

English Politeness and Class

Politeness plays a vital role in maintaining class differences. In this highly original account, Sara Mills analyses the interrelationship between class and linguistic interaction, uncovering the linguistic ideologies behind politeness in British English. She sheds light on the way politeness and rudeness interrelate with the marking of class boundaries, and reveals how middle-class positions in society are marked by people's use of self-deprecation, indirectness and reserve. Systematically challenging received wisdom about crosscultural and intercultural differences, she goes beyond the mere context of the interaction to investigate the social dimension of politeness. This approach enables readers to analyse other languages in the same way, and a range of case studies illustrate how ideologies of politeness are employed and judged.

SARA MILLs is Research Professor in the School of Cultural Studies, Sheffield Hallam University. She is the author of *Gender and Politeness* (Cambridge, 2003), *Language and Sexism* (Cambridge, 2008) and *Language, Gender and Feminism* co-authored with Louise Mullany (2011).



English Politeness and Class

Sara Mills

Sheffield Hallam University







Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107537019

DOI: 10.1017/9781316336922

© Sara Mills 2017

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2017

First paperback edition 2022

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication data

Names: Mills, Sara, 1954- author.

Title: English politeness and class / Sara Mills.

Description: New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2017024646 | ISBN 9781107116061 (hardback)

Subjects: LCSH: Politeness (Linguistics)—Great Britain. | English language—Social aspects—Great Britain. | Speech and social status—Great Britain. | Middle class—Great Britain—Language. | Conversation analysis—Social aspects. | Speech acts (Linguistics)

Classification: LCC P299.H66 M45 2017 | DDC 420.1/41—dc23 LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2017024646

ISBN 978-1-107-11606-1 Hardback ISBN 978-1-107-53701-9 Paperback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



> In many societies the tendency to speak respectfully to others is stereotypically revalorised as an index of respectability of the self

> > (Agha, 2007: 302).

It is impossible for an Englishman to open his mouth without making some other Englishman despise him

(Shaw, cited in Hitchings, 2013: 5).



Contents

A	Introduction page 1		
1	Intr	oduction	1
	1.1	Aims of the Book	1
		1.1.1 Politeness and Class	4
	1.2	Traditional Approaches to the Analysis of Politeness	6
		1.2.1 Problems with the Traditional Approach to the Analysis of Politeness	s 7
	1.3	The Discursive Approach to the Analysis of Politeness and Impoliteness	14
	1.4	Materialist Discursive Approach	19
	1.5	Structure of the Book	21
	1.6	Conclusion	22
2	Trac	ditional Approaches to Language, Culture and Politeness	25
	2.1	Language and Culture	25
	2.2	Collectivist and Individualist	30
	2.3	Positive Politeness and Negative Politeness Cultures	31
	2.4	Discernment and Volition Cultures	33
	2.5	Politeness within Particular Cultures	35
	2.6	Problems with the Traditional View of Culture, Language and Politeness	38
	2.7	Disagreement about Classifying Cultures	39
	2.8	Materialist Approach to Linguistic Ideologies	43
		2.8.1 Ideology	43
		2.8.2 Interpellation	45
		2.8.3 Indirect Indexing	46
		2.8.4 Appropriateness	47
		2.8.5 Politeness and the Moral Order	48
	2.9	How Can We Generalise about Linguistic Norms of a Culture?	48
	2.10	Conclusion	54
3	App	proaches to British-English Politeness	56
	3.1	Introduction	56
	3.2	British-English Politeness for Traditional Theorists	56
	3.3	Stereotypical Constituents of British-English Politeness	58
		3.3.1 Negative Politeness	61
		3.3.2 Indirectness: Conventional and Hints	62
		3.3.3 Use of 'Sorry'	64
		3.3.4 Self-Deprecation	66
		3.3.5 Reserve and Social Awkwardness	68
		3.3.6 Stiff Upper Lip	70
			vii



vii	i	Contents	
	3.4	History of Ideologies of British-English Politeness	71
	3.5	Linguistic Market and English Politeness	72
	3.6	Covert Prestige and Impoliteness	74
	3.7	Disputes over Value of Politeness	75
	3.8	Problems with These Views of British-English Politeness	76
	3.9	Conclusion	77
4	Poli	teness and Class	79
	4.1	Introduction	79
	4.2	Politeness and Civility	79
	4.3	Class	81
		4.3.1 Class as a Variable	83
		4.3.2 Class as an Orientation in Talk	83
	4.4	4.3.3 Class as a Moral Judgement	84
	4.4 4.5	Class and Politeness	85
	4.6	Class, Politeness, Impoliteness and National Identity Intersectionality	86 88
	4.0	4.6.1 Gender and Politeness	89
		4.6.2 Politeness, Class and Region	89
		4.6.3 Politeness and Ethnicity	90
		4.6.4 Politeness and Age	91
	4.7	An Analysis of Class, Politeness and Age	91
	4.8	Decline of English Politeness and the End of Civilisation	96
	4.9	Conclusion	100
5	Materialist Discursive Approach to Politeness, Culture and Norms		101
	5.1	Introduction	101
	5.2	Culture from a Materialist-Discursive Perspective	101
		5.2.1 Culture and the Individual	103
		5.2.2 Relation between Language and Culture	105
		5.2.3 Language as a Material Practice	106
	5.3	Politeness Analysis from a Materialist-Discursive Perspective	107
		5.3.1 Linguistic Ideologies/Stereotypes and Their Use: Stage 1	109
		5.3.2 Analysis of Indirect Indexing: Stage 2	109
		5.3.3 Eliciting Evaluations from Participants: Stage 3	113
	5.4	Analysis	114
		5.4.1 Participant Self-Deprecation	116
		5.4.2 Comradely Statements/Positive Politeness	118
		5.4.3 Assertive and Didactic Statements 5.4.4 Ouestionnaire	118
	5.5	Conclusion	121 123
6	Conclusions		125
6			125 125
	6.2	Introduction Ways Forward for Politeness Research	125
	6.3	Norms, Stereotypes and Ideologies	126
	6.4	Context	127
	6.5	Non-Elite Groups and Politeness	128
	6.6	Politeness as Indexing Social Position	128
	6.7	Definition of Politeness	129
	6.8	Culture and Politeness	130
	6.9	Conclusion	130
ъ.	, ,,		
		raphy	131
Inc	lex		145



Acknowledgements

I would like to thank members of the Linguistic Politeness Research Group, particularly the management group: Francesca Bargiela-Chiappini, Christine Christie, Jodie Clark, Jonathan Culpeper, Bethan Davis, Karen Grainger, Daniel Kadar, Andrew Merrison and Louise Mullany, for providing a productive environment in which to discuss ideas about politeness and impoliteness. Sandra Harris's work on institutional discourse has been a great influence on so many politeness theorists' work and she will be greatly missed. I am very privileged to work in a Linguistics group which consists of such supportive and motivated colleagues, who have created a very vibrant research culture, with reading groups and research projects: David Peplow, Karen Grainger, Peter Jones, Alice Bell, Jodie Clark, Sam Browse, Alison Gibbons, Isabelle van der Bom and Dave Sayers. Thanks are also due to Lucy Jones, Laura Paterson, Georgina Turner and Laura Coffey-Glover in the Discourses of Marriage research group and the Language and Gender Reading group.

Research students Zainab Kerkam, Ann Coady and Fathia Mansor have kept me on my toes, as have undergraduates at Sheffield Hallam who have taken the Politeness module (especially the 2016 students who kindly completed a questionnaire for me on self-deprecation). Sunny (Guang) Hu has given me great insights into generalisations about Chinese politeness, and Francis and Gabriel Mills Brown, and their friends, have helped me to find ways of discussing some young people's views of what counts as polite and impolite. Thanks also to the Harcourters, particularly Yonatan Shemmer and Sarah Durling for discussions about Hebrew and American English, Laure Astill in relation to French, Siavash Moshiri on Farsi, and Gillian Santander-Crow for her general wonderfulness. Thanks are due to Kate Wilkinson and Vanessa Fox. I would also like to acknowledge my gratitude to Raslan Alzuebi, a wonderful Arabic teacher. The Language and Class reading group, Language and Gender reading group, Discourses of Marriage research group, Blurred Lines research group and Benefits Street research group have provided very productive contexts for the discussion of politeness in relation to class and gender. Some of these research groups had projects funded by Sheffield Hallam University for which I would like to acknowledge my thanks. Thanks also to Ursula.

ix