha' prá ela?

(6.cl.m.20.A.c.)

Queria dā uma 'olhadinha' em shorts.

(8.cl.f.31.A.c.)

Escuta, eu queria um 'presentinho' prá 15 anos (here 'presentinho' also means 'something not expensive').

This conclusion reaffirms results of Table cl.2 which show that among lexical alterations clothes-shop customers prefer positive ones. General results of Table cl.2 also show that clothes-shop customers prefer syntactic alterations to mitigate their requests rather than lexical ones.

Table cl.3 shows that out of the 4 customers who started their interaction by greeting the server, 3 used 'Boa tarde', a

more formal greeting, and I used 'Oi', an informal greeting. One customer finished his interaction by saying 'Até logo', a formal farewell form, and another one by saying 'Tchau', an informal one.

It is interesting to observe that in 24 interactions the thanking formula 'Obrigado' was more used when there was no purchase (20 times) than when there was (4 times), e.g.

(3.cl.f.35.A.c.)

C - Oi. Você tem meia-calça de ().

S - Não.

C - O que você tem de branco? Deixa eu dar uma olhadinha.

.....

Não dessa aqui não. Obrigada.

(23.cl.m.17.B.c.)

C - Tens calça jeans prá homem?

S - (nods) Da Lee.

C - Posso provar?

S - Lá no final tem provador.

Deu?

C - Não.

S - Queres uma 44?

C - 44 fica muito grande. Não tem da Levis?

Vou dar uma volta por aí. Obrigado.

It seems to me that when there was no purchase 'Obrigado' was uttered as an excusing strategy the customer uses for not buying anything, and as such not fulfilling the server's desire to sell, rather than as a 'display of gratitude for the service rendered' (Goffman 1981:16). It also seems to me that in most

of the interactions 'Obrigado' sounds as a gentle or polite way of saying 'Não vou levar', e.g.

(19.cl.f.18.B.c.)

C - Camisa prá ele (referring to her boyfriend)
você têm?

S - Manga comprida ou curta? Tamanho?

C - Deixa vê. 3. Qual é o preço?

S - ()

C - Então deixa. Obrigada.

(10.cl.f.42.A.c.)

C - Moça, qual é o preço daquele pijaminho ali da vitrine?

S - É 265.

C - Posso ver?

.....

C - Obrigada.

The formal thanking form 'Muito obrigado' appears 3 times and it was only used by people over 64 years old.

A possible ascending requesting scale of politeness at the clothes-shop is

- elliptical form

(10.cl.m.38.A.c.) Calças jeans.

(16.cl.f.33.B.c.) Conjuntinho prá menino.

- softened imperative form

(22.cl.m.55.B.rc.) Quero vê uma calça.

- 'imperfeito de cortesia'

(15.cl.m.25.B.c.) Eu queria dá uma olhada numa calça.

(2.cl.f.48.A.c.) Queria vestidinho de menina nº 1.

- question form

(8.cl.m.69.A.c.) Tem aí daquela cueca de elástico?

(18.cl.f.50.B.c.) Tens minha prá ela?

(17.cl.f.55.A.c.) Vocês têm camisa esporte?

3.5. Pharmacy Interactions

Table ph.1 - FORMS of REQUESTS

Table showing forms of requests, the number of times each category of request was used and the corresponding percentage, and this distribution of instances according to the sex and social group of the customers.

Forms of requests	Nº	%	F.	M.	A	B
Vocês têm/Tem/Tens ...?	27	54.	12	15	10	17
Elliptical form	9	18.	6	3	5	4
Eu quero/Quero ...	7	14.	6	1	5	2
Queria ...	3	6.	1	2	3	0
Vê se ...	2	4.	0	2	1	1
Me dá ...	1	2.	0	1	0	1
Vou levar ...	1	2.	0	1	1	0
TOTAL	50	100.	25	25	25	25

The largest number of requests was in the question form ('Vocês têm/Tem/Tens ...?') which represents 54% of the total number of requests collected. It was more used by men (15 times) and by group B customers (17 times). Other significant forms include

Elliptical form	18%
Eu quero/Quero ...	14%

Table ph.2 - **SYNTACTIC and LEXICAL ALTERATIONS**

Table showing mitigation strategies and number of mitigation strategies used with corresponding totals.

Syntactic Alterations						Lexical Alterations			
Group	Sex	Pres. Tense	Imp. de cortesia	Question form	TOTAL	Dimin.	me/prá mim	por favor	TOTAL
A 25	F 13	4	1	4	9	-	-	-	-
	M 12	1	2	6	9	-	1	-	1
B 25	F 12	2	-	8	10	1	-	-	1
	M 13	-	-	9	9	-	1	-	1
50	50	7	3	27	37	1	2	-	3

The total number of syntactic alterations used by pharmacy customers was much higher (37) than that of lexical alterations (3). Syntactic alterations were almost equally used by men (18 times) and by women (19 times) as well as by A customers (18 times) and by B customers (19 times). The 'question form' was the most used syntactic alteration, and it was more used by men (15 times) and by group B customers (17 times). Although the number of lexical alterations was very small, 'me/prá mim' was the most used lexical alteration (twice). It was used by men of different social groups.

Table ph.3 - BEGINNINGS and ENDINGS

Table showing beginnings and endings of interactions.

Group	Sex	Greetings	Information request	Thanks	Farewell
A 25	F 13	3.43.c.) Boa tarde. 22.65.c.) Boa tarde.	-	22.65.c.) Não.Obrigada.	-
	M 12	-	4.47.c.) Queria sabê o preço dessas fraldas aí.	6.25.c.) Obrigado. +	-
B 25	F 12	-	-	-	-
	M 13	-	25.21.c.) Tem Epocler?	14.25.c.) Queria. Obrigado. Olha o copo. Obrigada. 15.34.c.) Obrigado.	15.34.c.) Tchau.
50	50	2	2	4	1

+ no purchase

Out of the 50 customers 2 female A customers opened the encounter at the pharmacy by greeting the server, and 2 male customers opened it with a request for information. Only 4 customers, 3 of whom were male, thanked and just one, a male B customer, said 'Tchau' at the end of the encounter.

The question form 'Vocês têm/Tem/Tens ...?' is the most used form of requesting service at the pharmacy (Table ph.1), e.g.

(6.ph.f.33.B.c.) Vocês têm Id-sedin?

(5.ph.m.15.A.c.) Tem tablete de Santo Antonio?

(23.ph.m.28.B.c.) Tens esse remédio aqui?

Table ph.2 shows that pharmacy customers mitigate their requests through syntactic alterations (the number of lexical alterations used is insignificant). The only examples of lexical mitigation are

(20.ph.f.35.B.c.)

Quero l 'vidrinho' de Vasculat.

(24.ph.m.27.A.c.)

Vê se 'me' consegue isso aqui.

(25.ph.m.21.B.c.)

'Me' dá uns 4,5.

An interesting peculiarity of pharmacy requests is that some customers do not ask for the medicine by its brand name, but just point it out on the prescription. In this case the most popular requesting form is

'Vocês têm/Tem/Tens esse remédio aqui?'

It is also interesting to notice that this strategy was more frequently used by men, most of whom were B customers, than by women who preferred to ask for the medicine by its brand name no matter the social group they belonged to.

Table ph.3 shows that pharmacy customers rarely greet or say good-bye. They are also very moderate in thanking. Sometimes customers do not even thank in more demanding situations where one would expect them to as in the following

one

(18.ph.m.50.A.c.)

C - Vocês têm um remédio prá dor de cabeça?

É um comprimido vermelho. Não me lembro o nome.

S - Magnopírol?

C - Não.

S - Coristina?

C - Não. Ele está num envelope vermelho. Coisa incrível.

Não me lembro. Vou levá esse mesmo. Tem um copo aí?

Vou tomá logo agora.

Pharmacy requests present a similar ascending scale of politeness as the clothes-shop, e.g.

- elliptical form

(17.ph.f.22.B.c.)

Uma Coristina.

- softened imperative form

(7.ph.f.38.A.c.)

Quero Magnopírol.

- 'imperfeito de cortesia'

(8.ph.m.37.A.c.)

Queria um vidro de ().

- question form

(5.ph.m.15.A.c.)

Tem tablete de Santo Antonio?

(23.ph.m.28.B.c.)

Tens esse remédio aqui?

(5.ph.f.27.B.c.)

Vocês têm creme de tartaruga?

3.6. Bank Interactions

Table ban.1 - FORMS of REQUESTS

Table showing forms of requests, the number of times each category of request was used and the corresponding percentage, and this distribution of instances according to the sex and social group of the customers.

Forms of requests	Nº	%	F.	M.	A	B
Elliptical forms	16	32.	7	9	5	11
Eu quero/Quero ...	9	18.	6	3	4	5
Eu queria/Queria ...	9	18.	6	3	8	1
Vê/Me vê ...	4	8.	0	4	3	1
Você pode/Pode ...?	3	6.	2	1	3	0
Quê vê ...?	2	4.	1	1	1	1
Podia?	2	4.	0	2	1	1
Poderia ...?	1	2.	0	1	1	0
Gostaria de ...	1	2.	1	0	1	0
Dá	1	2.	1	0	0	1
Dessa aí eu vou tirá ...	1	2.	1	0	1	0
Esse aqui é um depositozinho, tá?	1	2.	0	1	0	1
TOTAL	50	100.	25	25	28	22

The largest number of requests was in the elliptical form (either the 'elliptical softened imperative form', e.g. 'Depositá nessa conta aí', or the 'elliptical imperative form', e.g. 'Número da conta') which represents 32% of the total number of requests collected. It was more used by men (9 times) and by group B customers (11 times). Other significant forms include

Eu quero/Quero ... 18%
Eu queria/Queria ... 18%

Table ban.2 - SYNTACTIC and LEXICAL ALTERATIONS

Table showing mitigation strategies and number of mitigation strategies used with corresponding totals.

Syntactic Alterations						Lexical Alterations			
Group	Sex	Pres. Tense	Imp. de cortesia	Question form	TOTAL	Dimin.	me/prá mim	por favor	TOTAL
A 28	F 14	3	5	3	11	1	-	3	4
	M 14	1	3	3	7	-	3	2	5
B 22	F 11	3	1	-	4	1	-	-	1
	M 11	2	-	3	5	1	1	-	2
50	50	9	9	9	27	3	4	5	12

The total number of syntactic alterations used by bank customers was higher (27) than that of lexical alterations (12). Syntactic alterations were more used by women (15 times) and by group A customers (18 times). The 'present tense', the 'imperfecto de cortesia' and the 'question form' were equally used by bank customers (9 times). 'Por favor' was the most used lexical alteration. It was only used by group A customers and women used it more (3 times) than men (twice).

Table ban.3 - BEGINNINGS and ENDINGS

Table showing beginnings and endings of interactions.

Group	Sex	Greetings	Information request	Thanks	Farewell
A 28	F 14	-	2.33.c.) Já chegou o extrato?	2.33.c.) Obrigada. 8.47.c.) Muito obrigada, meu filho. Deus te dê força e paciência. 13.50.c.) Obrigada. 15.38.c.) Muito obrigada também. 19.36.c.) Não. É só isso. Obrigada. 20.49.c.) Obrigada. 25.36.c.) Obrigada.	-
	M 14	13.54.rc.) Tudo bem?	-	2.45.c.) Muito obrigado hem! Danks. 8.28.c.) Obrigado. 24.22.c.) Deu. Obrigado.	-
B 22	F 11	-	-	16.47.c.) Obrigada. 18.29.c.) Obrigada. 22.29.c.) Obrigada, tá.	-
	M 11	18.43.rc.) Tudo bom meu amigo? 25.30.rc.) Tudo bem?	-	10.21.c.) Falou meu chapa. Obrigado. 18.43.rc.) Muito obrigado. 19.25.c.) Obrigado. 22.37.rc.) Obrigado hem! 25.30.rc.) Muito obrigado hem!	18.43.rc.) Tchau prá vocês. Tchau amigo. 22.37.rc.) Tchau. 25.30.rc.) Tchau.
50	50	3	1	18	3

Only 3 male customers, 2 of whom were B customers, opened the encounter at the bank with a greeting and just one, a female A customer, with a request for information. Out of the 50 bank customers 18 closed the encounter by thanking the server, and out of these 18 customers 10 were women and 10 group A customers. Only 3 customers, all male and belonging to group B, finished the encounter by saying good-bye.

The largest variety of forms of requests (Table ban. 1) and the most polite requesting forms ('Poderia ...?', 'Gostaria de ...?') appear in the bank situation. Two factors may account for this larger variety of politeness forms: the higher status of the bank server and the glass pane between customers and servers.

The elliptical form presents two variations. One where the verb is totally deleted, e.g.

(11.ban.f.25.B.c.)

Um cheque avulso e o saldo da conta 15 (),

which could correspond to imperative forms, such as

Vê
Me vê
Dã

um cheque avulso e o saldo da conta 15(),

and the other where there is a partial deletion of the verb, e.g.

(6.ban.m.27.B.c.)

Depositã nessa conta 180,

and whose complete form could correspond to softened imperative forms, such as

Quero/Queria
Pode/Podia/Poderia
Gostaria de

depositã nessa conta 180.

This elliptical softened imperative form of requesting seems peculiar to the bank area.

After the elliptical form there are four verbal forms using the verb 'querer' which the bank customers prefer in the following order: 'Quero ...', 'Queria ...', 'Eu queria ...',

and 'Eu quero ...' These forms are significant since if considered together their percentage (36%) overtakes that of the elliptical forms (32%).

Bank customers prefer syntactic alterations to mitigate their requests, and 'por favor' is the most used lexical alteration (Table ban. 2). The instances of diminutives are

(10.ban.f.25.A.c.)

Você pode dar uma 'olhadinha' no meu saldo lá por favor?

(18.ban.f.29.B.c.)

Dá uma 'olhadinha' na 15 () e confirma se é minha, Salete ().

(10.ban.m.21.B.c.)

Essa aqui é um 'depositoquinho', tá?

The bank data presents also some instances of ellipsis. As happens with the baker's shop requests the deletion of some words in bank requests as well shows that customers implicitly claim common-ground with servers, e.g.

(2.ban.f.33.A.c.)

Eu quero '600' (meaning 600 cruzados)

(20.ban.f.49.A.c.)

Dessa aí eu vou tirá '2' (meaning 2 mil cruzados) e da outra '3.500' (meaning 3.500 cruzados)

(15.ban.m.35.A.c.)

Queria fazê um depósito na '32 009 dígito ()'

(meaning na conta número 32 009 dígito ().

Out of the 250 interactions the only example of slang in requests is provided by the bank data, e.g.

(19.ban.m.25.B.c.)

Retirá 850 'pila' daí.

'Pila' is old-fashioned slang for cruzeiros, now cruzados.

Three bank customers (Table ban.3) greeted the servers by asking them informally 'Tudo bem?' They were all men and regular customers. The formal thanking form 'Muito obrigado' was used 5 times by customers (30 to 50 years old) who requested more than one service. One male A customer who finished his encounter with a 'Muito obrigado, hem' thanked again with a 'Danks' after coming back to the counter to pick up the receipt he had forgotten. The informal farewell form 'Tchau' was used by 3 male B regular customers.

The bank requests show the following ascending scale of politeness:

- elliptical form

imperative form - (6.ban.f.65.B.c.)

Depósito.

softened imperative form - (21.ban.m.39.A.c.)

Fazê um depósito aí.

- softened imperative form

(2.ban.f.33.A.c.)

Eu quero 600.

(18.ban.m.43.B.rc.)

Quero pagã esse carnê aqui.

- 'imperfeito de cortesia'

(21.ban.f.50.A.c.) Eu queria fazê uma retirada.

(11.ban.m.44.A.c.) Queria retirar umas diárias.

- question form

(5.ban.f.35.A.c.) Pode ver o meu saldo por favor?

(20.ban.f.50.B.rc.) Quê vê meu saldo prá mim?

(24.ban.m.22.A.c.) Podia descontar esse cheque?

(7.ban.m.42.A.c.) Poderia ver o extrato por favor prá
mim?

CHAPTER 4

SUMMARY TABLES, DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

4.1. *Introduction*

In this chapter I will present and discuss the most used requesting forms, the lexico-grammatical strategies, the greetings, thanking and farewell formulas Brazilians use to mark politeness in service encounters taking into account the results presented in the previous chapter.

4.2. Summary Table 1

Summary Table 1 - FORMS OF REQUESTS

Table showing the most used forms of requests at the baker's, butcher's, clothes-shop, pharmacy and at the bank, the number of times each category of request was used and the corresponding percentage, and this distribution of instances according to the sex and social group of the customers.

Forms of requests	ba.	bu.	cl.	ph.	ban.	T.	%	F.	M.	A	B
Elliptical form	29	22	15	9	16	91	36.4	45	46	42	49
Vocês têm/Tem/Tens ...?	-	4	17	27	-	48	19.2	24	24	22	26
Eu quero/Quero ...	7	6	3	7	9	32	12.8	21	11	17	15
Eu queria/Queria ...	-	-	12	3	9	24	9.6	12	12	17	7
Vê/Me vê ...	5	9	-	2	4	20	8.0	6	14	9	11
Dá/Me dá ...	9	8	-	1	1	19	7.6	10	9	7	12
Quer/Posso/Você pode/Pode ...?	-	-	1	-	5	6	2.4	4	2	5	1
Podia/Poderia ...?	-	-	-	-	3	3	1.2	-	3	2	1
Others	-	1	2	1	3	7	2.8	3	4	4	3
TOTAL	50	50	50	50	50	250	100.0	125	125	125	125

The largest number of requests were in the 'elliptical form' which represented 36.4% of the total number of requests (250). This form was almost equally used by men and women in all the five service encounter areas. The number of group B customers (49) who used it was slightly higher than that of group A customers (42). The elliptical form was most used at the baker's shop (29 times).

The question form 'Vocês têm/Tem/Tens ...?' which represented 19.2% of the total number of requests collected was used at the butcher's (4 times), clothes-shop (17 times) and at the pharmacy (27 times). It was equally used by men and women, and B customers used it slightly more (26 times) than A customers (22 times).

The requesting form 'Eu quero/Quero ...' which represented 12.8% of the total number of requests collected was also used in all the five service encounter areas. It was more used by women (21) and A customers (17), and most used at the bank (9 times).

The more elaborated question forms 'Quer/Posso/Você pode/Pode/Podia/Poderia ...?' appeared only in a few requests (9) which were almost all (8) used at the bank.

4.3. Summary Table 2

Summary Table 2 - **SYNTACTIC and LEXICAL ALTERATIONS**

Table showing mitigation strategies at the baker's, butcher's, clothes-shop, pharmacy and at the bank, and number of mitigation strategies used with corresponding totals.

Syntactic Alterations								
Encounter areas	Pres. Tense	Imp. de cortesia	Question form	TOTAL	F.	M.	A	B
baker's shop	7	-	-	7	4	3	3	4
butcher's shop	6	-	4	10	8	2	6	4
clothes-shop	3	12	18	33	15	18	18	15
pharmacy	7	3	27	37	19	18	18	19
bank	9	9	9	27	15	12	18	9
TOTAL	32	24	58	114	61	53	63	51

Lexical Alterations								
Encounter areas	Dimin.	me/ prá mim	por favor	TOTAL	F.	M.	A	B
baker's shop	13	7	5	25	15	10	15	10
butcher's shop	5	15	1	21	9	12	10	11
clothes-shop	8	1	-	9	7	2	6	3
pharmacy	1	2	-	3	1	2	1	2
bank	3	4	5	12	5	7	9	3
TOTAL	30	29	11	70	37	33	41	29

The total number of syntactic alterations (114) used by the customers in the focused service encounter areas was higher than that of lexical alterations (70). The question form was the most used syntactic alteration (58 times), and it was used everywhere except at the baker's. The present tense softened imperative form appeared in all areas and the 'imperfeito de cortesia' at the clothes-shop, pharmacy and at the bank. The number of women who used syntactic alterations was slightly higher (61) than that of men (53), and A customers used them more (63 times) than B customers (51 times).

Diminutives, which were used in all the five service encounter areas, were the most used lexical alteration (30 times). 'Me/prá mim', used 29 times, was also used everywhere. 'Por favor' was only used 11 times and was heard at the baker's, butcher's and at the bank. Lexical alterations were more used by women (37 times) and by group A customers (41 times).

4.4. Summary Table 3

Summary Table 3 - BEGINNINGS and ENDINGS

Table showing beginnings and endings of interactions at the baker's, butcher's, clothes-shop, pharmacy and at the bank, their total number and percentage, sex and social group of customers.

	ba.	bu.	cl.	ph.	ban.	T.	%	F.	M.	A	B
Greetings	4	-	4	2	3	13	5.2	9	4	9	4
Information request	1	5	3	2	1	12	4.8	9	3	6	6
Thanks	3	9	24	4	18	58	23.2	29	29	36	22
Farewell	-	-	2	1	3	6	2.4	1	5	1	5

Out of the 250 customers 13 opened the encounter with a greeting, 9 of whom were women, and out of these 13 customers 9 belonged to social group A. There was no instance of greetings at the butcher's, and the largest number of greetings occurred at the baker's and at the clothes-shop (4 times).

Only 12 customers opened the encounter with a request for information. The number of women who did so (9) was higher than that of men (3). Information requests were equally used by group A and group B customers. The largest number of requests for information occurred at the butcher's shop (5 times) and the smallest at the baker's and at the bank (once).

Almost a fourth of the customers (58) closed the encounter by thanking the servers and only 6 by saying good-bye. Thanks was equally used by men and women, and it was more used by A customers (36 times) than by B customers (22 times). Customers

thanked more at the clothes-shop (24 times) and at the bank (18 times) and least at the baker's shop (3 times). Men and group B customers said good-bye more often (5 times) than women and group A customers (just once), and the bank was the place where more good-byes were heard. There was no instance of farewell at the baker's nor at the butcher's.

4.5. *Discussion and Conclusions*

Results of Summary Table 1 show that in 250 requests for service the 'elliptical form', the imperative form with its deleted verb (p.29), appears the largest number of times (91) and is used by all customers no matter their sex or social group, or the kind of goods exchanged between them. Thus, the elliptical form is not only the most used requesting form, but also the most popular one, e.g.

(5.ba.m.52.A.c.) 5 pães

(16.bu.f.25.B.c.) Carne moída de primeira

(24.cl.m.45.B.c.) Meia

(16.ph.f.39.A.c.) 4 envelopes de Saridon

(1.ban.f.30.B.c.) Número da conta.

The elliptical form as well as the complete imperative form are the most used requesting forms at the baker's (43 times) and at the butcher's shop (39 times) which allows the conclusion that Brazilian customers usually choose the imperative form when requesting bread, milk and meat. An interesting point to observe is that at the time this data was collected (June-August 1986) there was not a single example of question in the baker's shop. However, in April and May of this year as there

was a shortage of milk 'Tem/Tens leite?' was often heard as a question about availability functioning as a prerequisite to protect the customer's and the server's positive face.

The requesting form 'Vocês têm/Tem/Tens ...?' occurs especially at the clothes-shop (17 times) and largely at the pharmacy (27 times) where it seems to be the particular form of asking for service. The more elaborated question forms, 'Quer/Posso/Você pode/Pode/Podia/Poderia ...?', are restricted to the bank area.

'Eu quero/Quero ...?', present tense softened imperative form, and 'Eu queria/Queria ...?', 'imperfecto de cortesia', are mainly used at the bank (18 times) and also significantly used the clothes-shop (15 times). To sum up, then, and bearing in mind that the elliptical form appears impressively in all the situations (as well as 'Eu quero/Quero ...' in a minor proportion), the following generalization of the most used requesting forms for each of the five service areas under study in an ascending scale of politeness is possible

- elliptical form: imperative form	Baker's shop Butcher's shop
- softened imperative form: 'Eu quero/Quero ...' - imperfecto de cortesia: 'Eu queria/Queria ...'	Bank Clothes-shop
- question form: 'Vocês têm/ Tem/Tens ...?'	Pharmacy Clothes-shop
- more elaborated question forms: 'Quer/Posso/Você pode/Podia ...?'	Bank

Women (98) and A customers (104) use slightly more mitigation strategies, syntactic and lexical alterations, than

men (86) and B customers (80) - Summary Table 2. The number of lexical alterations is higher at the baker's shop (25) and at the butcher's (21) where they mitigate the imperative form usually used in these areas and smaller at the clothes-shop (9), pharmacy (3) and bank (12) where the syntactic alterations do the mitigation. This fact allows the generalization that the use of lexical alterations decreases as the use of syntactic alterations increases.

The percentage of customers who greeted and started their service interaction with a request for information is very small, 10% (Summary Table 3), which means that in 250 interactions, 225 customers started their interactions directly by requesting service. The most used greeting form was the formal form 'Boa tarde' (7 times), and the only informal greetings were 'Oi' (twice) and 'Olá' (once). The informal greeting 'Tudo bem?/Tudo bom?' (3 times) was restricted to the bank area and was only used by men who were also regular customers. Except for one, (12.cl.f.23.B.c.) Boa tarde, all the customers who greeted were over 30 years old.

Out of the 250 interactions 58 (23.2%) ended with the customers thanking for the service. The short thanking form 'Obrigado' occurred 50 times while the complete form 'Muito obrigado' was only used 8 times, all at the bank and at the clothes-shop, and all the customers who used it were over 30 years old.

Only 6 interactions (2.4%) ended with the customers saying farewell. The conventional farewell form 'Até logo' was only used once by a regular 60 year old male customer while the informal form 'Tchau' was used 5 times by customers up to 43

years old.

Thus, in 186 interactions (74.4%) customers did not say anything and just picked up the requested item before leaving the shop, or said things like

(12.bu.m.35.B.c.) Deu.

(4.ba.f.15.B.c.) Sõ.

(13.cl.f.33.B.c.) Vou dar uma olhadinha por aí.

Depois te procuro.

A closer analysis of Summary Tables 1, 2 and 3 allows some interesting conclusions about the most used forms of service requests, syntactic and lexical alterations, beginnings and endings of interactions regarding the 'social distance' variables sex and social group of customers, such as

- the present tense mitigation strategy, mainly 'Eu quero/Quero' requests, is largely used by female customers, and the softened form 'Eu queria/Queria' as well as the question forms 'Quer/Posso/Você pode/Pode/Podia/Poderia ...?' by A customers,

- the imperative requesting form 'Vê ...' can be considered a male requesting example since all but one, (25.bu.f.50.A.c.) Vê 8 chuletinhas, were provided by male customers,

- the number of diminutives used by women is twice that of men (Ruke-Dravina (1952 in Brouwer 1982:700) found that Lettish women also use more diminutives than men and suggested that 'this might be the case in all languages because of the association of diminutives with children's language' since children are usually brought up by women),

- the use of 'prã mim' can be considered a male lexical

mitigation strategy, equally used by A and B men, since there is only one female example, (18.ba.f.20.B.c.) Me vê 10 pãezinhos 'prã mim',

- the lexical negative politeness strategy 'por favor' is exclusively used by A customers,

- female customers greet and start their interactions with a request for information more often than male customers,

- group A customers greet and thank more than group B customers,

- men and B customers say good-bye more frequently than women and A customers.

Even though the variables sex and social group influence the form of requests for service and as well the choice of mitigation strategies as illustrated above, the kind of goods exchanged between customer and server is a more weighty variable.

In this study Brazilian customers usually made their requests 'on record without mitigation' during rush hour (at the baker's and butcher's), on pay-day (at the bank) and when the shops were crowded (at the clothes-shop and pharmacy). Since the expectation on the part of the customer himself, the server and the other customers is to save time, requests are made in the most direct, clear and concise manner for the sake of efficiency. The percentage of bald-on-record requests without any of the syntactic and lexical alterations referred to in this work represents 31.2% of the total number of requests. The other aspect is that buying bread, milk and meat, especially bread, is such daily routine that in general people do not attach such importance to the exchange of goods as for example

the responsibilities involved at the bank, the pharmacy and the clothes-shop. Thus, an ascending scale of politeness that starts with the baker's shop and evolves through the butcher's, the clothes-shop and the pharmacy up to the bank requests can be noted in the focused Brazilian-Portuguese requests for service. Tanaka and Kawade (1982:29) got also the same result 'what is requested affects the selection of a politeness strategy' and the 'product car' induced more polite strategies than the 'product fountain pen' in their study.

4.6. *Summary*

After presenting and discussing general results, I can now summarize the main conclusions in order to restate the aims of this dissertation. In this research the most significant linguistic features that mark politeness in Brazilian-Portuguese requests for service are exemplified by 'lexical alterations', the use of 'diminutives', 'me/prã mim' and 'por favor', and by 'syntactic alterations', the use of the 'present tense', 'imperfecto de cortesia' and 'question forms'. It seems that when Brazilian customers request something they consider small, such as bread, milk and meat for example, they tend to use lexical positive politeness strategies in order to come closer to the server and establish common-ground relationship. When making a request that involves more responsibility or demands more from the server such as asking for medicine, bank services or clothes, Brazilian customers tend to use on record requests with syntactic alterations to show their concern for the server's negative face. The lexical negative politeness strategy 'por

'favor' is not significantly used either for small requests or for large ones. Although some requests presented lexical and syntactic alterations at the same time as in (6.cl.m.20.A.c.) 'Queria' dá uma 'olhadinha' em shorts, this procedure is not common. Usually one kind of strategy excludes the other.

A possible requesting scale of politeness for Brazilian-Portuguese requests for service starts with the imperative form (elliptical or complete) develops through the present tense and imperfeito de cortesia and ends with the question forms.

Greetings, requests for information, thanks and farewells are rather moderately used by Brazilian customers who usually do not greet, say good-bye nor thank for small services in the buying/selling context.

Finally, a last remark is necessary. The absence of lexical politeness markers, discourse or lexical-grammatical strategies, does not generally imply lack of politeness or even rudeness in Brazilian-Portuguese requests for service. In almost all these cases politeness is shown by 'intonation' which may stand as the most distinctive difference between Brazilian-Portuguese and English ways of showing politeness. Thus, despite these being interactions which had no formal markers of politeness the following were the only that sounded quite rude to me:

(1.ba.m.60.A.c.)

C - O Tirol.

S - Quantos?

C - 1.

S - Que mais?

C - Só.

(4.cl.m.55.B.c.)

C - Gravata preta.

S - Gravata preta sô de crochê.

C - Não.

CHAPTER 5

CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY AND LEARNING IMPLICATIONS

5.1. *Introduction*

This chapter reports first a cross-cultural study of beginnings and endings of American and Brazilian-Portuguese service interactions. It goes on to present the most used service requesting forms and politeness strategies available in both languages, and concludes with some cross-cultural aspects learners should be aware of while studying Brazilian-Portuguese or English as a 2nd. language.

5.2. *Cross-cultural Study of Beginnings and Endings of Service Interactions*

Service interactions may be categorized as 'conversations,' and as such, the speech that occurs between server and customer presents necessarily a beginning and an ending. Generally conversations begin with greetings and end with farewells. However, a conversation between strangers usually neither begins with a greeting nor ends with farewells. Taking into account that generally servers and customers are unknown to each other, especially in big cities, this may be a reasonable explanation why so few Brazilian customers started their service interaction by greeting the server and finished it by saying good-bye (Summary Table 3). Another possible explanation for this non-use of greetings and farewells in service encounters is that as the buying/selling activity consists of 'an interchange of money

for goods' any other 'mention of desired acts... is redundant' (Ervin-Tripp 1976:58). And a third possible reason may be given by the speech situation itself: rush hour, queues, crowded shops, and customers in a hurry. This absence of greetings and farewells can be also observed in Merrit's service encounter interactions. In 25 interactions the only one which starts with a greeting is the following

notions (A-29, 12-14)

C - Hi. Do you have uh size C flashlight batteries?

S - Yes sir.

C - I'll have four please (?)

S - (turns to get),

and also none of the American customers ended their service interaction by saying good-bye.

Out of 250 Brazilian service interactions 58 ended with the customers' thankings (Summary Table 3), and 20 out of these 58 occurred when the purchase was not accomplished (Table cl.3). American service interactions present a similar result. Out of the 25 interactions 3 finished with the customers' thankings - interactions (10) (A-47, 12-14), (9) snack truck (mwm, h-04-72) and (10) school store (mwm, h-01-74) - and 2 out of these 3 occurred when there was no purchase - interactions (9) and (10). Although there is a certain degree of correspondence between the numbers, the pragmatic value of thanks when there was no purchase differs between Brazilian and American customers. Brazilian customers used thanks as an excusing strategy for not buying anything (p.54) while American customers used it as a display of gratitude for the server's attention even though the service had not been completed. Interestingly American

interactions analysed lead to the same conclusions as the Brazilian interactions regarding the use of greetings, thanks and farewells. In other words greetings, thanks and good-byes are not commonly used in service encounters.

5.3. *Cross-cultural Study of Most Used Forms of Service Requests and Politeness Strategies*

In my research 53.2% of the total number of Brazilian-Portuguese service requests were made in the imperative form (complete or elliptical). Ervin-Tripp (1976) stresses that imperatives are rarely used to command or request in conversational English. This assertion is confirmed by Merrit's interactions in which only 12% of the total number of service requests were made in the imperative form. The few examples of imperative requesting are

(5) (A-15, 12-14)

C - Two packs of True Greens.

(6) (A-19, 12-14)

C - Pack o' Vantage.

(8) (A-45, 12-14)

C - A carton of Winston // please.

The rudeness of the Brazilian imperative requesting form may be softened by the use of 'diminutives' and of the pronouns 'me' and 'mim'. The use of the politeness formula 'por favor' is quite reduced. Even though the American data presents a very small number of imperative requesting forms, and 'please' appears only once, it seems to me from close observation that English speakers use 'please' quite often when requesting

service in the imperative form. Apte (1974 in Ferguson 1976: 149) points out 'the very early teaching of please and thank you in America.'

The majority of American requests for service, 84%, were made in the question form, even though the requested items were small things, such as cigarettes, e.g.

(7) snack truck (mwm, h-04-72)

C - Do you have Marlboros?

(27) notions store

C - Can you make up a carton of Carltons?

(10) (A-47, 12-14)

C - Could I have a pack of Winstons?

The following table highlights the number of times forms of requests were used and corresponding percentage in both data.

Forms of requests	Braz.-Port.		American	
	Nº	%	Nº	%
Imperative form	133	53.2	3	12.
Affirmative form	59	23.6	1	4.
Question form	58	23.2	21	84.
TOTAL	250	100.0	25	100.

The analysis of this table shows that although the same linguistic forms can be used to convey Brazilian and American service requests their frequency of use in both languages is quite different. While Brazilian customers prefer to make their requests in the imperative form and use lexical alterations to express politeness, American customers prefer to express

politeness syntactically through the use of questions. This fact allows the conclusion that regarding service encounters the English politeness system is more formal than the Brazilian-Portuguese since its main concern is the server's negative face while the Brazilian-Portuguese politeness system is more concerned with the server's positive face.

5.4. *Learning Implications*

At this point it is interesting to observe that the Brazilian way of showing politeness by claiming a common-ground relationship is often considered by foreigners as being embarrassing. The absence of the 'transparent politeness marker "please" (Leech 1983:121) in requests may also cause some discomfort and lead foreigners to think of Brazilian-Portuguese as a less polite language. However, to classify a language as more or less polite is a simplistic conclusion since 'one language may require these markers be present while another may consider them optional' (Lakoff 1972:908), depending on the context. Lakoff goes on to ask 'when it is polite to be polite (sic), to what extent, and how it is shown in terms of superficial linguistic behaviour.'

Thus, an important aim in 2nd. language classes is to sensitize learners to these cross-cultural differences in the linguistic realization of politeness in order to avoid their impolite or inappropriate behaviour by stressing that

politeness markers are an integral part of the foreign cultural system, and should neither be used nor interpreted by reference to the learner's native system (House and Kasper 1981:184).

The most usual mistake learners make then is to transfer the realizations of their own language politeness system into the other language by applying the rules at the wrong time or in the wrong way. I will consider now some aspects learners should be aware of when translating Brazilian-Portuguese requests for service into English and vice versa.

The first aspect concerns Brazilian-Portuguese intonation. It appears that Brazilian-Portuguese intonation stands as the most distinctive difference between Brazilian-Portuguese and English ways of marking politeness. In Brazilian-Portuguese, intonation can carry the mitigation while in English the mitigation is usually done by the use of 'please' and by patterns of politeness such as 'Could you...', 'Would you mind ...', 'I wonder if you ...', 'I should be grateful if you ...' and so on. Thus, Brazilian-Portuguese requests, such as

(4.bu.m.30.A.c.)

Meio quilo de carne moída,
literally 'Half a kilo of ground beef', are made more polite by a proper intonation. In this example, because politeness is marked by intonation, the request sounds very rude when translated literally or heard by foreigners whose language does not allow polite requests to be made in this way; indeed equally significantly, the request can sound rude in Brazilian-Portuguese when it is produced by foreigners with the wrong intonation.

A second aspect concerns the use of 'diminutive forms' (generally realized by the suffixes 'zinho' or 'inho', e.g. 'pão-pãozinho', 'depósito-depositozinho', 'roupa-roupinha',

'vidro-vidrinho') as mitigation strategies (p.31), such as in
(12.cl.f.23.B.c.)

Deixa eu dar uma 'olhadinha',

literally 'Let me give a little glance' meaning 'Can/Could I have a glance?' Usually this use of diminutive forms sounds very odd to foreigners who do not grasp the meaning of adults requesting services to adults in a language that for them sounds childish. Another aspect that sounds childish to foreigners is the frequent use of the 'pronomes oblíquos' 'me' and 'mim' preceded by the preposition 'prã', e.g.

(13.ban.m.54.A.rc.)

Me vê o saldo prã mim,

literally 'Give me the balance to me' meaning 'What's my balance?' or 'What's the balance of my account?' On the other hand the use of 'por favor' as well as 'obrigado' by foreigners when they are not normally used may sound affected or overpolite to Brazilians.

A third aspect concerns the mitigation of requests by syntactic means. In Brazilian-Portuguese requests degrees of politeness may be accomplished through the inflectional morphology of the modals 'querer' and 'poder', e.g. quero, queria, quer, pode, podia and poderia. In this aspect the English system is more marked than the Brazilian-Portuguese system due to the variety of modals available to the speaker, e.g. can, could, will, would, may and might. Brazilian learners usually equate 'posso/pode' with 'can' and 'podia' with 'could', e.g.

(4.ban.m.35.A.c.)

Pode ver o meu saldo por favor?

Can you show me my balance please?

(24.ban.m.22.A.c.)

Podia descontar esse cheque?

Could you cash this cheque?

A difficulty lies, for example, in which form 'queria/poderia' should be related to: 'could', 'would', 'may' or 'might'?

For example,

(7.ban.m.42.A.c.)

Poderia ver o extrato por favor prá mim?

	Could you	
?	Would you	show me my statement please?
*	May you	
*	Might you	

or,

	Could I	
*	Would I	see my statement please?
	May I	
?	Might I	

This difficulty is also noticed in phrase-books where the translation of these syntactic forms of politeness is not always accurate. Inglês para viagem (Editions Berlitz 1977:127, 110, 135), for instance, presents most of the times the translation of 'Querida ...' as 'I want ...', which is quite rude in English, and rarely as 'I'd like ...', e.g.

- Querida ... para um/a menino/a de 10 anos.

I want ... for a 10-year-old boy/girl.

- Queria qualquer coisa contra ...

I want something for ...

- Queria trocar dinheiro brasileiro.

I want to change some Brazilian money.

Thus, in order to be able to use these modals appropriately speakers must be aware not only of the varying degrees of politeness they imply, but also realize when to use one or other according to the situational constraints of the service encounter.

Willis (1983:256) suggests that at beginning levels extremely polite forms may be omitted in order to reduce the learner's load, or in other words, the learner may be confronted with all politeness structures, but be required to use only a small set. The selection of this small set involves a closer investigation on the pragmatism of the language so that words and structures will be selected, as Widdowson (1978: 13) points out, through their 'high potential occurrence as instances of use.' In the Brazilian-Portuguese service encounters analysed the structure with 'high potential occurrence' is the imperative requesting form, i.e., the statement of the requested item with or without lexical mitigation, which was used by all kinds of customers and in all the five service encounter areas. American service encounters analysed present as the most used requesting structure the question 'Do you have ...?' which was also used by different people and in five different service encounter situations.

Among the more polite requesting forms, Tanaka and Kawade (1982:29) emphasize the 'would you' strategy as 'the most

usable in any situation whatsoever' as it is in Brazilian-Portuguese the 'imperfecto de cortesia' 'queria' and 'podia'. It is interesting to observe that regarding beginnings and endings the Brazilian-Portuguese 'high potential occurrence as instances of use' are the formal greeting form 'Boa tarde' (used by all-aged customers), the short thanking form 'Obrigado' and the informal form 'Tchau'.

Finally, it is also worth while to tell learners that when in doubt about what politeness strategy to use it is always better to be considered overpolite than rude, or in Tanaka and Kawade's (1982:29) words 'be polite whenever you ask someone X to do something Y, unless there is special reason not to.'

Concluding remark

This dissertation has not attempted to give the full range of politeness strategies customers use while requesting services. It has only examined some of the linguistic features that function as markers of politeness in Brazilian-Portuguese requests for service as it has been summarized at the end of Chapter 4. The subject of 'Politeness' in general has hardly been discussed in Brazil, and there seems to be almost no bibliography related to it. Cunha and Cintra (1985) mention the use of certain verbal forms instead of others to show politeness, but all their examples are literary. Discourse strategies (compliments, small talks), lexical and syntactic alterations others than the ones studied here (terms of address, negatives with a tag), phonological strategies (intonation) and non-

verbal strategies (gestures) are doubtless profitable areas for further investigation of politeness markers in Brazilian-Portuguese requests for service.

APPENDIX A

BRAZILIAN-PORTUGUESE SERVICE INTERACTIONS

Baker's Shop - Female Interactions

no of interaction	interaction	age	occupation	social group	cust./server relationship
1	- Dá 8 pães de trigo por favor. 2 leite	35	housewife H. engineer	A	C
2	- 4 leites. - Que mais? SÓ isso? - SÓ.	40	housewife H. univers. teacher	A	C
3	- Você? - Quero 8 trigo.	28	maid	B	C
4	- 10 pães doce. - O que mais? - SÓ.	15	maid	B	C
5	- Oi. Tudo bem? - Tudo bem. E você? - Tudo bem. Me vê 10 pães.	30	elementary teacher	B	RC
6	- 4 de água, 4 doce e 2 leite.	14	student F. lawyer	A	C
7	- Tá saindo pão? - Tá saindo. - Já? - Tá saindo. - Então me dá 6 de sal e 2 desse doquinho. - Qual doce? - Desse de banana.	38	librarian	A	C
8	- Você? - 2 leite e 2 trigo.	22	cleaner	B	C
9	- Eu quero 1 leite - Um leite. Que mais? - 3 pães.	21	maid	B	C

10	- Você? - 2 leites e 6 pães. - 6 pães? - Uh.Uhm.	21	maid	B	C
11	- Boa tarde. 3 pãezinhos de trigo.	46	sociologist	A	C
12	- Você? - 4 trigo. - 4?	24	maid	B	C
13	- Você? - Dã 1 litro de leite, 5 trigo e um desse de baixo.	23	maid	B	C
14	- 8 pães de trigo. - 8?	45	housewife H.engineer	A	C
15	- Você querida? - 7 trigo, 7 doce e um leite. - Qual doce? - É tudo o mesmo preço? - É. - Esse aqui. Eu acho que é com canela.	30	dentist	A	C
16	- Boa tarde. - Boa tarde. - Tudo bem? - Tudo bem. E a sra.? - 8 trigo, 15 massinha e 1 leite.	50	housewife H. govern. employee	A	RC
17	- Olá. Tudo bem? - Tudo. - Ai! Como está escuro. (Referring to the bread) Quero 2 'Fazenda' e uns (), mas quero branco.	30	physician	A	C
18	- Me vê 10 pãezinhos prá mim.	20	secretary	B	C
19	- Quero 2 trigo e 2 massinha.	18	maid	B	C
20	- Me vê 7 pães de trigo e 2 doce.	15	student F. dentist	A	C
21	- Dã 1 litro de leite, 8 trigo e um desse de baixo. Esse aqui.	22	maid	B	C
22	- 6 pães de trigo e 1 leite faz favor. Obrigada.	41	university teacher	A	C

23	- Me dá 2 leite e 6 pãezinhos de trigo.	35	housewife	A	C
24	- A sra.? - 8 trigo. - Que mais? - Só.	50	housewife H. lawyer	A	C
25	- 8 pãezinhos de trigo - Que mais? - Só. Ó tu bota 4 massinha ali.	42	housewife H. govern. employee	A	C

Baker's Shop - Male Interactions

1	- O 'Tirol'. - Quantos? - Um. - Que mais? - Só.	60	retired bank employee	A	C
2	- Você? - 2 leite e 12 trigo. - 12 trigo? - É.	15	student F. govern. employee	A	C
3	- 8 trigo.	25	janitor	B	C
4	- Quero 3 leite. () Quanto está o suspiro? - O suspiro tá 2. Quantos? - Um só. - Que mais? - Só.	14	student F.lawyer	A	C
5	- 5 pães.	52	retired mail clerk	A	C
6	- Eu quero () trigo e 2 leites.	61	retired bank empl.	A	C
7	- Dá 2 leites e 1 pão caseiro. - De milho ou de leite? - De leite.	29	govern. employee	A	C
8	- Eu quero pão de sanduíche e 200g. de queijo.	30	janitor	B	C
9	- Vê 5 trigo, 5 doce e 4 () - Pão de trigo pode ser escuri- nho? - Não. Mais claro. - Qual massinha? - Essa aqui. () leite na sa- colinha.	36	physician	A	C

10	- 6 pães e 1 leite faz favor.	27	dentist	A	C
11	- () trigo e 4 massinha por favor. - Redondinha? - É. Obrigado.	46	bank employee	A	C
12	- O senhor? - 5 trigo e 1 leite faz favor. - Leite não tem.	50	pharmacist	A	C
13	- 6 massinhas e 6 trigo. - Lisinha ou com farofa que o sr. quê? - Lisa. Mas eu queria uma mais escurinha que esta.	36	engineer	A	C
14	- 8 pãezinhos. - Quanto? - 8. Obrigado.	21	printer	B	C
15	- 6 trigo e 1 leite.	32	janitor	B	C
16	- Pois não? - 5 pãezinhos.	27	door-man	B	C
17	- Pão de trigo, 10. - Pode ser do partido? - Não tem daquele outro? - Não. - Então eu pego depois.	49	book-keeper	B	C
18	- Me dá 10 pães de trigo. Bem tostadinho.	57	retired bank empl.	B	C
19	- 6 pães. - 6? Algo mais sr.? - SÓ.	27	janitor	B	C
20	- 6 pãezinhos de trigo. Bem branquinho.	38	administr. clerk	B	C
21	- 12 pães de trigo.	23	drawer	B	C
22	- 5 cruzados de pão de queijo. - No momento está em falta. SÓ vai sair amanhã.	19	shop assistant	B	C
23	- Dá 6 pães daquele lá ó. - Desse? - Isso.	35	mechanic	B	C

24	- Dã 14 pães.	28	bank employee	B	C
25	- Vê 5 pãezinhos de trigo.	25	contractor	B	C

Butcher's Shop - Female Interactions

nº of interaction	interaction	age	occupation	social group	cust./server relationship
1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Eu quero lombinho. - Quanto? - 1 quilo e meio. E carne moída. - Tem fígado, tem? Fígado 2. Deixa vê como tá por favor. 	35	housewife H. dentist	A	C
2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Eu quero uns filezinhos desse de porco aqui. Aqueles da segunda fila. - Algo mais? - Contrafilê. - Quanto? - Um quilo e meio mais ou menos. 	50	housewife H. govern. employee	A	C
3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tem colchão mole? - Tem. - Me vê 600 gramas para moer. Bem limpinho tá? 	45	housewife H. lawyer	A	C
4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Me dê 2 quilos de contrafilê. Bem limpinho. - Inteiro ou em bifés? - Inteiro. 	25	housewife H. bank employee	A	C
5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Quero vê um pedaço de colchão de dentro. - Quanto a sra. quê? 1 quilo? 2? Dê uma olhadinha aqui. - 1 quilo. 	36	govern. employee	B	C
6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Meio quilo de carne moída de primeira sem gordura. 	14	maid	B	C
7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Bisteca de porco é 19 mil? - Bisteca é. - Me vê 5, mas com mignon. 	18	housewife	B	C
8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Fígado. Queria vê o fígado. Quanto é o fígado? - () - Quero meio quilo. 	35	housewife H. tradesman	A	C

9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Esse alcatre aí. Me pique em bifes. Todinho. - 1 quilo e 140. Pode ser? - Pode. - Obrigada. 	56	housewife H. industrialist	A	C
10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Rabada, 1 quilo. - 1 quilo de rabada. - Cortei uma rabada inteira. Vamô vê quanto vai dâ. 1 quilo e 300. Pode ser? - Pode. - Obrigado. - Obrigada. 	25	housewife H. engineer	A	C
11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sô tem esses churrasquinhos? Sô tem esses? Não tem mais grossinhos? - Quantos a sra. qué? - Uns 4. 	50	housewife H. engineer	A	C
12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tatu. - Quanto? - 1 quilo. - 1 quilo de tatu. 	20	maid	B	C
13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tens músculo? - Tem. - Me dá 1 quilo. - 1 quilo de músculo. 	63	housewife H. retired- Town Hall	B	C
14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tens patinho? - (nods) Quanto a sra. qué? - Bem fresquinho? - (nods) - 1 quilo. 	30	housewife H. janitor	B	C
15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tens colchão? - Tem. - 1 quilo. 	40	housewife H. mechanic	B	C
16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Carne moída de primeira. - 1 quilo? - (nods) 	25	maid	B	C
17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tem lombo? - Quantos quilos? - 3. - Sô paleta. - Pode ser. - Quantos quilos? - () - Que mais? - () 	49	tradeswoman	B	C

18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Fala tia. - Colchão mole, dá 1 quilo. E contrafilé tem? - Quanto? - Deixa eu ver como está. Corta em bife. - Não posso cortá. - Ah! Corta! - Não posso. Olha a fila. 	43	govern. employee	B	C
19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Quero 5 quilos de colchão mole. - Colchão mole vou ficã devendo. - Colchão duro tem? - (nods) - E me dá mais () 	54	govern. employee	B	C
20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Olha aqui, eu quero 1 quilo de alcatre. - Era sô isso? - Tem ()? - () acabou. 	56	housewife H. govern. employee	A	C
21	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Me dá 1 quilo de bucho e 2 de () - 1 quilo de bucho - E 2 de (). Bife. - 1 quilo? - É. Não bota com muito nervo. 	47	cleaner	B	C
22	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Alcatre. - Quanto? - 1 quilo. - Que mais? - Carne moída. 1 quilo. - De primeira ou de segunda? - De segunda. 	41	govern. employee	B	C
23	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 1 quilo de asa. - Com desodorante ou sem desodorante? - Pode ser sem. Eu desinfeto em casa. - 1 e 300 pode ser? - (nods) Contrafilé. - Não. - Vê um pedaço prá assã. - Peito pode ser? - Dá uma olhadinha lá. Me vê 2 pedaços de costela bonitinha prá mim. 	46	shop assistant	B	C

24	- 1 quilo de alcatre e meio dessa moída faz favor. - Em bifés? - É. Obrigada.	42	university teacher	A	C
25	- Vê 8 chuletinhas. Aquelas ali mais finas. - Algo mais sra.? - Sô. Obrigada.	50	housewife H.physician	A	C

Butcher's Shop - Male Interactions

1	- 8 quilos de alcatre prá mim. - Qué inteiro? - Obrigado.	30	economist	A	C
2	- Tem alcatre? - Quanto você qué? - Uns bifeinho. Meio quilo. Não queria o canto não. - 800 gramas? - (nods) - Algo mais? - Não.	31	engineer	A	C
3	- Quero 3 bifés de alcatre sem essa ponta aí. - Vai pegá um pouco da ponta. - Tira fora. Não entendeu. É bife de alcatre.	45	tradesman	A	C
4	- Meio quilo de carne moída.	30	secondary teacher	A	C
5	- Tem posta? - Posta? Temos. - Pesa 2 quilos prá mim.	62	brick-layer	B	C
6	- Patinho prá mim. Do meio. - Quanto amigo? - 1 e meio.	39	fisherman	B	C
7	- 2 quilos de paleta prá mim. Carne moída. - De primeira ou de segunda? - De primeira pode ser. - 1 quilo 130 pode ser? - Pode.	22	truck-driver	B	C

8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Me dá um tatu. - Inteiro? - É. Pesa ele. Obrigado. 	75	lawyer	A	C
9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Alcatre. - Alcatre não. Só colchão mole. - 2 quilos e meio. 	51	mechanic	B	C
10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Amigo, vê lombo. 2 quilos. - Lombo não tem. Só paleta. - Vê paleta. - 3 quilos 140? - Vê 2. - Que mais? - Deu. 	40	govern. employee	B	C
11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ó me vê 1 quilo de lingüiça e 2 asinhas. - A asa terminou. 	68	construction worker	B	C
12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Me vê 1 quilo de (). - Que mais? - Deu. 	35	govern. employee	B	C
13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 1 pedaço de tatu. - 3,350 tá bom? - Dá uma limpadinha nisso aqui. - É só? - Não. Mais 1 quilo e meio de colchão mole. Tem? - Não. Já levaram tudo. 	36	govern. employee	B	C
14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Me dá 1 mignon daquele e meio de carne moída. - Que mais? - Só isso. Obrigado. Tá obrigado. - Obrigado amigo. 	52	govern. employee	A	C
15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Colchão de dentro. Eu queria separado - 1 quilo e meio e 1 quilo. Dá uma caprichada aí moço. Carne moída. - Moída de primeira o sr. quê? - É. 1 quilo de fígado também. 	42	govern. employee	A	C
16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Vê 2 quilos de colchão mole. - Que era mais? - 1 quilo de bucho. 	36	driver	B	C

17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Fralda. - Quanto? - 4 quilos. Bem magrinha. - Fralda bem bonita. Que era mais meu jovem? - Queria uns 3 peitos de galinha. - Bom final de semana e bom apetite. - Obrigado e igualmente. 	37	govern. employee	A	C
18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 2 quilos de alcatre e 1 de carne moída de primeira. - 2 alcatre e 1 de carne moída. 	50	university teacher	A	C
19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Uma peça de tatu. - Uma peça? Algo mais? - Só. 	51	govern. employee	A	C
20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Pois não sr. - Churrasquinho, vê 2 quilos prá mim. - Algo mais? - Carne moída dessa aqui. 1 quilo. - Obrigado sr. e bom final de semana. 	36	dentist	A	C
21	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Colchão mole. - Colchão mole? 3 e 700 vai? Só isso? - Obrigado. - Bom final de semana e bom apetite. 	20	shop assistant	B	C
22	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Me dá um pedaço de alcatre. - Que era mais meu jovem? - Me vê (). - Que mais? - 2 quilos de peito. 	40	sergeant	B	C
23	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - O amigo, daquela carne ali dá 1 quilo. - Que mais? - Me dá (). 	33	baker	B	C
24	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Contrafilé. - Quanto? - Uns 3 quilos. Mas eu quero bife. Não dá prá fazê bife? - Não senhor. - Paleta não tem? - Posta e peito. Que mais? - Só. 	66	retired driver	B	C

25	- Vê 2 quilos de posta. - 2 () - Colchão duro. - 2 quilos também? 2 quilos de colchão duro. 2 e 600 vai? - Quanto é o quilo? - () - Corta 2.	27	technical assistant	B	C
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Clothes-Shop: Female Interactions

nº of interaction	interaction	age	occupation	social group	cust./server relationship
1	<p>- Eu queria vê roupinha prá nenem de 9 meses.</p> <p>- De malha?</p> <p>- De algodão.</p> <p>- SÓ tem conjuntinhos.</p> <p>- ()</p> <p>Obrigada.</p>	35	housewife H. govern. employee	A	C
2	<p>- Queria vestidinho de menina nº 1. Quanto?</p> <p>E sapatinho de nenem deixa eu ver.</p> <p>Esses aqui que fofura. É mais caro? Deixa eu ver.</p> <p>- ()</p> <p>- Que número é esse?</p> <p>- 2.</p> <p>- É pequeno prá 3 meses, tens idêia?</p> <p>E camisetas dessas fechadinhas quanto tá o preço?</p> <p>- De cambraia?</p> <p>- Não, de malha.</p> <p>- SÓ essas que eu tenho.</p> <p>- Não. De passã na cabeça não. É só isso.</p>	48	retired teacher	A	C
3	<p>- Oi. Você tem meia-calça de ()?</p> <p>- Não.</p> <p>- O que você tem de branco? Deixa eu dar uma olhadinha.</p> <p>.....</p> <p>Não. Dessa aqui não.</p> <p>Obrigada.</p>	35	insurance broker	A	C

4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Vocês têm daquela calça de popeline pequena? - Prã que idade? - 4 anos. É acho que esta dá. Daqui posso tirar. Quanto é? Tem dessas calçinhas prã mim? Eu gosto da Hope. - Tem. Que tamanho você quê? 46? - Mais alguma coisa? - Ah. Um soutien. - Dã uma olhadinha nos modelos. - Me vê um desse ali. 	30	housewife H. office clerk	A	C
5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Você? - Eu queria vê pijama de pelúcia. Que bonito esse pullover aqui. Prã quanto? - Estã em promoção. () - Deixa dã uma olhadinha no pijama. - Esses aqui são de liquidação. - Tens outros? - () - Quanto fica? - O preço normal é (). Agora fica (). 	53	housewife H. univers. teacher	A	C
6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Zorba tens? - Que tamanho? - Grande. De algodão. Esse modelo não. E da Oui? Deu filha. Obrigada. 	50	housewife H. physician	A	C
7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Boa tarde. Pijama prã homem. - Tamanho? - 46 ou 48. - Tecido ou malha? - Malha. - O que eu tenho no momento é só fio de escócia. - Obrigada. 	34	dentist	A	C

8	<p>- Escuta, eu queria um presentinho prã 15 anos. Uma camiseta ...</p> <p>- Uma camiseta? Uma bermuda?</p> <p>- Esses calções aqui hem? (chooses one)</p> <p>- Mais alguma coisa prã senhora?</p> <p>- Não. É só. Essas camisetas tam bêm estão bonitas. Quem sabe vai uma camiseta em vez do calção. É que ele é tão altão. Ah. Vai o calção mesmo.</p>	31	housewife H. dentist	A	C
9	<p>- Meia-calça. Azul tã?</p> <p>- Azul não temos.</p> <p>- Que cores vocês têm?</p> <p>- Branca ().</p> <p>- Então não.</p>	19	university student	A	C
10	<p>- Moça, qual é o preço daquele pijaminho ali da vitrine?</p> <p>- É 265.</p> <p>- Posso ver?</p> <p>.....</p> <p>Obrigada.</p>	42	university teacher	A	C
11	<p>- Tens jardineirinha de brim prã criança?</p> <p>- Temos.</p> <p>- 2 aninhos.</p> <p>.....</p> <p>- Então deixe. Obrigada.</p>	22	university student	A	C
12	<p>- Boa tarde. Tens alguma camisi- nha de gola xadrezinha ou li- sinha prã 2 anos?</p> <p>- Temos.</p> <p>- Quanto é?</p> <p>- 135.</p> <p>- () E prã menina, de meia estação, recebeste alguma coi- sa?</p> <p>Deixa eu dar uma olhadinha. Mas não é prã essa aí. É prã uma de 5 anos.</p> <p>.....</p> <p>- Tã. De tardezinha eu dou uma passadinha aí.</p>	23	secretary	B	C

13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Malha prã ginástica. - É tamanho 44? - É. Quanto é essa aí? - Essa está custando (). - E a meia? - () a não ser a meia de lycra que é mais cara. Com a meia e a malha fica em 115. - Vou dar uma olhadinha por aí. Depois te procuro. 	33	housewife H. govern. employee	B	C
14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tens blusa de buclê? - Prã senhora? - É. - De buclê não. Sõ de linha. - Podes mostrar? - Seu tamanho é 46 ou 48? - 46. Qual é o preço? - () - Assim de tecido não tem? - Não senhora. - Muito obrigada. 	64	dressmaker	B	C
15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Meia fina. - () Essa cor é boa. A outra é bronze. Mais alguma coisa? - Sõ. 	58	confectioner	B	C
16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Conjuntinho prã menino. - Conjuntinho prã menino. - Sõ não de malha. Ah, desses aí não. - Calça comprida pode ser? - Pode. Deixa eu ver. - Que tamanho você quer? - () Desse o preço. - () 	33	hairdresser	B	C
17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Senhora? - Vocês têm camisa esporte? - Temos. Qual é o tamanho? - 4. - 4 né? A senhora tem preferência de cor? - () - Depois tem assim lisinha. Essa aqui é linho. É um linhozinho. - Deixa essa aí. Vou dar uma olhadinha. Obrigada. 	55	housewife H. businessman	A	C
18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tens minha prã ela? (referring to a girl). Não tem lisa? - Não. Sõ rendada. 	50	cleaner	B	C

19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Camisa prá ele (referring to her boyfriend) vocês têm? - Manga comprida ou curta? Tamanho? - Deixa vê. 3. Qual é o preço? - () - Então deixa. Obrigada. 	18	office clerk	B	C
20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Aquela meia da Aço você não tem? - Tem várias. - Daquela com desodorante. Quanto custa? - () - Tá. Obrigada. 	23	nurse	B	C
21	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A senhora? - Camisa, camisa social branca nº 2. Quanto está? - () Queres vê nesse preço? - Não. Obrigada. 	30	office clerk	B	C
22	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Você? - Cueca masculina. - Da Zorba não tem. Só da Mash. Depois da Pierre Cardin. Que tamanho? - Médio. Quero vê. Obrigada. 	24	secretary	B	C
23	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Queria olhã uma calça jeans. - Que tamanho? - 42. - Essas são 42. - Que bonita essa. O preço dessa? - () - Essa tá boa. - O preço tá bom também. - Uma camisa. - São uma calça? - Uma calça e uma camisa. - São isso hoje? - Um par de meia também vou levã. Esse par de meia. Tchau. 	18	maid	B	C
24	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Vocês têm essa calça aqui? (hands paper) - Meia-calça média, cor bege... Não. Essa não temos. - Você sabe aonde posso encontrar? - () - Obrigada. 	60	cook	B	C

25	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A senhora? - Sô quero dar uma olhada. Blu<u>s</u>a. - Camisa de homem? - É, com quadriculado. - Sô essas aqui. 	40	cleaner	B	C
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Clothes-Shop: Male Interactions

1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Quero dá uma olhada nas cami<u>s</u>as. - Manga curta ou comprida? - Curta, mas com gola e () nas mangas. Vou experimentar sô essa aqui. Aonde é o provador? - Lã no finalzinho. - E quero vê um cinto. - Vais levã essa verde? (referring to the shirt) - Vou. Fazes crediário? - 1 entrada e 2 vezes. 	21	office clerk	B	C
2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Vocês têm calção de banho? - Lycra? - É. - Médio? - É. Acho que é. Qual o preço deste? - 276 o liso e o estampado é um pouco mais caro. - Esse aqui tem desconto? - 5%. Mas vem outras marcas co<u>m</u>o a Arp pela metade do pre<u>ç</u>o. - Tã. Obrigado, hem. 	26	university student	A	C
3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Suspensório tem? - Tem. Dá uma olhadinha aqui ô. - Puxa até que enfim. É com garra ou com botão? - Com garra. - E quanto cada um? - () - Obrigado. 	20	university student	A	C
4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gravata preta. - Gravata preta sô de crochê. - Não. 	55	retired govern. employee	B	C

5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Chapéu. - Não temos. - De gabardine? - Só bonê como aquele. - Não. Chapéu mesmo parece que não se encontra mais. Muito obrigado. 	66	builder	A	C
6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Queria dá uma olhadinha em shorts. - Tamanho? Médio? - (nods) Acabou a promoção de vocês? - () - Tã. Deu. Obrigado. 	20	university student	A	C
7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tem camiseta sem manga? Não olímpica. Tipo safari. Manga longa. - Não. Só curta. () Nós botamos pro depósito. - Obrigado. 	60	retired lawyer	A	C
8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tem aí daquela cueca de elás tico? - Parece que ainda tem. Que tamanho? - Médio. Quanto? - () - Essa aqui. Média né? Vou levã. - Mais alguma coisa? - Não. Só isso. 	69	retired judge	A	C
9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Escuta, vocês têm paletô esporte? - Tem alguma coisa. Dá uma olhadinha lá. (looks and leaves) 	19	university student	A	C
10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Calças jeans. - Qual é o seu número? - 42. Prã quanto? - () Pierre Cardin () Calvin Klein () - Obrigado. 	39	physician	A	C
11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - O que vocês têm de calças pro patente? - Minhas calças são todas ó() - Qual o preço dessa aqui? - (). A barata é () - Vocês fazem bainha aí? - Depois o pai passa aí acertã o crédito. Obrigado. 	22	university student	A	RC

12	<p>- Você?</p> <p>- Eu queria camiseta manga longa branca da Hering ou de viscosa.</p> <p>- Que tamanho?</p> <p>- 48.</p> <p>- Queres dar uma experimentadinha?</p> <p>.....</p> <p>- É o tamanho é 8 mesmo.</p> <p>- Mais alguma coisa?</p> <p>- Não. É só.</p>	31	businessman	A	C
13	<p>- Boa tarde. Como vai? Tá frio na rua. Cadê a Telma?</p> <p>- A Telma tá aqui.</p> <p>- Me mostra uma cinta daquela.</p> <p>.....</p> <p>Eu ia levá e usa a fivela daquela que tenho em casa ...</p> <p>Muito obrigado e desculpe o incômodo.</p> <p>- Aparece tá seu Frederico.</p>	70	retired lawyer	A	RC
14	<p>- Eh. Tás resfriada. Quero comprá uma calça dessas jeans.</p> <p>- Ah. Tá se modernizando hem?</p> <p>- É o pessoal lá de casa ()</p> <p>.....</p> <p>- Posso fazer a bainha pro senhor.</p> <p>- Essas jaquetinhas simples assim vocês têm?</p> <p>.....</p> <p>- Não esqueças hem? Amanhã vou prá Curitiba.</p> <p>- Preparas para o frio.</p> <p>- Não tem importância. () bem agasalhado. () tomando vinho. Até logo.</p>	60	retired govern. employee	A	RC
15	<p>- Você?</p> <p>- Eu queria dá uma olhada numa calça.</p> <p>- Que tamanho? Jeans?</p> <p>- 38. Quanto é que tá essa calça aqui?</p> <p>- 477 e 80.</p> <p>- Tem outra mais barata?</p> <p>- Não. Daí prá cima.</p> <p>- Dessa preta?</p> <p>- Não.</p> <p>- Tá. Obrigado.</p>	25	waiter	B	C

16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Queria vê calça. - Tamanho? - 40, 42. - Calvin Klein tu gosta, não? - Essas 2 aqui. - Mais alguma coisa? Tá chegando bastante camisa nova. - Não. E eu queria vê umas cueca também. - Tamanho médio? - Não. Pequeno. Estica depois. - Obrigado. 	32	shop owner	B	C
17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - O senhor? - Queria vê um pullover. Um que tinha visto ainda. Todo abotoado ... Tamanho 52. - () - Era isso mesmo. Não tem mais curto? É só prá homem alto. Mas prá mim que sou baixo... Quer dizer que mais curto não tem? - Não. 	56	govern. employee	B	C
18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Queria vê uma calça Lee. - Lee não. SÓ Levis. Qué dá uma olhada? - É mais cara? - Não é o mesmo preço. - Então me vê uma Levis prá mim. - Deu? - Vai essa. - Era só a calça? - SÓ. 	22	office boy	B	C
19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Calça da Levis vocês têm? - Tamanho? - 36. Qual o preço dessa calça? - () Dá prá fazê no crediário. 2 vezes. - () - Camiseta tu queres? Camisa? - () Não vou levá. 	18	office boy	B	C
20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Terno. - Não temos. SÓ paletô esporte. - Não. 	25	economist	A	C
21	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Carteira. Quanto essa aqui? - 115. - SÓ tem essa marca? - Não. Tem essa aqui. 48. 	14	student F. builder	B	C

22	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Quero vê uma calça. - Cintura 84? - É tamanho 42 ou 44. - Quê chegã aqui senhor? - Essa aqui é 42? - É. Tem assim ó. Dá uma prova-dinha. - É vou experimentar essa aqui. - Essa aqui tá boa. Essa aqui não vai. - Mais alguma coisa? - Não. É só. 	55	odd job man	B	C
23	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tens calça jeans prá homem? - (nods) Da Lee. - Posso provar? - Lá no final tem provador. Deu? - Não. - Queres uma 44? - 44 fica muito grande. Não tens da Levis? - Vou dar uma volta por aí. Obrigado. 	17	student F. govern. employee	B	C
24	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - O senhor? - Meia. - Meias? - (looks at some and leaves) 	45	driver	B	C
25	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Queria vê uma calça prá mim. - Tamanho 38? - É. - Lee pode ser? - Depende do preço. - () - Hi. Não vai dá. 	15	student F. watchaman	B	C

Pharmacy - Female Interactions

nº of interaction	interaction	age	occupation	social group	cust./server relationship
1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - () tem? - () temos. · Creme não tem. Só essa loção cremosa. - É esse mesmo. E me dá uma () 	47	university teacher	A	C
2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Pois não senhora. - Iodo. - Iodo? - (nods) Quanto? - 3 e 68. 	28	office clerk	B	C
3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Boa tarde. (hands prescription) - Quero 3 caixas. Uma a mais. - Está em falta. 	43	housewife H. captain	A	C
4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tem Novocilin? - É líquido né? - É. Acho que é. - Nenhum dos dois, nem 125 nem 250. 	46	university teacher	A	C
5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Vocês têm creme de tartaruga? - Não, não temos. 	27	housewife H. book-keeper	B	C
6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Vocês têm Id-sedin? - Líquido? - Não. Drágeas. Só existe em drágeas. - É calmante? - É pro cérebro. 	33	housewife H. secretary	B	C
7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Quero Magnopiról. - Em gotas? - É. 	38	housewife H. univers. teacher	A	C
8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Quero fraldas. Não tem pacote grande? - Não. - Então quero 10 pacotes. · Queria um fio dental. - Que mais? - Tem suprasumo? Um. 	38	university teacher	A	C

9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A senhora? - Tem Gumex? - Comprimidos? - Nem comprimidos nem gotas. É um negócio prá botá no cabelo. - Não não tem. 	45	govern. employee	B	C
10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Você tem daquele desodorante () avulso? - Avulso? Que mais? - Sô. 	27	shop assistant	B	C
11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tens ()? - Mais alguma coisa? - Sô. 	37	retired clerk	B	C
12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tem esse remédio aqui? (showing prescription) - Estamos em falta. 	38	cook	B	C
13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - O segundo. (handing prescription) - Não. Deixa eu dar uma olhadinha. - Não. Não temos mesmo. 	26	financial assistant	A	C
14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tens Novaldex? - É pomada? O que é? - É comprimido. - Está em falta. 	44	shop assistant	B	C
15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Quero esse comprimido e a injeção quero tomã já. - A injeção não temos. - Então sô o comprimido. 	47	dressmaker	B	C
16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 4 envelopes de Saridon. - 4? Mais alguma coisa? - É sô. 	39	housewife H. univers. teacher	A	C
17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Uma Coristina. - Coristina. - É um envelope né? - Que mais? - Sô. 	22	administ. clerk	B	C
18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Você? - Uma Aspirina. - Mais alguma coisa? - Sô isso. 	19	student F. bank employee	A	C
19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Aspirina vocês têm? - Adulto? - Me dá 12 envelopes. - Mais alguma coisa moça? - Melhoral Infantil. Me dá 2 envelopinhos. 	22	school supervisor	A	C

20	- Senhora? - Quero 1 vidrinho de Vasculat. - Comprimido? - É. - 17 cruzados.	35	cleaner	B	C
21	- Vocês têm esse remédio aqui? (showing prescription) - Não. Estamos em falta.	36	housewife H. driver	B	C
22	- Boa tarde. Tem ()? - Mais alguma coisa? - Não. Obrigada.	65	housewife H. retired physician	A	C
23	- Senhora? - Eu quero () gotas. () vende sem receita? - Deixa eu ver se tem. Está em falta.	29	teacher	A	C
24	- Magnésia Bizurada. - 1 caixa? SÓ? - É isso aí.	53	teacher	A	C
25	- Queria 1 caixa de Lorium. - Comprimido azul ou rosa? Com- primido azul é Lorium. Com- primido rosa é Lorium (). É mais forte. - Deixa eu ver. É este aqui.	60	housewife H. retired dentist	A	C

Pharmacy - Male Interactions

1	- Chuva boa prá quem tá em casa, hem? Vê se tem os 2 (handing paper with names) Caixa gran- de.	67	retired administ. clerk	B	C
2	- Tens (). - Está em falta.	15	student F. dentist	A	C
3	- Tem esse remédio aqui? (showing the box) - Está em falta.	20	carpenter	B	C
4	- O senhor? - Queria sabe o preço dessas fraldas aí. - 29. - Vou levar 2. - SÓ? - SÓ.	47	dentist	A	C

5	- Tem tablete de Santo Antonio? - Não. Está em falta.	15	student F. lawyer	A	C
6	- Esse segundo aqui. (handing prescription) - Não tem. - Obrigado.	25	university student	A	C
7	- Imosec tem? - Envelope? - É envelopinho.	21	student F. economist	A	C
8	- Queria 1 vidro de () - Líquido? - É. - Está em falta.	37	govern. employee	A	C
9	- Tem esse sabão aqui ã (showing prescription) - Esse? (showing the soap) - Qual é o preço? - 1 e 82.	18	waiter	B	C
10	- () tem? - Tem latinhas pequenas e maiores. - Pequena. Quanto sai? - 15 cruzados e 34. - Que mais? - Só.	57	farmer	B	C
11	- Deixa eu vê o nome aí. Xarope São João. - Xarope de São João não temos.	36	policeman	B	C
12	- Esse creme tem aqui? (showing paper with the name)	28	office boy	B	C
13	- () tem aí? - Não.	25	driver	B	C
14	- Tens alguma coisa pro estômago? - Estomazil. Queres tomar já? - Queria. Obrigado. Olha o copo. Obrigado.	25	male nurse	B	C
15	- Vocês têm esse medicamento? (This man is buying the medicine through an institution. The server has a lot of work filling in some requisitions.) Obrigado. Tchau.	34	watchman	B	C

16	- Queria Bactrin, uns 5 envelopes de Aspirina e (). - Só? - É isso aí. Só.	57	retired lawyer	A	C
17	- Novalgina. - Gotas? - Não. É prá colocá no dente. - É gotas mesmo.	21	waiter	B	C
18	- Vocês têm um remédio prá dor de cabeça? É um comprimido vermelho. Não me lembro o nome. - Magnopiról? - Não. - Cristina? - Não. Ele está num envelope vermelho. Coisa incrível. Não me lembro. Vou levá esse mesmo. Tem um copo aí? Vou tomá logo agora.	50	lawyer	A	C
19	- Vocês têm esse () inalador?	39	pharmacist	A	C
20	- Tem () gotas? - Que mais amigo? - Só isso.	35	govern. employee	A	C
21	- Pílulas Vick tens? Sabor laranja. Prá quanto? - 4 e 85. Só isso.	18	office boy	B	C
22	- Quero tomar essa injeção aqui. Vocês aplicam? - 1 injeção ou a caixa toda? - Só uma injeção.	51	parson	A	C
23	- Tens esse remédio aqui? - Tem. Infectrin Pediátrico. Que era mais? - Só isso.	28	driver	B	C
24	- O senhor? - Vê se me consegue isso aqui. (handing prescription) - Os dois? - É. - Ó senhor os dois. - Quanto que dá? - Um é 13 e 9 e o outro 37 e 2.	27	businessman	A	C

25	- Tem Epocler? - Epocler? - Quanto sai? - () - Me dá uns 4, 5. Sal de fruta tem? Quanto sai? - 49 centavos. - 5.	21	works at petrol station	B	C
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Bank - Female Interactions

nº of interaction	interaction	age	occupation	social group	cust./server relationship
1	- Número da conta. Saldo. E o talão de cheque vou pegar. - Saldo? - (nods)	30	secretary	B	C
2	- Já chegou o extrato? (handing bills and cheques) - Não, ainda não. - Eu deixei preenchido aí. Eu quero 600. Dá prá arranjá 50 trocado? Obrigada.	33	university teacher	A	C
3	- Pensão. Ali. (handing identity card) (signs the receipt, takes the money and leaves).	49	cleaner	B	C
4	- Quero um talão de cheque e o saldo 478 (). E o saldo? - Está atrás do talão.	21	typist	B	C
5	- Pode ver o meu saldo por favor? Eu queria retirar e passar para minha conta. - Quanto? - 2 deste e 7 deste.	35	university teacher	A	C
6	- Depósito. (handing money and a piece of paper) - 2 e 700? - Nesse papelzinho aqui. - Aqui? Maria Duarte de Abreu. - E esse depósito aqui. - 650? - É. E me dá o extrato. - O extrato não chegou ainda.	65	assistant clerk	B	C
7	- A senhora? - Eu quero tirar 800.	56	housewife H. driver	B	C
8	- Meu saldo por favor. Aqui é a taxa de um certificado de pós-graduação, tá? - Qual é o nome?	47	university teacher	A	C

	- O nome é daquela pessoa que assinou ali. ... 55 minutos numa fila... sei que não é culpa de vocês que estão sendo explorados pelo banco... Muito obrigada meu filho. Deus te dê força e paciência.				
9	- Quero retirar 4 mil e 500 cruzados.	30	housewife H. colonel	A	C
10	- Você pode dar uma olhadinha no meu saldo lá por favor?	25	post-grad. student	A	C
11	- Um cheque avulso e o saldo da conta 15 () - Nome? - Valmira ()	25	System analyst	B	C
12	- Queria depositã na minha conta (handing cheque) - Qual é o número? - 5 () - E o nome? - Maria (). Depositã tudo. - 50? - Não. Tudo. Eu quero pagã essa duplicata tã?	34	secretary	B	C
13	- Qué vê meu saldo? Obrigada.	50	university teacher	A	C
14	- Pois não? - Gostaria de ver o meu saldo. - Sua conta? - () E eu queria pegã o talão prá mim. - Cheque nobre o da senhora? - Uh. Uhm. - Gostaria de saber o seguinte ()	37	university teacher	A	C
15	- Eu queria um... Já saiu o extrato da conta? - () - Eu queria um talão de cheques também e o extrato de contas. - Muito obrigado. - Muito obrigada também.	38	govern. employee	A	C
16	- Duas taxas de pós-graduação no nome de (). - Duas disciplinas. 50 cada. - Vê se o dinheiro tã certo. - Obrigado. - Obrigada.	47	porter	B	C

17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Esse aqui eu quero pagã e es se depositã. - Em nome de ()? - Não. Esse aí é prã mim pegã. - Luís ()? - É. 	37	porter	B	C
18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Dã uma olhadinha na 15 () e confirma se é minha, Salete (). - () - Obrigada. 	29	nurse	B	C
19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (hands a cheque) - Sõ o talão? - Não. Eu queria fazer um depõsito também e retirar. - Mais alguma coisa? - Não. É sõ isso. Obrigada. 	36	psychologist	A	C
20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Dessa aí que vou tirã 2 e da outra 3.500. Quê vê o saldo também 643 dígito 1. - () - Dãs um elástico prã mim? Obrigada. 	49	housewife H. physician	A	C
21	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Eu queria fazê uma retirada. - Quanto a senhora quê? - 5.400. - 5.400. 	50	sociologist	A	C
22	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Depositã nessa conta aqui õ Mariza () 27 (). Eu quero o saldo tã? Obrigada, tã. 	29	secretary	B	C
23	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Quero retirã. - Quanto? - Tudo. Eu abri essa conta sõ () Aí encerra. A conta ficou encerrada. 	33	university student	A	C
24	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Queria tirã () dessa conta aí. - Tirã da poupança? - Tirã da poupança e colocã na corrente. - () - Então deu certo tã. - Então boa viagem. - Quê alguma coisa prã lá? - Não. Sõ recomendações. 	22	economist	A	RC

25	- Queria ver meu saldo e pagar o condomínio. Obrigada.	36	housewife H. lawyer	A	C
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Bank - Male Interactions

1	- Sebastião Silvêrio. Conta. - Sabe do número? - Não. Eu esqueço os números. - Tudo bem. - Quero uns 12 cruzados pro ôni- bus. - Ficou uns 20 centavos.	30	servant	B	C
2	- Retirada de 5 das duas e 400 daquela. Depois eu quero um bloco de cheques que eu não tenho aqui. - () - Eu precisaria de um talãozi- nho. - Deu. - Muito obrigado hem! (leaves and comes back to pick up the receipt) Danks.	45	economist	A	C
3	- Vê meu saldo aí. Eu queria o extrato mas não tem. Eu tenho um cheque da minha filha aí. É pequeninho.	57	university teacher	A	C
4	- Pode ver o meu saldo por fa- vor? Eu queria retirar 5.000.	35	university teacher	A	C
5	- Vê o saldo dessa conta aqui. - () - Queria depositar nessa conta.	20	university student	A	C
6	- Depositá nessa conta 180. - 180? - (nods) - Essa conta é donde? - Daqui mesmo.	27	servant	B	C
7	- Poderia ver o extrato por fa- vor prá mim?	42	university teacher	A	C
8	- Pagar essas contas aqui. So- brou ou faltou? - Sobrou. - Obrigado.	28	astronomer	A	C

9	- Vê o saldo 8021100 - 88 21 100, né? - (nods).	33	system analyst	B	C
10	- Esse aqui é um depósitozinho tã? 22 () - () - Falou meu chapa. Obrigado.	21	odd job man	B	C
11	- Queria retirar umas diárias. - Da ()? - Não. Diárias de um congresso.	44	chemist	A	C
12	- Só quero retirar umas diárias que foram depositadas prá mim.	42	university teacher	A	C
13	- Tudo bem? Me vê o saldo prá mim 5920. E o extrato.	54	university teacher	A	RC
14	- Pagã isso aí. O primeiro. - 169. Tens telefone? - Tá atrás.	24	university student	A	C
15	- Queria fazê um depôsito na 32009 dígito (). Vê o meu saldo. É possível?	35	physician	A	C
16	- Retirá 150.. 150?	22	odd job man	B	C
17	- Eu queria... deixa eu ver... depositã esses 2 cheques nes- sa conta aqui, depois retirã esse cheque aqui.	25	moviemaker	A	C
18	- Tudo bom meu amigo? Quero pa- gã esse carnê aqui. Tu coloca isso aí na minha conta. Amanhã já tou passando aí outra vez. Muito obrigado. Tchau prá vocês. Tchau amigo.	43	driver	B	RC
19	- Retirá 850 pila daí. - 850? - É. - Obrigado.	25	clerk	B	C
20	- Daí doutor? - Tudo bom. (handing cheques to the server) Quê vê meu saldo prá mim? 21 ()	50	govern. employee	B	RC

21	- Fazê um depôsito aí. - Quanto? - 5.000. Tem uma canetinha aí?	39	physician	A	C
22	- Fala seu Geraldo. Tudo bem? - Firme. Pagã isso aqui. Mês 7. - Que pagã em dinheiro ou cheque? - Quanto é? - () - Em dinheiro. Deposita isso prá mim. - Qual é o seu número? - 10608 () - Obrigado hem! Tchau.	37	tradesman	B	RC
23	- Podia ver o saldo e o extrato de contas? É prá minha mãe. Pode pegar o extrato ali?	29	manager	B	C
24	- Podia descontar esse cheque? Deu. Obrigado.	22	university student	A	C
25	- Tudo bem? Pagã esses condomínios. - Já vou buscar a pastinha. - Deu? Muito obrigado hem! Tchau.	30	janitor	B	RC

APPENDIX B

AMERICAN SERVICES INTERACTIONS

(1) restaurant (S6-2)

C: Do you have hot chocolate?

S: Mm-Hmm.

C: Can I have hot chocolate with whipped cream?

S: Sure. (leaves to get)

(2) market place (mwm, t-01-73)

C: Do you have the blackberry jam?

S: Yes.

C: O.K. Can I have half pint then?

S: Sure. (turns to get)

(3) notions (A-29, 12-14)

C: Hi. Do you have uh size C flashlight batteries?

S: Yes sir.

C: I'll have four please (?)

S: (turns to get)

(4) snack truck (mwm, h-05-72)

C: Do you have the pecan Danish today?

S: Yes we do. Would you like one of those?

C: Yes, please.

S: O.K. (turns to get)

(5) cafeteria (mwm, h-10-72)

C: Where's the water?

S: Back here. Would you like some?

C: Yes, please.

S: (gets water)

(6) notions (B-41, 06-15)

C: D'you have any aspirins?

S: Aspirin, yes sir. D'you want Bayers?

C: I do want Bayers.

S: All right, then, what'd you want? hundreds, fifties, or
/ / (())

C: Fifty.

S: Fifty. O.K. (goes to get)

(7) snack truck (mwm, h-04-72)

C: Do you have Marlboros?

S: Yeah. Hard or soft pack?

C: Soft please.

S: O.K. (turns to get)

(8) luncheonette (mwm, h-11-69)

C: Do you have coffee to go?

S: Cream and sugar? (starts to pour coffee)

C: Cream only.

S: O.K. (putting cream in)

(9) snack truck (mwm, h-04-72)

C: Do you have Marlboros?

S: Uh, no. We ran out.

C: O.K. Thanks anyway.

S: Sorry.

(10) school store (mwm, h-01-74)

C: Do you sell chess pieces?

S: Yes. They're right behind // (())

C: Yeah. Do you sell individual chess pieces?

S: No, we don't.

C: O.K. Thank you.

(17) restaurant (S24-5)

C: May I have a bottle of Mich?

S: Are you twenty-one?

C: No.

S: No.

(23) drug store (S31-4)

C: D'you have ZigZags?

S: / How many?

C: Two.

S: (places on the counter)

(25) notions store

C: Do you have Feenamant?

S: You want Feenamant?

C: Yes, a small pack.

S: O.K.

(26) drug store, customer accompanied by a child

C: Do you have bathing caps?

S: For yourself?

C: Yes.

S: Second aisle on your left.

(27) notions store

C: Can you make up a carton of Carltons?

S: A carton of which?

C: Carltons.

S: Carltons. O Kaay.

(1) (A-1, 6-14)

C: Do you have any-uh-eye wash ((or em eye --)) eye k-cleanser?
S: Yeah, we have eye wash. Yeah, d'you mean -- for reg'lar eye -- not contact lenses?
C: No. //Hunh-unh just for your eyes.
S: Just just reg'lar eye wash.

(2) (A-36, 12-14)

C: (()) red ribbon?
S: Red ribbon?
C: Yeah.
S: Yes sir. Ya wanna come with me.

(3) (A-52, 12-14)

C: You don't have any yarn ribbon do you?
S: Yarn ribbon?
C: Unh hunh.
S: No, no yarn ribbon. Just -- uh -- I forget -- for wrapping packages?
C: Unh hunh.
S: No, we have -- what you see over here.

(4) (A-33, 12-14)

C: Do you have any stamp pads? -- no?
S: Ink stamp pads?
C: Right.
S: Yeah, Yeah. Right here.

(5) (A-15, 12-14)

C: Two packs of True Greens.
S: All right. True Greens. Didya say two packs?
C: Yes.
S: That's a dollar. Thank you.

(6) (A-19, 12-14)

C: Pack o' Vantage.
S: O.K. Vantage. Blue?
C: Right.
S: Fifty cents. ___ Right. Thank you.

(7) (A-7, 12-14) (Here the customer began this request just as the server was finishing some sorting out of change.)

C: C'n I have a pack of Doral ((in a minute)) please?
S: Doral menthol?
C: Regular.
S: Fifty cents. ___ Five, six, seven, eight, nine and fifty change. Thank you.

(8) (A-45, 12-14)

C: A carton of Winston// //please.

S: A carton of Winston. O.K. ___ This's four fifty. -- Out of ten.

RING (of cash register)

S: Four fifty, five, and five is ten.

(9) (A-43, 12-14)

C: C'n I have a package of True Blue?

S: True Blue. O.K. ___ That's uh fifty and ten -- sixty cents. ___ Here's your forty change. Thank you.

RING

(10) (A-47, 12-14)

C: Could I have a pack of Winstons? (())

S: A pack of Winstons. All right. ___ And a magazine, right?

C: Unh hunh. Yes.

S: So it's a dollar fifty cents altogether.

C: Thank you.

RING

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