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**The Impact of Anxiety Disorders on the Choice of Politeness  
Strategies: A Case Study of Women Postgraduates**

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A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield in partial fulfilment of the  
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts by Research in Linguistics

**The University of Huddersfield**

**September 2019**

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## Abstract

The prominent theory of politeness proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987) suggests that the choice of politeness strategies is determined by power, social distance and rank of the imposition. To account for differences, it is suggested that cultural agreement on which factor is most important impacts the choices made. This study argues that there are factors beyond culturally agreed norms which affect the choice of politeness strategy used. Anxiety impacts millions of people around the world and can influence every aspect of a person's life, including their behaviour. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that it may also impact how a person uses language including how they perform politeness.

This study consists of a corpus analysis of face-to-face interviews with sufferers of anxiety and an online survey taken by anxious and non-anxious participants. Results from this study show that the anxious interviewees were far more prone to using positive politeness strategies than negative politeness and that, when asked to choose politeness strategies they would use, they were more likely to avoid face threatening acts or enact them off-record than their non-anxious counterparts. The results of the corpus analysis, in particular, show a strong preference for seeking agreement with the Hearer and appealing to the Hearer's positive face as opposed to reducing the imposition. The survey suggests that, when evaluating their behaviour, anxious people were more prone to avoidance than non-anxious people. While some answers were similar, it became clear that there were notable differences in choice of politeness strategy.

By annotating the corpus with politeness strategies, this study was able to provide numerical evidence for politeness theory where the research is usually discursive. This method proved a useful tool in enumerating data that would otherwise have been intuitive in nature. The results of this study suggest that corpus analysis could be implemented in other politeness studies to provide empirical data as evidence.

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# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 My research questions

Anxiety is a far-reaching mental health issue, with 8.2 million cases in the UK in 2013 (Mental Health Foundation, 2016). With anxiety being so prevalent throughout the world, it is a topic rife with opportunities for research in all areas.

The aim of this study is to investigate if there is a link between anxiety and choice of politeness strategy. To do so, I undertook a case study of female postgraduates, along with additional data provided by the wider community of people with anxiety disorders. The overarching research question of whether anxiety impacts the choice of politeness strategies was broken down into 4 research questions to be addressed:

1. Do individuals with anxiety use more positive or more negative politeness strategies within conversation?
2. When asked to make a selection from multiple choice politeness strategies do anxious people make difference choices to non-anxious people?
3. If the choices between sample groups are different, in what ways do they diverge?

I answered these questions through two methods: a corpus analysis of face-to-face interviews with individuals with anxiety disorders and an online survey available for anxious and non-anxious participants.

By conducting face-to-face interviews, I was able to construct a corpus of spoken language that could be analysed using the politeness strategies proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987). In chapter 3, I will discuss the reasons why I have chosen this particular theory of politeness for this study.

The online survey provided further data with which to answer the question of whether anxiety had an impact on the choice of politeness strategies by comparing anxious participants choices to those of non-anxious participants.

## 1.2. Politeness theory

Linguistic politeness focuses on how people create and maintain relationships and studies are often concerned with the concept of 'face' (Kádár, 2017). Brown and Levinson (1987) conducted one of the most comprehensive studies into politeness where they categorised two types of 'face' and created an extensive list of politeness strategies that may be implemented to mitigate face threats (FTAs). Face was split down into two component parts; positive and negative face. Positive face is the want to be liked and accepted and negative face is the want to not be impeded by others (Brown

& Levinson, 1987). Politeness strategies come in to play when speakers have to perform a face threatening act. In brief those strategies are:

- a) Bald on record - where the FTA is performed directly and unambiguously
- b) Positive politeness - where the speaker uses strategies to strengthen and uphold the hearer's positive face
- c) Negative politeness - where the speaker tries to avoid imposing on the hearer
- d) Off the record - where the FTA is performed indirectly so as to be ambiguous so the speaker can easily 'back out' of the FTA.
- e) Not perform the FTA

(Adapted from Brown and Levinson 1987)

A full breakdown of studies into politeness, including the full list of politeness strategies proposed by Brown and Levinson will be given in chapter 3.

### 1.3 Anxiety

Anxiety Disorders are defined in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-V) as differing from normal anxiety and "involve excessive fear or anxiety." (American Psychiatric Association, 2017). The DSM-V states that to be diagnosed as such the anxiety must be disproportional to the situation and prevent the individual from functioning normally (American Psychiatric Association, 2017).

As will be discussed in chapter 3, symptoms of anxiety range between the psychological and physiological and an individual with anxiety could suffer from any combination of these symptoms. Within these wide-ranging symptoms, there are some which are linked directly to speech production such as the sensation of choking, inability to coordinate the mouth or tongue, or slurred speech (Folk & Folk, 2018). Alongside these symptoms are psychological symptoms which could potentially be linked to language use, e.g. a heightened fear of negative evaluation (Folk & Folk, 2018), feeling detached from your environment and the people around you, or feeling on edge (Anxiety UK, 2018).

### 1.4 Why link anxiety and politeness theory?

Brown and Levinson (1987), proposed three factors that they argued determined how a politeness strategy was chosen: the rank of the imposition, the relative power of the Hearer over the Speaker and the social distance between the Speaker and Hearer. However, as discovered by Morse & Afifi (2015), mood can also have an effect on how politeness is performed. The rationale behind this study is that anxiety as a disorder has far-reaching effects on mood, how you evaluate the behaviour

of others and how you behave in a given situation. Given its ability to impact all areas of a sufferer's life, it is reasonable to assume that anxiety may have an influence on a sufferer's use of language.

However, when looking into research into anxiety and its impact on language use, there are hardly any studies beyond those into foreign language anxiety (FLA) which, while also important, do not focus on anxiety as a medical condition. FLA is an anxiety driven by the context of the language classroom and may be suffered by those who are not typically anxious in other situations (Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986). Clinical anxiety, on the other hand, is a mental illness that can flare up at any given opportunity regardless of situation. So, while there is overlap, there is still a large area of potential study that has not yet been investigated.

### 1.5 Structure

In the following chapter, I will discuss the literature surrounding politeness theory, anxiety and my methods of analysis. In chapter 3, I will discuss how the data was collected and analysed and the ethical considerations that were made. Chapter 4 will contain the corpus analysis of the results of the face-to-face interviews and a discussion of what the results mean for politeness theory. In chapter 5, I will provide the additional data from the online survey and discuss the conclusions that arise from this. In chapter 6, I will conclude the study with a short summary of what has been discovered.

## 2. Literature Review

### 2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I examine the literature surrounding my areas of study, data collection and data analysis: politeness theory, anxiety, corpus analysis and surveys. These four topics form the basis of my research into how anxiety impacts the choice of politeness strategies and the methods I have chosen to conduct to this study.

In section 2.2, I will discuss politeness theory from its beginnings up until contemporary studies. I will then cover the salient information on clinical anxiety and studies that link anxiety and language use in section 2.3. In section 2.4, I will discuss corpus analysis and its usefulness in studying language use. Finally, in section 2.5, I will examine the research around conducting surveys.

### 2.2 Politeness theory

#### 2.2.1 Early studies in politeness

Early studies of politeness include those by Erving Goffman, who introduced the concept of 'face' to academic studies of interaction (Goffman, 1967). 'Face' was a concept which was originally written about in 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century works on China and its culture. While Goffman made reference to the Chinese concept, his description was different. At the time, it was written that in Chinese society 'face' dominated all interactions: "A Chinese [sic] is dominated by one passion, viz., to look well before his fellow-man" (Macgowan, 1912, p. 301). Although the validity of the studies of the Chinese concept of face have been contested by modern linguists such as Hinze (2012), who argued that the notion of face is not as important in enacting politeness in China as first believed when written about by non-Chinese scholars of the time, it is still this initial concept that launched studies into 'face', 'face-work' and politeness theory as a discipline.

Goffman (1967) described face as a person's self-image defined in terms of societally approved attributes. A person is expected to maintain their own face as well as to go to lengths to maintain the face of others. Goffman went on to discuss 'face-work', denoting this as the actions a person takes to "make whatever he is doing consistent with face" (1967, p. 12) and to counteract anything that would threaten face. Goffman (1967) proposed several kinds of face-work as the most basic and these included: avoidance of people, situations, topics and activities where face threats may occur, hedging claims about oneself, showing respect and discretion, joking, acting as though a face threatening act had not occurred or acting as though the act was not face threatening, assuming responsibility for any misconduct, or providing some kind of compensation for a face threatening

act. These 'basic' acts of face-work are a clear inspiration for Brown and Levinson's influential studies into politeness theory (1987).

Lakoff (1973) and Leech (1983) also did studies into politeness which would form a solid base for the works that followed. Both of these authors expanded upon Grice's Cooperative Principle (CP) (Grice, 1975 reprinted in 1989) which stated that it is taken for granted that an utterance makes sense in the given context. Grice went on to add four maxims of conversation which constituted the principles of the CP.

1. Maxim of quantity – be as informative as is required.
2. Maxim of quality – do not say anything you believe to be false or that you lack evidence for
3. Maxim of relation – be relevant
4. Maxim of manner – avoid obscurity or ambiguity, be brief and orderly.

(Adapted from Grice, 1975)

When the maxims are flouted for specific reasons, conversational implicature occurs and the Hearer is expected to interpret the utterance in the manner that it was meant by the Speaker (Bloomer, Griffiths, & Merrison, 2005).

When discussing these maxims, Lakoff argued that politeness had principles just like the CP did. The principles included 1. Don't impose, 2. Give options, and 3. Make 'A' feel good (Lakoff, The logic of politeness; or, minding your P's and Q's, 1973). Lakoff went on to state that the principles for politeness were universal but that different cultures emphasised different principles; therefore, one culture's way of enacting politeness may not be the same as another's.

Leech (1983), too, argued that while there were variations throughout cultures the universal rule of politeness was to avoid conflict and that Grice's CP was not robust enough to explain why people are often indirect or to explain the relationship between sense and force in non-declarative utterances. He then proposed six maxims which upheld his Politeness Principle (PP). These maxims are:

1. The Tact Maxim – minimise the cost to the other and maximise the benefit to the other.
2. The Generosity Maxim – minimise the benefit to yourself and maximise the benefit to the other.
3. The Approbation Maxim - minimise criticism of the other and maximise approval or praise of the other.
4. The Modesty Maxim – minimise praise and maximise dispraise to yourself.
5. The Agreement Maxim – minimise disagreement and maximise agreement.

## 6. The Sympathy Maxim – minimise antipathy and maximise sympathy.

(Adapted from Leech, 1983)

Grice's principles and studies in politeness were the starting points from which Brown and Levinson's significant work stemmed and this will be discussed in the next section.

### 2.2.2 Brown and Levinson's politeness strategies

As discussed by Sifianou (2010, p. 17), Brown and Levinson's work is, perhaps, the "most influential treatment of politeness phenomena". It is for this reason that the basis of this case study is focused on the politeness strategies that Brown and Levinson laid out.

'Face' as a concept and Grice's Cooperative Principle fed into Brown and Levinson's comprehensive work on politeness. First, they split 'face' into two component parts: positive face and negative face. Positive face is defined as a person's want to be liked and accepted, negative face is the want to not be impeded by others. To aid social cooperation and maintain relationships, speakers try to maintain others' faces and others will try to maintain theirs in return. (Brown & Levinson, 1987).

Again, this model of politeness assumes cooperation by all parties in maintaining face; everyone's face depends on everyone else's face being maintained (Bloomer, Griffiths, & Merrison, 2005). However, Brown and Levinson point out that some acts are intrinsically face-threatening, further referred to as FTAs, which have to be performed despite the danger to face.

As with the notion of face, FTAs are split by their impact on the positive or negative face. FTAs that threaten the Hearer's negative face are described as acts that suggest the Hearer will have to do some future act, acts that put pressure on the Hearer to accept and incur a debt, or acts that puts pressure on the Hearer to protect or hand over an object that the Speaker desires. These include but are not limited to orders, requests, warnings, dares, promises, compliments or expressions of strong negative emotions. FTAs that threaten the Hearer's positive face are listed as acts that suggest the Speaker has a negative opinion of the Hearer or acts that suggest the Speaker doesn't care about the Hearer's positive face. For example, disapproval, criticism, contradictions, raising divisive topics, non-cooperation or misuse of the terms of address. In addition, there are possibilities for the Speaker to threaten their own face, such as expressing thanks, accepting offers, apologising, confessing and emotional leakage.

Brown and Levinson proposed that in order to mitigate these FTAs, there were a number of strategies that could be employed:

1. doing the FTA bald on record

2. positive politeness strategies
3. negative politeness strategies
4. doing the FTA off-record
5. not doing the FTA.

I will now discuss each of these in turn.

### 2.2.3 Bald on record

Bald on-record FTAs are those that conform to Grice's maxims of quality, quantity, relation and manner. There are some instances where a bald on-record FTA is expected or even welcomed. For example, where maximum efficiency is required over redressive action in urgent situations, where there are communication difficulties, or where the context is task-oriented. These can also be used where the Speaker has power over the Hearer and has no reason to fear consequences or when permission is being granted. Power refers to the degree to which the Speaker can impose their own plans and self-evaluation at the expense of the other's plans and self-evaluation. Some bald on-record FTAs are geared towards the FTA, such as welcomings and farewells and when they are addressed to the Hearer's reluctance to impose on the Speaker's positive face i.e. "Don't worry about me" a bald on-record imperative but which is geared towards not having the Speaker incur a debt or impede the Hearer.

### 2.2.4 Positive politeness

Positive politeness strategies are those that are directed at addressing the Hearer's want to be liked and accepted. These are described as metaphorical extensions of intimacy and imply common ground, even between strangers. There are fifteen positive politeness strategies described by Brown and Levinson.

Strategy 1: notice/attend to the Hearer's wants, needs and interests. This is to make note of the Hearer's condition; any changes or possessions that it seems like they would want to be noticed e.g. "you cut your hair". If something potentially negative is noticed then the Speaker can tease the Hearer in order to show that they are not embarrassed by the faux pas.

Strategy 2: exaggerate interest, approval or sympathy. Here the Speaker uses exaggerated intonation and stress as well as intensifying modifiers as methods of addressing the Hearer's positive face.

Strategy 3: intensify the interest to the Hearer by use of the vivid present such as "I go" instead of "I went", switches between past and present tense, direct quotes, tag questions and expressions that draw in the Hearer.

Strategy 4: use in-group identity markers. Here the Speaker chooses to use address forms, endearments, slang terms, contractions and other code switching techniques to imply the Speaker and Hearer are part of a shared group and, therefore, share common ground.

Strategy 5: seek agreement through the use of small talk, safe topics and finding aspects that both parties agree on and sticking to them. An example would be the British stereotype of always discussing the weather, a topic that is safe to discuss with strangers because it contains no political, offensive or taboo opinions that could cause offence. The Speaker may also repeat part or all of the previous utterance as way of stressing their agreement or interest.

Strategy 6: avoid disagreement. This is achieved through token agreements, displacing disagreements until the end of an utterance to soften it, pseudo-agreement; using “then” or “so” as a marker of conclusion, and hedging opinions by being vague. White lies also come under this strategy as a method of avoiding disagreement.

Strategy 7: presuppose/raise/assert common ground through means of gossip, small talk, switches in POV, i.e. the Speaker talking from the point of view of the Hearer, tag questions, inclusive “we”, claiming the Hearer’s knowledge; “you know”, time and place switches, presupposing the Hearer’s wants and attitudes through negative questions that presume a “yes”, presupposing a familiarity in the relationship, presupposing the Hearer’s knowledge through use of group codes or asserting the Hearer’s knowledge of the Speaker’s needs.

Strategy 8: joke. This can put the Hearer at ease by stressing shared backgrounds or shared values that are required to make the joke. This can then lessen the imposition of the FTA.

Strategy 9: assert or presuppose the Speaker’s knowledge of and concern for the Hearer’s wants. The Speaker asserts or implies that they have knowledge of what the Hearer desires and shows a willingness to fit their own wants around these. This can be employed through the use of negative questions.

Strategy 10: make an offer or promise to the Hearer, even if it is false. The Speaker implies that they will get something for the Hearer and, therefore, demonstrates good intentions.

Strategy eleven: be optimistic, is exemplified by the Speaker assuming the Hearer wants the Speaker to get what they want and will cooperate to do so. This strategy works to minimise the size of the FTA by implying that it is nothing or it is so small as to be taken for granted.

Strategy 12: include the Speaker and the Hearer in the activity by using the inclusive “we” when the Speaker actually means “you” or “me” and implying that the activity will be done for everyone’s benefit.

Strategy 13: give (or ask for) reasons. This strategy involves giving reasons for why the Speaker wants what they want or asking “why not” to imply there is no good reason for not cooperating.

Strategy 14: assume or assert reciprocity; negating the debt aspect of the FTA by giving evidence that it will be reciprocated in the future.

Strategy 15: give gifts, goods, sympathy, understanding or cooperation. This is best described as satisfying the Hearer’s wants and needs.

### 2.2.5 Negative politeness

Negative politeness strategies are geared towards minimising the imposition of the FTA via ten strategies. These strategies are described as being an on-record FTA plus a redress of the FTA.

Strategy 1: be conventionally indirect. This is the most conventional method of minimising the imposition, by using contextually unambiguous utterances which go on-record but where the Speaker shows a desire to go off-record. These include hedges on illocutionary force and idiomatic speech acts. However, this cannot be generalised across the board; an extremely polite idiom would be considered strange among friends and a casual idiom with few redressive features would be unusual in the face of someone with authority over the Speaker.

Strategy 2: question or hedge. There are a number of hedging strategies mentioned by Brown and Levinson such as modifying the degree of membership with phrases such as “pretty sure” or “sort of”, making minimal assumptions about what the Hearer wants with “I suppose” or “I guess”, “if” clauses, stressing the commitment to the truth of the utterance with “I think” or similar, noticing the violation of the face wants, and through pauses, hesitations, stuttering or other prosodic or kinesic body language.

Strategy 3: be pessimistic. In opposition to positive strategy eleven, here the Speaker explicitly expresses doubt through the use of subjunctives like “could you” or “would you”, phrases such as “I don’t suppose” or “perhaps” or negatives plus a tag, subjunctive or remote-possibility marker.

Strategy 4: explicitly minimise the imposition by indicating that it is not that great. Minimising phrases such as “just” or “a little bit” or euphemisms; “borrow” instead of “take”, can be used.

Strategy 5: give deference. This strategy also has an opposite in positive strategy four. Here, instead of maximising social closeness, the Speaker is maximising the social distance and placing themselves

lower than the Hearer. Deference can be given by humbling via honorifics, indicating the Hearer's wants are more important than their own, behaving incompetently, performing shyness and self-effacement.

Strategy 6: apologise; admitting and/or indicating a reluctance to impinge on the Hearer's negative face, giving overwhelming reasons for the imposition or begging forgiveness for doing so.

Strategy 7: impersonalise the Speaker and the Hearer by avoiding personal pronouns, using imperatives to omit the use of "you", using impersonal verbs, pluralising "I" and "you", POV distancing and using address terms to avoid the use of "you". This also includes the use of indirectly quoted speech and passive rather than active verbs.

Strategy 8: state the FTA as a general rule. This is used most explicitly in public spaces by drawing attention to the existence of a rule e.g. "It is forbidden to walk on the grass". Here the FTA is not being enacted for the benefit of the Speaker but for the more abstract concept of sticking to "the rules".

Strategy 9: nominalise. It has been discussed that the more nouns in an utterance, the more formal it appears (Freeborn, 1996) and, therefore, the more removed the actor is from the FTA.

Strategy 10: go on record as incurring a debt or not incurring the Hearer. Here the Speaker can either explicitly state that they will be in debt to the Hearer or make it clear that the Hearer will not be in debt to the Speaker if they were to enact the FTA.

#### 2.2.6 Off-record FTAs

Off-record FTAs are defined as those that allow for the Speaker to enact the FTA with other defensible interpretations. This can be done through conversational implicatures through the flouting of Grice's maxims, for example flouting the maxim of relevance by giving hints, using tautologies, using contradictions, being ironic, using rhetorical questions, being vague, overgeneralising, addressing the FTA to someone else or leaving the FTA half done through the use of ellipsis.

#### 2.2.7 Not doing the FTA

The final strategy is to not enact the FTA. This is simply the decision by the Speaker that the FTA in this context would be too face-damaging.

#### 2.2.8 Deciding which strategy to use

A criticism levied against Brown and Levinson was centred around cultural differences in the choices and use of politeness strategies. They addressed this with an equation that they argue allows for

contextual variation for choices of politeness strategies. According to them, politeness strategy choices depends on the relative power the Hearer has over the Speaker ' $P(H, S)$ ', the social distance between the Hearer and Speaker ' $D(H, S)$ ' and the rank, the degree that the FTA ' $x$ ' is considered an imposition ' $Rx$ '. By adding those factors together, the Speaker can calculate the weightiness of the FTA ' $Wx$ ' and, therefore, choose the appropriate strategies to mitigate this. The equation is as below:

$$Wx = D(H, S) + P(H, S) + Rx$$

The assumption of this system of politeness is that this is universal and that it is based on humans being rational. The argument is that all people are making rational choices to appeal to the face of the Hearer (Kádár & Haugh, 2013). Some cultures may place more or less importance upon these factors leading to differing choices but overall the decision on which strategy to use is based on the same factors.

As will be expanded upon in the next section, cultural differences are not the only variants that can impact the choice of which strategy to use and there is an argument to be made that it the choice is not always based on rational choice. Anxiety disorders can impact how a person interprets a situation and how they react (Clark & McManus, 2002). To a person without an anxiety disorder, an anxious person's behaviour could be considered irrational. For example, an anxious person may (unwillingly) focus on a minor faux pas until the point of tears, which may not be considered a rational response by someone who does not suffer from an anxiety disorder.

If anxiety can produce behaviours that are not considered rational by non-anxious people then it follows that the politeness choices of anxious people may also be impacted by more than just rationality.

#### 2.2.9 Further studies of politeness

As an early proponent of politeness theory, Brown and Levinson's work does have its critics, many of whom address the lack of cross-cultural application. Gu (1990), for example, in his study of politeness in Chinese explicitly linked the concept of politeness to moral societal norms, a factor that is not present in Brown and Levinson's model of politeness. When looking at politeness as universal, other issues arise, such as why in Japanese are honorifics (negative strategy five – give deference) used in non-FTA utterances. Ide, Hill, Carnes, Ogino, & Kawasaki (2005) disagree with the notion that the Western idea of politeness is conceptualised the same way in Japanese and in their study found that for Americans "polite" and "friendly" were ideas that highly correlated but in Japanese they were distinct concepts. Therefore, for American English speakers switching from Title plus Last Name

(TLN) to First Name (FN) was easy due to the link between being polite and being friendly but for Japanese speakers the polite form TLN is distinct and separate from the friendly FN form. Although some Japanese researchers have in fact, brought the use of honorifics in non-FTA utterances back around to Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness (Fukada & Asato, 2004).

In order to argue the cross-cultural applicability of Brown and Levinson's strategies, O'Driscoll (1996) discussed the concept of positive and negative wants being separate to positive and negative face. Positive wants, he describes, are the want to be associated with and belonging in a group with others. Negative wants are the desire for individualism and independence. He reconceptualised 'face' as the "need for some symbolic recognition of this [positive/negative] desire by others" (1996, p. 13) and the idea of preserving face as not necessarily being a conscious desire. He goes on to argue that since positive and negative face are "wants which people are driven to satisfy" (1996, p. 19) face can be attended to without the interlocutors realising their face was being threatened. This unconscious desire to uphold face means even routine interactions can be characterised as positively or negatively polite. This approach has been utilised within the analysis of the face-to-face interviews.

There are others that claim the four politeness strategies, excluding not doing the FTA, are not mutually exclusive and can be used in conjunction (Goldsmith, 2007). Simpson (1995) exemplifies the use of multiple politeness strategies in one utterance as part of his study of 'The Lesson' by Eugene Ionesco. As will be discussed in chapter 3, I have taken into account the possibilities for combined politeness strategies in both the study of the face-to-face interviews and the production of the online survey.

An important critique of Brown and Levinson is that which argues individual difference could contradict the idea of universality. A person's habits or mood may have more of an effect on the politeness strategies chosen than their culture's agreement on the weightiness of the FTA. Morse & Afifi (2015) for example, conducted a study where they concluded mood played an important part in how politeness is expressed. Their study indicated that mood influenced the participants' estimations of social distance between them and their interlocutors. Positive-mood participants were more informal, suggesting an overestimation of social connection and negative-mood participants relied more on social norms and higher levels of politeness in their interactions. As will be discussed in section 2.3, anxious people are more likely to interpret situations negatively (Clark & McManus, 2002), and in turn, this may effect how they enact politeness in the same manner as in Morse & Afifi's study.

An important note about the more modern studies into politeness research is that they have leaned further and further into discursive approaches rather than a coherent 'Theory of Politeness'. The

issue with this discursiveness is that it steps further away from a model of politeness that can be used as a predictive theory of politeness or a descriptive theory (Haugh, 2007). Haugh goes on to propose an interactional theory of politeness, namely that politeness and impoliteness should be analysed at discourse level rather than utterance by utterance.

Discursive approaches to politeness research do not allow for a quantitative study such as this one to take place. As will be discussed in section 2.4 and in chapter 3, I have taken a corpus linguistic approach to studying politeness, which would only be possible with a definitive list of features that can be applied to the data. Although the maxims of Grice (1975), Leech (1983) and Lakoff (1973) would have also lent themselves to this method of study, Brown and Levinson's work was both based on these previous works and also developed a much more comprehensive list of factors with which to study politeness. In addition, I am studying politeness with the intention of investigating why speakers are making certain choices as opposed to how their utterances are evaluated after they have spoken or the face-effects of what they have said.

## 2.3 Anxiety

### 2.3.1 Introduction

In this section I will discuss the definition of clinical anxiety and relevant studies relating it to language and language use.

### 2.3.2 An introduction to clinical anxiety

The subject of anxiety and anxiety disorders is a large one but here I will focus on the general definition of anxiety, its potential effect on language and language use and studies that have linked anxiety with language in the past.

There were 8.2 million cases of anxiety in the UK in 2013 and women in England are twice as likely to suffer from anxiety as men. In addition, the average annual cost per employee of lost employment due to anxiety in 2005-2006 was £6,850 (Mental Health Foundation, 2016). With anxiety being one of the most common mental health issues, second only to depression (Mental Health Foundation, 2016) it is clear that it is ripe for analysis on a number of fronts.

In the UK, doctors use the International Statistical Classification of Diseases and Related Health Problems 10<sup>th</sup> Revision (ICD 10) (World Health Organisation, 2010) as a means of diagnosis and the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders 5th ed., otherwise known as DSM-V (American Psychiatric Association, 2013) as part of research. Both classify anxiety disorders as disorders where excessive fear and anxiety are the major symptoms. In some cases this can be due to a well-defined

stimulus, as in the case of phobias, or the anxiety can be unrelated to any specific situation, such as in Generalised Anxiety Disorder.

The medical community makes a distinction between trait anxiety and state anxiety; state anxiety is the feeling of fear and anxiety in the face of a threat or danger, as opposed to trait anxiety, where anxiety is displayed in anticipation of threat or danger (Schwarzer, 1997). Anxiety disorders are classified as trait anxiety because it is more frequent and consistent than state anxiety, which may only be felt in specific situations (Barlow, 2004). Anxiety disorders are those where trait anxiety is excessive and leads to personal distress, occurs inexplicably and prevents a person from functioning normally (Griggs, 2009).

Anxiety has a wide range of symptoms and it would not be pertinent to list them all in this review. However, there are a number of symptoms of anxiety which are linked to both language production and language use:

- Feeling of choking
- Difficulty speaking and coordination problems with the mouth and/or tongue
- Mouth or throat clicking
- A heightened fear of what others may think of you
- Fear of making mistakes
- Heightened self-awareness or self-consciousness
- Reduced hearing
- Difficulty speaking or thinking
- Slurred speech
- Voice changes; shaky, raspy, uneven voice etc

(Adapted from Folk & Folk, 2018)

Some of the above symptoms are clearly linked to problems with speech production, such as the feeling of choking, slurred speech or voice changes. However, the psychological symptoms such as the fear of making mistakes and the fear of what others might think can be linked to language use, and, furthermore, the concept of face introduced by Goffman (1967).

### 2.3.3 Studies on anxiety and language use

For the most part, studies into language and anxiety have focussed on second language learning and classroom anxiety. As summarised in Tóth (2010), Foreign Language Anxiety (FLA) has been studied through two different approaches; “anxiety transfer” which is the transference of other anxieties into the language learning classroom and “unique anxiety” placing FLA as a specific anxiety linked to

language learning itself. Research into FLA brings into focus several findings which can be linked directly to symptoms and behaviours typical of anxiety: reluctance to speak, inflated fear of negative evaluation and frustration at not being able to express oneself correctly (Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986).

While studies into second language learning and FLA bears some fruit in terms of studying anxiety and its effect on language use, it is confined to language learners and does not provide indications into native language use by those who are clinically diagnosed as suffering from an anxiety disorder.

There are a few studies which have investigated the impact of anxiety on language. The writings which focus on the psychological and physiological areas of anxiety as a condition make mention of language production and not language use, for the most part. As discussed in Rachman (2013) it is argued that anxiety leads to avoidance behaviour. LeDoux (1998, p. 229) agrees, stating that “the characteristic features of these disorders are intense feelings of anxiety and avoidance of situations that are likely to bring on these feelings”.

Clark & McManus (2002) summarised that those suffering from social anxiety processed information in a way that maintained the condition. This included evaluating ambiguous social events negatively, a bias towards detecting negative responses over positive responses and an increase in self-focused attention, based on possibly misleading feelings, to make judgements on how others perceive them. These biases have the potential to impact a person’s behaviour and, therefore, their language behaviour. These studies are based on research into behaviour and so, can only inform a more focused study into the impact of anxiety on language.

Linguistic studies into anxiety and its effects are fewer in number than those which focus on the medical side but there are some interesting findings. French, Johnson, Naparstek and Williams (1992), for example, found that participants who had higher levels of trait anxiety paid more attention to stimuli that matched their current mood. In addition, in his study of patients’ speech during psychotherapy, Mahl (1956) found that speech disfluencies such as stammers and repetitions were significantly different between interview segments which were classed as either high or low anxiety.

#### 2.3.4 An under-researched area

All of the above studies, while useful and important in their own areas, have not linked anxiety to politeness research. There are several factors that can link the two subjects of study. Mahl’s (1956) study found a higher number of speech disfluencies in anxious interviews, which in turn are a feature of Brown and Levinson’s negative politeness strategy 2; hedging (1987). Clark & McManus

(2002) mention a tendency toward a negative evaluation, which could impact calculation of weightiness of the FTA and, therefore, the politeness strategies chosen. Both Rachman (2013) and LeDoux (1998) contribute the idea that avoidance behaviours are common among people with anxiety and it is not a leap to suggest that this may impact how one chooses to enact an FTA, with potential for a higher tendency towards non-performance as opposed to other politeness strategies. The fact these previous conclusions have not yet led to research into anxiety and politeness is the driving force behind this study.

#### 2.4 Analytical methodology: corpus linguistics

In order to answer my research questions, I used a mixed methodology. The first method for data analysis for this study is corpus analysis. A corpus is data collected systematically in order to investigate language use (Weisser, 2015). In this case study, I created a corpus by transcribing face-to-face interviews with participants who had been diagnosed with anxiety disorders. As discussed in Biber, Conrad, & Reppen (2004), corpus linguistics has strength in producing quantitative data on language use, the ability to study collocations comprehensively and as a way to find and analyse patterns in language use.

A corpus analysis can be used to study large texts very quickly; gathering information on word and phrase frequency and concordances (Bowker & Pearson, 2002). Kennedy (1998, p. 7) summarised the usefulness of corpora as such: “the source of evidence for linguistic description and argumentation”. By creating a corpus of spoken language of women with anxiety, I was able to test my hypothesis and produce quantitative data as evidence, rather than use intuition or introspection (Kennedy, 1998). Corpus linguistics is an empirical approach to investigation into language use; observing natural data as evidence for statements about language use (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001) and as such, can provide data that would be harder to obtain via other means. A corpus-based approach to analysing language use is a useful way to investigate the notion that anxiety impacts language use. As stated in an interview with Paul Baker “intuition in itself can only take us so far. [...] in a corpus [...] we may find evidence to support our hunch” (Viana, Zyngier, & Barnbrook, 2011, p. 20).

An important aspect of corpus linguistics is annotation. Annotation is the adding of linguistic information to a corpus; predominantly this has been tagging parts of speech but can include several other types of annotation such as phonetic or semantic annotation (Leech, 2005). For this study I undertook pragmatic annotation; adding pragmatic information about the utterance (Leech, 2005). In this instance the transcripts were annotated in terms of which of Brown and Levinson’s politeness strategies were being employed in each utterance. Pragmatic, otherwise known as discourse annotation, has not been used as frequently as other methods of annotation as a system of study

within corpus linguistics and is used more frequently with computational linguistics (Gries & Berez, 2017).

More detail on the tags used for annotation, how they were constructed and how the corpus data was analysed after annotation will be discussed in the methodology in chapter 3.

## 2.5 Analytical methodology: surveys

Another method of data collection and analysis was a survey that was undertaken both in the face-to-face interviews and online. As discussed in Tóth (2010) empirical research into FLA has been undertaken through self-report questionnaires. Most surveys are used to determine how one group differs from another (Sapsford, 2007) and is the case in this study.

The benefit of including data from the online survey for this case study is the access to larger numbers of individuals within a certain subset and saving time in reaching participants and collecting data (Wright, 2005). In this case study, the subset of individuals was those who were diagnosed as having an anxiety disorder; a group that it would be difficult to collect large quantities of data on without access to online forums. Online surveys also allow for easy analysis of data and study of responses (Evans & Mathur, 2005). More information on data collection through the online survey will be discussed in chapter 3.

## 2.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I have looked into each area of study relevant to this research. The foundation of this study is on politeness theory with a focus on anxiety and its impact on the choice of the politeness strategies as defined by Brown and Levinson (1987). I have provided a summary of the studies into politeness, with emphasis on the influential research by Brown and Levinson, along with a summary of the definition of clinical anxiety and studies into how anxiety effects language use. I have also provided a brief review of the analytical methods I have chosen for this study: corpus linguistics and surveys.

## 3. Methodology

### 3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will describe how the research was conducted and how the data was analysed.

As discussed in chapter 1, the overarching research question is whether anxiety has an impact on the politeness strategies chosen by participants. This research question was then broken down into four smaller questions which were addressed in different ways. The questions are as follows:

1. Do individuals with anxiety use more positive or more negative politeness strategies within conversation?
2. When asked to make a selection from multiple choice politeness strategies do anxious people make difference choices to non-anxious people?
3. If the choices between sample groups are different, in what ways do they diverge?

In order to answer these questions, the research was split between two modes of data collection and analysis. Question 1 was investigated using face-to-face interviews and questions 2 and 3 were examined using an online survey.

In order to investigate the research questions, both natural and reported speech were recorded through the two modes of data collection. Natural speech was captured during the face-to-face interviews and reported speech was collected using the face-to-face interviews and online survey.

In section 3.2, I will discuss the face-to-face interviews and, in section 3.3, I will discuss the online survey. Each section will include the method of data collection, the ethical concerns and data analysis.

### 3.2 Face-to-face Interviews

#### 3.2.1 Overview

The first method of data collection was to conduct face-to-face interviews with participants who had been diagnosed with an anxiety disorder. This was intended to capture natural speech from anxious participants for analysis. By interviewing the participants face-to-face, I was able to obtain as close to natural speech as possible in a research context. Using a synchronous method of interviewing means that participants' answers were more spontaneous without much opportunity for reflection (Opdenakker, 2006).

This would provide answers to the research questions of which of Brown and Levinson's politeness strategies are chosen by anxious participants and which selections are consciously chosen when asked.

As stated by Levinson (1979), interviews are a specific activity type which has their own goals and inferences. As such, it can lead to a specific set of speech acts; supplying information and replying to questions. These speech acts generally threaten the Speaker's face rather than the Hearer's which may affect the politeness strategies chosen by the participants.

### 3.2.1 Ethics

Prior to the research taking place, I gained ethical approval from the Director of Research, who confirmed there were no significant ethical issues.

Before the interviews took place, the participants were sent a Participant Information Sheet to read and asked to confirm that they were still interested in taking part. A copy of the Participant Information Sheet will be in the appendices.

As special consideration to the participants being sufferers of anxiety, I allowed them to choose the venue for the interview and disclosed my status as an anxiety sufferer. As discussed by the mental health charity Mind, it is important for sufferers of anxiety to feel that they are not being forced into a situation that will trigger anxiety or make them feel worse (Marsh, 2015). This concern for the participants wellbeing informed the structure and approach of the face-to-face interviews as discussed in the following section.

Before the recording of the interview began, the participants were asked to read and sign a consent form and verbal agreement for the recording to start was requested. The consent form asked them to confirm that they had read the participant information, that they understood they could withdraw at any time, responses would be anonymised and that they were happy to take part in the study. A copy of this consent form can also be found in the appendices.

Once the interview was completed the participants were given a code which they could use to withdraw their participation from the study. The code was a unique combination of the last letters of their first and last name and the date on which the interview took place, which would identify them once the interviews had been anonymised. For example, if John Smith's interview took place on the 23<sup>rd</sup> the code would have been NH23.

Due to the potentially upsetting nature of the discussion around anxiety the participants were also provided with a list of mental health resources in the local area.

### 3.2.2 Data Collection

In order to gather volunteers, I sent out an advertisement via email to the postgraduate research community of the University of Huddersfield asking for participants who had been diagnosed with

anxiety to take part in a short interview. Of the volunteers, 6 interviews with women from the postgraduate community of the university were arranged.

Once introductions had taken place and the consent forms had been signed, the recording of the interview began and consisted of 3 parts. The first part was a section where I asked small talk questions such as asking about the participant's day and what they were studying at the university. I also checked that they had read the pre-interview information I had provided. This was done to put the interviewee at ease, build rapport and to elicit as much natural speech as possible (Guest, Namey, & Mitchell, 2013).

The second section of the interview was the reading of the survey questions. Here, I read them the questions that formed the online survey and asked for their answers. The interviewees were also provided with a written copy of the questions; some of the interviews took place in cafes and the written copy reduced the possibility of communication difficulties and ensured the participants understood the questions being asked. I did not explicitly ask the participants to elaborate on why they chose the answers that they did, but they were given the freedom to do so while I was completing their answers on my copy of the survey.

In the third section of the interview I asked the participants whether they felt that anxiety had impacted the language that they used and how they used it<sup>1</sup>. The participants were prompted to speak freely about their condition and their perceptions of their language use in order to elicit more natural speech. During the discussion, I encouraged further conversation and elaboration with my own anecdotes about living with anxiety (Dickson-Swift, James, Kippen, & Liamputtong, 2007). By framing the interview closer to a conversation between peers I was able to obtain candid responses, as close to natural speech as possible.

### 3.2.3 Data Analysis

For data analysis the interviews were transcribed orthographically. I retained all pauses, hesitations and repetitions because these are features of Brown and Levinson's negative politeness strategy 2 (1987). I had decided to use corpus analysis on my data so minimal transcription conventions were used to ensure there was not more data than could be analysed within the scope of this study. The interviewer was referred to as 'A' within the text and the interviewee as 'B'. The following transcriptions conventions were used (Bloomer, Griffiths, & Merrison, 2005, pp. 44-48):

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<sup>1</sup> When discussing language and politeness in this context the participants were using the societally agreed definition of politeness rather than the linguistic definition.

1. Pauses were marked with (.) for a micropause and (0.0) for longer pauses with the time noted within the parentheses.
2. Utterances that trailed off were marked with '...'
3. Non-verbal behaviour was marked within double parentheses e.g. ((laughs)) or ((rereads question)).
4. Where a transcription could not be made due to sound issues this was marked as (incomprehensible)
5. Non-conventional spellings were employed to more closely represent actual pronunciation.
6. Anonymity was marked within slashes and the words replaced with a noun describing what was there e.g. /subject/ or /town/.

Following the transcription, the participant's speech was tagged with the politeness strategies proposed by Brown and Levinson, further information can be found in chapter 2 on why this theory was selected. The tags used referred to 4 of Brown and Levinson's 5 super-strategies; positive politeness, negative politeness, off-record FTA and bald on record FTAs. Not enacting the FTA would not have been possible to determine from natural speech and its' usage could only be studied using the online survey.

Due to the nature of the data, assigning tags was based on examining stretches of speech for words or utterances which were congruent with examples of Brown and Levinson's strategies. For example, in many cases the use of pauses, hesitations and modifying statements such as 'I think' were clear uses of negative strategy 2; hedging. Where an assignment was more difficult to make, the Speaker's potential intention and the actual impact on the Hearer were examined to come to a decision.

In many cases, a single utterance equated to a single strategy and the assignment of a tag was simple. However, there were multiple instances where an utterance included strategies in combination. This was especially true in longer stretches of speech. In these cases, the whole utterance was broken down into a smaller set of phrases, informed by the speaker's natural pauses and tagged individually according to the strategy used. There were also cases where strategies were bracketed by another strategy and these, again, were noticeable due to pauses in speech and slight changes in tone.

Tagging is also known as encoding metadata (data about data) where the judgements about the data are made explicit within the corpus (Burnard, 2004). The interviews were tagged using XML (eXtensible Markup Language), where the tags contained the route element 'politeness' abbreviated to 'pol', the attribute (a value which describes the element) which in this case was 'type' followed by the attribute value; 'neg' for negative, 'pos' for positive, 'bald' for bald on record and 'off rec' for off

record. Bald on record and off record had no further attributes so that was the end of the tag. However, positive and negative strategy tags required information on which strategy was being employed so I added another attribute 'strategy' followed by the attribute value, which was the number of the strategy (XMLFiles.com, 2017). Below is an example of the tag for positive politeness strategy one, showing each part of the tag.

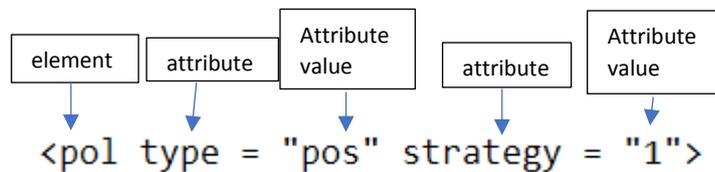


Figure 3.1: Example politeness tag

The end of the word, phrase or utterance that contained the politeness strategy was then followed by a closing tag `</pol>` to mark the end of the annotated section. A full list of the tags can be found in the appendices.

Once tagged, the 6 interviews were loaded onto AntConc; a software package that allows the user to examine corpora (Anthony, 2018). AntConc has several features; however, I predominantly used the concordance and collocates tabs for this study. I used the concordance tab to search for each instance of the politeness strategies and noted their frequency amongst the interviewees. I then used the collocates tab to locate any words or phrases that were used more often than others with the given politeness strategy.

The concordance tab listed each instance of the politeness strategy searched for, providing a starting point for the analysis of the data. AntConc also plots the concordances in a 'barcode' format, with each instance represented by a line (Lihang, Peishan, Fang, Zhenna, & Yuning, 2018). The concordance plots were used to examine where each instance of the politeness strategy was used in relation to the three sections of the interview and whether there were any patterns to its use by the interviewees.

I used collocations to examine any words or phrases that were used in conjunction with the politeness strategies. The three factors for determining collocations are distance, frequency and exclusivity (Brezina, McEnery, & Wattam, 2015). For distance I chose to investigate up to 10 words to the right of the politeness strategy tag. This was due to the length of some of the utterances within the tag. The collocations were sorted by frequency and I focused on the most frequent collocates for that strategy to spot patterns of use. For some of the more frequently used collocates, these were also examined to see if they were used exclusively with the politeness strategy in question.

Using these tools, I was able to gather quantitative data to answer the research question of whether anxious women used more negative or more positive politeness strategies in everyday speech.

### 3.3 Online Survey

The second half of the research was conducted using an online survey. This method was chosen to provide further data for the face-to-face interviews and to answer the second and third research questions.

By launching an online survey, I was able to gather large quantities of data from a community that is hard to sample; locating a large sample of anxious people for face-to-face interactions poses issues such as the time required to locate and interview each participant, and how to locate a large enough sample. By using internet software to create a survey and social networks to recruit participants, I was able to bypass these issues (Wright, 2005).

#### 3.3.1 Ethics

As discussed in section 3.2.1, ethical approval was obtained prior to starting the study and the online survey raised no significant issues.

To ensure the data collected by the survey was anonymous, no personal details were collected relating to name, age, gender or other identifying features. IP addresses were not collected, and SSL encryption was used to encrypt the data between the respondents and the survey software (SurveyMonkey Inc, 2017).

Before the survey began the participants were asked to read a Participant's Information Sheet, which will be included within the appendices. The sheet outlined the purpose of the survey, what will happen to the results, confirmation of anonymity and how details will be kept confidential.

#### 3.3.2 Data Collection

The survey was created using the online survey software SurveyMonkey.com (2017). The survey consisted of 10 questions which will be summarised below. The SurveyMonkey software allowed for answer randomisation which alleviates response bias. Respondents tend to prefer the first few options in a list of answers, so randomising the answers for each participant reduces the possibility of this occurring (Hillmer, 2017).

To gather as many respondents as possible, the survey was advertised on my personal Facebook page, added to a survey exchange thread on The Student Room and advertised on the Facebook page and Twitter account of Anxiety UK: a national charity for the support of sufferers of anxiety and stress.

### 3.3.2.1 The questions

Each question was designed to address a different social situation that the participants may find themselves in. A description was given for each question explaining the face-threatening act that was occurring, along with the social closeness and distribution of power between the speaker and hearer.

The scenarios chosen were typical social interactions; such as conversations within the workplace, disagreements with family and so on. These were selected to test whether anxious participants react to ordinary situations differently than non-anxious people.

For each question, a set of multiple-choice answers, between 3 and 5 options, were given. Each option varied in the strategies used but were chosen to be as realistic as possible for the given scenario. Because that the options had to be realistic, it was not always possible to include an option for each super-strategy. For example, in question 3 the Speaker had to request a meeting and therefore, there was no possibility for not doing the act and in question 10 there is no option for an off-record FTA as this is not a possibility in signing a birthday card.

The first question of the survey asked the respondents to select if they had been diagnosed with an anxiety disorder, which will be addressed further in section 3.3.3.

The online tool allowed for order randomisation of answers for participants, but for the purposes of explanation the answer options will be addressed in the order they appear on the preview version of the survey and referred to with the lettering of A to E as they appear.

A full description of the face potentialities of each question will be included within the discussion of the survey results in section 5.2.

Question 2: participants were asked to choose how they would ask for a window to be opened in a room of friends and acquaintances.

2. You are in a room with several friends and acquaintances. Due to the large number of people the room has become too warm. Pick the option closest to how you would ask for the window to be opened.

- Say nothing, assume someone else will open the window.
- "Can I open the window?"
- "Please can you open the window?"
- "It's a bit hot in here." May be accompanied by fanning yourself or other cooling techniques

Figure 3.2: Survey question 2

Question 3: this regarded a Speaker and Hearer who were socially close but where the Speaker had institutional authority over the Hearer.

3. You are friendly with a work colleague but you hold a higher position within the business. You need to organise a meeting between the two of you. Which do you find to be most appropriate?

- Send a meeting request via the business email application with no explanation or greeting
- Dear Mr/Miss/Mrs [Employee surname], your attendance is required at a meeting at 3pm on Thursday in Board Room 2. Please respond as soon as possible if you are not able to attend.
- Hi [employee's first name], please can we have a meeting on the 3rd at about 3? Let me know if you can't make it and I'll rearrange.
- Hey [employee's nickname], meeting on Thurs? About 3ish ok? Seeya! X

Figure 3.3: Survey question 3

Question 4: This question focused on familial interactions, asking the participant to judge how they would approach the touchy subject of politics with a close family member.

4. A close older family member has been stating some political opinions you strongly disagree with and you are upset. How do you address the issue?

- Ask another, older family member to speak to them
- Refuse to speak to them until they apologise.
- You take them to one side: "Can I speak to you about [...] I feel [...]"
- "Are you serious? You are obviously wrong about this."
- You don't want to upset anyone so you do not say anything

Figure 3.4: Survey question 4

Question 5: This question was another that focussed on the workplace, this time where the Speaker is conversing with a superior.

5. Your boss calls you into an unexpected meeting at very short notice. You do not know what the meeting is about and you do not often interact with your boss on a one-to-one basis. Which of these is most appropriate to open the conversation with?

- "Hey, so what's all this about?"
- "Hi, you asked to see me?" Do not ask about the purpose of the meeting.
- "Hi" But say nothing further until they have spoken
- "Hello, you asked to see me? May I ask what is this concerning?"

Figure 3.5: Survey question 5

Question 6: For question six the participant was placed in a position where they had to choose between making a complaint or not expressing any disappointment.

6. You have rung a clothing company several times to track a late order, each time they have given you very little information on the status of your order and no explanation for the delay. How do you begin the 5th call?

- You don't call
- "Hello, my name is [...]. I have called you four times now and you have failed to give me a satisfactory answer."
- "Hi, can you put me through to your complaints department?"
- "Hello, my name is [...] and my order number is [...], please can you tell me the status of my order?"

Figure 3.6: Survey question 6

Question 7: For this question the participants were asked to place themselves in a situation where they had to turn down a social invitation through social media.

7. You are mentioned in a Facebook post about a social event that you can't attend. How do you reply?

- "I'd love to but I can't that day"
- "No can do, sorry."
- "Sorry, I have other plans"
- Don't reply at all

Figure 3.7: Survey question 7

Question 8: the participants were asked to imagine themselves in a scenario where a stranger wants to buy them a drink, but they are suspicious of the person asking and don't want the drink that is offered.

8. You are waiting to be served at a bar when a stranger steps in next to you and offers to buy you a drink. You have a bad feeling about the person and do not want the drink. How would you respond?

- Accept the offer but take the drink elsewhere
- Ignore them completely
- "No"
- "No, thank you." Say nothing more even if they offer again

Figure 3.8: Survey question 8

Question 9: this consisted of a mid-ranking FTA. The Speaker is imposing upon a stranger with a request to further impose on them by asking them to retrieve an item on their behalf.

9. You need to ask a stranger to help you retrieve something from a high shelf in the supermarket? How would you ask?

- You don't ask and carry on without the item
- "Hi, please can you help me?"
- "Hey, grab that for me?"
- "Can you give me a hand, mate?"

Figure 3.9: Survey question 9

Question 10: this presented the participants with another work scenario, asking them to select how they would sign a birthday card for a colleague they are not friends with.

10. You are handed a birthday card for a colleague you don't get along with. It is a small office and the absence of your signature would be noticeable. How would you sign?

- "Happy Birthday! Have a great day, love [your name]"
- You don't sign
- "Happy Birthday, [their name]"

Figure 3.10: Survey question 10

### 3.3.3 Analytical Method

In order to analyse the data, I split the answers into two groups: those that had answered yes to having an anxiety disorder in question 1 and those that had answered no. The survey software I used allowed me to extract the answers in both table form and pie charts for easy comparison.

The tables provided both the numerical amount and percentages for how many participants selected each answer. Due to the difference in the number of anxious participants compared to the non-anxious participants I based my observations on the percentages.

I examined each question in turn, looking at the proportions of people who selected each answer in the anxious and non-anxious groups, noting where they were the same and where they differed. Special attention was paid to large differences in answer choice.

As well as looking at the answers in order of choice by each group I also investigated the top two answers for each question, marking which ones included bald on record FTAs, off-record FTAs and not doing the FTA to see whether there was a noticeable difference between the anxious group and the non-anxious group.

### 3.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I have address the methods by which I collected the data, how it was analysed and the ethical considerations of this study. In the following chapter, I will discuss the findings of the corpus analysis of the face-to-face interviews.

## 4. Interview Findings

### 4.1 Introduction

The results of the interviews show a strong preference for positive politeness over negative politeness by the interviewees. There was only one outlier in these results, in the use of negative strategy 2 which was used almost as frequently as the most popular positive politeness strategy.

In this chapter I will discuss each politeness strategy in order of popularity and what these findings suggest about politeness theory and anxiety.

### 4.2. Overview

As discussed in chapter 3, the six interviews that took place were recorded in full, transcribed orthographically and tagged using xml formatting to allow for a corpus analysis of the politeness strategies used.

As shown in the following table, the interviewees showed a strong preference for positive politeness over negative strategies, bald on record FTAs or off-record FTAs. Positive politeness strategies account for over half of the total strategies used and are just over twice the amount of negative strategies chosen by the interviewees. Positive politeness is geared towards the Hearer's positive face as opposed to mitigating the imposition of the FTA.

Strategies	Total	Percentages
Positive	222	59.20%
Negative	114	30.40%
Bald on Record	38	10.13%
Off Record	1	0.27%
<b>Total</b>	<b>375</b>	<b>100%</b>

*Table 4.1: Politeness strategies used by interviewees*

Table 4.2, below, shows the breakdown of all the politeness strategies in order of most to least uses, including those not used at all.

Strategy	Totals	%
Positive 5 (seek agreement)	96	25.6%
Negative 2 (hedge)	85	22.7%
Bald on Record (no mitigation)	38	10.1%
Positive 7 (assert common ground)	31	8.3%
Positive 15 (give gifts)	29	7.7%
Positive 6 (avoid disagreement)	20	5.3%
Positive 8 (joke)	20	5.3%
Positive 3 (intensify interest)	13	3.5%
Negative 5 (give deference)	10	2.7%
Positive 2 (exaggerate)	5	1.3%
Negative 7 (impersonalise)	5	1.3%
Negative 8 (state FTA as rule)	5	1.3%
Positive 4 (in-group markers)	4	1.1%
Negative 6 (apologise)	4	1.1%
Positive 1 (notice H's wants)	3	0.8%
Negative 4 (minimise imposition)	3	0.8%
Positive 12 (include S & H)	1	0.3%
Negative 1 (conventionally indirect)	1	0.3%
Negative 10 (incur debt/not indebt H)	1	0.3%
Off Record (leave an 'out')	1	0.3%
Positive 9 (assert S's knowledge of H's wants)	0	0.0%
Positive 10 (offer/promise)	0	0.0%
Positive 11 (be optimistic)	0	0.0%
Positive 13 (give reasons)	0	0.0%
Positive 14 (assume reciprocity)	0	0.0%
Negative 3 (be pessimistic)	0	0.0%
Negative 9 (nominalise)	0	0.0%
<b>Totals</b>	<b>375</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Table 4.2: Breakdown of politeness features used in order of number of uses

In the following sections I will describe the politeness strategies in order of the frequency in which they were employed by the interviewees. I will examine the concordance plots to determine in which sections of the interview the strategy was used and whether there is a pattern to its use. I will discuss the highest frequency collocations relating to the politeness strategy and any other important features.

#### 4.2.1 Positive politeness strategy five – seek agreement

With 96 uses over 376 instances of politeness, positive strategy five is the most common politeness strategy chosen and accounts for just over one quarter of all uses of politeness in the interviews. This strategy is used by all 6 interviewees between 13 and 22 times each and tends to occur in the beginning and end of the interviews where the interview is less formalised, rather than during the

survey portion of the interview. The concordance plot below shows where each occurrence of this strategy is within each interview.

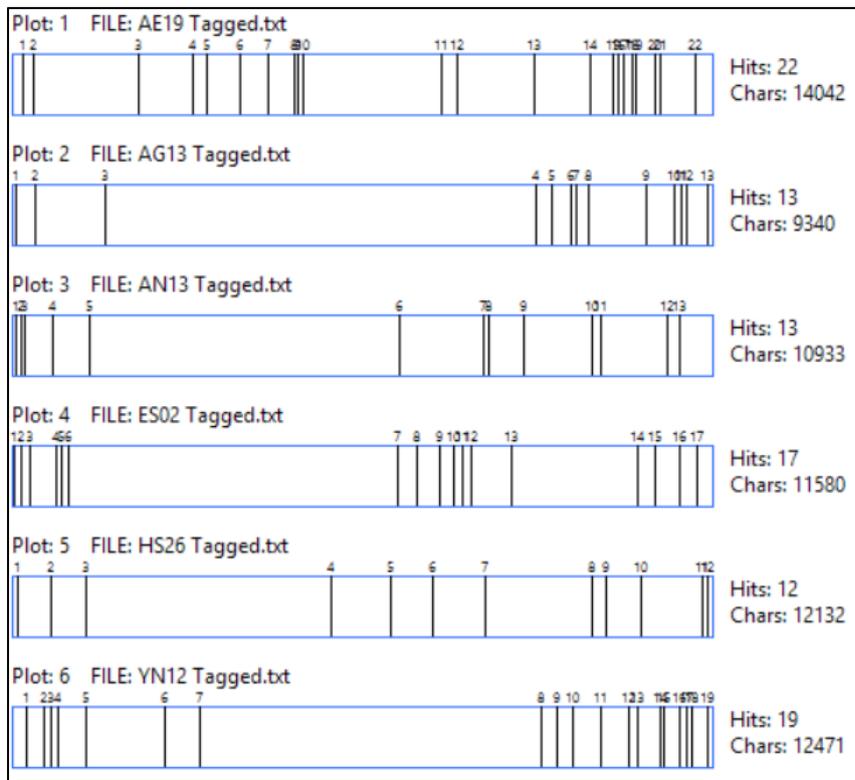


Figure 4.1: Concordance plot of positive politeness strategy 5

As discussed in chapter 2, this strategy is for Speakers to find ways to agree with the Hearer (Brown & Levinson, 1987). As discussed by O'Driscoll (1996), although many cases could be classified as formulaic methods of agreement rather than an active strategy choice, this cannot necessarily be uncoupled from the utterance's attendance to positive face.

By viewing the collocates on AntConc it is clear that the most common method of seeking agreement is the use of 'yeah' with 62 instances of this occurring. In 31 cases, 'yeah', or 'yeah yeah' in a few cases, comprises the whole utterance and is being used to show that they are listening and in agreement. There are also multiple instances of 'right' 'oh right' 'ok' and 'yes' within the interviews which function in the same way. Where 'yeah' is not the full utterance it is used as a starting point to further agreement with the interviewee.

AG13: Example of 'yeah' as starting point of agreement

2 A: yeah hang on (.) so you had a good day or

3 B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah it's been ok </pol>

ES02: 'Yeah' as whole utterance to seek agreement with interviewer

17 A: and just answer however you would whatever's closest to how you would actually respond

18 B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah </pol>

YN12: Use of 'oh right' as method of seeking agreement and showing interviewer that they are listening

170 A: so I just started in January

171 B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> oh right </pol>

Figure 4.2: Examples of positive politeness strategy five

Another popular feature of this strategy is the use of laughter to show agreement with the Hearer. The transcription marker ((laughs)) occurs 15 times and 11 of those times comprises the whole utterance, another 3 times this is used in conjunction with 'yeah'. There is also one use of 'haha' within the interviews. The laughter here is being used to show agreement, even when the previous utterance is not particularly humorous. The interviewees are using para-linguistic tactics, as well as the typical words of agreement to demonstrate their approval and agreement. For some of these instances, the interviewer has laughed first, and the interviewees are employing repetition as a method of seeking agreement.

For both of these collocates, they are used almost exclusively with this strategy. Of the 18 uses of laughter only 3 are in conjunction with positive politeness strategy 8 (joke) while the remaining 15 are with positive strategy 5. For 'yeah' the number of uses with other strategies is greater but is still dominated by positive strategy 5.

AN13: use of laughter as agreement – repetition of interviewer’s laughter

99 A: yeah I think I do the same he always he comes back with thanks D not even his full name I’m like  
100 hi Daniel bleh bleh bleh ((laughs))  
101 B: <pol type = “pos” strategy = “5”> ((laughs)) </pol>

HS26: laughter as agreement with interviewers joke at own expense, including repetition of A’s laughter

11 B: <pol type = “pos” strategy = “6”> but I also I’m doing a masters uhm in /subject/ </pol>  
12 A: oh I know what (.) some of those words mean ((laughs))  
13 B: <pol type = “pos” strategy = “5”> ((laughs)) </pol>

YN12: Laughter as agreement

16 A: watching a petri dish  
17 B: <pol type = “pos” strategy = “5”> yeah ((laughs)) </pol>

Figure 4.3: Examples of laughter in positive politeness strategy 5

#### 4.2.2 Negative politeness strategy two – hedging

Despite positive politeness being the overall most popular, negative politeness strategy 2 is the second most popular strategy by a fairly wide margin. This strategy is used 85 times throughout the interviews and is employed by all 6 interviewees. Some interviewees, such as AE19 used this strategy more consistently than others, as can be seen in the below concordance plot. This strategy is used frequently within the survey portion of the interviews but is also present in the first and third sections of the interviews. It is the only negative politeness strategy to be used by all 6 interviewees.

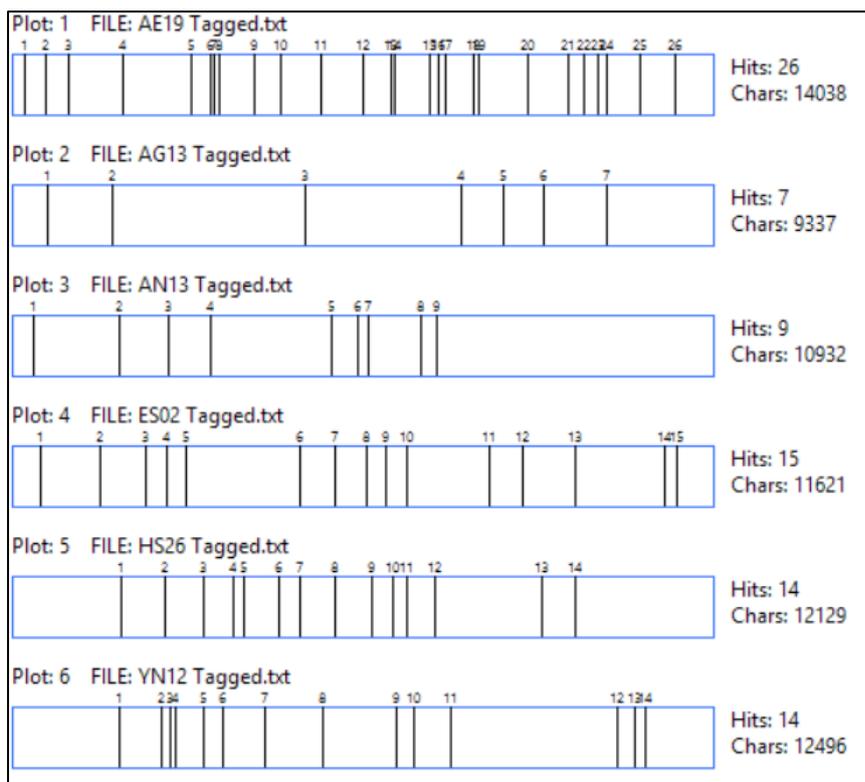


Figure 4.4: Concordance plot of negative politeness strategy 2

As can be seen from the above concordance plot, the majority of these instances are present in the survey portion of the interview, where they are making it clear that the answers apply to only themselves. However, there were also instances outside of the survey portion where the interviewees would hedge their thoughts and opinions to stress that they do not believe their actions or opinions are true for other people.

As with positive politeness strategy 5, some of these instances could be construed as routine uses of hedging. But using O'Driscoll's (1996) revised description of 'face' these can still be included in a study of politeness strategies.

Brown and Levinson (1987) note multiple methods of questioning and hedging and many of these are used by the interviewees. There are 29 uses of 'I' plus a verb that modifies or stresses the Speaker's commitment to the truth, for example 'I think', 'I'd say', 'I don't think' or 'I would go for'. Here the interviewees are answering questions posed but are avoiding making generalisations or stating their answer as fact by attending to Grice's maxim of quality. In addition, there are multiple instances of this construction including adverbs which also attend to the maxim of quality by making it clear that the information is not precise. Overall there are 20 uses of 'probably', 3 uses of 'sometimes', 4 instances of 'really' or 'not really' and 1 use of 'generally'. These uses, within and outside of the 'I' plus verb construction, emphasise that the Speakers are unwilling to generalise

their statements. In terms of exclusivity of collocates, ‘probably’ is the most notable because it is used in conjunction with negative strategy 2 all but once, where it is used with positive strategy 15 (satisfy the Hearer’s needs).

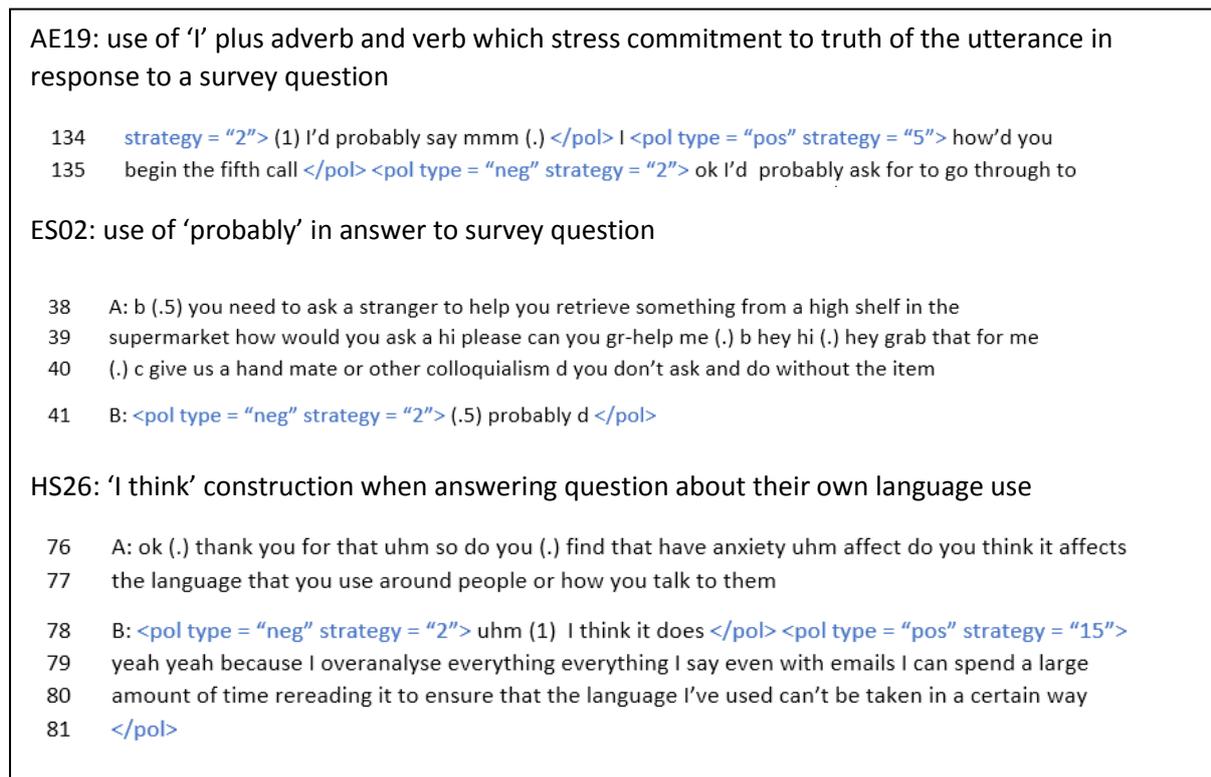


Figure 4.5: Examples of verbs and adverbs stressing to commitment to truth

Another prevalent feature of this strategy are speech disfluency features such as hesitancy; marked as ‘uhm’ (38 uses) or ‘uh’ (13 uses), ‘like’ (8 uses in this manner) and instances of stuttering or repetition of words. These are also listed as features of hedging by Brown and Levinson, as discussed in chapter 2.

#### 4.2.3 Bald on record

The third most popular strategy is bald on record utterances with no politeness markers or attempts at mitigation. This is used sparingly by most of the interviewees, with AE19 and AG13, accounting for 26 of the 38 uses.

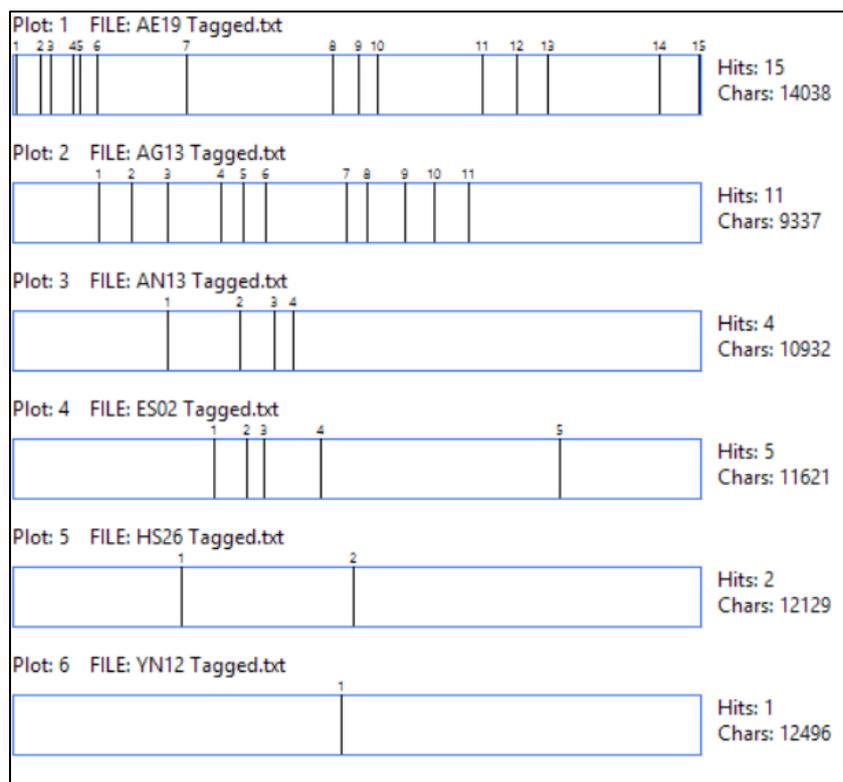


Figure 4.6: Concordance plot for bald on record utterances

Of the 38 bald on record utterances, 23 are answers to the survey questions with no hedging and with minimal pauses for thought beforehand. In these cases, there was no need for any mitigation or appealing to the Hearer's face required, they had been asked a question and the interviewees were giving an answer. There were 9 survey questions, which means 54 questions asked overall, where less than half were answered with a bald on record utterance.

Of the 6 interviewees, only AE19, AG13 and ES02 used bald on record utterances for anything other than answering the survey questions. For ES02, their only other use was to begin to ask a direct question of the interviewer but disrupted their bald on record utterance with the disfluency marker 'like' then moved on to use positive strategy 3 to continue the question. AE19 and AG13 also used bald on record utterances to answer direct questions other than the survey questions with a straightforward 'yes' or 'no' 4 times, AG13 also used a bald on record utterance to assert their knowledge of 'proper' language use in comparison to their friends, which has the potential to be considered rude.

AE19 was the person who used the most bald on record utterances. The utterances that were not survey answers or 'yes' or 'no' answers included personal information that they felt was pertinent to the interview, showing disapproval of some of the multiple-choice answers for the survey or a simple statement of fact marking a misunderstanding.

The highest frequency collocates for this strategy were the letters relating to the survey answers as discussed earlier in this section.

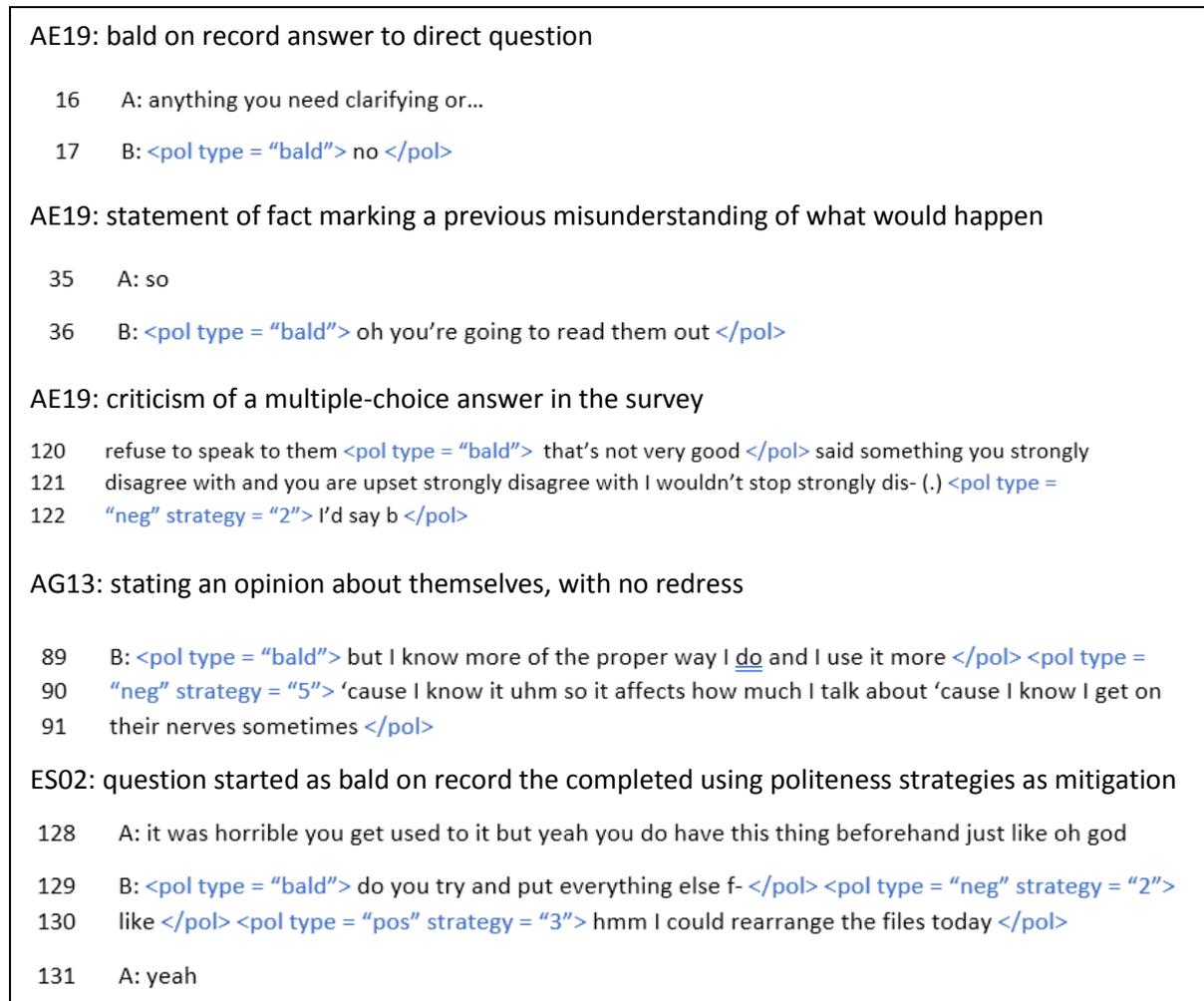


Figure 4.7: Examples of bald on-record utterances

#### 4.2.4 Positive politeness strategy seven – presuppose/raise/assert common ground

Brown and Levinson's (1987) seventh positive strategy of asserting common ground between the Speaker and Hearer was the fourth most popular strategy used in the interviews, with 31 instances. By looking at the concordance plot it appears that this strategy was employed more during the latter part of the interviews, where the interviewees were asked about their opinions and feelings on how anxiety impacted their language, than any other section of the interview.

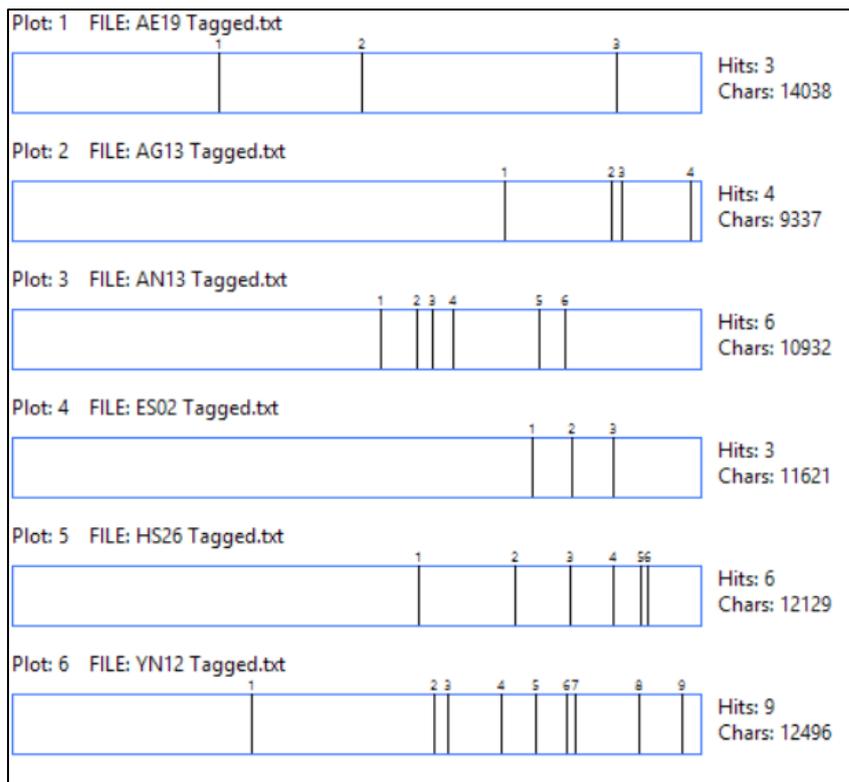


Figure 4.8: Concordance plot of positive politeness strategy 7

One of the most noticeable collocations with this strategy was the pronoun 'you' which was used 21 times and in a number of different ways throughout the interviews. There were 6 uses where 'you' was used to form the idiomatic phrase 'you know' which is noted by Brown and Levinson as a straightforward way to assert common ground between the Speaker and Hearer by claiming the Hearer has knowledge of similar situations and flouts the maxim of quality; the interviewees have no insight into what the interviewer knows but are making assumptions for the benefit of appearing socially close. These 6 uses of 'you know' are all used in anecdotal context and the Hearer is assumed to agree and understand the anecdote being described.

8 of the 21 uses of 'you' are point of view switches between the Speaker and Hearer. The interviewees speak as if from the point of view of the Hearer in order to presuppose that they both share ideas or knowledge of the situation at hand. The remaining uses of 'you' were used in a questioning context, where the interviewees were showing general interest and asking small talk type questions of the interviewer as a way of raising more common ground.

YN12: use of 'you know' in anecdote to assert common ground

59 B: (.) <pol type = "pos" strategy = "8"> this happens all the time in my home ((laughs)) </pol>

60 A: oh dear

61 B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "7"> only because like you know with Grandad's and whatnot </pol>

AG13: POV switch from 'I' and 'we' to 'you' to raise common ground

95 B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> 'cause uhm I know you don't really see many people and we  
96 don't really talk as much and yeah </pol>

97 A: yeah

98 B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "7"> basically any social contact you get you sort of grab at </pol>

AN13: small talk to assert common ground

121 A: maybe it's where I work though 'cause it's a bit like that you can't

122 B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "7"> where do you work </pol>

Figure 4.9: Examples of uses of 'you' in positive politeness strategy seven

#### 4.2.5 Positive politeness strategy fifteen – give gifts

Positive strategy fifteen is the fifth most popular strategy with 29 uses by 5 interviewees overall. This strategy is defined as actually satisfying the Hearer's wants through goods, sympathy, understanding or cooperation, however, there is not a lot of detail given for this strategy (Brown & Levinson, 1987). The concordance plot shows no real pattern to its usage throughout the interviews and the number of uses varies between 1 and 8.

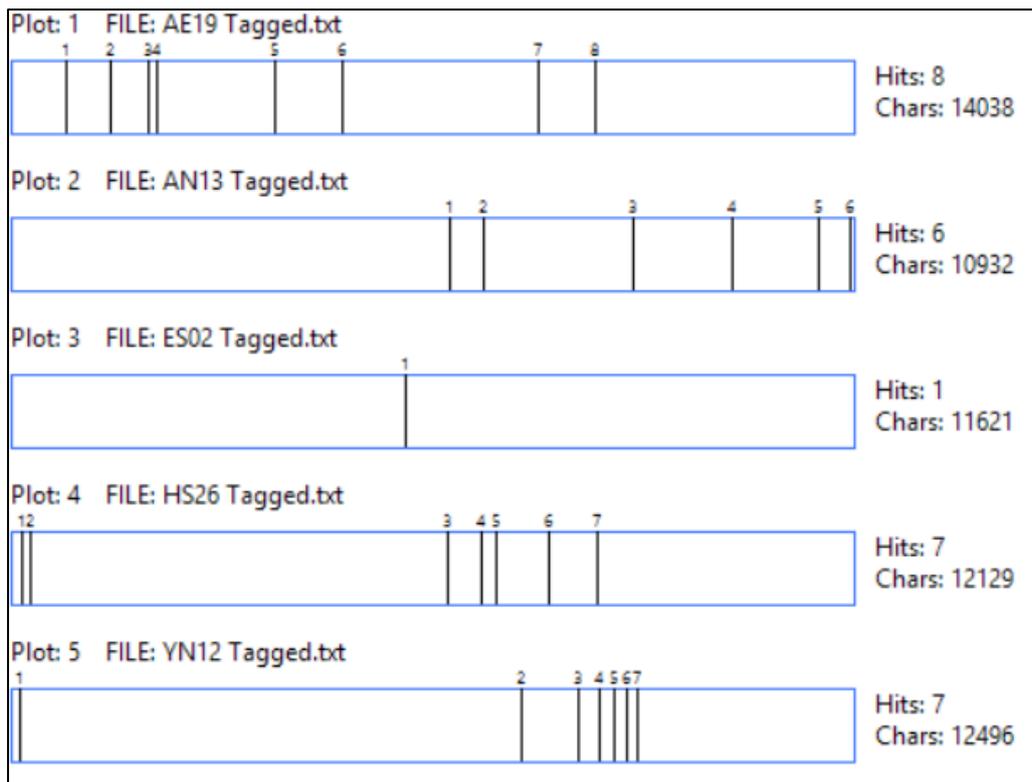


Figure 4.10: Concordance plot of positive politeness strategy 15

In this context, the Hearer's needs are met by answering the questions posed and although the interviewees were not asked to elaborate on their answers to the survey, it appeared that for AE19 and AN13 they perceived that the interviewer wanted further explanation and employed this strategy to meet this assumed need 5 times by giving reasons for their survey answers.

Of the 29 uses, there were very few notable collocates, the top collocate being 5 uses of 'it', followed by four uses of 'yeah', 'uhm' and 'uh'.

AE19: meeting the interviewers needs with a compliment

94 A: I don't know

95 B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "15"> it's quite interesting question that </pol>

YN12: meeting interviewers needs by answering off-record question

2 A: ok so uhm (indecipherable) so can I ask what you're studying at uni

3 B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "4"> yep </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "15"> I'm doing a

4 masters by research uhm (.) in /subject/ </pol>

Figure 4.11: Examples of positive politeness strategy 15

#### 4.2.6 Positive politeness strategy six – avoid disagreement

The sixth most popular politeness strategy is that of avoiding disagreement through token agreement, displacing disagreements, pseudo-agreement, white lies and hedging (Brown & Levinson, 1987). This is another strategy used by all 6 participants but is used sparingly, with only 20 uses overall. The number of uses ranges between 1 and 5 for the interviewees and there is no pattern to when it is used within the interviews.

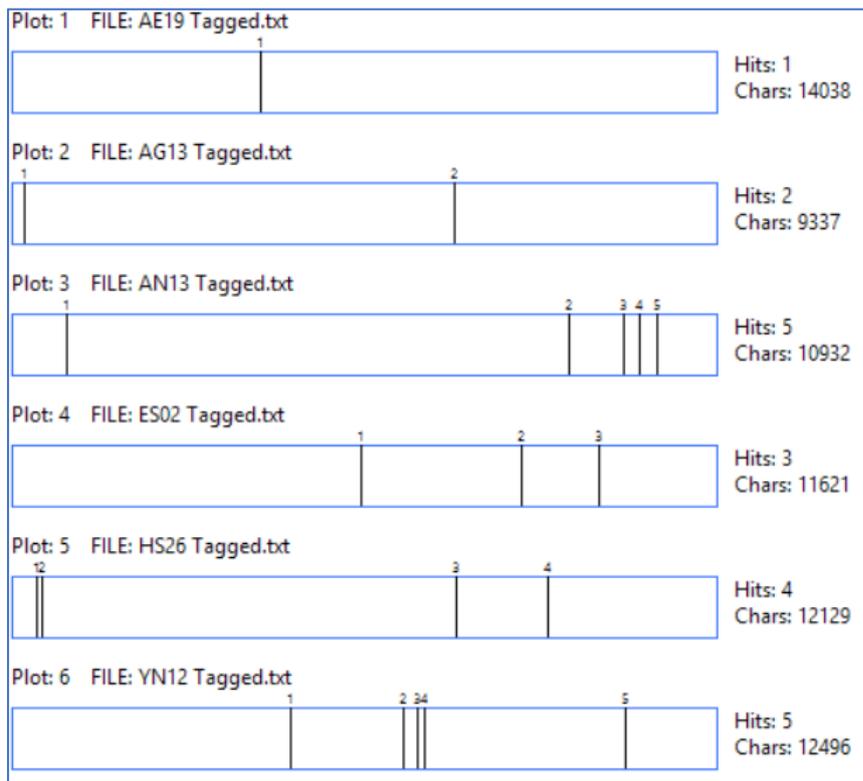


Figure 4.12: Concordance plot for positive politeness strategy six

One of the methods of avoiding disagreement employed by the interviewees was to avoid using 'no' and instead use the personal pronoun 'I' and a verb which hedged the following statement such as 'I don't think' or 'I mean' rather than a direct 'no'. This meant that, although the utterance was a disagreement it was phrased in a way to soften the disagreement. Other examples of hedging include the use of markers of hesitancy such as 'uhm' and the use of 'sometimes' which indicates disagreement but is still vague.

### AN13: using 'I don't think' as method of hedging disagreement

132 A: (1) do you think it's something impacts you negatively like around friends and stuff or  
133 B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "6"> I don't think so because with my close friends (1) so I'm quite  
134 black and white I don't have much of like a grey area so if I don't know someone I'm very (.) like (.5)  
135 uber polite </pol>

### ES02: hedging with 'I mean'

76 A: yeah you're more aware of what they of what you think that they  
77 B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "6"> yeah I mean like second guessing how they're gonna take what  
78 you're saying </pol> <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> so or like sometimes if it's talking to a  
79 stranger I just probably wouldn't do it I find it really difficult to do stuff like that </pol>

### HS26: 'sometimes' used to soften disagreement

95 A: do you find that if you're overanalysing does that mean you kind of talk less than you think you  
96 would or just 'cause I ramble a lot I think about while I'm doing it just shut up ((laughs)) already  
97 B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "6"> yeah I can do that sometimes I can also (1) remain very quiet as  
98 well </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "15"> because I'm sometimes unsure whether what I have  
99 to say is relevant and then I find myself sort of seeking validation as well li-or approval like I have  
100 said something I need to know that was the right thing to say or I might come away and think should  
101 I have said that and </pol> (.) <pol type = "pos" strategy = "3"> you know what will they think if I've  
102 you know maybe I shouldn't </pol>

Figure 4.13: Examples of hedging in positive politeness strategy six

'Yeah' is used as a method of token agreement 8 times whereas 'no' is used 5 times. Twice 'no and 'yeah' are used together in the same utterance and 'no' is also found in conjunction with pseudo-agreement words such as 'well' and 'so' in order to mitigate the disagreement.

AN19: combination of 'yeah' and 'no' to avoid disagreement

18 A: uh right was there anything you needed uh (1) confirming like did you understand everything that  
19 I sent over

20 B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "6"> yeah no yeah </pol>

ES02: displacing disagreement with token agreement 'yeah' combined with 'or' instead of using 'no'

133 A: do you ever do that thing where you like write a little script of what you're gonna say like I need  
134 to ask about this I need to do this

135 B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "6"> yeah or I make sure 'cause we've got a sheet with the figures on  
136 and a sheet with it like so I'll try and condense everything on to one sheet and look at that so like  
137 you owe us this this is the phone number this is the guy I need to speak to and yeah just in case I  
138 forget </pol>

Figure 4.14: Examples of token agreement in positive politeness strategy six

#### 4.2.7 Positive politeness strategy eight – joke

The strategy of joking to stress shared backgrounds and views is also used 20 times in the interviews and is tied for sixth most popular strategy. It is another strategy that is used by all 6 interviewees and there is a tendency towards this method being used in the later stages of the interview where there was less structure to the talk, with 13 of the 20 instances being after the survey has been completed.

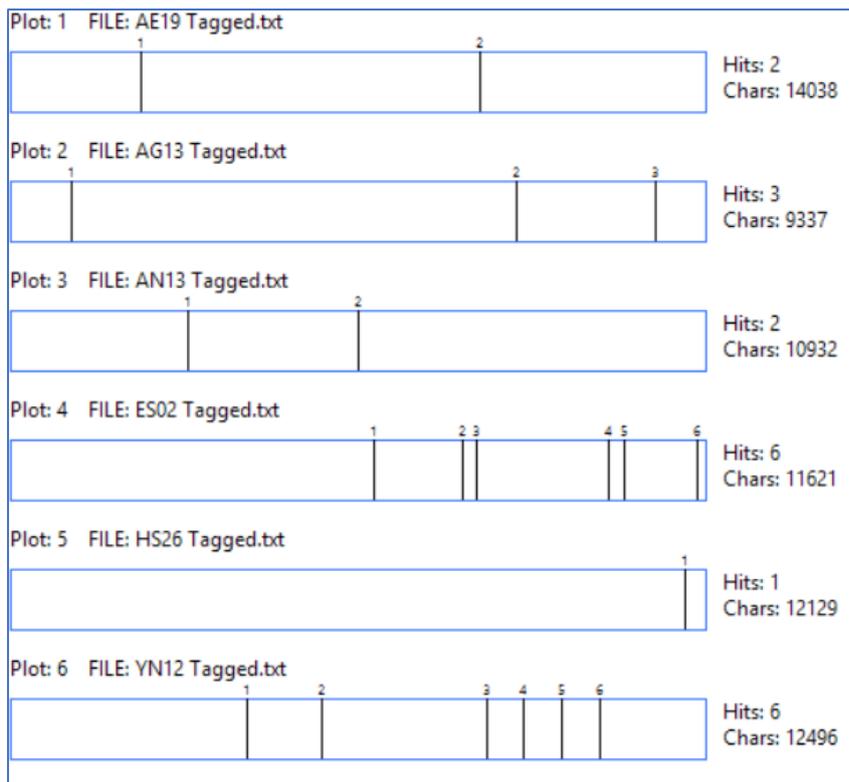


Figure 4.15: Concordance plot of positive politeness strategy eight

The most frequently used collocate is the personal pronoun 'I' which is used 15 times. The use of 'I' is framing the joke at the Speaker's expense; i.e. self-deprecation as a method of putting the Hearer at ease. In these instances, the self-effacement is 'played for laughs' and is not meant to be taken seriously as it would with negative politeness strategy 5.

Another feature of this strategy is that of exaggeration; for example, the use of 'all the time' when it is unlikely that the situation actually happens all of the time, applying the medical condition of being 'paranoid' in a non-serious manner and using the usually severe term 'suffers' lightly.

YN12: self-deprecation and exaggeration

130 B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "15"> uh (3) I think more about what I'm saying just because I'm so

131 </pol> < pol type = "pos" strategy = "8"> paranoid ((laughs)) </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy =

132 "15"> that I'm gonna say something wrong but yeah </pol>

AE19: exaggeration

51 B: Usually somebody else uhm

52 A: yeah

53 B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "8"> suffers (incomprehensible) ((laughs)) </pol>

Figure 4.16: Examples of self-deprecation and exaggeration in positive politeness strategy eight

There are also examples where the interviewees are highlighting a shared background with the interviewer. By referring to ‘Britishness’ and using anecdotes about anxiety that stress the shared experiences along with the pronoun ‘you’, the interviewees are suggesting social closeness with the interviewer.

YN12: implying shared background of Britishness

118 B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "15"> and with strangers (2) uh I would just make sure I was really  
 119 polite even if it is like someone's bumped into me and</pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "8"> I  
 120 know it's very British thing but </pol>

121 A: yeah

122 B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "8"> still say sorry don't you </pol>

ES02: stressing shared experiences with anxiety

159 A: yeah no I'm the same with that just like oh I don't want anyone to listen to me I'm just gonna stay  
 160 away and everyone's like oh you're good on the phone I'm like I am ad-I hate it

161 B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah and you can't get like even if people say you did really well  
 162 there </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "8"> you're like no I didn't I felt like I was gonna cry  
 163 ((laughs)) </pol>

Figure 4.17: Examples of implied share backgrounds in positive politeness strategy eight

#### 4.2.8 Positive politeness strategy three - intensify interest to Hearer

This strategy is used 13 times throughout the interviews by four of the interviewees which equates to only 3.5%. All 13 uses of this strategy occur during the third portion of the interview where the interviewees are talking about their experiences with anxiety.



Figure 4.18: Concordance plot for positive politeness strategy three

This strategy is another that includes numerous of uses of the personal pronoun 'I' along with present tense verbs. When telling stories and anecdotes about their experiences with anxiety, these are usually told in the present tense or the speakers switch between past and present.

HS26: use of present tense

152 B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "3"> well my uh my boss usually when I see him in a corridor he stops  
 153 and speaks to me </pol>

HS26: switch from past tense to present and back

155 B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "3"> and uh saw him yesterday and he didn't he just he he wal-he  
 156 said hello and carried on walking now the logical side of me says that he's clearly busy and that's  
 157 why he did that and I thought I wonder what I've done wrong I wonder why you know and <pol type  
 158 = "pos" strategy = "8"> I spent about an hour thinking about what I might have done ((laughs))  
 159 </pol>

ES02: use of vivid present

154 B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> he seems really good on the phone I don't know if he actually is  
 155 or if he like 'cause </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "3"> he says he's anxious as well </pol>

Figure 4.19: Examples of the present tense in positive politeness strategy three

Another method of intensifying interest, according to Brown and Levinson, is to overstate or exaggerate. This can be seen in a few instances, where the interviewee could be interpreted as exaggerating a part of their story.

AN13: overstatement

103 B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah I'm the same </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "3"> I'll  
 104 like proofread like four times for like punctuation and everything and she'll like shorten words and  
 105 </pol>

ES02: overstatement with 'nightmare' and vivid present

103 B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah I've got to uhm ring people asking for money </pol> <pol  
 104 type = "pos" strategy = "8"> ((laughs)) </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> like credit control  
 105 </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "3"> uhm so that's that's a nightmare 'cause they don't wanna  
 106 pay </pol>

Figure 4.20: Examples of overstatement and exaggeration in positive politeness strategy three

#### 4.2.9 Negative politeness strategy five – give deference

The strategy of giving deference is the second most popular negative politeness strategy and has 10 instances in 3 interviews. Almost all of these instances occur in the first section of the interview, with only three occurring in the later stages.

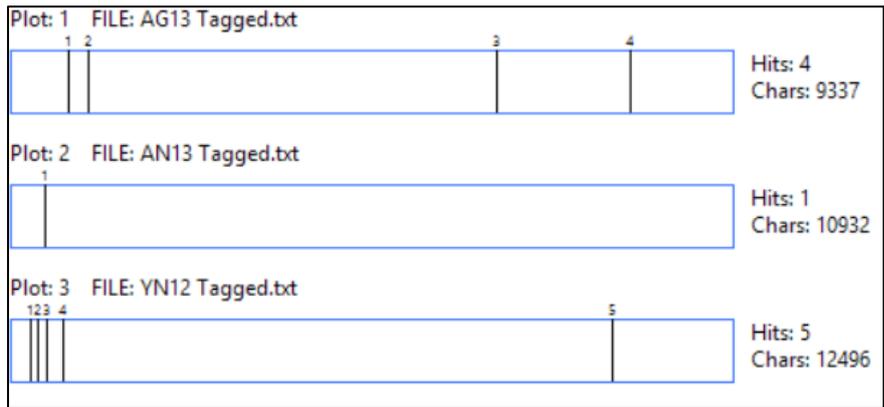


Figure 4.21: Concordance plot for negative politeness strategy five

Most notably, 7 of the 10 instances of this strategy occur after the interviewer has paid them a compliment about the subject they are studying. The interviewer indicated each time that they were not knowledgeable about the respective topic and instead of accepting the compliment, the participants would try to minimise either their own knowledge or how impressive the topic was to study. Of the 3 who did not respond with deference, one was not asked the question and two met the compliment with positive politeness strategy five (with laughter) and either hedging (negative strategy 2) or attending to the Hearer's wants (positive strategy 1).

In the interview with YN12, in particular, the interviewee switches between self-effacement and agreement with the compliment, appearing to not know whether to accept or reject the compliment.

AG13: self-effacement by claiming not to know much about their subject

- 13 B: /details of subject topic/  
14 A: wow I know nothing about /subject/  
15 B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "1"> not a lot of people do </pol> <pol type = "neg" strategy = "5"> I  
16 can't claim to know much myself </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "8"> ((laughs)) </pol>

AN13: rejection of compliment through self-deprecation

- 12 A: oh /subject/ I'm not good at /subject/ so ((laughs))  
13 B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "5"> not convinced I am </pol>

YN12: switching between negative strategy 5 and positive strategy 5

- 5 A: I know nothing about /subject/ ((laughs))  
6 B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> ((laughs)) </pol>  
7 A: That's (.) impressive sounding  
8 B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "5"> It's (.) It's just waiting for bacteria to grow really it's ((laughs))  
9 </pol>  
10 A: oh  
11 B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "5"> it's not all that interesting </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy =  
12 "5"> well I suppose it is </pol>  
13 A: yeah  
14 B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "5"> on a day to day basis it's quite boring </pol> <pol type = "pos"  
15 strategy = "5">but in the grand scheme of things </pol>  
16 A: watching a petri dish  
17 B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah ((laughs)) </pol>  
18 A: wow that's very that just sounds very smart ((laughs))  
19 B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "5"> ((laughs)) it sounds more impressive than it is I think ((laughs))  
20 </pol>

Figure 4.22: Examples of self-effacement in negative politeness strategy five

#### 4.2.10 Politeness strategies used 5 times or less

There are 11 strategies overall that are used 5 times or less within the interviews. Due to the low number of uses I will cover these briefly in this section, noting any significant patterns of use or collocates.

Positive politeness strategy 2, exaggerate, is used 5 times by 3 interviewees with no pattern to its placement within the interviews. The uses of this strategy are broken down into 3 uses of exaggerated intonation and two uses of intensifying modifiers.

AE19: example of intensifying modifier

63 B: <pol type = "bald"> no-not d</pol> <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> (3.5) uhm </pol> <pol type =  
64 "pos" strategy = "5"> ((rereads answers to self)) </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "2"> now this is  
65 interesting > <pol type = "off rec"> 'cause uhm it depends where you are with it is it the initial  
66 session or second session or third session </pol>

ES02: example of exaggerated intonation

123 A: and one of my first phone calls someone yelled at me and I was  
124 B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "2"> aww </pol>  
125 A: I was just like why is this happening why are you so mean to me and I had to like walk away I was  
126 like just gonna go cry in the toilet  
127 B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "2"> ooohhh </pol>

Figure 4.23: Examples of positive politeness strategy two

Negative strategy 7 is another that is used only 5 times and is only employed by one interviewee; AE19. This strategy is that of impersonalising and AE19 uses this during the survey portion and the third, discussion portion of the interview. There are references made to non-specific 'people' and the plural 'you' is used 4 times rather than direct references to the Speaker or Hearer.

AE19: use of 'people' as non-specific reference

75 B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "7"> you might send because with a meeting request you can put  
76 something but you to say something more detailed you might (.) do more informal </pol> <pol type  
77 = "pos" strategy = "15"> but the in-initial one I'd address dear and wait for their response back see if  
78 they're open to being at less </pol> (.)<pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> but the interesting thing  
79 about that is ac-grammatically letter writing length </pol> <pol type = "neg" strategy = "8"> you  
80 address it dear it's to be sincerely </pol> <pol type = "neg" strategy = "7"> people find that quite  
81 formal </pol> |

AE19: use of plural 'you'

197 B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah (1) yeah I see your point </pol> (.) <pol type = "neg"  
198 strategy = "2"> 'cause I think they were saying that I the bit I can remember </pol> <pol type = "pos"  
199 strategy = "3"> is feelings how to get feelings across and that's difficult isn't it </pol>  
200 A: yeah  
201 B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "7"> and how do you get that across certainly </pol>

Figure 4.24: Examples of negative politeness strategy seven

Negative strategy eight, stating the FTA as a rule, is another that is used almost exclusively by AE19, with only 1 of its 5 uses being from another interviewee. Of the 4 uses by AE19, 3 are in relation to the survey question about meeting requests and the rules around written communication. AE19's other use is when discussing their subject of research and how they cannot yet discuss it, rather than refusing to answer the implied question about their subject they state the rule surrounding their

inability to answer. For YN12, the only use of this strategy is used in conjunction with positive strategy 8, joking. As discussed in section 4.2.7, the interviewee brings up the shared background of

AE19: stating FTA as a rule instead of answering the interviewers implied question	
3	B: <pol type = "bald"> yes </pol> (.) I'm a (.) masters by research in /subject/
4	A: mmm interesting don't know anything about that ((laughs))
5	B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> haha </pol> (.) <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> uhm well I am
6	currently uh waiting for ethical approval so </pol>
7	A: yeah
8	B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "8"> can't say so much </pol>
YN12: mentioning the stereotype of British politeness	
118	B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "15"> and with strangers (2) uh I would just make sure I was really
119	polite even if it is like someone's bumped into me and</pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "8"> I
120	know it's very British thing but </pol>
121	A: yeah
122	B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "8"> still say sorry don't you </pol>

Figure 4.25: Examples of negative strategy eight

Britishness with the interviewer and then goes on to state the stereotype of politeness that Britishness implies.

Positive strategy 4 is the use of in-group markers and negative strategy 6 is apologising. Both of these are used only 4 times in the interviews.

Most notably for positive strategy 4, AE19 began the interview using the formal 'yes' and switched to the informal 'yeah' later into the interview. Generally speaking, 'yeah' is a very common informal version of 'yes' used across the board and, therefore, is not dependable as an example of this politeness strategy. 'Yeah' was used 188 times overall, whereas 'yes' was used only 8 times throughout the interviews and 6 of these were by AE19. The switch to 'yeah' takes place in line 45 after 3 uses of 'yes' and they later switch back to 'yes'

Examples of negative strategy 6 include AE19 introducing their comorbid<sup>2</sup> conditions with 'just so you know', indicating that they are aware of the imposition of interrupting to state this but that they are doing so for the benefit of the interviewer. YN12 also uses this strategy twice, when unable to explain why they have chosen an answer during the survey portion of the interview, they make it

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<sup>2</sup> Comorbidity is the presence of one or more diseases or disorders in addition to a primary condition (Frenz, 2016).

clear that they know they are impeding the interviewer by not giving a proper explanation.

AE19: switch from formal 'yes' to informal 'yeah'

13 A: fun (.) so did you understand everything on the

14 B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> I think so yes </pol>

[...]

42 B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> (10) uhm (1.5) </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "15"> it  
43 wouldn't bother me so I'd do </pol> d

44 A: D

45 B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "4"> yeah </pol>

YN12: admitting impingement when trying to explain an answer

134 B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah or it's like </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "7"> you  
135 know they've gone oh they've took it the wrong way or I've said something but that I know they  
136 don't uh </pol> <pol type = "neg" strategy = "6"> I can't even think of an example </pol> <pol type  
137 = "pos" strategy = "5"> but yeah oh I don't like that and it's like for me it's like oh no just like I'm not  
138 offended I just don't like it I'm like <pol type = "pos" strategy = "8"> I hope they don't think I'm a  
139 horrible person </pol>

Figure 4.26: Examples of positive politeness strategy four and negative politeness strategy six

With 3 uses each, positive strategy 1 (notice and attend to Hearer) and negative strategy 4 (minimise the imposition) are among the least popular strategies.

In 2 of the 3 instances of positive politeness strategy 1, the interviewees are responding to self-deprecating comments made by the interviewer about not understanding their subject of study. In both cases, the interviewee is placing the interviewer in a majority group of people who do not understand the subject and themselves in the minority, therefore, implying the interviewer is 'normal' or 'in the right'. The other use of this strategy is to compliment one of the survey questions and attends to the interviewer's want to have their work appreciated.

Negative strategy 4 has the notable collocate of 'just' which is used in all 3 examples of this strategy. 'Just' implies that the imposition is not too large. AE19, for example is adding extra information about their condition which may impact the study but minimises this potential complication with 'just so you're aware' twice, implying that it is not too important.

HS26: attending to Hearer's wants by acknowledging FTA and showing it is nothing to be embarrassed about

13 B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> ((laughs)) </pol>

14 A: I know what evolution means ((laughs)) don't know what you said after that (1) probably won't  
15 make sense even if you tried to explain it to me haven't done science in a long time

16 B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "1"> most p-l get that response from most people </pol>

AE19: minimising the imposition with 'just'

24 B: <pol type = "bald"> it's /disorder/ as well </pol> <pol type = "neg" strategy = "4"> just so you're  
25 aware that </pol>

26 A: no that's fine

27 B: <pol type = "bald"> I'm currently what I would classify as well </pol>

28 A: yeah

29 B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "4"> just so you're aware </pol>

Figure 4.27: Examples of positive politeness strategy one and negative politeness strategy four

Positive politeness strategy 12 (include Speaker and Hearer in the activity), negative strategy 1 (be conventionally indirect), negative strategy 10 (go on record incurring a debt or not indebting the Hearer) and off-record FTAs are all only employed once throughout the interviews.

Positive politeness strategy 12 is used by HS26 to express that both they and the interviewer are part of a shared group of people with anxiety using the plural 'you' to encompass them both.

Negative strategy 1 is used by YN12 to ask permission to choose two answers instead of one in the survey rather than assuming that they can indeed do so. Negative strategy 10 is used by ES02 and its only use is to say 'thank you' to disclaim any indebtedness on the part of the interviewer. AE19 makes an off-record request for clarification under the guise of thinking aloud.

HS26: positive politeness strategy 12

136 A: and you try to I did have an argument with someone once and I felt so bad afterwards like that's  
137 not what I meant to say whatever

138 B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "12"> I think 'cause like you're always up here with your anxiety  
139 </pol>

YN12: negative politeness strategy 1

63 B: uhm (.) so ((rereads questions under breath)) <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> (4) uhm (3) I don't  
64 know it's hard because it's somewhere between b and c like I wouldn't quite take them to one side  
65 but I wouldn't (1) outrightly say like are you serious you're obviously wrong I'd say like </pol> <pol  
66 type "neg" strategy = "6"> I don't know I don't know to explain </pol>

67 A: I'll put both

68 B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "1"> yeah is that possible </pol>

ES02: Negative politeness strategy 10

7 B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> ((laughs)) </pol>

8 A: I've got to do things I have to leave (.) uhm so uh before we start is there anything that you need  
9 clarifying or

10 B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> uhm no I don't think so </pol> <pol type = "neg" strategy =  
11 "10"> thank you </pol>

AE19: off-record

63 B: <pol type = "bald"> no-not d</pol> <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> (3.5) uhm </pol> <pol type =  
64 "pos" strategy = "5"> ((rereads answers to self)) </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "2"> now this is  
65 interesting > <pol type = "off rec"> 'cause uhm it depends where you are with it is it the initial  
66 session or second session or third session </pol>

67 A: uh the first

Figure 4.28: Examples of positive politeness strategy 12, negative politeness strategy 1, negative politeness strategy 10 and an off-record FTA

#### 4.2.11 Strategies not used

The strategies below were not employed by any of the interviewees:

- Positive strategy 9 – assert/presuppose Speaker's knowledge of and concern for Hearer's Wants
- Positive strategy 10 – offer, promise
- Positive strategy 11 – be optimistic
- Positive strategy 13 – give (or ask for) reasons
- Positive strategy 14 – Assume or assert reciprocity
- Negative strategy 3 – be pessimistic

- Negative strategy 9 – nominalise

For the most part, these politeness strategies require the speaker to be asking something of the hearer, which in this case was not the basis of the interaction. The interviewer had requested the meeting and the interviewee was not asking anything of them. While reciprocity by having the interviewer take part in a study could have been possible due to the sample base being post-graduate students, this did not take place at this time.

## 4.3 Discussion

### 4.3.1 Overview

In the following section I will outline how the results of the interviews answer research question 1 and what these suggest about politeness theory, corpus linguistics and its usefulness in researching politeness.

### 4.3.2 Research question 1 – do individuals with anxiety use more positive or more negative politeness strategies within conversation?

From the results of this study it is clear that among the female postgraduates who took part in the face-to-face interviews that positive politeness strategies were by far the most popular strategies overall.

Positive politeness strategies are used almost double the amount of times of negative politeness strategies, with 222 uses to 114 uses of negative politeness. Of those 222 instances, 43% were uses of positive strategy 5 (seek agreement) and the second most popular positive strategy was 7 (raise or assert common ground) with 13.96%.

Positive politeness is geared towards the Hearer's positive face; they want to be liked and accepted (Brown & Levinson, 1987). By employing positive politeness strategies, the interviewees are attempting to imply common ground between themselves and the interviewer. As discussed in chapter 2, the psychological symptoms of anxiety include a heightened fear of negative evaluation (Folk & Folk, 2018), i.e. a heightened fear of attack on their own positive face. By consistently maximising social closeness and appealing to the positive face of others, they may be hoping that this will be reciprocated. This is exemplified by the multiple uses of 'yeah' 'you know' and laughter as means of implying and asserting both agreement and common ground between themselves and the interviewer.

Even in cases, where the use of a politeness strategy appears to be routine, i.e. the numerous uses of positive strategy 5 – seek agreement or negative strategy 2 - hedging, this can be viewed as an unconscious attempt at appealing to the Hearer's positive or negative face rather than a deliberate

choice. (O'Driscoll, 1996). Under this repositioning of face as something that can also be appealed to unconsciously, these conventional uses of hedging and other methods show a clear preference among the participants for positive politeness over negative except in the case of hedging.

Laughter as a method of seeking agreement is particularly interesting. It is clear from the context that the laughter in the interviews is not always in response to a particularly humorous utterance. Chapman and Foot (1976 [reprinted 2017]) stated that humour and laughter are not necessarily synonymous as they can appear separately, as they do in these interviews. Sometimes the interviewees are repeating laughter from the interviewer, but it is most clearly a method of showing agreement and approval in the same manner as words such as 'yeah' or noises of agreement would. As discussed in Partington (2006), laughter can be used as a way of signalling solidarity and communicating agreement. The communication of agreement is particularly noticeable in these interviews.

The frequent use of negative strategy 2 (hedging) above all strategies except for positive strategy 5 is an anomaly in the overall trends within the unplanned speech of the anxious individuals. This strategy was used multiple times by all the interviewees throughout the interviews almost as much as they used positive strategy 5. By hedging their thoughts and opinions the interviewees are avoiding generalisation and implying that what they are saying is true only to themselves. This frequent use of non-committal language suggests a lack of confidence or belief that what they are saying is true or whether it will apply to anyone else. Lack of confidence itself can be linked to multiple symptoms of anxiety such as the fear of negative evaluation, as mentioned previously, heightened self-consciousness (Folk & Folk, 2018) and feeling the need to escape (Anxiety UK, 2018).

Looking at wider trends in politeness in relation to British English in particular, there have been several studies into the differences between English and other languages. Studies such as Yu's (2011), which compared English, Hebrew and Korean requests and found that for English speakers, indirectness correlated with politeness and Ogiermann (2009) discussed similar findings between English, German, Polish and Russian requests. However, as shown in the results of these interviews, conventional indirectness (negative politeness strategy one) was used only once in the interviews suggesting that the conventions noticed in English politeness behaviour were not the main factor in determining the choice of politeness strategy.

The interviewees also all fell into the subgroup of women, and there have been multiple studies in the impact of gender on politeness. Holmes (2013) for example, argues that women use more positive politeness than men, which correlates with the findings of this study. Lakoff (2005), however, maintains that when there is a difference between how men and women enact politeness

women tend to be more deferential and indirect, which are negative politeness strategies and runs counter to the results of this case study.

#### 4.4 Conclusion

As discussed, positive politeness was used by the interviewees the majority of the time, far more than negative politeness strategies. In the following chapter, I will provide additional data for these observations with the results of the online survey.

## 5. Survey Findings

### 5.1 Introduction

In this section I will discuss the findings of the online survey. As discussed in chapter 3, the online survey was advertised on Facebook, a survey exchange thread on The Student Room forum and on the Facebook and Twitter pages for Anxiety UK.

For each question I will discuss which answer was most popular with the anxious participants and the non-anxious participants and whether these were different between groups.

### 5.2 Overview

As discussed in chapter 3, participants with or without anxiety were asked to answer the multiple-choice questions with the answers that most fit how they would act in the given context. This was done to provide additional data for the face-to-face interviews, to gather further information on the politeness strategies chosen by anxious people, and to gather some insight into non-anxious participants' choices of politeness strategies.

For these results I also included the answers given by the interviewees. The exception is where an interviewee was split between 2 choices, this choice was not recorded in the tables below. In total the survey was completed by 291 participants. Of these, 223 selected that they had been diagnosed with an anxiety disorder and 68 had not.

In the sections below, I will describe the FTAs inherent in each scenario and compare how the anxious and non-anxious participants chose to answer. I will also discuss the similarities and differences between their choices.

Question 1 asked the participants to select whether they had an anxiety disorder and was used to filter the data between the two participant groups.

### 5.2.1 Question 2 – a request made to friends and acquaintances

The participants were asked how they would ask for a window to be opened. In terms of face threatening acts this is fairly low-ranking; the room is full of people and it is likely that at least one other person will agree that it is too warm. Even if there was a disagreement, it would be very unlikely that there would be negative repercussions from the act of asking. The Hearers of this FTA are all at least partially socially close, ranging from friends to acquaintances and the potential to harm another's face is very low. The Speaker has no material or metaphysical power over any of the Hearers. Any of the Hearers have the opportunity to deny the request without consequence.

There is potential to harm a Hearer's negative face by imposing upon them to open the window or to make them cold. In terms of positive face, there is the potential to imply that the Speaker does not care whether they will make any of the Hearer's cold. However, in terms of face, these are very minimal threats that under ordinary circumstances would not cause any real harm to social relationships between the speaker and the Hearers.

Option A was to avoid doing the FTA at all. The Speaker makes an assumption that someone else in the room feels the same as them and that they will eventually open the window. This negatively impacts the Speaker as they are made uncomfortable by the heat of the room but does not harm the face of any Hearer.

Option B was a request that the Speaker be allowed open the window. The FTA is made directly using positive politeness strategy 11 (be optimistic) as mitigation. The Speaker is assuming that all of the Hearers also want the window to be opened and is acting on their behalf. Phrasing this as a question still allows for refusal by one or more of the Hearers in the room.

Option C requested that someone else open the window; therefore, temporarily imposing on at least one Hearer. This option makes the Speaker's wants known but employs negative strategy 1 (be conventionally indirect), therefore, asking the Hearer if they can open the window as opposed to if they will. The socially expected marker of politeness 'please' is used to further lessen the imposition.

Option D was to enact the FTA off the record, combined with negative strategy 4 (minimise the imposition) with the use of 'a bit'. By making a statement, accompanied by the actions of cooling oneself, the Speaker is making their wants known and allowing for others to express their wants and needs. This option allows for the Hearers to ignore the request as no imposition is made upon them to do anything to appease the Speaker. If someone does not agree with the Speaker, there is no negative impact to their disagreement. In addition, the statement allows for agreement, therefore,

potentially building up other’s positive faces by causing them to agree with each other and the Speaker and strengthening their social bonds.

Each group’s answers are listed below.

You are in a room with several friends and acquaintance. Due to the large number of people the room has become too warm. Pick the option closest to how you would ask for the window to be opened.		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
"Can I open the window?"	23.8%	53
"Please can you open the window?"	9.0%	20
"It's a bit hot in here." May be accompanied by fanning yourself or other cooling techniques	36.3%	81
Say nothing, assume someone else will open the window.	30.9%	69
<b>answered question</b>		<b>223</b>
<b>skipped question</b>		<b>0</b>

Table 5.1: Answers from anxious participants

You are in a room with several friends and acquaintance. Due to the large number of people the room has become too warm. Pick the option closest to how you would ask for the window to be opened.		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
"Can I open the window?"	55.9%	38
"Please can you open the window?"	5.9%	4
"It's a bit hot in here." May be accompanied by fanning yourself or other cooling techniques	22.1%	15
Say nothing, assume someone else will open the window.	16.2%	11
<b>answered question</b>		<b>68</b>
<b>skipped question</b>		<b>0</b>

Table 5.2: Answers from non-anxious participants

There is a clear difference between the choices made by those with anxiety and those without. Non-anxious participants had a clear favourite, whereas the anxious participants’ options were more evenly split between 3 of the answers.

For the anxious participants the top choice, with 36.3%, was option C; an off-the-record utterance combined with ‘a bit’ (negative strategy 4): a phrase that indicates that the imposition is not that great. It implies that the Speaker would like the window to be opened but if confronted the Speaker could deny the FTA had occurred. For non-anxious participants this option was the second most popular with 22.1%.

As shown in table 5.2 over half of the participants without anxiety chose option A; a direct request where the bulk of the imposition is placed on the Speaker by putting the responsibility of action onto themselves. By employing positive strategy 11 (be optimistic), the Speaker is assuming that all the

Hearers want the window to be opened as well, therefore, minimising the size of the FTA. In contrast, option A is the second lowest choice for participants with anxiety, with less than a quarter selecting this option.

The second most popular amongst the anxious participants, with 30.9%, was the option not to state the FTA and avoid any possible imposition or disagreement with others and to endure their discomfort in silence. For the non-anxious participants this was the second lowest choice with 16.2%.

Where the two groups agreed was the choice of option B as the least popular. This option is a conventionally indirect request (negative strategy 1) and places the imposition of moving to open the window onto one of the Hearers in the room. The social marker of politeness 'please' is used and the Speaker questions whether the Hearer can open the window rather than whether they will.

### 5.2.2 Question 3 – making a request from a position of power

This scenario asked the participants to place themselves in a situation where they were asking a subordinate to attend a meeting. Here the face threatening act was imposing upon the Hearer's time as the Speaker is asking to pull them away from their work tasks to reply to the meeting request and also to attend a meeting. Due to the roles within the workplace, the Hearer cannot ignore or deny the request. The Speaker is also unable to avoid doing the FTA, it is required by their role, so this option is not available. In addition to the imposition of time, there is a lot of potential for further harm to the Hearer's face. The Hearer is not privy to the reasons behind the meeting and there is potential for their positive face to be harmed through an expression of disapproval or criticism of some aspect of their work. This could cause some worry from the outset of receiving the email requesting the meeting. For the four choices the participant is choosing between what is considered 'professional' and balancing that against the friendliness and social closeness between the Speaker and Hearer.

Option A is a bald on record meeting request with no mitigation. The Speaker chooses to send a request through the calendar option available via email or calendar programmes with no attempts at emphasising social closeness or minimising the imposition through any politeness strategies. There is potential for the Hearer to interpret the gesture as unfriendly and assume there will be further threats to their negative face during the course of the meeting.

Option B utilises negative strategies to make the request. Negative strategy 7 (impersonalise) is used to distance the Speaker from the Hearer through the avoidance of personal pronouns by using address terms and imperatives. Negative strategy 8 (state FTA as general rule) is used to identify the

request as an obligation rather than a personal request from the Speaker. Negative strategy 2 (hedging) is used to appeal to the negative face needs of the Hearer and allows them to request a different time for the meeting if the original time is not convenient. This option maximises the power difference between the interlocutors and minimises the social closeness.

Option C uses a majority of positive politeness features to mitigate the request. Positive strategy 4 (in-group markers) through the informal 'hi' plus first name emphasises their social bond. The use of 'we' is an example of positive strategy 12 (include S & H) being used to attend to the positive face needs of the Hearer. One negative strategy is employed in the utterance, by using the indefinite 'about 3' the Speaker is implying that the meeting is not important enough to warrant an exact time, therefore minimising the imposition (negative strategy 4). The utterance is then finished with positive strategy 14 (assume or assert reciprocity) where the Speaker offers to rearrange the meeting; the Speaker is showing willingness to fit their schedule around the Hearer in return for them agreeing to the meeting.

Option D is made up almost entirely of positive strategy 4 (in-group markers) with one use of positive strategy 11 (be optimistic). There are multiple uses of in group markers through informal language e.g. 'hey', the abbreviation 'Thurs', the use of the Hearer's nickname and ending the message with a kiss. The optimistic phrasing of 'about 3ish ok' (positive strategy 11) assumes that the Hearer is cooperating and has already agreed to the meeting taking place on the day given. This strategy maximises the social closeness of the two more than any other option for this question.

<b>You are friendly with a work colleague but you hold a higher position within the business. You need to organise a meeting between the two of you. Which do you find to be most appropriate?</b>		
<b>Answer Options</b>	<b>Response Percent</b>	<b>Response Count</b>
Dear Mr/Miss/Mrs [Employee surname], your attendance is required at a meeting at 3pm on Thursday in Board Room 2. Please respond as soon as possible if you are not able to attend.	7.2%	16
Send a meeting request via the business email application with no explanation or greeting	4.0%	9
Hi [employees first name], please can we have a meeting on the 3rd at about 3? Let me know if you can't make it and I'll rearrange.	82.5%	184
Hey [employee's nickname], meeting on Thurs? About 3ish ok? Seeya! X	6.3%	14
<b>answered question</b>		<b>223</b>
<b>skipped question</b>		<b>0</b>

Table 5.3: Answers from anxious participants

<b>You are friendly with a work colleague but you hold a higher position within the business. You need to organise a meeting between the two of you. Which do you find to be most appropriate?</b>		
<b>Answer Options</b>	<b>Response Percent</b>	<b>Response Count</b>
Dear Mr/Miss/Mrs [Employee surname], your attendance is required at a meeting at 3pm on Thursday in Board Room 2. Please respond as soon as possible if you are not able to attend.	1.5%	1
Send a meeting request via the business email application with no explanation or greeting	13.2%	9
Hi [employees first name], please can we have a meeting on the 3rd at about 3? Let me know if you can't make it and I'll rearrange.	79.4%	54
Hey [employee's nickname], meeting on Thurs? About 3ish ok? Seeya! X	5.9%	4
<b>answered question</b>		<b>68</b>
<b>skipped question</b>		<b>0</b>

Table 5.4: Answers from non-anxious participants

With this question the anxious and non-anxious participants were much more similar than in question 1. The most popular by far in both groups was option C with 82.5% of anxious participants and 79.4% of non-anxious participants selecting this option. As discussed, this strategy employs positive strategies 4 (in-group markers), 12 (include S & H) and 14 (assume reciprocity), as well as

negative strategy 4 (minimise imposition) to de-emphasise the power imbalance and maximise social closeness between the two.

The other three answers for this question were almost as equally unpopular. The second most popular for the non-anxious participants was option B, with 13.2% selecting it. Here the FTA is enacted directly without the mitigating factors of providing an explanation or allowance for an amendment to the time of the meeting. Although it is possible through most email applications to accept or decline the invitation, as the Speaker is the person in the position of power, it is assumed that in most cases the request would be accepted except in extenuating circumstances. This option was least popular for the anxious participants, with only 4% choosing this.

For anxious participants the second most popular answer was the most formal option A, with 7.2%. This answer uses negative politeness strategies to emphasise the power imbalance and de-emphasise the social closeness of the colleagues. Only 1 non-anxious participant selected this option.

Both groups chose option D as the third most popular, with 6.3% of anxious and 5.9% of non-anxious participants choosing this option. This option uses multiple in-group markers (positive strategy 4) and optimism (positive strategy 11) to maximise the social closeness and remove as much reference to the power imbalance as possible from the request.

### 5.2.3 Question 4 - a disagreement with a family member

This question focused on familial interactions, asking the participant to judge how they would approach the touchy subject of politics with a close family member. Power is relative to status and in family situations status is dependent on factors including age and generation (first, second etc) (Watts, 1991); therefore, the older the family member the more power they have. This places the Speaker as the less powerful participant in this context.

For answer A the participant is choosing to make an off-record FTA by deferring to another family member who is closer in status within the family structure. This allows for some level of denial of the FTA occurring. The older family member may choose not to reveal the identity of the person who is upset and, therefore, they are free from direct consequences. However, this option also places another person in a position where they are performing an FTA.

Option B may seem like avoiding the FTA, as nothing is said, but the action of refusing to speak to the other family member is an act of positive impoliteness: ignore or snub the other (Culpeper, 1996). It could be considered even more face threatening because the family member is not given an

opportunity to defend or explain their political view. By refusing to speak to the other family member the Speaker is expressing criticism and disapproval through silence.

Option C tries to minimise the FTA by taking the confrontation away from potentially causing ‘a scene’ in front of other family members, using negative strategy 6 (apologise) to indicate a reluctance to impinge on their negative face in a public forum. Negative strategy 5 (give deference) is utilised as a method of asking permission to enact the FTA, indicating that the Hearer is of a higher status and can refuse to listen to the Speaker’s opinion. Positive strategy 6 (avoid disagreement) is then used with ‘I feel’, this hedges the opinion so as to not appear like an outright disagreement.

Option D is a bald on record criticism of the Hearer’s opinions and thoughts. It is confrontational and there are no attempts at mitigation. This option shows the participant in direct opposition to the older family member’s positive and negative face; they are expressing disagreement as well as imposing upon the family member’s time by pulling them into an argument.

Option E is where the participant chooses not to do the FTA. By staying silent and not debating the matter the implication is that they are expressing agreement or approval for the political opinion or, at the very least, they do not hold strongly opposing opinions despite that fact that they do.

<b>A close older family member has been stating some political opinions you strongly disagree with and you are upset. How do you address the issue?</b>		
<b>Answer Options</b>	<b>Response Percent</b>	<b>Response Count</b>
You don't want to upset anyone so you do not say anything	68.8%	152
You take them to one side: "Can I speak to you about [...] I feel [...]"	7.2%	16
"Are you serious? You are obviously wrong about this."	19.0%	42
Ask another, older family member to speak to them	2.7%	6
Refuse to speak to them until they apologise.	1.8%	4
<b><i>answered question</i></b>		<b>221</b>
<b><i>skipped question</i></b>		<b>2</b>

Table 5.5: Answers from anxious participants

<b>A close older family member has been stating some political opinions you strongly disagree with and you are upset. How do you address the issue?</b>		
<b>Answer Options</b>	<b>Response Percent</b>	<b>Response Count</b>
You don't want to upset anyone so you do not say anything	51.5%	35
You take them to one side: "Can I speak to you about [...] I feel [...]"	20.6%	14
"Are you serious? You are obviously wrong about this."	23.5%	16
Ask another, older family member to speak to them	4.4%	3
Refuse to speak to them until they apologise.	0.0%	0
<b><i>answered question</i></b>		<b>68</b>
<b><i>skipped question</i></b>		<b>0</b>

Table 5.6: Answers from non-anxious participants

This is another question where the most popular answer is the same for both groups. Over 50% of all anxious and non-anxious participants chose to avoid doing the FTA with option A. For anxious participants the number choosing this was nearing 70%.

For the remaining options, the answer selections were similar for both groups. For both, option C was the second highest, with around 20% of respondents in each group choosing this. This option was a bald on record criticism of the Hearer with no attempt at mitigation.

Option B was the third most popular choice. However, only 7% of respondents in the anxious group selected this option compared to the 20% of non-anxious participants. Option B was direct but mitigated the request with positive strategy 6 (avoid disagreement) and negative strategy 5 (give deference).

The fourth most popular option for both groups was D, which had very few respondents overall. This option was an off-record way of raising the disagreement through an intermediate. If confronted, the participant would have the option to deflect the FTA onto another person through denial or claiming that they were misunderstood.

There were no non-anxious participants who selected option E as opposed to the 4 in the anxious group. Here, the Hearer is enacting a positive impoliteness strategy of ignoring or snubbing the Hearer.

#### 5.2.4 Question 5 - an unexpected meeting with your boss

Question 5 was another that addressed FTA's within the workplace. Here the participant was asked to choose how they would open a conversation with their employer who has asked for an unexpected meeting. In the circumstances, the participant does not know the reason for the meeting, whether it will be positive or negative and they are interacting with an employer which

they do not speak to very often. With the potential for their face to be threatened by what their boss has to say, the participant is asked to choose a greeting they find most appropriate to the situation.

Option A is the most casual of the four options and employs positive strategy 4 (in-group markers). The use of the colloquial 'hey' and the use of the casual interrogative fabricates social closeness between the Speaker and Hearer that is not present. By using the elliptical 'all this' rather than referring to the meeting as such indicates the Speaker does not seem to be taking the meeting seriously.

Option B uses positive strategies 4 (in-group markers) and 15 (satisfy Hearer's wants) as well as negative strategy 5 (give deference). By opening with 'hi' the Speaker is implying a level of social closeness without being overly familiar. They satisfy the Hearer's needs by attending the meeting and verbally acknowledges that they have done so but uses a conventional rhetorical question which allows the Hearer to ask the Speaker to sit or return at a later time. By not questioning the reason for the meeting, the Speaker is deferring to the authority that the Hearer has over them and is allowing them to control the topic of conversation.

For Option C the conversational power is, again, left in the hands of the employer. As discussed with option B, 'hi' (positive strategy 4 – in-group markers) is a casual greeting but one that is often used in professional circles as well. The Speaker then leaves space for the Hearer to continue with the conversation however they wish; giving deference (negative strategy 5) to their much higher level of power and allowing them to take the lead in the conversation.

Option D uses a combination of positive and negative strategies. Opening with 'hello' impersonalises the interaction (negative strategy 7) by using the formal greeting. As with option B, the fact that the Speaker has met the Hearer's needs by turning up to the meeting is verbally indicated (positive strategy 15) and then negative strategy 3 (be pessimistic) is employed through the use of the subjunctive 'may I', therefore asking permission to ask about the purpose of the meeting.

Your boss calls you into an unexpected meeting at very short notice. You do not know what the meeting is about and you do not often interact with your boss on a one-to-one basis. Which of these is most appropriate to open the conversation with?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
"Hello, you asked to see me? May I ask what is this concerning?"	8.5%	19
"Hi, you asked to see me?" Do not ask about the purpose of the meeting.	61.0%	136
"Hi" But say nothing further until they have spoken	30.0%	67
"Hey, so what's all this about?"	0.4%	1
<b>answered question</b>		<b>223</b>
<b>skipped question</b>		<b>0</b>

Table 5.7: Answers from anxious participants

Your boss calls you into an unexpected meeting at very short notice. You do not know what the meeting is about and you do not often interact with your boss on a one-to-one basis. Which of these is most appropriate to open the conversation with?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
"Hello, you asked to see me? May I ask what is this concerning?"	13.2%	9
"Hi, you asked to see me?" Do not ask about the purpose of the meeting.	79.4%	54
"Hi" But say nothing further until they have spoken	7.4%	5
"Hey, so what's all this about?"	0.0%	0
<b>answered question</b>		<b>68</b>
<b>skipped question</b>		<b>0</b>

Table 5.8: Answers from non-anxious participants

The highest and lowest choices for both groups were the same. Both groups chose option B as the most appropriate, with 61% of anxious participants and 79.4% of non-anxious participants selecting this. Option B uses positive strategies 4 (in-group markers) and 15 (give gifts i.e. satisfy the Hearer's wants) to appeal to the Hearer's positive face by addressing them in a friendly manner and by acknowledging that they have meet the Hearer's need by arriving. This answer then gives deference (negative 5) by allowing the Hearer to lead the rest of the conversation.

Option D was the least popular for both groups with only 1 participant from the anxious group selecting this. This option uses positive strategy 4 to suggest social closeness without referring to the imbalance of power between the two.

For anxious participants the second-place choice was option C, with 30% which was another answer which placed the responsibility for the conversational topic on the Hearer using negative strategy 5. Option C uses the same in-group marker as option B but does not verbally acknowledge that the

Speaker has met the Hearer's needs by attending the meeting. Only 7.4% of non-anxious participants chose this option.

For non-anxious participants the second highest option was A, with 13.2% of respondents selecting this. This option uses negative strategies 7 (impersonalise) and 3 (be pessimistic) along with positive strategy 15 (acknowledging they have met the Hearer's needs). By using negative strategy 3, the participants are requesting an answer from the more powerful participants but mitigating this through the use of the subjunctive 'may', therefore, turning it into a question about asking the question rather than a direct interrogative.

#### 5.2.5 Question 6 - dealing with unsatisfactory customer service

Question 6 dealt with raising concerns about customer service that has not been handled well. The Speaker, in this situation, has endured bad customer service, having not been given the information they have asked for and they have not received the item they have ordered. The FTA has the potential to attack the Hearer's positive face through an expression of criticism, and their negative face by mentioning the company's debt to the customer, who has paid for goods that have not been received. In this instance the Hearer is an individual acting on behalf of a company or corporation. The unfulfilled order is not a result of their actions but as customer service agents they are expected to present the company in as positive a light as possible and resolve the issue effectively to ensure the customer does not complain or take away their custom.

Option A for this question is to not do the FTA. By not calling, the Speaker is implying that they are satisfied with the customer service they have received in the previous 4 phone calls and are pleased with the outcome, potentially resigned to not receiving their order. This option avoids having to speak to another person who may or may not help them resolve their issue.

For option B, the Speaker is making a bald on record criticism of the service they have received previously. The call is opened with the customary greeting of stating your name and then states the criticism and disapproval with no mitigation for the face attack.

Option C uses positive politeness strategies to mitigate the FTA. Positive strategy 4 (in-group markers) is used in the greeting to imply some level of friendliness between strangers. Positive politeness strategy 11 (be optimistic) is then used to imply that the customer service agent wants to help the Speaker achieve their goals of making a complaint rather than trying to stop them registering a complaint or trying to resolve it themselves, since this had not worked previously.

For option D the Speaker makes the FTA off-record. By providing all of the relevant information but expressing no dissatisfaction the Speaker is allowing the Hearer to go through the motions of

tracking the order and allowing them to come to the conclusion that it is late and to see any notes that have been made by previous customer service agents. If questioned about whether they are calling to complain, the Speaker has the opportunity to plausibly deny any face attack and claim they are just looking for information.

<b>You have rung a clothing company several times to track a late order, each time they have given you very little information on the status of your order and no explanation for the delay. How do you begin the 5th call?</b>		
<b>Answer Options</b>	<b>Response Percent</b>	<b>Response Count</b>
"Hello, my name is [...]. I have called you four times now and you have failed to give me a satisfactory answer."	26.2%	58
"Hello, my name is [...] and my order number is [...], please can you tell me the status of my order?"	31.7%	70
You don't call	11.8%	26
"Hi, can you put me through to your complaints department?"	30.3%	67
<b>answered question</b>		<b>221</b>
<b>skipped question</b>		<b>2</b>

Table 5.9: Answers from anxious participants

<b>You have rung a clothing company several times to track a late order, each time they have given you very little information on the status of your order and no explanation for the delay. How do you begin the 5th call?</b>		
<b>Answer Options</b>	<b>Response Percent</b>	<b>Response Count</b>
"Hello, my name is [...]. I have called you four times now and you have failed to give me a satisfactory answer."	39.4%	26
"Hello, my name is [...] and my order number is [...], please can you tell me the status of my order?"	24.2%	16
You don't call	6.1%	4
"Hi, can you put me through to your complaints department?"	30.3%	20
<b>answered question</b>		<b>66</b>
<b>skipped question</b>		<b>2</b>

Table 5.10: Answers from non-anxious participants

For this question both groups had different top selections. For the anxious participants the most popular answer was option B, with 31.7%. This option was an off-record FTA, where the participant is bringing the issue of the late order to the attention of the Hearer through indirect means. For non-anxious participants this was the third-choice option with 24.2%.

For the non-anxious group, the top answer was option A with almost 40% of respondents choosing to call the customer service department and enact the FTA of expressing disappointment in the

service they have received through a bald on record criticism. For anxious participants this was only the third most popular.

For both groups option D was the second most popular with 30.3% participants in each group. The FTA is being enacted but is mitigated by using the in-group marker of 'hi' (positive strategy 4) and the assumption that the Hearer wants to help the Speaker get what they want (positive strategy 11 – be optimistic).

Option C was, by far, the least popular answer with 6.1% and 11.8% of non-anxious and anxious participants choosing not to call and, instead, wait to see whether the issue will be resolved without further input.

#### 5.2.6 Question 7 - turning down an invite

Question 7 focused on the use of social media and turning down an invitation to a social event. The Speaker in this scenario is socially close to the Hearer and it is a fairly low-ranking FTA. Neither party has any implicit or explicit power over the other and the consequences of refusing are unlikely to be serious. By placing the invite on the semi-public forum of Facebook the Speaker is under pressure to accept or deny the request in front of an audience of peers and, therefore, is higher ranking than if the invite were made privately.

Option A utilises positive strategies 2 (exaggerate) and 10 (offer, promise) to mitigate the rejection. By using the word 'love' as opposed to 'like' or something similar the Speaker is exaggerating their interest in the event. By following this up with a vague explanation that states the issue is with the day, and not the event, they are potentially offering/promising to attend if the Hearer were to reschedule.

Option B uses a socially acceptable idiom to turn down the request. "No can do" is an example of positive strategy 4 (in-group markers); a casual, almost blasé, expression used frequently to turn down requests. Instead of maximising distress at not being able to attend, the Speaker is minimising the initial request, suggesting their rejection is not a very low-ranking FTA. The Speaker then apologises (negative strategy 6) in the conventional manner to express regret.

For option C, the Speaker combines negative strategy 6 (apologise) using the conventional 'sorry' with positive strategy 10 (offer, promise). As with option A, by explaining the rejection as a clash in commitments, the Speaker is again making the implicit offer that they would attend if the event took place at another time, demonstrating good intentions.

Option D makes the FTA off-record. By not answering, the Speaker is implying that they will not attend the social event but if questioned they can plausibly claim to have either not seen the notification for the invite or that they were unsure if they could attend or not.

<b>You are mentioned in a Facebook post about a social event that you can't attend. How do you reply?</b>		
<b>Answer Options</b>	<b>Response Percent</b>	<b>Response Count</b>
"No can do, sorry."	5.0%	11
Don't reply at all	26.9%	59
"Sorry, I have other plans"	10.5%	23
"I'd love to but I can't that day"	57.5%	126
<b><i>answered question</i></b>		<b>219</b>
<b><i>skipped question</i></b>		<b>4</b>

Table 5.11: Answers from anxious participants

<b>You are mentioned in a Facebook post about a social event that you can't attend. How do you reply?</b>		
<b>Answer Options</b>	<b>Response Percent</b>	<b>Response Count</b>
"No can do, sorry."	7.6%	5
Don't reply at all	13.6%	9
"Sorry, I have other plans"	6.1%	4
"I'd love to but I can't that day"	72.7%	48
<b><i>answered question</i></b>		<b>66</b>
<b><i>skipped question</i></b>		<b>2</b>

Table 5.12: Answers from non-anxious participants

Option D is, by far, the most popular answer for both groups of participants. The anxious participants chose this over 50% of the time and the non-anxious group 72.7% chose this option. This option was solely positive politeness, exaggerating interest (strategy 2) and offering an opportunity to reschedule (strategy 10) by stating that the problem is the day the event occurs not the event itself.

Option B was the second most popular for both groups, with 26.9% of anxious participants and 13.6% of non-anxious participants choosing this answer. A Facebook invite is less direct than a personal message or face-to-face request, but has a semi-public audience impacting the pressure to reply. By not answering, the Speaker is letting the Hearer know that they cannot attend but, if questioned, can conceivably claim ignorance by saying they never got a notification or that they forgot to reply.

For the non-anxious group answers, A and C were separated by only 1 vote; however, for the anxious group option C was selected over twice as much as option A. Both options use negative strategy 6 (apologise) but were combined with different positive strategies. Option C, which was

more popular among the anxious group used positive strategy 10 (offer, promise) to suggest, again, the issue was with the day not the event and therefore, offering an opportunity to reschedule. Option A was combined with positive strategy 4 (in-group markers) with the idiomatic phrase 'no can do' which offers no explanation and no opportunity to make other arrangements, and was slightly more popular than option C for the non-anxious group.

#### 5.2.7 Question 8 - rejecting a stranger's advances

Question 8 placed the participant in an uncomfortable situation where they were approached by a stranger that they did not want to speak to and who offered them a drink. Turning down the drink is a face attack on the positive face of the person offering, suggesting that they are not liked or even seem untrustworthy in some way.

Option A is the option to first not perform the FTA and accept the drink and then perform an off-record FTA. By taking the offer at its face value and leaving the person once the drink has been accepted the Speaker is enacting the FTA of refusal to spend time with the stranger. The implications of accepting the drink are also off-record so if the person offering the drink were to object, they would be enacting a new FTA of imposing upon a stranger's time.

Option B is another off-record FTA. By ignoring the stranger, the Speaker is implying they do not want the drink or to talk to them but if challenged they could claim to have not heard them over the music or noise that is typically present in a bar.

Option C is a bald on record refusal of the offer. The blunt 'no' expresses disapproval and rejection of the offer from the Hearer with no attempt at redress.

With option D, the bald on record refusal is mitigated with negative strategy 5 (give deference). By thanking the Hearer for the offer, they are attending to their face needs. This is then followed by a further bald on record refusal through silence. By not replying again the Speaker is making it clear that they are not interested in the drink or the stranger, with no further attempts at mitigation.

You are waiting to be served at a bar when a stranger steps in next to you and offers to buy you a drink. You have a bad feeling about the person and do not want the drink. How would you respond?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Accept the offer but take the drink elsewhere	5.9%	13
"No, thank you." Say nothing more even if they offer again	86.8%	190
"No"	2.3%	5
Ignore them completely	5.0%	11
<b>answered question</b>		<b>219</b>
<b>skipped question</b>		<b>4</b>

Table 5.13: Answers from anxious participants

You are waiting to be served at a bar when a stranger steps in next to you and offers to buy you a drink. You have a bad feeling about the person and do not want the drink. How would you respond?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Accept the offer but take the drink elsewhere	3.0%	2
"No, thank you." Say nothing more even if they offer again	95.5%	63
"No"	1.5%	1
Ignore them completely	0.0%	0
<b>answered question</b>		<b>66</b>
<b>skipped question</b>		<b>2</b>

Table 5.14: Answers from non-anxious participants

This was another question where both groups agreed on the most popular answer, with option B taking well over three quarters of the vote in both groups. For the non-anxious group this option was almost 100%. Option B was a bald on record 'no' mitigated with 'thanks' (negative strategy 5 – give deference) but followed by another bald on record dismissal through choosing to ignore any further offers or conversation.

For the anxious participants option D was the third-choice selection. This option was an off-record rejection: by ignoring the stranger the participant is implying that they do not want the drink or to speak to them. Since they are in a bar, if the Speaker were to be confronted, they could claim that they did not hear the stranger speak to them over the music. This option was not selected by any of the non-anxious group.

Option A was the second most popular for both groups. The Speaker chooses first not to do the FTA and instead accepts the drink from the stranger then makes the FTA off-record by taking the offer at its face value and walking away with the drink. While its placement in the order of popularity is the

same between groups, it is worth noting that only 3% of non-anxious participants chose this option compared to 5.9% of anxious participants.

Option C was a bald on record rejection with no mitigation and was the least popular with the anxious group and only 1 non-anxious participant selected it.

#### 5.2.8 Question 9 - asking a stranger for help

This question asked the respondents to select how they would ask for help from a stranger in a supermarket. The interlocutors in this scenario are completely socially distant; however, it is a scenario where it is socially acceptable to ask for help. The assumption being that the asker would do the same if possible. In terms of face, the Hearer's desire to be liked would be upheld if they were to help the Speaker because the rules of social harmony dictate that one should help others. On the other hand, because of this social rule, there is pressure upon the Hearer to accept and their time and will is being impeded upon.

Option A is the option to not enact the FTA and to continue without buying the item. This option allows for the participant to not impose upon another's time.

Option B uses positive strategy 4 (in-group markers) with the casual "hi" to suggest false social closeness. This is followed by negative strategy 5 (give deference) by acting incompetent, i.e. being unable to reach the item, the Speaker is avoiding coercing compliance from the Hearer and allowing them to refuse.

For option C, the Speaker again utilises in-group markers (positive strategy 4) with the greeting 'hey' which is followed by an imperative that isn't backed up by power, thereby softening the FTA. This is further mitigated by using the imperative structure with 'grab that' but making it an interrogative with rising intonation (marked with the conventional question mark).

Option D begins as a conventionally indirect request (negative strategy 1) with 'can you' mitigated further with the colloquial phrase 'a hand' and the casual endearment 'mate' which are in-group markers (positive strategy 4) in an attempt to form a temporary social bond. By using 'a hand' they are emphasising the social bond through the use of an idiomatic phrasing to imply they need help.

<b>You need to ask a stranger to help you retrieve something from a high shelf in the supermarket? How would you ask?</b>		
<b>Answer Options</b>	<b>Response Percent</b>	<b>Response Count</b>
"Hi, please can you help me?"	62.0%	137
"Hey, grab that for me?"	0.5%	1
"Can you give me a hand, mate?"	2.7%	6
You don't ask and carry on without the item	34.8%	77
<b><i>answered question</i></b>		<b>221</b>
<b><i>skipped question</i></b>		<b>2</b>

Table 5.15: Answers from anxious participants

<b>You need to ask a stranger to help you retrieve something from a high shelf in the supermarket? How would you ask?</b>		
<b>Answer Options</b>	<b>Response Percent</b>	<b>Response Count</b>
"Hi, please can you help me?"	78.8%	52
"Hey, grab that for me?"	1.5%	1
"Can you give me a hand, mate?"	12.1%	8
You don't ask and carry on without the item	7.6%	5
<b>answered question</b>		<b>66</b>
<b>skipped question</b>		<b>2</b>

Table 5.16: Answers from non-anxious participants

For both groups, option A was the most popular with 62% of anxious participants and 78.8% of non-anxious participants selecting to use the in-group marker of the informal 'hi' (positive strategy 4) and acknowledging their own incompetence in completing the task (negative strategy 5 – give deference).

The biggest difference between the groups was with option D. For the anxious group, not enacting the FTA and leaving without the desired item was the second most popular with 34.8% of participants choosing this option. In contrast, for the non-anxious group, this option was very unpopular with only 7.6% of respondents choosing it.

The combination of a conventionally indirect request along with the use of idiomatic phrases 'give us a hand' and 'mate' in option C was the second most popular with non-anxious participants and third most popular with anxious participants. Option B was selected by only 1 person in each group and was the least popular. Due to the high number of participants selecting option A, numerically there is very little difference between the number of participants selecting these two options in each group.

### 5.2.9 Question 10 - dealing with a colleague you do not like

The final question in the survey placed the respondents back at work with a fairly low-ranking FTA, whether or not to sign a birthday card for a colleague they do not like. The question emphasised that it would be noticed if they did not sign the card; therefore, their option is whether to enact the FTA by showing disapproval by not signing the card or to avoid the FTA by signing the card. The act of signing the card also places the Hearer/card recipient in debt because they will then be expected to sign the Speaker's card for their birthday.

In option A the positive strategy 1 (attend to the Hearer's wants) and positive strategy 2 (exaggerate) are employed. By wishing them a happy birthday the Speaker is meeting the social expectations and, therefore, attending to the Hearer's wants. This is followed by exaggeration,

through the exclamation point, further birthday wishes and by ending the message with ‘love’. Rather than attending to the Hearer’s positive face, however, this exaggeration could be interpreted negatively. There is the possibility that it could be construed as disingenuous because the two are not socially close or as overcorrecting, acting too positively when it is not necessary or expected by the Hearer/recipient.

By selecting option B and not signing the card, the Speaker is expressing disapproval or criticism of the colleague by disassociating from them (a positive impoliteness strategy (Culpeper, 1996)). Signing a birthday card is a low impact social activity that does not impede much on the signer’s time. By actively choosing to not sign the card the Speaker is making their feelings known to the person receiving the card, namely that the two are not socially close. However, this act does not place the recipient in the debt of the Speaker; they are not expected to sign the respective card.

Option C utilises only positive strategy 1 (attending to the Hearer’s wants). The simple “happy birthday” without any further greeting or well-wishing is within the social requirements of card signing and attends to the recipients wants without the danger of appearing insincere as in option A. The phrasing is impersonal which highlights the social distance without drawing attention to it. Signing the card still places the recipient in debt but without the added pressure of doing more than the bare minimum.

<b>You are handed a birthday card for a colleague you don't get along with. It is a small office and the absence of your signature would be noticeable. How would you sign?</b>		
<b>Answer Options</b>	<b>Response Percent</b>	<b>Response Count</b>
You don't sign	8.6%	19
"Happy Birthday, [their name]"	69.2%	153
"Happy Birthday! Have a great day, love [your name]"	22.2%	49
<b><i>answered question</i></b>		<b>221</b>
<b><i>skipped question</i></b>		<b>2</b>

Table 5.17: Answers from anxious participants

<b>You are handed a birthday card for a colleague you don't get along with. It is a small office and the absence of your signature would be noticeable. How would you sign?</b>		
<b>Answer Options</b>	<b>Response Percent</b>	<b>Response Count</b>
You don't sign	6.1%	4
"Happy Birthday, [their name]"	69.7%	46
"Happy Birthday! Have a great day, love [your name]"	24.2%	16
<b><i>answered question</i></b>		<b>66</b>
<b><i>skipped question</i></b>		<b>2</b>

Table 5.18: Answers from non-anxious participants

For the final question, both groups chose the same options in very similar proportions.

Option B was the most popular with 69% of each group selecting this. This option employs positive strategy 1 (attend to Hearer's wants) with the societally expected and socially acceptable birthday greeting.

The second most popular option was C, with 22.2% of anxious participants and 24.2% of non-anxious participants choosing this. By combining positive strategy 1 with positive strategy 2 (exaggerate) the participants are choosing to enact the FTA in a manner that could be considered insincere by the Hearer, since both are aware of the social distance.

The least popular option was A, with 8.6% and 6.1% of the vote respectively. As with the question in section 5.2.3, this option employs a non-verbal expression of disapproval. By not signing the card, the Speaker is disassociating from the Hearer and, therefore, highlighting the unfriendly nature of the relationship through an act of impoliteness.

## 5.3 Discussion

### 5.3.1 Overview

In this chapter, I will discuss the data as it relates to research questions 2 and 3 and what the data suggests with regards to politeness strategies chosen by anxious and non-anxious participants.

5.3.2 Research questions 2 and 3 - When asked to make a selection from multiple choice politeness strategies do anxious people make difference choices to non-anxious people? If the choices between sample groups are different, in what ways do they diverge?

Overall the answers from both groups followed similar patterns, with the majority selecting the same answers for each question. However, there were some notable differences. The non-anxious group, for example, never had an off-record utterance as their top answer as opposed to the anxious group where an off-record FTA was the top selection for questions 2 and 6. In contrast, for question 6, the non-anxious group's most popular answer was a bald on record FTA and the off-record FTA was the third most popular. For question 2, the non-anxious group chose a direct request mitigated with positive politeness and the off-record FTA was the second most popular.

When comparing the number of uses of each type of strategy with the number of times it was chosen as the top selection it becomes clear that positive politeness strategies were more popular with both groups than negative politeness strategies, which correlates with the findings of the

interviews, where positive politeness strategies were used twice as much as negative politeness strategies.

When looking at the top two answers for each question by group it also becomes clear that the anxious participants have a preference for indirectness and avoiding the FTA compared to the non-anxious group. When looking at the top two answers for each question the observations below can be made:

- Bald on record FTAs were in the top two answers three times for non-anxious participants and only twice for the anxious participants.
- Off-record FTAs were in the top two answers for anxious participants three times, compared to twice for non-anxious participants.
- The anxious group had 'not doing the FTA' in their top two selections four times, but for non-anxious participants this only occurred twice.

#### 5.4 Conclusion

The results of the online survey show that there are many similarities between the strategies employed by anxious and non-anxious participants, especially with regards to positive politeness strategies being more popular than negative politeness. There are, however, some noticeable differences in the use of bald on record FTAs versus off-record FTAs and not enacting the FTA at all, with the latter being more popular with the anxious group than the non-anxious group.

In the next chapter I will discuss the overall findings of this research and opportunities for further study into anxiety and politeness.

## 6. Conclusion

### 6.1 Overview

The research question which formed the basis of this study was to determine whether anxiety played a role in the choice of politeness strategies chosen and focused on a case study of women postgraduates who took place in face-to-face interviews. Anxiety was treated as a variable in choice of politeness strategy separate to Brown and Levinson's factors of power, distance and rank.

The overall research question was broken down into four parts: whether anxious people used more positive or more negative politeness strategies in natural speech, which politeness strategies they chose when given multiple choices, whether those choices differed from non-anxious people and, if so, how these differed.

### 6.3 Discussion

For the first research question the corpus analysis of the interviews showed that the interviewees exhibited a preference for positive strategies over negative, using over double the amount of positive strategies overall, suggesting that appealing to the Hearer's positive face was more important to the interviewees than minimising impositions. The positive strategies were dominated by the need to seek agreement followed by asserting common ground. The fact that seeking agreement (positive strategy 5) was by far the most common strategy used implies a preference for emphasising camaraderie with and approval of the Hearer.

For the most part, the negative strategies were rarely employed by the interviewees; however, there was one anomaly in the pattern of choosing positive strategies over negative strategies. Negative strategy 2 (hedging) was almost as popular as the top positive strategy, being used multiple times by all 6 interviewees. This strategy far outnumbered any other negative strategy and suggested a tendency to avoid speaking with certainty alongside appealing to the Hearer's positive face.

The second and third research questions provided, for the most part, additional support for the findings of the interviews. Positive politeness was, again, the most popular among the anxious participants, with negative politeness trailing behind.

When compared to the non-anxious participants, the anxious group performed similarly but with some notable differences. The anxious group had a preference for off-record FTAs or not doing the FTA in comparison to the non-anxious group. This ties in with other non-linguistic studies of anxiety suggesting a tendency towards avoidance strategies as mentioned in chapter 2.

The success of this study also suggests a potential for further studies in this manner. While much linguistics research has been conducted using corpus linguistics, as discussed chapter 2, it is not commonplace to find quantitative studies in politeness; most modern politeness research is discursive in nature. Corpus linguistics as a methodological approach to studying politeness can highlight patterns of usage that can be confirmed with statistics in a way that qualitative descriptions cannot provide.

#### 6.4 Further research

As a case study, this research is only able to suggest patterns of use in its small sample base but supplies a potential method of study of politeness that is not commonly used, i.e. that of corpus analysis. I have chosen to use Brown and Levinson's politeness strategies as the list of features to be applied to my data; however, there are possibilities for any model of politeness to be utilised in this manner. With a larger sample group of anxious participants, further patterns of use may emerge, and a larger corpus created for a wider study.

This study was limited in its scope but provides opportunities for further research into anxiety and language use that focuses on native speakers and the impact made by anxiety or even other mental health issues. Even a quick search into language and mental health brings up multiple articles about how people speak about mental health but not how people with mental health issues use language.

## Appendices

### Appendix 1 – consent forms and participant information

#### Face-to-face interviews

**University of Huddersfield**  
**School of Music Humanities and Media**

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## **Participant Information Sheet – Face-to-face interview**

**Research Project Title:** The impact of Anxiety Disorders on the choice of politeness strategies

**Name of Researcher:** Nichola Roberts

**Contact Details of Researcher:** Nichola.Roberts@hud.ac.uk

You are being invited to take part in a research project. Before you decide, it is important for you to understand why this research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. May I take this opportunity to thank you for taking time to read this.

### **1. What is the purpose of the project?**

The research project is intended to provide the research focus for my master's degree. The purpose of the research is to discover whether people who have an anxiety disorder use language differently to those without. The research focuses on the use of politeness strategies; the way in which people use language to make requests/ask permission etc. while avoiding imposing on others or upsetting them.

### **2. Why have I been chosen?**

You have been chosen because you responded to the advert placed on Facebook/via the Student Union and have identified yourself as having an anxiety disorder.

### **3. Do I have to take part?**

Participation on this study is entirely voluntary, so please do not feel obliged to take part. Refusal will involve no penalty whatsoever and you may withdraw from the study at any stage without giving an explanation to the researcher.

### **4. What do I have to do?**

You will be invited to take part in a recorded interview which will comprise of a questionnaire and short conversation. This should take no more than 30 minutes of your time.

### **5. Are there any disadvantages to taking part?**

There should be no foreseeable disadvantages to your participation. If you are unhappy or have further questions at any stage in the process, please address your concerns initially to the researcher if this is appropriate. Alternatively, please contact Professor M. Adkins ([m.adkins@hud.ac.uk](mailto:m.adkins@hud.ac.uk)) at the School of Music, Humanities and Media, University of Huddersfield.

### **6. Will all my details be kept confidential?**

All information which is collected will be strictly confidential and anonymised before the data is presented in any work, in compliance with the Data Protection Act and ethical research guidelines and principles.

**7. What will happen to the results of the research study?**

The results of this research will be written up for a master's degree dissertation. If you would like a copy please contact the researcher.

**8. What happens to the data collected?**

Both the answers to the interview questions and the interview itself will be recorded. The audio recordings will be transcribed and relevant data from the spoken interaction will be presented as part of the dissertation.

**9. Will I be paid for participating in the research?**

No, but refreshments/snacks will be available at request.

**10. Where will the research be conducted?**

The research can take place on university campus, in a public place of your choosing or a café in the town centre. Please pick a public place where you would be most comfortable and least anxious.

**11. Criminal Records check (if applicable)**

N/A

**12. Who has reviewed and approved the study, and who can be contacted for further information?**

Professor Daniel Kadar: [d.z.kadar@hud.ac.uk](mailto:d.z.kadar@hud.ac.uk)

**Participant Consent Form (E4)**

**Title of Research Study:** The impact of Anxiety Disorders on the choice of politeness strategies

**Name of Researcher:** Nichola Roberts

**Participant Identifier Number:**

- I confirm that I have read and understood the participant Information sheet related to this research, and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
  
- I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason.
  
- I understand that all my responses will be anonymised.
  
- I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses.
  
- I agree to take part in the above study

**Name of Participant:**

**Signature of Participant:**

**Date:**

**Name of Researcher:** Nichola Roberts

**Signature of Researcher:**

**Date:**

## **Participant Information Sheet – Online Survey**

**Research Project Title:** The impact of Anxiety Disorders on the choice of politeness strategies

**Name of Researcher:** Nichola Roberts

**Contact Details of Researcher:** Nichola.Roberts@hud.ac.uk

You are being invited to take part in a research project. Before you decide, it is important for you to understand why this research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. May I take this opportunity to thank you for taking time to read this.

### **1. What is the purpose of the project?**

The research project is intended to provide the research focus for my master's degree. The purpose of the research is to discover whether people who have an anxiety disorder use language differently to those without. The research focuses on the use of politeness strategies; the way in which people use language to make requests/ask permission etc while avoiding imposing on others or upsetting them.

### **2. Why have I been chosen?**

N/A

### **3. Do I have to take part?**

Participation on this study is entirely voluntary, so please do not feel obliged to take part. Refusal will involve no penalty whatsoever and you may withdraw from the study at any stage without giving an explanation to the researcher.

### **4. What do I have to do?**

You will be invited to take part in a questionnaire. This should take no more than 10 minutes of your time.

### **5. Are there any disadvantages to taking part?**

There should be no foreseeable disadvantages to your participation. If you are unhappy or have further questions at any stage in the process, please address your concerns initially to the researcher if this is appropriate. Alternatively, please contact Professor M. Adkins ([m.adkins@hud.ac.uk](mailto:m.adkins@hud.ac.uk)) at the School of Music, Humanities and Media, University of Huddersfield.

### **6. Will all my details be kept confidential?**

All information which is collected will be strictly confidential and anonymised before the data is presented in any work, in compliance with the Data Protection Act and ethical research guidelines and principles.

### **7. What will happen to the results of the research study?**

The results of this research will be written up for a master's degree dissertation. If you would like a copy please contact the researcher.

**8. What happens to the data collected?**

Your answers will be analysed in comparison to others' answers and results will be presented as part of the master's dissertation.

**9. Will I be paid for participating in the research?**

N/A

**10. Where will the research be conducted?**

N/A

**11. Criminal Records check (if applicable)**

N/A

**12. Who has reviewed and approved the study, and who can be contacted for further information?**

Professor Daniel Kadar: [d.z.kadar@hud.ac.uk](mailto:d.z.kadar@hud.ac.uk)

## Appendix 2 – List of tags

Politeness strategy: <pol>

Bald on record <pol type = "bald">

Positive <pos>

Notice/attend to hearer's wants = 1 <pol type = "pos" strategy = "1">

Exaggerate interest/approval/sympathy in/of hearer = 2 <pol type = "pos" strategy = "2">

Intensify interest = 3 <pol type = "pos" strategy = "3">

Ingroup identity markers = 4 <pol type = "pos" strategy = "4">

Seek agreement = 5 <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5">

Avoid disagreement = 6 <pol type = "pos" strategy = "6">

Presuppose/assert common ground = 7 <pol type = "pos" strategy = "7">

Joke = 8 <pol type = "pos" strategy = "8">

Assert knowledge of Hearer's wants = 9 <pol type = "pos" strategy = "9">

Offer/promise = 10 <pol type = "pos" strategy = "10">

Be optimistic & reduce degree of imposition = 11 <pol type = "pos" strategy = "11">

Include speaker and hearer in activity = 12 <pol type = "pos" strategy = "12">

Give or ask for reasons = 13 <pol type = "pos" strategy = "13">

Assume/assert reciprocity = 14 <pol type = "pos" strategy = "14">

Give gift – sympathy/compliments = 15 <pol type = "pos" strategy = "15">

Negative politeness <neg>

Conventionally indirect = 1 <pol type = "neg" strategy = "1">

Question/hedge = 2 <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2">

Be pessimistic = 3 <pol type = "neg" strategy = "3">

Minimize imposition = 4 <pol type = "neg" strategy = "4">

Give deference = 5 <pol type = "neg" strategy = "5">

Apologise = 6 <pol type = "neg" strategy = "6">

Impersonalise = 7 <pol type = "neg" strategy = "7">

State FTA as general rule = 8 <pol type = "neg" strategy = "8">

Nominalise = 9 <pol type = "neg" strategy = "9">

Go on record as incurring a debt = 10 <pol type = "neg" strategy = "10">

Off-record <OFF-REC> <pol type = "off rec">

### Appendix 3 – Face-to-face interview transcriptions with annotation

AE19

A: Uhm (.) so (1) can I ask what you do at the uni

B: <pol type = "bald"> yes </pol> (.) I'm a (.) masters by research in /subject/

A: mmm interesting don't know anything about that ((laughs))

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> haha </pol> (.) <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> uhm well I am currently uh waiting for ethical approval so </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "8"> can't say so much </pol>

A: no

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> but I've started writing as well </pol>

A: did you start this year then are you first or

B: <pol type = "bald"> yes two thousand and sixteen that peer group </pol>

A: fun (.) so did you understand everything on the

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> I think so yes </pol>

A: anything you need clarifying or...

B: <pol type = "bald"> no </pol>

A: excellent (.) uhm the first part is we've just got uhm a survey to do can I just get the pen back

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "15"> no sure </pol>

A: uhm I've done a copy for you as well but I will I'll read them out to you as well so you

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "6"> uh just so you know </pol> <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> I've got quite a complex disorder it's not just anxiety that I suffer from </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "bald"> it's /disorder/ as well </pol> <pol type = "neg" strategy = "4"> just so you're aware that </pol>

A: no that's fine

B: <pol type = "bald"> I'm currently what I would classify as well </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "4"> just so you're aware </pol>

A: no that's fine

B: (muffled)

A: if you can just answer with whichever is closest to how you would actually respond in the situation

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "15"> right ok </pol>

A: so

B: <pol type = "bald"> oh you're going to read them out </pol>

A: yeah (.) so you're in a room with several friends and acquaintances due to the large number of people the room has become too warm (.) pick the option closest to how you would ask for the window to be opened (.) a can I open the window (.) b please can you open the window (.) c it's a bit hot in here and may be accompanied by fanning yourself or taking jumper off or something or d say nothing assume someone else will open the window.

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> (10) uhm (1.5) </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "15"> it wouldn't bother me so I'd do </pol> d

A: D

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "4"> yeah </pol>

A: ok

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "15"> because it wouldn't bother me </pol>

A: fair enough

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> I quite like warm rooms </pol>

A: fair enough

B: Usually somebody else uhm

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "8"> suffers (incomprehensible) ((laughs)) </pol>

A: ((laughs)) get that a lot at work no one is ever the right temperature they want (.) air con wars are the best ((laughs)) uhm (.) you are friendly with a work colleague but you hold a higher position within the business you need to organise a meeting between the two of you which do you find to be the most appropriate (.5) a dear Mr Miss Mrs employees surname your attendance is required at a meeting at 3pm on Thursday in boardroom 2 please respond as soon as possible if you not able to attend (.) b send a meeting request via the business email application with no explanation or greeting c hi employee's first name please can we have a meeting on the third at about 3 let me know if you can't make it and I'll rearrange (.) or d hey employee's nickname meeting on Thursday about three-ish ok seeya with a kiss

B: <pol type = "bald"> no-not d</pol> <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> (3.5) uhm </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> ((rereads answers to self)) </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "2"> now this is interesting > <pol type = "off rec"> 'cause uhm it depends where you are with it is it the initial session or second session or third session </pol>

A: uh the first

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> the initial meeting </pol> <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> so I'd probably do a </pol>

A: a ok

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> because I'd then send a meeting (.) from experience </pol>

A: mmm

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> if it's a routine schedule </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "7"> you might send because with a meeting request you can put something but you to say something more detailed you might (.) do more informal </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "15"> but the in-initial one I'd address dear and wait for their response back see if they're open to being at less </pol> (.)<pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> but the interesting thing about that is ac-grammatically letter writing length </pol> <pol type = "neg" strategy = "8"> you address it dear it's to be sincerely </pol> <pol type = "neg" strategy = "7"> people find that quite formal </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> I think it's is it dear it's dear sir or madam (.) </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "6"> oh no yeah </pol> <pol type = "neg" strategy = "8"> it's dear sir or madam sincerely that's how you remember it and faithfully is the other </pol>

A: if you have a name

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah that's got that's got a rule against it as well that's why I always do sincerely </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "8"> that's when you don't know when it's more formal </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> that's the rule I was learnt when I was (.) but I don't whether it's still </pol>

A: I don't know

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "15"> it's quite interesting question that </pol>

A: I tend to do kind regards at work

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yes yeah </pol>

A: 'cause it covers everything

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yes yes </pol>

A: just so I'm doing the right one just don't do it

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah </pol>

A: every email I think uhm (.) number 3 you are handed a birthday card for a colleague you don't get along with it's a small office and the absence of your signature would be noticeable how would you sign (.) a you don't sign b happy birthday and then your name or c happy birthday have a great day love your name

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> (6) hm I'd say b </pol>

A: ok (1) 4 you need to ask a stranger to help r-to help you retrieve something from a high shelf in a supermarket how would you ask is it a high please can you help me (.) b hey grab that for me (.) c give us a hand mate or similar idiom type or uh d you don't ask and do without the item

B: <pol type = "bald"> (3) a </pol>

A: k (.) a close older family member has been stating some political opinions you strongly disagree with and you're upset how do address the issue (.) you don't want to upset anyone so you don't say anything (.) you take them to one side and say can I speak to about this I feel upset (.) c are you serious you're obviously wrong about this (.) d ask another family member to speak to them or e refuse to speak to them until they apologise

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> (5) hm (4) </pol> <pol type = "bald"> well I definitely wouldn't say they were wrong </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "7"> 'cause you never know do you (.) uh don't matter a a a an angle that you never rationalised in your head </pol> uhm ask another family me-t- mm <pol type = "neg" strategy = "7"> well you're not getting anything from that </pol> (.) refuse to speak to them <pol type = "bald"> that's not very good </pol> said something you strongly disagree with and you are upset strongly disagree with I wouldn't stop strongly dis- (.) <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> I'd say b </pol>

A: b ok

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> I'd probably be more I'd probably it probably wouldn't be to one side it'd be on a face-to-face basis one-to-one basis </pol>

A: yep alright (.) you've rung a clothing company several times to track a later order each time they've given you very little information on the status of your order and no explanation for the delay (.) how do you begin the fifth call (.) a hello my name is blank I have called you four times now and you've failed to give me a satisfactory answer (.) b hello my name is (.) and my order number is blah blah please can you tell me the status of my order (.) c you don't call or d hi can you put me through to your complaints department

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> hmm (13) </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "1"> well I'm glad you've got an order number 'cause that'd be you know the first question </pol> <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> (1) I'd probably say mmm (.) </pol> I <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> how'd you begin the fifth call </pol> <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> ok I'd probably ask for to go through to the complaints department </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "15"> 'cause I still haven't received it and this is the fifth time that </pol>

A: yeah (.) alright

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah </pol>

A: You're men- yeah

B: (indecipherable)

A: you're mentioned in a Facebook post about a possible social event that you can't attend (.) how do you reply (.) a no can do sorry (.) b you don't reply at all c sorry I have other plans or d I'd love to but I can't that day

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> (16) a Facebook probably not reply </pol>

A: fine ok

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> 'cause I think people sometimes assume a response is an ok depends because at the moment I'm not going </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "8"> I said that I wouldn't go on until my hair was ghost white </pol>

A: fair enough

B: <pol type = "bald"> I wouldn't respond on it </pol>

A: no I don't use it very often either

B: (indecipherable) <pol type = "pos" strategy = "15"> it's an interesting one </pol>

A: yeah (.) your boss calls you into an unexpected meeting at very short notice (.) you do not know what the meeting is about and you do often interact with your boss on a one to one basis (.) which of these is the most appropriate to open the conversation with (.) a hello you asked to see me may I ask what is what is this concerning (.) b hi you asked to see me do not ask about the purpose of the meeting c hi but say nothing further until they have spoken or d hey so what's all this about

B: <pol type = "bald"> (13) c </pol>

A: c (.)

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> These are all uhm (1) initial responses (.) in the situation you have no idea </pol>

A: just guess I think

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah </pol>

A: whatever fits best to what you think you would do (.) and last one (.) you are waiting to be served at a bar when stranger steps in next to you and offers to buy you a drink you have a bad feeling about the person and do not want the drink how would you respond (.) a accept the offer but take the drink elsewhere b say no thank you and say nothing more even if they offer again c no or d ignore them completely

B: <pol type = "bald"> (9) d </pol>

A: d (.) ok (.) thank you for that ((paper shuffling)) so do you feel like uhm your anxiety does affect the language that you use with people like how you con-talk to people

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> mmm I suppose sometimes </pol> <pol type = "neg" strategy = "7"> you're more I-uhm polite or more abrupt rather than maybe getting a direct assertive phrase out (.) sometimes you can s-sometimes you can question yourself a little bit more about your assertiveness </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> it's like </pol> I used to do assertive courses

A: oh yeah I did one of those I think

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah (1) yeah (.) </pol> <pol type = "neg" strategy = "7"> so it's how you approach it whether you're uh </pol> <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> 'cause obviously I've got uh other associated disabilities 'cause it's associated with a memory impairment </pol>

A: oh right

B: > <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> and that's to do with responses (1) </pol>

A: right

B: so any assertive techn-training is good

A: oh right

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah </pol>

A: I did it once and found it kind awkward ((laughs))

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah yeah </pol>

A: it was a bit like oh I don't wanna be assertive to people

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah (.) yeah </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "7"> it's i-i-it's a 'cause they talk about getting your (2) being able to get </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> y-yeah it's difficult </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah (1) yeah I see your point </pol> (.) <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> 'cause I think they were saying that I the bit I can remember </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "3"> is feelings how to get feelings across and that's difficult isn't it </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "7"> and how do you get that across certainly </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> just how to articulate </pol>

A: yeah no I know what you mean

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah </pol>

A: I guess it's (.) I dunno it's just one them things like you've got to do this but I think what I want to do is stay quiet at the back not bother anyone

B: <pol type = "bald"> mmm that's not sometimes I I'm quiet for other reasons </pol> <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> 'cause I'm not well ((coughs)) 'scuse me I've got a tickly throat that's just (indecipherable) </pol>

A: yeah (.) well that's

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "3"> all that working ha if I'm concentrating on something I'm not concentrating anything else </pol>

A: yeah (.) no that's fine uhm so (.) the last is I did print out some mental health resources res-  
resources

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah </pol>

A: in Kirklees I mean you might already know about them but uh I did and if you do want to  
withdraw at any date from the study if you just email with this code

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "4"> cool </pol>

A: that'll identify you so I can remove your data

B: <pol type = "bald"> right no you're fine </pol>

AG13

A: yeah hang on (.) so you had a good day or

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah it's been ok </pol>

A: good good you been on in uni all day or working or what

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "6"> uhm no just came in got some books out my mother's in town  
she wanted to come shopping </pol>

A: good

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> she doesn't come to Huddersfield very often </pol>

A: alright (.) uhm can I ask what it is you're studying just

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> uh I'm uh MA res in uhm (.) it's in uhm /subject/ basically uh  
(1.5) the simplest way to put it </pol>

A: cool

B: /details of subject topic/

A: wow I know nothing about /subject/

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "1"> not a lot of people do </pol> <pol type = "neg" strategy = "5"> I  
can't claim to know much myself </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "8"> ((laughs)) </pol>

A: so I've got a lot of people I've been interviewing've been like oh I do music I do art I'm like just  
jealous 'cause I don't know any of that

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "5"> well I don't know any of this so </pol>

A: fine

B: (indecipherable)

A: uhm was there anything you needed clarifying or

B: <pol type = "bald"> no </pol>

A: did it all make sense

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah </pol>

A: good uh you don't have any questions or

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> not really </pol>

A: ok uh the first part I've got is just a survey uhm I'll read them out to you but I've got uhm so you can keep up with it as well (.) and if you just answer with whatever's closest to what you think you would do in in the situation

B: <pol type = "bald"> ok </pol>

A: even if it's made up uhm so uhm you're in a room with several friends and acquaintances due to the large number of people the room has become too warm pick the option closest to how you would ask for the window to be opened (.) a can I open the window (.) b please can you open the window (.) c it's a bit hot in here and may be uhm accompanied by fanning yourself or taking your jumper off or d say nothing and assume someone else will open the window

B: <pol type = "bald"> (2) d </pol>

A: ok (.) you're f- you're friendly with a work colleague but you hold a higher position within the business you need to organise a meeting between the two of you which do you find to be the most appropriate (.) a dear mr miss mrs your attendance is required at a meeting at 3pm on Thursday in boardroom 2 please respond as soon as possible if you're not able to attend (.) b send a meeting request via the business email application with no explanation or greeting (.) c hi employee's first name please can we have a meeting on the third at about 3 let me know if you can't make it and I'll rearrange or d hey employee's nickname meeting on Thursday about 3ish ok see ya with a kiss

B: <pol type = "bald"> a </pol>

A: A ok (.) you're handed a birthday card for a colleague you don't get along with it's a small office and the absence of your signature would be noticeable how would you sign (.) a you don't sign b happy birthday and their name c happy birthday have a great day love your name

B: <pol type = "bald"> b </pol>

A: B (2) you need to ask a stranger to help you retrieve something from a high shelf in the supermarket how would you ask (.) a hi please can you help me (.) b hey grab that for me c give us a hand mate or similar or d you don't ask and do without the item

B: <pol type = "bald"> d </pol>

A: ok (.) a close older family member has been stating some political opinions you strongly disagree with and you're upset how do address the issue (.) a you don't wanna upset anyone so you don't say anything (.) b you take them to one side and say can I speak to you about this I feel upset (.) c are you serious you're obviously wrong about this d ask another family member to speak to them or e refuse to speak to them until they apologise

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> hmm (1) uhm I'm not very political probably b </pol>

A: B ok (1) you've rung a clothing company several times to track a late order each time they have given you very little information on the status of your order and no explanation for the delay how do you begin the fifth call (.) a hello my name is blank I've called you four times now and you've- you have failed to give me a satisfactory answer (.) b hello my name is blank my order number is blah

blah please can you give me the status of my order (.) c you don't call or d hi can you put me through to your complaints department

B: <pol type = "bald"> b </pol>

A: B (1.5) ok (.) just a few more (.) you're mentioned in a Facebook post about a possible social event you can't attend how do you reply (.) a no can do sorry b don't reply at all (.) c sorry I have other plans or d I'd love to but I can't that day

B: <pol type = "bald"> a </pol>

A: (2) your boss calls you into an unexpected meeting at very short notice you do not know what the meeting is about and you do not often interact with your boss on a one to one basis which of these is most appropriate to open the conversation with (.) a hello you asked to see me may I ask what this is com-concerning (.) hi you asked to see me do not ask about the purpose of the meeting (.) c hi but say nothing further until they have spoken or d hey so what's all this about

B: <pol type = "bald"> b </pol>

A: B and last one you're waiting to be served at a bar when a stranger steps in next to you and offers to buy you a drink you have a bad feeling about the person and do not want the drink how would you respond (.) a accept the offer but take the drink elsewhere (.) b no thank you and say nothing more even if they offer again (.) c no or d ignore them completely

B: <pol type = "bald"> b </pol>

A: B ok (.) thank you for that so do you feel like (.) having anxiety does affect the language that you use with people or

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "6"> uhm it affects how much I talk not which words I use </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> uhm I (.) in my friend group I'm the only who went to university and obviously I don't mean to imply like uhm I have a better language ability than they do </pol>

A: yeah no

B: <pol type = "bald"> but I know more of the proper way I do and I use it more </pol> <pol type = "neg" strategy = "5"> 'cause I know it uhm so it affects how much I talk about 'cause I know I get on their nerves sometimes </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "6"> when I start particularly when I start on my project </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> 'cause uhm I know you don't really see many people and we don't really talk as much and yeah </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "7"> basically any social contact you get you sort of grab at </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "8"> rant about ((laughs)) </pol>

A: that's true I never see anyone 'cause I'm at work four out of five days of the week then I'm at home just like writing

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> no so I don't have any studio space here so I know I make do at home </pol> <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> uhm I will hopefully get some in the summer </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> and then hopefully I'll see people </pol>

A: yeah

B: ((indecipherable))

A: I don't really know anyone it's a bit (.) I m- I I I just I personally I feel a bit weird coming on to campus and just like I'm gonna make friends with people

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah </pol>

A: I don't do any of that

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah I know uh the only people I know uh are the ones that have come from the BA that I've done </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> to the MA now uhm but I only see them uh once a month in the PGR room so yeah </pol>

A: so (.) do you feel like it affects anything negatively like whether you like avoid talking to people or just

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> uhm I avoid subjects uhm like I don't do politics uh </pol> <pol type = "neg" strategy = "5"> it's completely above me but uh my brother's obsessed </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "7"> he did journalism at university and so he's he's the same he'll bring up topics he's very interested in </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "7"> well known about and we tried to have debates but they generally end in arguments so I've found that it sc-that certain topics nowadays </pol>

B: yeah

A: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> like anything to do with my project anything to do with h-anything to do with his work and and anything to do with politics or news in general </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "8"> I just skip it all and mainly talk about the weather that's about it ((laughs)) </pol>

A: that's what brothers are for arguing

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> ((laughs)) true </pol>

A: is he older than you or younger

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah he's uhm he's the oldest </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> I have another brother that's older too and they're about the same </pol>

A: yeah I have an older brother and you're just like ugh I can't be bothered with you

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "7"> just stay out the way </pol>

A: just shush

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> ((laughs)) </pol>

A: yeah uhm

AN13

A: Think it's working (.) so how're you had a nice day

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah yeah good ta </pol>

A: good

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> you </pol>

A: uh yeah been at work

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> same </pol>

A: always fun uhm (.) so (.) can I ask what you're studying at uni just

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> yes I'm in the first year of doing a a part time uh masters by research in /subject/ </pol>

A: oh /subject/ I'm not good at /subject/ so ((laughs))

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "5"> not convinced I am </pol>

A: I'm sure you're fine you got in to do a masters

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah ((laughs)) </pol>

A: so that's fine

B: the course I did

A: uh right was there anything you needed uh (1) confirming like did you understand everything that I sent over

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "6"> yeah no yeah </pol>

A: good uh and you don't have any questions or anything great uhm the first thing we're gonna do is there is a survey I'll read them to you but I've also got a copy for you to just (1) so you can read along so (2) number 1 if you just answer (.) however's closest to what you think you would use

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> ok </pol>

A: in an everyday situation (.) so 1 you're in a room with several friends and acquaintances due to the large number of people the room has become too warm pick the option closest to how would you ask for the window to be opened (.) a can I open the window (.) b please can you open the window c say it's a bit hot in here and maybe fan yourself or take a jumper off or d say nothing and assume someone else will open the window

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> (1) uhm (1) probably c </pol>

A: (.5) ok (1) you're friendly with a work colleague but you hold a higher p-higher position within the business you need to organise a meeting between the two of you which do you find to be the most appropriate (.) a dear mr miss mrs your attendance is required at a meeting at 3pm on Thursday in board room 2 please respond as soon as possible if you're not able to attend (.) b send a meeting request via the business email application with no explanation or greeting (.) c hi employee's first name please can we have a meeting on the 3<sup>rd</sup> at about 3 let me know if you can't make it and I'll rearrange or d hey employee's nickname meeting on Thursday about 3ish ok seeya with a kiss

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> uh </pol> <pol type = "bald"> friendly c </pol>

A: c ok (.) you are handed a birthday cake for a colleague you don't get along with it's a small office and the absence of your signature will be noticeable how would you sign (.) a you don't sign b happy birthday and their name c happy birthday have a great day love your name

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "8"> c ((laughs)) </pol>

A: ok (1) you need to ask a stranger to help you retrieve something from a high shelf in the supermarket how would you ask (.) a hi please can you help me (.) b hey grab that for me (.) give us a hand mate or d you don't ask and do without the item

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> uhm a </pol>

A: a (1) right (.) a close older family member been stating some political opinions you strongly disagree with and you are upset how do you address the issue (.) a you don't wanna upset anyone so you don't say anything (.) b you take them to one side and say can I speak to you about this I feel I'm upset whatever (.) c are you serious you're obviously wrong about this (.) d ask another family member to speak to them or e refuse to speak to them until they apologise

B: <pol type = "bald"> (.5) a </pol>

A: (2) you've rung a clothing company several times to track a late order each time they've given you very little information on the status of your order and no explanation for the delay how do you begin the fifth call (.) hello my name is blank I have called you four times now and you've failed to give me a satisfactory answer (.) b hello my name is blank and my order name is blah blah please can you give me the status of my order c you don't call or d hi can you put me through to your complaints department

B: <pol type = "bald"> a </pol>

A: a (3) just a few more (.) you're mentioned in a Facebook post about a possible social event that you can't attend how do you reply (.) a no can do sorry (.) b don't reply at all (.) c sorry I have other plans or d I'd love to but I can't that day

B: <pol type = "bald"> (.5) d </pol>

A: (1.5) your boss calls you into an unexpected meeting at very short notice you do not know what the meeting is about and you don't often interact with your boss on a one to one basis which of these is most appropriate to open the conversation with (.) a hello you asked to see me may I ask what this is concerning (.) b hi you asked to see me do not ask about the purpose of the meeting (.) c hi but say nothing further until they have spoken or d hey so what's all this about

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> uh b </pol>

A: (1.5) uh last one you're waiting to be served at a bar when a stranger steps in next to you and offers to buy you a drink you have a bad feeling about the person and do not want the drink how would you respond (.) a accept the offer but take the drink elsewhere (.) b s-say no thank you and say nothing more even if they offer again (.) c just a plain no or d ignore them completely

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> (1.5) uh (2) oh I don't know </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "8"> (2) depends how drunk I am ((laughs)) </pol> <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> uhm (1) if I was like drunk or like feeling bold then probably just take the drink and walk away </pol>

A: right

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "15"> but anything less I'd just say no thank you </pol>

A: ok I'll put both I'll put a if drunk ((laughs)) that's fine

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "7"> you know what I mean don't you </pol>

A: yeah I've been oh yeah I'll have a drink and then walk away I've done that ((laughs)) yeah sure it's fine

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah </pol>

A: right thank you for that

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "15"> do you want these </pol>

A: uh yeah thanks I'm running out of ink for my printer (.) so uhm do you feel like having anxiety does mean you use language differently to other people do you notice an effect that it has

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> uhm (1.5) yeah I think so </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "7"> I think you're a bit like hi sorry to bother you but whereas other people uhm go in a bit more (.) bold as brass </pol>

A: yeah

B: : <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> uhm also like </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "7"> obviously you know having like a supervisor you have quite a close relationship with and I'll always send her email and say hi /name/ and I'll like write what the body of my email and it'll be many thanks /name/ she'll reply like great seeya then smiley face do you know what I mean </pol>

A: yeah I'm the same

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "7"> and then the next time I'll always like do a formal email like layout first because of the whole like professional relationship I suppose but in that way yeah </pol>

A: yeah I think I do the same he always he comes back with thanks D not even his full name I'm like hi Daniel bleh bleh bleh ((laughs))

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> ((laughs)) </pol>

A: but can't bring yourself to do it

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah I'm the same </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "3"> I'll like proofread like four times for like punctuation and everything and she'll like shorten words and </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "3"> she doesn't care she's great </pol>

A: well yeah there's at least I know what you mean just like oh I'm just gonna write really formally and just wanna be like they're higher than me even though they treat you like you're not 'cause obviously it's it's like being in school I think

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah </pol>

A: still treat it that way

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "15"> 'cause like I know I'm straight from school to sixth form to undergrad to masters I haven't had that break whereas a lot of people I think if they'd have had their like professional relationships and careers before doing their post grads I think they probably act a bit more on par </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "7"> but coming straight through education I think you just you do you go into uh overdrive </pol>

A: yeah I mean I had five years between uni and masters but yeah I'm still the same though ((laughs)) I'm like you're just higher than me

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "6"> yeah </pol>

A: maybe it's where I work though 'cause it's a bit like that you can't

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "7"> where do you work </pol>

A: uhm I work out in Fenay Bridge it's very serious and there all very like they make you wear work clothes even though I never see clients so I'm just sat in an office all day why do I have to wear a shirt

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> ((laughs)) </pol>

A: yeah it's very formal there so it carries over to coming back to uni and like

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah </pol>

A: dear professor blah di blah at the beginning and he's like you can call me Daniel I'm like ok feel weird about it but ok

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "15"> I know yeah </pol>

A: (1) do you think it's something impacts you negatively like around friends and stuff or

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "6"> I don't think so because with my close friends (1) so I'm quite black and white I don't have much of like a grey area so if I don't know someone I'm very (.) like (.5) uber polite </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "6"> very like oh sorry sorry to bother you blah blah blah but with my friends if we're 'cause I don't tend to carry sort of peripheral friends I like my close friends and I'm just as like blunt with them as I am in my own head </pol>

A: yeah just like

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "6"> yeah I don't think it impacts me as negatively I just think I'm (.) on first meeting I'm you know say I was asking someone to reach something for me </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> I think I'm like too nice about it </pol>

A: yeah even though it's only like a tiny favour you're asking someone you're like oh could you do this I'm really sorry

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah </pol>

A: you're like

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "15"> everyone 'cause I'm a I'm a musician like (.) I have had lessons for three different instruments over the years and all every single teacher I've ever had has always said stop saying sorry it's fine I was like oh sorry when I play a wrong note they're there to teach me to help me and I still can't still apologise as if I'm doing them a favour </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "15"> all the time </pol>

ES02

A: there we go (.) how you doing

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> I'm alright </pol>

A: good

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "4"> cheers </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> are you </pol>

A: yeah I've had a weird morning running to Tesco and getting back like Mum don't ring now

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> ((laughs)) </pol>

A: I've got to do things I have to leave (.) uhm so uh before we start is there anything that you need clarifying or

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> uhm no I don't think so </pol> <pol type = "neg" strategy = "10"> thank you </pol>

A: ok (.) uhm the first thing I wanna do is there's a survey to do uhm I-I've I've got a copy for you but I'll read the questions out

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> right </pol>

A: as well //mumbling// ok

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah </pol>

A: and just answer however you would whatever's closest to how you would actually respond

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah </pol>

A: in the situation (.) so the first one is uh you're in a room with several friends and acquaintances (.) due to the large number of people the room has become too warm (.) pick the option closest to how you would ask for the window to be opened (.) a can I open the window b please can you open the window (.) c it's a bit hot in here may be accompanied by fanning yourself or other cooling techniques or d say nothing assume someone else will open the window

B: (.) <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> uhm probably b </pol>

A: b thank you (.) uhm you are friendly with a work colleague but you hold a higher position within the business you need to organise a meeting between the two of you which do you find to be most appropriate (.) a dear mr miss mrs employee surname your attendance is required at a meeting at 3pm on Thursday in board room 2 please respond as soon as possible if you are not able to attend (.) b send a meeting request via the business email application with no explanation or greeting (.) c hi employees first name please can we have a meeting on the third at about 3 let me know if you can't make it and I'll rearrange or d hey employees nickname meeting on Thursday about 3 ish ok seeya with a kiss

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> (.) uh c </pol>

A: c (.) ok (1) 3 you are handed a birthday card for a colleague you don't get along with it is a small office and the absence of your signature would be noticeable how would you sign (.) a you don't sign b happy birthday their name or c happy birthday have a great day love your name

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> uh b </pol>

A: b (.5) you need to ask a stranger to help you retrieve something from a high shelf in the supermarket how would you ask a hi please can you gr-help me (.) b hey hi (.) hey grab that for me (.) c give us a hand mate or other colloquialism d you don't ask and do without the item

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> (.5) probably d </pol>

A: d ok (.) uhm a close older family member has been stating some political opinions you strongly disagree with and you are upset how do you address the issue (.) a you don't want to upset anyone so you don't say anything (.) b you take them to one side say can I speak to you about this I feel (.) I'm upset (.) c are you serious you're obviously wrong about this d ask another family member to speak to them or e refuse to speak to them until they apologise

B: <pol type = "bald"> a </pol>

A: a (.) you have rung a clothing company several times to track a late order each time they have given you very little information on the status of your order and no explanation for the delay how do you begin the fifth call (.) a hello my name is blank I've called you 4 times now and you have failed to give me a satisfactory answer (.) b hello my name is blank and my order number is blah-de-blah

please can you tell me the status of my order c you don't call or d hi can you put me through to your complaints department

B: <pol type = "bald"> (1) b </pol>

A: (.5) b (.5) just the last few (.) you are mentioned in a Facebook post about a possible social even that you can't attend how do you reply (.) a no can do sorry (.) b don't reply at all c sorry I have other plans or d I'd love to but I can't that day

B: <pol type = "bald"> (.) d </pol>

A: d (.) your boss calls you into an unexpected meeting at very short notice you do not know what the meeting is about and you do not o-often interact with your boss on a one-to-one basis which of these is most appropriate to open the conversation with (.) a hello you asked to see me may I ask what is this concerning (.) b hi you asked to see me do not ask about the purpose of the meeting (.) c hi but say nothing further until they have spoken or d hey so what's all this about

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> uh b </pol>

A: b (.) and last one you are waiting to served at a bar when a stranger steps in next to you and offers to buy you a drink you have a bad feeling about the person and do not want the drink how would you respond (.) a accept the offer but take the drink elsewhere (.) b say no-no thank you and then say nothing more even if they offer again c no or d ignore them completely

B: <pol type = "bald"> b </pol>

A: b (.) that's it thank you (.) so uhm do you feel like having anxiety does affect the language that you use with people or

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> yeah I think I'm probably (.) uhm (.) </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "15"> try more to think about how they might respond to the language and try and change it to that so if I feel like I'm imposing on someone I'll make a really big deal out of saying I'm sorry about this but </pol>

A: yeah you're more aware of what they of what you think that they

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "6"> yeah I mean like second guessing how they're gonna take what you're saying </pol> <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> so or like sometimes if it's talking to a stranger I just probably wouldn't do it I find it really difficult to do stuff like that </pol>

A: yeah same I'm just like sit in silence

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "8"> ((laughs)) I just wanna go over there </pol>

A: ((laughs))

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> yeah uhm (.5) I think it's sort of easier on emails and stuff than it is in person </pol>

A: oh definitely I mean I'm the same I'd rather text a friend than like speak on the phone or something or

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah yeah phone calls are awful 'cause you don't have those facial expressions either so </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> uhm </pol>

A: I think my mum is the only person I speak to on the phone if one of my friends rung me I'd be like why are you ringing me this is weird

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> ((laughs)) once I've done it a few times it's ok but like I've got to ring people at work quite a lot and I find that quite difficult </pol>

A: yeah me too it's getting when they started doing that at work and I was just like I hate this I was shaking and just like I don't want to do it and then you get used to it but

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah what do you do </pol>

A: uhm I work in admin but you have to like ring people and be like hey we've got your paperwork but it's not quite right and you're just like it was very scary at first

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah </pol>

A: but you realise that you know more than them and you feel a bit better about it then like

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah I've got to uhm ring people asking for money </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "8"> ((laughs)) </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> like credit control </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "3"> uhm so that's that's a nightmare 'cause they don't wanna pay </pol>

A: no no

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "8"> like hi how are you it's a lovely sunny day today isn't it </pol>

A: give me money

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> and I never say like you owe us this money I'd probably say uhm did you get the statement I sent through or </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "3"> I'm just calling to see where we're at with the account and I know where we're at with the account it's you owe us three grand but </pol>

A: yeah you've gotta give them the

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah </pol>

A: oh wow I don't think I could do that asking for money

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "6"> no well it's a weird job </pol> <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> I kind of ended up doing I started off just doing like a little bit of paperwork and sending orders out but then I've ended up being PA and doing everything </pol>

A: yeah no I did yeah just data entry oh now can you ring people as well and like oh do I have to

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "7"> yeah suddenly your stock despatch accounts </pol>

A: and one of my first phone calls someone yelled at me and I was

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "2"> aww </pol>

A: I was just like why is this happening why are you so mean to me and I had to like walk away I was like just gonna go cry in the toilet

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "2"> ooohhh </pol>

A: it was horrible you get used to it but yeah you do have this thing beforehand just like oh god

B: <pol type = "bald"> do you try and put everything else f- </pol> <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> like </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "3"> hmm I could rearrange the files today </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "7"> I don't need to ring that guy </pol>

A: do you ever do that thing where you like write a little script of what you're gonna say like I need to ask about this I need to do this

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "6"> yeah or I make sure 'cause we've got a sheet with the figures on and a sheet with it like so I'll try and condense everything on to one sheet and look at that so like you owe us this this is the phone number this is the guy I need to speak to and yeah just in case I forget </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "8"> what they're called 'cause I have called a guy asked for Phil and he's like my name's Dave ((laughs)) </pol>

A: oh no

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "7"> it's not a good start is it where do you go from there </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "8"> oh hi Dave </pol>

A: sorry wrong number put down ring again put on a different voice

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> once I got the wrong number so I just hung up I couldn't face saying I've rung you by accident </pol>

A: yeah or and leaving messages can't do it the first time be like oh voicemail nope put the phone down practice leaving a voicemail and then they answer damnit

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> I definitely feel worse when my boss is there if I'm doing it though 'cause he's </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> he seems really good on the phone I don't know if he actually is or if he like 'cause </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "3"> he says he's anxious as well </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> but uhm yeah </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> I try and leave ringing people until he's not there </pol>

A: yeah no I'm the same with that just like oh I don't want anyone to listen to me I'm just gonna stay away and everyone's like oh you're good on the phone I'm like I am ad-I hate it

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah and you can't get like even if people say you did really well there </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "8"> you're like no I didn't I felt like I was gonna cry ((laughs)) </pol>

A: ((laughs)) so weird it's the weirdest thing

HS26

A: uhm so we've just start with a bit of small talk uhm you all right good day

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah it's been ok actually </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "15"> been on a course this morning </pol>

A: oh right (.) anything what's it about

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "15"> uhm retention keeping students here what we can do to help </pol>

A: oh interesting (.) uhm what do you study then

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "6"> uhm well I'm a member of staff here </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "6"> but I also I'm doing a masters uhm in /subject/ </pol>

A: oh I know what (.) some of those words mean ((laughs))

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> ((laughs)) </pol>

A: I know what evolution means ((laughs)) don't know what you said after that (1) probably won't make sense even if you tried to explain it to me haven't done science in a long time

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "1"> most p-I get that response from most people </pol>

A: yeah pro-it's probably been like 12 years since I did science gave it up after GCSE don't remember any of it (.) its not its not my area (.) uhm (.) right uhm what I've got first is there is a survey uhm I will I'll read the questions to you but I have a version for you to read as well

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> I see </pol>

A: read along uhm if you just give an answer that is the closest to how you would actually uhm respond in the situation (.) so first one is you're in a room with several friends and acquaintances due to the large number of people the room has become too warm pick the option closest to how you would ask for the window to be opened (.) a can I open the window b please can you open the window (.) c it's a bit hot in here and it may accompanied by fanning yourself or other cooling techniques or d say nothing and assume someone else will open the window

B: (1) <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> uhm I'd probably go for c </pol>

A: ok (.) you are friendly with a work colleague but you hold a higher position within the business you need to organise a meeting between the two of you which do you find to be most appropriate (.5) a dear mr miss mrs and their surname your attendance is required at a meeting at 3pm on Thursday in boardroom 2 please respond as soon as possible if you are not able to attend (.) b send a meeting request via the business email application with no explanation or greeting (.) c hi employees first name please can we have a meeting on the 3<sup>rd</sup> at about 3 let me know if you can't make it and I'll rearrange or d hey employees nickname meeting on Thursday about 3 ish ok seeya with a kiss

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> mmm I feel like I'd be a </pol>

A: ok (1) you are handed a birthday card for a colleague you don't get along with it's a small office and the absence of your signature would be noticeable how would you sign (.) you don't sign uhm happy birthday their name or happy birthday have a great day love your name

B: <pol type = "bald"> (.) b </pol>

A: (1) k (.) you need to ask a stranger to help you retrieve something from a high shelf in the supermarket how would you ask a hi please can you help me (.) b hey grab that for me (.) c give us a hand mate or similar kind of idiom depending (.) or d you don't ask and do without the item

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> probably s-say a </pol>

A: ok (.) a close older family member has been stating some political opinions you strongly disagree with and you are upset how do you address the issue (.) a you don't want to upset anyone so you don't say anything (.) b you take them to one side say can I speak to you about this I feel I'm upset (.) c are you serious you're obviously wrong about this (.) d ask another family member to speak to them or e refuse to speak to them until they apologise

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> (1) uhm (3) I think because it's a close family member I'm quite comfortable with my family I'd probably go for I'd probably </pol>

A: ok

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> probably voice my opinion </pol>

A: good wish I did that (.) you have rung a clothing company several times to track a late order each time they have given you very little information on the status of your order and no explanation for the delay how do you begin the fifth call (.) hello my name is blank I've called you four time now and you've failed to give me a satisfactory answer (.) hello my name is blank and my order number is blah-di-blah please can you tell me the status of my order (.) c you don't call or d hi can you put me through to your complaints department

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> uhm (2) I'd probably say (2) probably b </pol>

A: ok //papers shuffling// just a couple more (.) you are mentioned in a Facebook post about a sp-a possible social event you can't attend how do you reply (.) say a no can do sorry b don't reply at all c sorry I have other plans or d I'd love to but I can't that day

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> (1) uhm probably d </pol>

A: (2) d (.) your boss calls you into an unexpected meeting at very short notice you do not know what the meeting is about and you do not often interact with your boss on a one-to-one basis which of these is most appropriate to open the conversation with (.) a hello you asked to see me may I ask what this is c-what is this concerning b hi you asked to see me do not ask about the purpose of the meeting c hi but say nothing further until they have spoken or d hey so what's all this about

B: (7) <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah </pol> <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> I'd probably say a </pol>

A: a ok (.) last one you are waiting to be served at a bar when a stranger steps in next to you and offers to buy you a drink you have a bad feeling about the person do not want the drink how would

you respond (.) a accept the offer but take the drink elsewhere b say no thank you and then say nothing more even if they offer again (.) c just say no or d ignore them completely

B: <pol type = "bald"> b </pol>

A: ok (.) thank you for that uhm so do you (.) find that have anxiety uhm affect do you think it affects the language that you use around people or how you talk to them

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> uhm (1) I think it does </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "15"> yeah yeah because I overanalyse everything everything I say even with emails I can spend a large amount of time rereading it to ensure that the language I've used can't be taken in a certain way </pol>

A: know that feeling

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah </pol> <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> uhm but I would say (.) uhm that it is highly dependent on the person and what kind of relationship I have with the person as well </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "15"> so I'm quite (.) <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> I don't think that I necessarily uhm (.) I do have social anxiety but I don't display it I think </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "15"> I've learnt methods and ways of coping with that and I'm ok meeting new people speaking to people I don't know but I still feel those feelings inside </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "7"> feel uncomfortable yeah feel short of breath everything </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> Yeah uhm yeah </pol> <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> I don't (1) I wouldn't say I avoid things either but I don't know </pol>

A: do you find that if you're overanalysing does that mean you kind of talk less than you think you would or just 'cause I ramble a lot I think about while I'm doing it just shut up ((laughs))already

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "6"> yeah I can do that sometimes I can also (1) remain very quiet as well </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "15"> because I'm sometimes unsure whether what I have to say is relevant and then I find myself sort of seeking validation as well li-or approval like I have said something I need to know that was the right thing to say or I might come away and think should I have said that and </pol> (.) <pol type = "pos" strategy = "3"> you know what will they think if I've you know maybe I shouldn't </pol>

A: yeah ((laughs))

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> ((laughs)) </pol>

A: so annoying (.) well that's I think that's everything double check my thing what did I do with my sheet uh yeah well that's fine is there anything you want removing or anything

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "15"> no </pol>

A: you understood everything no clarification needed

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "4"> uhm just what are you hoping to find </pol>

A: just I'm also doing the survey's also online so anyone can take it and just comparing answers between what like non-anxious people say and what they do and see if there's any differences you know we're more polite or less polite or

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "7"> and what do you what do you think what's your feelings so far </pol>

A: uhm of the people I've spoken to I think yeah it does seem to be a tendency towards some of the politer end of the spectrum than like no one's gone for the avoid everything parts of it though which is interesting

B: I mean <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> I think </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "6"> it depends on the type of anxiety they have as well </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "3"> doesn't it it's quite a big </pol>

A: very broad

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "3"> 'cause I know that although I'm on the large part I'm polite if I feel very anxious I can go completely the other way as well so I can be quite abrupt and you know if I feel that I've been sort of put in this defensive fight or flight position I can also go the other way </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> that tends to be with cl-people I'm closer to </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "7"> I snap at them more I don't know if you experience that </pol>

A: I do at work sometimes when I'm just 'cause like I dunno I've got a lot on at work sometimes

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah </pol>

A: and peop-there's always people at me as well 'cause I'm a deputy team leader so there's a lot of people just going oh can you do this and sometimes you think I'm gonna explode in a minute

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> ((laughs)) yeah </pol>

A: and you try to I did have an argument with someone once and I felt so bad afterwards like that's not what I meant to say whatever

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "12"> I think 'cause like you're always up here with your anxiety </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "7"> that anything else just sends you over doesn't it </pol>

A: yeah and then you're just like afterwards messages like I'm really sorry I didn't mean it like that it's just been a long day y-we always make it up in the end 'cause it's only I wouldn't do it with like my boss

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah </pol>

A: I think I'd be too scared to but people on my team are just like it's fine if I say that and apologise they'll get it

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "7"> do you overanalyse what people say to you as well </pol>

A: oh yeah all the time why did they say that

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "7"> yeah what did they mean by that </pol>

A: yeah (.) I s- overanalyse everything why did I do that 7 years ago

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "3"> well my uh my boss usually when I see him in a corridor he stops and speaks to me </pol>

A: mm

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "3"> and uh saw him yesterday and he didn't he just he he wal-he said hello and carried on walking now the logical side of me says that he'd clearly busy and that's why he did that and I thought I wonder what I've done wrong I wonder why you know and <pol type = "pos" strategy = "8"> I spent about an hour thinking about what I might have done ((laughs)) </pol>

A: it's so daft and you know it's daft but you just can't stop it

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah </pol>

A: just like why am I doing this think about something else

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> ((laughs)) </pol>

A: it's very frustrating

YN12

A: ok so uhm (indecipherable) so can I ask what you're studying at uni

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "4"> yep </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "15"> I'm doing a masters by research uhm (.) in /subject/ </pol>

A: I know nothing about /subject/ ((laughs))

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> ((laughs)) </pol>

A: That's (.) impressive sounding

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "5"> It's (.) It's just waiting for bacteria to grow really it's ((laughs)) </pol>

A: oh

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "5"> it's not all that interesting </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> well I suppose it is </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "5"> on a day to day basis it's quite boring </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> but in the grand scheme of things </pol>

A: watching a petri dish

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah ((laughs)) </pol>

A: wow that's very that just sounds very smart ((laughs))

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "5"> ((laughs)) it sounds more impressive than it is I think ((laughs)) </pol>

A: ((laughs)) uh so what I'm looking at just uhm ho-people's language use and whether it's affected by whether they have anxiety or not so first thing I've got is a survey that I I mean I will ask you the questions as well but I've got a copy for you to if you want to read along

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> right </pol>

A: that's it so if you just answer with uh whichever is closest to what you would actually use uhm (1) so first one is you're in a room with several friends and acquaintances excuse the typo due to the large number of people the room has become too warm pick the option closest to how you would ask for the window to be opened uh a c-can I open the window b please can you open the window c say it's a bit hot in here and then maybe fan yourself or take off a jumper or something or d say nothing and assume someone else will open the window

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> uhm (2) I'd probably go with a </pol>

A: ok (.) you're friendly with a work colleague but you hold a higher position within the business you need to organise a meeting between the two of you which do you find to be the most appropriate (.) dear mr miss mrs your attendance is required at a meeting at 3pm on Thursday in boardroom 2 please respond as soon as possible of you are not able to attend (.) b send a meeting request via the business email application with no explanation or greeting (.) c hi employees first name please can we have a meeting on the third at about 3 let me know if you can't make it and I'll rearrange or d hey employees nickname meeting on Thursday about 3ish ok seeya with a kiss

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> (.) uhm so </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> friendly with a work colleague but you hold a higher position (3) </pol> <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> so I'm the one that's holding the higher position </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> uhm well if I'm friendly with them (1) I'd probably do (2) uh the closest one would probably be about c </pol>

A: ok you are handed a birthday card for a colleague you don't get along with it's a small office and the absence of your signature would be noticeable how would you sign (.) you don't sign you put happy and their name or happy birthday have a great day love your name

B: (2) uhm (2) <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> don't get along with </pol> <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> I'd still put c to be fair yeah </pol>

A: c ok (.) you need to ask a stranger to help you retrieve something from a high shelf in the supermarket how would you ask a hi please can you help me b hey grab that for me c give us a hand mate or similar ((laughs)) you do-you don't ask and do without the item

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> uhm a </pol>

A: (2) uhm 5 a close a close older family member has been stating some political opinions you strongly disagree with and you are upset how do you address the issue a you don't want to upset

anyone so you don't say anything (.) you take them to one side and say can I speak to you about this I'm upset (.) c are you serious you're obviously wrong about this d ask another family member to speak to them or e refuse to speak to them until they apologise

B: (.) <pol type = "pos" strategy = "8"> this happens all the time in my home ((laughs)) </pol>

A: oh dear

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "7" > only because like you know with Grandad's and whatnot </pol>

A: oh yeah

B: uhm (.) so ((rereads questions under breath)) <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> (4) uhm (3) I don't know it's hard because it's somewhere between b and c like I wouldn't quite take them to one side but I wouldn't (1) outrightly say like are you serious you're obviously wrong I'd say like </pol> <pol type = "neg" strategy = "6"> I don't know I don't know to explain </pol>

A: I'll put both

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "1"> yeah is that possible </pol>

A: yeah so

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "6"> like a mix between the two </pol>

A: right (1) you've rung a clothing company several times to track a late order each time they have given you very little information on the status of your order and no explanation for the delay how do you begin the fifth call (.) hello my name is blank I have called you four times now and you have failed to give me a satisfactory answer (.) b hello my name is blank and my order number is blah de blah please can you tell me the status of my order c you don't call or d hi can you put me through to your complaints department

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> uh b </pol>

A: b

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "8"> glad there's not one I've called you four times now </pol>

A: you're mentioned in a facebook post about a possible social event that you can't attend how do you reply

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "2"> ooh </pol>

A: uh a no can do sorry b don't reply at all c sorry I have other plans or d I'd love to but I can't that day

B: <pol type = "bald"> d </pol>

A: d (1) your boss calls you into an into an unexpected meeting at very short notice you do not know what the meeting is about and you do not often interact with your boss on a one to one basis which of these is most appropriate to open the conversation with (.5) a hello you asked to see me may I ask what this is concerning (.) b hi you asked to see me do not ask about the purpose of the meeting c hi but say nothing further until they have spoken or d hey so what's all this about

B: <pol type = "bald"> uh b </pol>

A: b (1) you're waiting to be served at a bar when a stranger steps in next to you and offers to buy you a drink you have a bad feeling about the person and you do not want the drink how would you respond (.) accept the offer but take the drink elsewhere uh b no thank you say nothing more even if they offer again c no or d ignore them completely

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> (.5) uhm I probably would say </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "6"> it'd be more like no thank you I'd politely decline I wouldn't take the drink I wouldn't want to give them the wrong idea but it'd be like no thank you but I would say more </pol> <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> I'd probably </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "6"> chat to them and go I hope you understand the reasons why </pol>

A: yeah ok

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "6"> so I'd give a bit more explanation but it would be like no thanks </pol>

A: yeah no that's fine last one so uhm is there anything do you feel like because of anxiety you do use language differently to other people

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "15"> yes I definitely do uhm especially with like </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "7"> you you know you have your close friend group and you have your like literally just your friends </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> you're probably not really close with uhm I find that kind of </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "7"> when people are just your friends I find it really hard to gauge 'cause even though you know them they're not I'll find myself sometimes not quite (.5) knowing how they'll take some of the things that I'll say you know like joke a lot or (.) you know mess around or say something it tends to like you work up in your head like oh I just said that what did they think about that when it's in front of one of my best friends I don't think twice about it </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "15"> and with strangers (2) uh I would just make sure I was really polite even if it is like someone's bumped into me and </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "8"> I know it's very British thing but </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "8"> still say sorry don't you </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "15"> but with strangers or (1) uh (.) I always try and be at least like less abrasive as possible </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "7"> you know </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "15"> uhm then yeah I find the people that aren't my close friends and that are just friends people that I won't see all the time or speak to every day </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "15"> uh (3) I think more about what I'm saying just because I'm so  
</pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "8"> paranoid ((laughs)) </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy =  
"15"> that I'm gonna say something wrong but yeah </pol>

A: yeah get what you mean I'm just like oh I wish I hadn't said that

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah or it's like </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "7"> you  
know they've gone oh they've took it the wrong way or I've said something but that I know they  
don't uh </pol> <pol type = "neg" strategy = "6"> I can't even think of an example </pol> <pol type  
= "pos" strategy = "5"> but yeah oh I don't like that and it's like for me it's like oh no just like I'm not  
offended I just don't like it I'm like <pol type = "pos" strategy = "8"> I hope they don't think I'm a  
horrible person </pol>

A: ((laughs))

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> ((laughs)) </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "7"> and it's  
around in your head and you have to go like wait if someone said that you know you have to bring  
yourself down </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "7"> 'cause if someone said that to me I wouldn't be offended and  
that's kind of what then I'm just being silly you know </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "5"> just me overthinking about that kind of thing </pol>

A: oh it's so daft innit

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> ((laughs)) </pol>

A: just like what is going on

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "8"> like I just wish I cared less ((laughs)) </pol>

A: ((laughs)) uh so have you had a nice day by the way are you staying on campus over the holidays  
then or

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> uhm </pol>

A: do you live in Huddersfield

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "6"> no so I'm from /city/ (1) uhm but I'm living in Huddersfield been  
I did my undergrad here </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> so I've been here since like for like how many years now 7  
</pol> <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> something like that uhm </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy =  
"5"> so I'll be going home to see my parents on Easter Sunday but </pol>

A: yeah

B: <pol type = "neg" strategy = "2"> generally stay on campus </pol>

A: that's good

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "7"> and are you what's it uhm have you done a is this a an undergrad or is this postgrad </pol>

A: it's uhm yeah it's masters by research as well yeah

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> oh right </pol>

A: so I just started in January

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> oh right </pol>

A: but yeah uhm I didn't I went to Lancaster originally and then did five years of work and saved up the money to pay for it finally I was like I wanna go back to uni I always wanted to go back but I couldn't

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah </pol>

A: but I work in Huddersfield so I moved here and I was like well

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> oh right </pol>

A: it's the closest one and I need to do my job so

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah </pol> <pol type = "pos" strategy = "7"> so where do you work </pol>

A: uhm I work out in Fenay Bridge just admin boring but they gave me Wednesdays off to do this so

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "2"> oh that's nice </pol>

A: they're not too bad

B: <pol type = "pos" strategy = "5"> yeah </pol>

A: yeah (1) I think that's everything

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