Preparation of Corpora and determination of variables for Socio-linguistic analysis of Tenyidie

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Philosophy
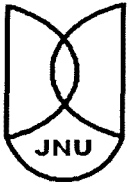
Submitted by

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Submitted to

Centre for Linguistics

School of Language Literature and Cultural Studies

Jawaharlal Nehru University

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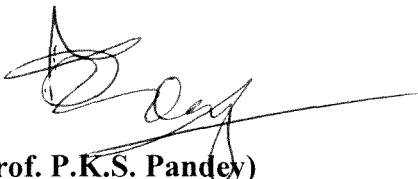Jawaharlal Nehru University
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CERTIFICATE

This dissertation titled "Preparation of Corpora and Determination of Variables for socio-linguistic analysis of Tenyidie" submitted by **Mr. Khangaka Keyho**, Centre for Linguistics, School of Language, Literature and Cultural Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy**, is an original work and has not been submitted so far in part or in full, for any other degree or diploma of any University or Institution.

This may be placed before the examiners for evaluation for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy.
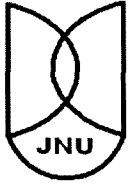
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DECLARATION BY THE CANDIDATE

This dissertation titled "Preparation of Corpora and Determination of variables for Socio-Linguistic analysis of Tenyidie" submitted by me for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy, is an original work and has not been submitted in part or in full, for any other degree or diploma of any university or institute.

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Khangaka Keyho

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. Tenyidie, the language:

From the earliest writings of the people coming into contact with inhabitants of the Naga Hills, it is found that of all the tribes found in the Naga Hills the British first came into contact with the Ao and the Angami tribe, so did the American Missionaries through them. It is thus seen in this writings that the group of people whom the Britishers refer to as the angamis, calls themselves 'tengima' as recorded or Tenyimia and their language tenyidie, pronounced /têñĩdiE/. According to Mr. Davis's report in the Assam Census report of 1891, the origin of the word 'angami' is a corrupted name coined by the British for 'gnamoi' used by the Manipuris to refer to the tribe, as they first came into contact with the people (the angami) through them (Grierson, 1927), and thus adopted by the British to refer to this particular group of people in their administrative dealings thereon. D. Koulie (2006) writes that the term 'angami' is of arbitrary coinage and that it carries no meaning. However, the term is being used today for administrative convenience and a distinction as a tribe among the tenyimia community in particular and to the Nagas and the world in general.

With the Colonial rulers and the American missionaries firstly coming into contact with Ao and Angami tribes and thus their language, there arose the need to document and learn the language to communicate with the masses, resulting in making of dictionaries, writing grammars and translation of the Bible, they remained till today the most researched and developed languages, be it in terms of literature or linguistically, though the later falls much behind in terms of proportion, among the

languages of naga hills- now found in the states of Nagaland, Manipur, Assam, Arunachal Pradesh and the neighbouring country Myanmar. It was also this factor that was of much help when Grierson made his Linguistic survey of India in the year 1909, by which time though there has been considerable work done on these two languages as well, compared to the other languages of the Naga Hills. Notes from Captain Butler, Mr. Davis, Burling, Mccabe et al. as well as the American missionaries remains the most significant written records of the people, their history or their language as there has been no other ways practiced by the natives traditionally either to preserve their heritage or culture other than by the oral tradition, which is considered highly unreliable by many. Also falling into the same is the group of people that forms the tenyimia community, some say it is the pattern or style these group of people follows in cutting their hair that identifies them as group, some say it is the tilt that men wear which happens to be the same in all the tribes within the tenyimia community, some to the linguistic similarities(Davis,1891), while some beliefs on the contrary and say that there is no such word that binds these group of people, and that the existence of it was brought about only recently by some individuals with political motives. And this does not end there, there are also differences in the classification of the regions for the angami tribe itself, Mr Davis(1891) in his Assam census report classifies the angami tribe into three groups as, Chakroma, tengima and Chakrima(Davis 1891), Western and Eastern angami(Damant), others would identify three main varieties of the angami language as Kohima, khonoma and chokri (Barbara Blankenship et.al, 1993), also mentioned by Ravindran(1974) as the principal dialects of angami, western, northern and

southern (kibami,2002), Koseno(2005) would rather keep it at kohima and khonoma as the important centres of angami.

Considered one of the largest tribes among the Nagas, the angami tribe of Nagaland particularly the central angami where Kohima is situated, also referred to as Tengima proper by Mr Davis in his Assam Census report of 1891 (Grierson, 1927), speaks Tenyidie the standardized version of the many dialects of Tenyidie. Firstly recorded by the colonial rulers and the American Baptist Foreign Missionary society for administrative purposes and to spread the Gospel respectively, Tenyidie is now accepted by the Tenyimia community as the most common and widely spoken version of the Tenyimia languages. While there are many dialectal variations of Tenyidie spoken across a wide geographical area some of which have now attained a status of their own as a language and a tribe, and this I say taking into account the possibilities of the tribes of tenyimia having a common identity speaking a common language i.e. Tenyidie, at a certain point of time in history, there are also dialectal variations even within the tribe of angami itself, such as: Northern angami, central angami, southern angami and western angami. Some say the reason the variety spoken by the central angami, came to be accepted to represent not only the language of the angami tribe but of the whole tenyimia community, was due to the ecological nature of the territory they occupied (Koseno, 2005), others to the establishment of British administrative headquarters in Kohima. J.H. Hutton (1969) writes that it was the publication of McCabe's 'Outline of Angami Grammar" in the Kohima dialect of Angami in 1887, that paved the way into adopting the dialect as the standard for the angami

community, and was thus used in schools as well as in translation works. Further details of the language will be given in the later part of this chapter.

1.2. Tenyimia, the people:

Like any Naga tribes, the origin of the tenyimia is difficult to trace, as there are no clear cut records of their migration, if at all they did migrate from other parts of the world. From Mr. Davis's notes we can however make out that the tenyimia believes that they came from the south, coming into settle where they are settled now through Manipur. Some researchers believed that the group of monoliths found in the village of Willong, belonging to the Senapati district of Manipur, may hold significance to it. Accordingly there has been a research project currently underway, organized by the Tenyimia Peoples Organization (TPO)[i], to rescue from obscurity the past of the community.

There has also been a story that has been told within the community that the tribes of the community last settled together in the Khusoh village of Phek district of Nagaland, thereby parting ways to settle on their own, spreading across the present state of Manipur, Nagaland and Assam. Elucidating on this, D. Koulie (2006: 1-2) wrote on his doctoral thesis that according to the transmitted history of the Nagas, one of the earliest settlers known was Kezeiu pronounced /kẽzïü/, by name. He along with his group settled first at khesora[ii], a small rural village near Chazouba[iii] town of Phek district of Nagaland. After some years, a group of them moved out in search of better place for settlement. Some settled at Mekhroma /mẽkhròmâ/- presently called Makhel village in Senapati district of Manipur. One of the later generations, Vadio /vâdyô/ by

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name, had three sons. The eldest son was Tenyiu /tēñīū/ who was the forefather of the present Tenyimia community[iv]. The second son was Tseizieu /tsiēziēū/, who was known to be the forefather of the present Lotha tribe of the Nagas. The third and the youngest son was Pfuvio /pfùvĩô/, who was also known to be the forefather of the present Sema tribe of the Nagas. With the passage of time, the population grew until the land owned by the family could not be sufficiently shared by the descendants, leading to migration generation after generation, for greener pastures. And that was how the Nagas spread to various parts of Nagaland, Manipur, Assam, Arunachal Pradesh and Myanmar. Once again these are stories passed on from generation to generation via the oral tradition, which is considered unreliable, however today we find people and tribes across the state of Nagaland, Manipur and Assam who says they belong to the community of Tenyimia. Another story of origin which is found to be common among the tribes of Angami, Semas, Rengmas and the Lotha is that of the Kheza-Kenoma legend, which says that in the village of Kheza-kenoma there lay a large stone slab having magical powers. People would spread their paddy on the stone slab to dry and it would be doubled in quantity by evening. The three sons of the couple, who owned the stone slab, would use the stone alternatively. One day a quarrel broke out between the sons over the turns of using the stone, and fearing it might result in bloodshed the couple set the stone on fire, resulting in the cracking of the stone and the loss of its magical powers, believed to have gone to heaven. Thereafter the three sons left the legendary village and went to different directions and became the forefather of what is now the tribes of Angami, Lotha and Sema.

There is a saying of the Nagas and similar stories of many of the Naga tribes that, in the beginning the deity gave the knowledge of reading and writing both to the Nagas of the hills and the plainsmen of Assam, but whereas the later were given stone or paper on which to record their writings, the nagas were given a book of skins which came by an early end owing to its edible qualities. Hence the Nagas have no written language or records.

Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India which was first published in 1927, clubs the angami langauge among the Naga group of languages and under the western sub-group, along with, Sema, Rengma and Kezhama languages. One should also perhaps notice that he wrote 'Angami or Tengima', in way of showing that at the time of survey the word tengima; which seem to represent both the language and the people while it is Tenyidie for the language and tenyimia for the people now, also did exist and the people calls themselves tenyimia though the Britishers may label them as angamis. The word angami represents both the tribe as well as the language, 'tenyimia' refers to the variety of the language spoken in kohima, which as explained above is adopted as the standard variety of not only the tribe of Angami but of the whole tenyimia community; 'tenyidie' refers to the language of the tenyimia. At this point it is also important to mention that there is a widespread misconception among the people, let alone the rest of India but in Nagaland itself that Tenyidie is the language of the Angamis, which is not true. It is as much the language of any of the tribes of Tenyimia, as it is for the Angamis, taken that they belong together as the tenyimia community. However it is also a fact that the language is used till date mainly by the Angamis of the Kohima group. There was a time it is said that the

language was widely used for communication among the masses, a time when Tenyidie was chosen over Nagamese for public address or communication.

It is not known, how the Tenyimis separated to form their Independent status as a language or tribe of their own, however a good example to see how it might have been would be to look at the Chakhesangs. Once known as the Eastern Angamis, the language of the Chakhesangs, i.e., Chokri and Khezha are so similar to Tenyidie that a Chakhesang, who is not exposed to the language, would be able to understand the language if paid close attention or with careful hearing, however these languages have also attained an independent status of a tribe and language. There also exist within the Angami language itself a number of varieties. The variety spoken by the Northern Angami and the Southern angami is so diverse that it is difficult to understand each other, but not completely, which is the same case with the Chakhesangs. Here I am not trying to prove or establish any relation between these languages or for that matter prove anybody wrong, however the similarities are so outstanding that it is easy to conclude a possible relation between the two languages, and that of a possible common source. Mr Davis's report (1891) once again mentions that the tenyimia believe that they originally came from the south, i.e. from where they are met with their neighbour Manipur.

Robbins Burling in his work '*The Tibeto-Burman languages of NorthEastern India*' writes that people or speakers, in the north eastern part of India where in spite of the many works and researches done on their languages due to their denseness of the diversity of languages found especially the Tibeto-Burman languages, often draw linguistic boundaries themselves, making the terminology between ethnic and

linguistic affiliations more difficult (Thurgood & Lapolla, 2003: 171). Finding the

languages in the north eastern India very similar, especially those spoken in Nagaland,

Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh and some parts of Assam, he made a table of the

classification of languages in the Northeast, made by Grierson (1903,04),

Shafer(1950) and Morrison(1967), and while most of these classifications are based

on the geographical areas, or in other words compass terms, he made his

classifications grouping the languages under the most prominent language in the area.

Burling (2000)		LSI (1903, 1904)				Shafer (1950)		Marrison (1967)	
Ao group	Yacham-Tengsa	Central	Tengsa	KURDISH SECTION	Northern Naga Branch	Tengsa, Yatśan	B-1	Yacham-Tengsa
	Ao-Chungli		Aō-Chungli			Tśungli	B-1	Ao-Chungli
	Ao-Mongsen		Aō-Mongsen			Mongsen	B-1	Ao-Mongsen
	Sangtam		Thukumi			Thukhumi	B-1	Sangtam
	Yimchungrü		Yachumi			Yatśumi	B-1	Yimchungrü
	Lotha		Lotha			Hlota	B-1	Lotha
Angami-pochuri group	Rengma N.	Western			Eastern Branch		B-2	Ntenyi
	Pochuri						B-2	Meluri
	Rengma		Rengmā/unzâ			Rengma	C-2	Rengma
	Simi		Simi/Semā			Simi/Sema	C-1	Sema
	Angami		Angami/Tengi			Angami	C-1	Angami

			mā				
	Chokri				Tśakrima	C-1	Chokri
	Kheza		Kezhama		Keżama	C-1	Khezhama
	Mao	N	Sopvomā/Māo		Sopvoma	C-1	Mao
Zeme Group	Nruanghmei	Naga-Bodo	Kabui	Western Branch	Kabui	C-2	Nruangmei
	Puiron					C-2	Puiron
	Khoirao		Khoirao		Khoirao	C-2	Khoirao
	Zeme		Empēo/Kachchā		Empeo	C-2	Zeme
	Mzieme					C-2	Mzieme
	Liangmai		Kwoireng		Kwoireng	C-2	Liangmai
	Maram	Naga-Kuki	Marām		Maram	C-2	Maram
T'khul	Tangkhul	Naga	Luhūpā	Luhupa	Tangkhul	B-3	Tangkhul
	Maring				Maring	B-3	Maring
	Karbi	N	Mikir		Mikir branch		
	Meithei		Meithei/Manipuri		Meithei Branch		
	Mizo-Kuki-Chin		Mizo-Kuki-Chin		Kuki Branches		

Fig. 1.1 Classification of the Eastern Border languages (Thurgood & Lapolla 2003: 183)

Explaining the table in Fig. 1.1, Burling writes that the groupings of the languages he

has made are those that seem to be clearly similar. And from the table he presented

his judgement in Fig. 1.2, below, where the solid lines at the right of the figure shows

relationships that are most reliable, while the broken lines represent probable

relationships, leaving the dotted lines the speculative ones. Furthermore, Burling

comented that not only Chokri is so close to angami, but Khezha and Mao (sopvoma)

are found to be close enough, that sometimes they are clubbed under the same name

as southern angami (Thurgood & Lapolla, 2003: 186).
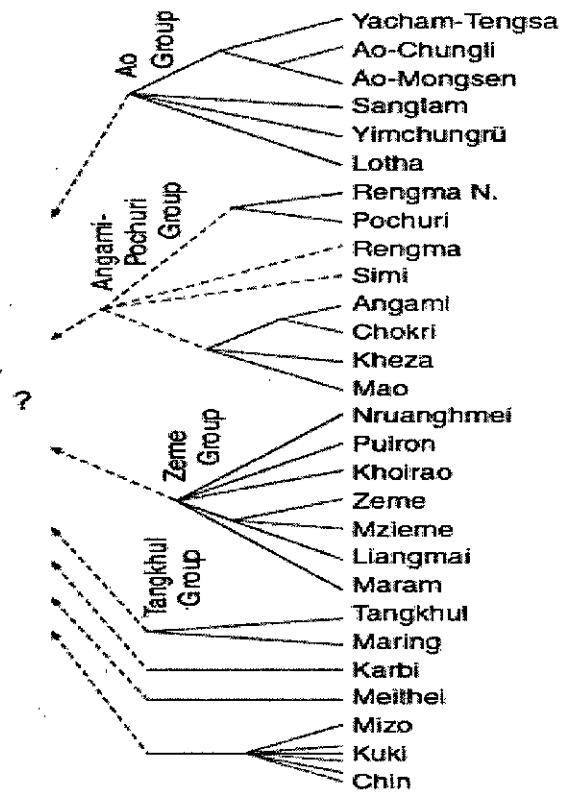
Fig. 1.2 Relationships among the languages of the Eastern Border

(Thurgood & Lapolla, 2003: 184)

As of today, the tribes of Angami, Chakhesang, Rengma and Phochuri falls into the state of Nagaland, the Mao, Maram, poumai, memai, soupumaram and Zeliangrong[v] tribes are from Manipur (D. Koulie 2006), and together they form the tenyimia community, however owing to the different versions of the story behind the origin of the community, it is still much debateable. All the names of these tribes stand for the name of the language as well except for the Chakhesangs, who have two languages chokri and Khezha[vi]. There has not been much research done on these languages as the tenyimia languages, though surely there are works done on the languages individually. Thus, to find a common source among these languages or tribes in terms of their laws and customs, their festivals, traditions and culture, or even linguistically one would be required to not only work extensively but engage a lot of time for it. And though tenyidie, the variety of the angami language, spoken by the western angami or in Kohima, has in a way with time been adopted as the standard variety for the tenyimia community, the same cannot be done when it comes to presenting the laws and customs or the cultures and traditions of the community.

1.3. Brief look on the works and the structure of the language:

One of the first works done on the language would be perhaps that of McCabe's '*Outline of angami grammar*'[vii] which as mentioned before was the reason according to Hutton(1969:294), the dialect of the western angami or Kohima proper

was adopted as the standard variety of the angami. And the language or the variety we will be looking at would be this variety of the language, also called tenyidie.

Grierson in his Linguistic survey of India in writing about the language of the angami language, discusses McCabe's work on the language, so did J.H Hutton (1969) in his book *'The angami Nagas'*. By the time Grierson made his survey, he mentions that though it is known that tenyidie[viii] is rich in tones, however there were no information available to him at that time, and his description on the language was adopted from McCabe's work, with some corrections and additions made by Mr. Davis. Among the important features of the language we find mentioned by Grierson is that there are various meanings a root word can assume with the help of suffixes and infixes and also partly by prefixes. In fact, the nature of prefixes in the language is such that they are frequently dropped and that they do carry any meaning of their own, but helps in forming adjectives, for example: the prefixes- *ke-*, *ke-zha* (large), *ke-vi* (good). On the other hand, ceases are formed by suffixes such as *nu* (in/to/from), la (for), *pe* (by, literally carrying by hand, and thus used with only inanimate nouns) and *ki* (to, used with proper names only), which are added to the nominative and remains unchanged.

As for the articles, the numeral *po* 'one' is used for an indefinite article, while *hă-u* 'this', *lu* 'that' are used as definite articles and *u* 'he who is' as the relative particle. Number is only indicated when it is not evident from the context, where a singular is indicated by suffixing *po* 'one' and the plural by suffixing *ko*. Verbs in angami do not change for gender, number or person, and tenses are formed by adding suffixes.

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Hutton writes that a point worthy of notice in Angami vocabulary is the way the angami invents words which are purely angami in form, unlike the other Nagas who readily borrow words from Assamese, Hindi or other languages and assimilates them in their own tongue. Citing examples of such instances are words like *mi-ru* in angami, which is a compound word, a combination of two words *'fire* and *boat'*, for steamboat, while other Naga tribes like Sema would call the same *'jahaz'*. Another example is that of the word *misi* which is again a compound word, *'mi'* meaning fire and *'si'* means stick, while the Sema would call it *alika* whose literal meaning is that of a crossbow, which again is used by their Chang and Sangtam neighbours, or *masheho* which is a seemingly borrowed angami word. Another instance Hutton mentions, is the story of some angami who went to France with the Naga Labour Corps, and seeing the aeroplane for the first time called it *kepronyo* which means 'flying machines' without having to feel any hesitation or loss for words to relate to what they saw for the first time in their life (Hutton, 1969: 294-295).

1.3.1. Phonology:

Since then until now there has been considerable work done on the language, one of them worth mentioning is the research taken up by the Central Institute of Indian Languages (CIIL)in the early 70's, under which we have works done by N. Ravindran (1974) and Giridhar (1980) on the phonology and grammar of the language respectively. The *'Angami Phonetic Reader'* by Ravindran, which is also a part of the CIIL phonetic Reader Series, is designed as a guide for language students to the basic phonology and ways of pronunciation to the language. Most of the works done on the language before this lacks information and description of the tones in the languge,

which is a very important feature of the language, due to lack of information on the same like Grierson (1927). To this end, Ravindran provides the necessary information in his reader; the symbols are being used in Tenyidie texts today, and are represented as:

Tone	Symbol
Middle tone	-
Mid-rising tone	v
High tone	/
Low tone	\
Low-falling tone	∧

These tones can be represented with minimal pairs as under:

Pē	'fat'
Pĕ	'bridge'
Pé	'move by finger tips'
Pè	'tremble'
Pê	'slope'

Tones in tenyidie are a feature of every syllable, which means that the number of tones in a word is directly proportionate to the number of syllables in a word. Another feature of these tones is that they are contrastive and thus lexically significant.

By using minimal pairs he also provided the phonemic inventory of Angami where

we have the vowels, [i], [u], [e], [ə], [o] and [a] (Ravindran, 1974)[ix]. More than three

decades later D. Koulie came out with a phonemic inventory of tenyidie with seven

vowels, which does includes Ravindran's, but also has an addition of another vowels

[ü] which is an open mid vowel, and thus we have the phonemic inventory of

Tenyidie vowels as:
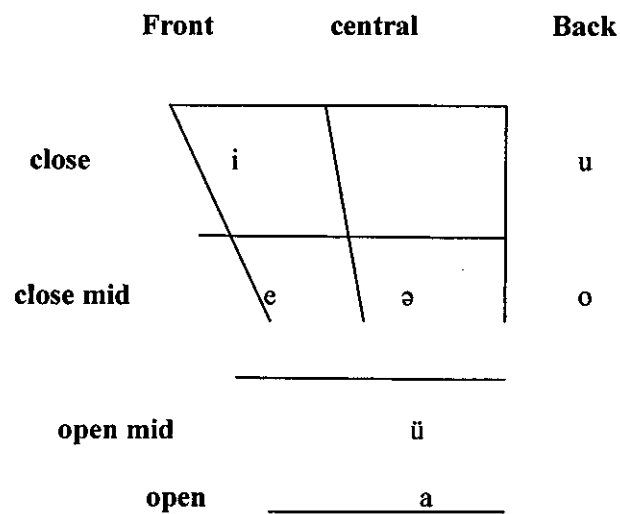
Fig. 1.3 Phonemic chart

Where the vowels contrast according to tongue position as:

    (i)   Front with back:

        (a) /i/ versus /u/ in /bí/ (must) and /bù/ (by)

        (b) /i/ versus /o/ in /dì/ (burning of firewood) and /dò/ (to

        weave)

(c) /e/ versus /u/ in /zê/ (to sell) and /zû/ (wine).

(d) /e/ versus /o/ in /pè/ (to shoot) and /pò/ (to drip)

(ii) Front with central:

(a) /i/ versus /ə/ in /vĭ/ (good) and /vǎ/ (to bear fruit)

(b) /e/ versus /ə/ in /sê/ (to meet) and /sâ/ (to clean with cloth)

(c) /i/ versus /a/ in /sĭ/ (know) and /sǎ/ (to add)

(d) /e/ versus /a/ in /tě/ (to catch) and /tǎ/ (to lead)

(iii) Back with central:

(a) /u/ versus /ə/ in /sû/ (to cast shadow upon) and /sâ/ (to clean with cloth)

(b) /o/ versus /ə/ in /tsô/ (to reach) and /tsâ/ (to germinate)

(c) /u/ versus /ü/ in /kù/ (to stick to something) and /ǜ/ (to draw water)

And the contrast according to the height of the tongue as:

(i) Close with Close-mid:

(a) /i/ versus /e/ in /tì/ (black) and /tè/ (to break)

(b) /u/ versus /o/ in /bû/ (to fill with smoke) and /bô/ (to encage)

(ii) Close with open:

(a) /u/ versus /a/ in /pù/ (to explode) and /pà/ (to leak)

(iii) Close-mid with open:

(a) /o/ versus /a/ in /kò/ (to hatch) and /kà/ (to loss)

(b) /a/ versus /ə/ in /vǎ/ (to erase) and /vǎ/ (to bear fruit)

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(iv)   Open-mid with open:

(a) /a/ versus /ü/ in /ă/ (I) and /ǔ/ (to support a weak post with

wood)

There is also a difference in the number of consonants between that of Ravindran and D. Koulie, where it is seen that the former provided 39 consonants, while the later provided 40 consonants in tenyidie and they can be presented in a chart as under:

	Bilabial	Labio-Dental	Dental-Alveola	Alveola r	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive/stops	p b		t d			k g	
Aspirated stops	ph		th			kh	
Nasals	m		n		ñ	ŋ	
Aspirated nasals	mh		nh		ñh		
Fricatives		f v		s z	S Z		h
Affricates		pf bv		ts dz	c j		

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Aspirated africates		pfh		tsh	ch		
Lateral				l			
Aspirated lateral				lh			
Trill				r			
Aspirated trill				rh			
Approximants	w				y		
Aspirated approximants	wh				yh		

Fig. 1.4 Tenyidie Consonant Phonemic chart (Koulie, 2006: 39)

There are a number of differences noticed in the consonants, not only in terms of number but symbols, in the chart provided by Ravindran and D. Koulie. While Ravindran provides for a voiced Labio-dental nasal /ɱ/ for words like /ɲûɱə̄/ 'enemy', D. Koulie does not provide for such sounds but rather has two other sounds that is not a part of the consonant list provide by Ravindran, the voiceless labio-dental

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aspirated affricate /pfh/ and the voiceless alveolar aspirated affricate /tsh/ for words like /pfhé/ 'to wait' and /tshê/ 'to praise'.

1.3.2. Morphology:

We will also take a brief look on the important morphological characteristics of Tenyidie, as given by D. Koulie, to familiarise oneself with the language. The morphemic structure of Tenyidie is found to be either simple or complex, formed either by mono-morphemic elements with its supra-segmental elements or by segmental phonemes with supra-segmental phonemes. For a morphological analysis of Tenyidie, especially for nouns and verbs it is easy to identify their morphemic elements, due to a highly agglutinative nature of the language. And thus to identify morphemic elements, analysis can be made by following the principle of immediate constituents and semantic and grammatical values, as in:

(i)	/thêmiè/	/thêmiè/			'people'
	/thêmièû/	thêmiè - û			'the man'
		Man suffix			
	/thêmièkôê/	thêmiè - ko - ê			'the people'
		Noun suffixes			
(ii)	/mêhō/	/mêhō/			'visit'
	/kêmêhō/	kê - mêhō			'the act of visiting'
		Prefix verb			

/kêmêhōmiêkôê   kê - mêhô - miê - kô - ê

'visitors'

Nouns in tenyidie can be classified as simple, complex and compound structures. A simple structure contains the base forms or mono-morphemic forms, which in Tenyidie could be monosyllabic in nouns like /mí/ 'fire', or di-syllabic as in /mêpfhī/ 'bee' and polly-syllabic as in /guôrɘ̃ñ/ 'frog'.

Verbs in tenyidie can take tense, aspect and mood markers, and can be simple in form as well as complex and compound. While a simple verb form can be as simple as /vó/ 'go', a complex verb form can be derivational, which again can be either internal or external as in:

(i)   Internal process of derivation:

/thà/ 'stand'   /pê-thà/ 'cause to stand'

(ii)   External process of derivation:

/rɘ̂tsô/ 'decoration/makeup'   /kêrɘ̂tsô/ 'to put on beautiful

costumes'

Compound verbs in tenyidie can be formed in two ways, one that is composed of two morphemes, the initial morpheme being primary and the other secondary:

/khó/ 'go up' + r   >   /khór/ 'come up'

And the other by combining a root and a non-root as:

Root   non-root

/Vâ/ 'hit/shoot'   khrî   > /vâkhrî/ 'to kill by shooting with

stone/bullet

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Tenyidie verbs can also be reduplicated as:

Kê-khà-kê-rè 'controlling/administering'

Kê-khà 'control/to rule'

Kê-rè 'warning'

All the base forms of Tenyidie verbs are highly inflectional, where a monosyllabic verb can be inflected to the extent of nine syllables that is also a morpheme at the same time, and represents a specific grammatical element in the same paradigm (Koulie, 2006:128). The inflectional process of verbs in tenyidie can be realised in tense, aspect-tense and mood. Tense in tenyidie primarily has only future tense indicated by the morpheme /-tuò/ or /tuô/, and the present and past tense various aspect modal markers are used:

Morpheme	**Grammatical representation**	
-tuò/tuô	Future tense suffix	> /bá-tuò/ 'will sit'
-Zé	Present progressive marker	> /vó-zé/ 'is going'
-Zə'	Past progressive marker	> /vó-Zə'/ 'was going'
-té	present perfect marker	> /bá-té/ 'have sat'
-tá	past perfect marker	> /vó-wâ-tá/ 'had gone'
-luò	imperfective marker	> /bàluò/ 'still having'

Tenyidie seems to be rich in the expression of modals too, with the help of various markers usually placed after the verbal bases, and they can be represented as follows to mention a few:

(a) **Indicative** /hô/ > vǐté hô 'that's enough

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(b) **Narrative**; (i) /Sê/ > puô dêlhĭ nû vó Sê 'it is said that he/she went to

Delhi'

                (s)he   Dat go nar

    (ii) /wē/ > nŏ   dêlhĭ   nû   vó-wē 'it is said that u went to

Delhi'

              You sg.   Dat go nar

    (iii) /üsî/ > tsòliê   dêlhĭ   nû   vó   üsî 'it is said that

Tsolie went to Delhi'

                 PN   Dat go nar

(c) **Desiderative** /üthiêñə/ > n   bú   vĭ - liè üthiêñə^

              You sg. PASS win Asp Desid

              'May you win'

(d) **Intentive** /ñə/ > ă pûnē   nû   lhû   ñə^

           I   PP   live   INT

        'I want to live in Pune'

(e) **Opative** /mêciě/ > kêpêthă-ú   vór   mêciě

              Teacher- Def come OPT

         '(I hope) the teachber will come'

Genders in tenyidie are not marked by grammatical features, which is the case

with most of the Tibeto-Burman languages, and is only realised in terms of animate

nouns. As for kinship terms, they are always used with possessive markers and do not

indicate gender. Their construction is complex and is restricted to only animate

nouns. Genders are marked with the help of affixes as shown below with their conditions of occurrence:

Male markers

-pfù > occurs with +human+male

-puô > occurs with +human+male+adult+father

-ù(û) > occurs with +human+singularity+definitive

prə- > occurs with +uman+sibling+male

-mî > occurs with +human+adult+maternal relation

-ñé > occurs with +human+male+adult+paternal relation

-ñà > occurs with +human+male+adult+married+son-in-law

-ô > occurs with +human+male

-dō > occurs with +animal+male+hoof+horn+domesticated

-pŭ > occurs with +animal+male+hoof+hornless+domesticated

-krə'> occurs with +animal+male+hornless+young

-chə̄ > occurs with +animal+male+wild

-dzə̄ > occurs with +biped+male+fowl

Female markers

-pfə'(pfō) > occurs with +human+female+adult+mother

-Zō > occurs with +human+female+adult+mother

-nû(ŭ) > occurs with +human also domesticated animal+female

-ū (ü) > occurs with +human and non-human+female+young+quadruped(non-human)

-gù > occurs with +biped+fowl+domesticated+young

-krə'   > occurs with all non-huamn+female+mother+adult

1.3.3. Syntax:

Like most of the Tibeto-burman languages, Tenyidie has an SOV word order
and thus a verb final language. Mostly the sentences can be classified into, simple,
complex and compound sentences. A discussion of these types in brief can be shown
as under:

1. Simple sentences: simple sentences can be described on the basis of
   various types of sentences, like declarative, imperative and interrogative
   etc.

   (i)   Declarative: Vîô   nhásĭ   cə́

                        PN   fruit   eat   'vio ate fruit'

                        S   O   V

   (ii)   Imperative: nŏ   n zâ   thŭ-liè   'you write your
          name'

                        You sg.   Your   write-ASP

   (iii) Interrogative: (a) Direct question > hâû   kêdĭpuò   gâ 'what
          is this?'

                                              This   what   IP

                        (b) Indirect or passive question >

                                á bú   vór - liè   vĭ   mô   mò
          ga

                                I PASS come-ASP Maux IP   Neg   IP

                                'Can I come in?/ can I come in or not?'

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(c) Yes or No question > puô   vó   mó   'Did

s/he go?'

          (s)he   go   IP

(d) Tag question > nǒ   â   kí   phīr   ndiè

          You me to   come   IP

          'you came to me, isn't?'

2. Complex sentences: nǒ   vór   rī   ǎ bá   lhò

          You   come   even   I   stay   Neg

          'Even if you come, I won't be there'

3. Compound sentences: ǎ   mhâ   cǝ   mū   puô   cā   kriě

          I   thing   eat   and   s/he   tea   drink

          'I eat meal and s/he drinks tea'

There are also sentences that are much more complex than this, especially

with relative clauses, Mimi kevichusa has worked on the 'Relative clause formation

of Tenyidie (1996)' for her M. Phil Dessertation, and later on worked with K.V

Sbbarao on the 'Internal relative clauses in Tenyidie 1999)' as well. She has also

worked on 'Aspects of Tenyidie syntax' for her doctoral degree. Other works in

Tenyidie would include works of Alfons Weirdert(1982) 'star, moon, spirits, and the

affricates of Angami Naga', 'One word in Angami Naga' by Giridhar(1991) and

'Lexical incorporation and hyponymy in Angami (1991), 'Nominalization,

relativization, and attribution in Lotha, Angami, and Burmese' by Susan Herring

(1991), to mention a few.

However, there hasn't been any socioliguistic research done on the language

yet, and therefore this paper is an effort to look into the language from a

sociolinguistics point of view. Considering the lack of research done in the field of

Sociolinguistics, the scope of research on the language remains widely open. We have

thus far discussed the history and the features of the language, following chapters will

discuss the relationship between sociolinguistics and pragmatics in an effort to present

the theories of politeness in the next chapter and thereby try to apply the the theories

of politeness in the Tenyidie, and see how pragmatics gets its interpretations in

sociolinguistics.

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[i] The Tenyimia Peoples' organization in collaboration with URA Academy has taken initiatives in the recent past and with a team of historian, sociologist, anthropologist, linguist... visited Willong, see Nagaland post dated 31st May 2010.
[ii] called khusoh by the locals, khusoh and Khesora both refers to the same village, the reason for this being the lack of a standard spelling for the same in chokri dialect, when it was first documented.
[iii] also called chozuba by the locals.

[iv] Tenyidie is derived from this word, so is Tenyimia. Due to this origination, some explains that the two words are not hypothetically coined but biologically bound and canonically valid as well.
[v] The Zeliangrong tribe is known and officially called Zeliangs in Nagaland, it is also this tribe and angami that lives in Assam as well
[vi] The pouchuris are also usually clubbed under Chakhesangs as well.
[vii] Captain John Butler also wrote on the grammar of the language, in around the same time in his 'Rough notes'.
[viii] Tenyidie is used here in place of angami, since we are talking about the angami variety spoken in Kohima and as discussed earlier.

[ix] Ravindran, N.(1974), 'The angami Phonetic reader', The mid central unrounded vowel [ə] seem to be an addition in the later course of his work, found in the same book, but in the later chapters.

Chapter 2

A Socio-Pragmatic framework of politeness

2.1. A brief overview of Sociolinguistics:

Sociolinguistics is the study of language in relation to society. Man learns and

acquires language so easily and imperceptibly that he cannot distinguish it from his

instinctive faculties. Similarly, language is so extensively and pervasively used in our

social life that the people in general do not realize its distinctive role, and in the same

way sociolinguistics as a distinct science developed only when people became

conscious of the importance of the relation between language and society. Naturally

occurring speech data, rather than intuitions about how language is structured,

constitute the basis for much of what can be described as sociolinguistic study. Partly,

the emergence of the discipline was provoke by the dissatisfaction that arose with

Chomskyan Universal grammar, and finds its place between the same and

Bloomfieldian 'idiolect', with the responsibility to fill the huge space between them

(Singh, 1996: 1 & Gupta 2000: 27). Essentially sociolinguistics is the study of

language to society, which emerged from the late 1960's. Bloomfield viewed

linguistics as scientific, with formal mathematical rules with discrete input and output,

having no variables or free variation, while Chomskyan Universal Grammar has a

creative aspect of language in the form of generative transformational grammar.

Sociolinguistics is also often understood by some as being overlapping with applied

linguistics while there are also others who consider them as distinct fields. While one

can say that the moment we study what people do with languages of their verbal repertoire, we are applying linguistics, on the other hand we can also say that anytime we make a study of how language is used by its speakers in communication, we are doing applied sociolinguistics (Boxer, 1948: 1).

Dell Hymes looks at the discipline as a part of any subject be it linked with linguistics or any other disciplines that has to do with social life, if taken as to do with the usage of linguistic social data, rather than having a special name or so, to that end sociolinguistics in its effort to change the practice of linguistics and other discipline, provided for a better understanding of humanity (Hymes, 1974). To him the discipline came to be, out of the identity of interest of related sciences around problems that concerns linguistics on the one hand and anthropology, psychology and sociology on the other. The fundamentals consisting of a mode of organisation of language for communication in a community, brings to a realisation that the study of language is a multidisciplinary field, and the very study of this mode of organisation lets us to reconsider the bases of linguistics itself. All of which are closely related to each other and with the scope, dependencies and the foundations of linguistics itself. William Labov has a rather broader view of the discipline and would say that there can be no linguistics that is not social.

Sociolinguistics as an interdisciplinary subject emerged not only from those areas of linguistics and sociology which are related but unattended by them, but also from a whole area uncovered by them (Hymes, 1974: 4-5). As an interdisciplinary subject sociolinguistics covers fields of study like anthropology and sociology, philosophy of

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language, linguistic pragmatics and discourse analysis. A salient feature of sociolinguistics is that it not only brings together relevant parts of linguistics and sociology but also puts them together under a single theory, with a common objective and goals of research. In other words the social factors that have been affecting the development of the functioning of language have attracted the attention of many linguists, just as language as a social phenomenon has caught the attention of sociologist, ethnographers and other scholars (Svejcer, 1986:52).

Sociolinguistics as a specially demarcated area of language study dates back only to the early 1960's, though the social aspects of language study were noticed and mentioned in earlier works of language study. In fact for that matter, just as how linguists accept Pānini's *Astādhyāyi*☐ prove that scholarly linguistics was first practiced in ancient India, the same could possibly be a prove that it was one of the pioneering work in sociolinguistics, since there is a possibility that Pānini's rules are *inter alia,* 'sophisticated attempts at capturing the stylistic preference among variants which are characteristic of any living language. Though the term 'sociolinguistics' was first used in 1952 by Haver Currie, a poet and a philosopher who noticed the general absence of any consideration of the social aspect in the linguistic research of his day, followed by some significant works in sociolinguistics[i], it was not until William Labov's seminal work on Martha's vineyard (19620 and Lower East side, New York (1966) that the field of study took shape as a discipline in its own right. Labov's work fall under what we now call variationist sociolinguistics, where one makes a study of correlations between linguistic variables and non-linguistic

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variables(social class, age, sex, etc..), and for many it is this that forms the heart of sociolinguistics as a discipline (which means that the statistical correlation of structured variation in production patterns with global social variables such as socio-economic class and gender is considered the core area of research in the field). However if we are to take a broader view[ii], fields such as Interactional linguistics which examines meaning-making processes in contextualised language use and ways in which speakers signal and interpret meaning in social interaction or sociology of language, discourse analysis, ethnography of communication, pragmatics and linguistics anthropology, makes it all under the sociolinguistic field of study. It studies language structures in relation to interaction. Interactional sociolinguistics can be simply defined as a qualitative, interpretative approach to the analysis of social interaction that developed at the intersection of linguistics, anthropology and sociology (Gordon, 2010). It emerged mainly with the works of John J. Gumprez, who in his work on the ethnography of communication, observed the vast linguistic and cultural diversity in everyday talk. Interactional sociolinguistics grew out of ethnography of communication or also known as ethnography of speaking, which studies uses, patterns and functions of speaking as an activity in concrete social settings in the speech community[iii] and sociology of everyday life, by which is meant the ways of speaking through which we define ourselves and our relationships with others. It also studies how speakers in communities construct their identities, solidarity, membership or power through the language they use and how they use it, in their interaction, with language as a tool (Norrick, 2008).

The study of Sociolinguistics not only provides insights into the structure of language but also the structure of the society. Broadly, sociolinguistics can be classified into macro-sociolinguistics and micro-sociolinguistics, where the former deals with factors related to bilingual or multilingual communities where we have issues like language contact and choice, language and nation, language status, language maintainance and shifts and all related phenomena, and the later deals with discourse analysis and pragmatics respectively or in other words finer patterns on a local level. This classification is also realised as sociolinguistics (proper) and sociology of language, where some scholars believed that the former is part of the terrain mapped out in linguistics, focusing on language in society for the light that social context throw upon language, and to them sociology of language is primarily a sub-part of sociology, which examines language use for its ultimate illumination of the nature of societies (Mesthrie, 2001: 2). This classification is also realised in the way of sociolinguistics of society and sociolinguistics of language, where like macro-sociolinguistics bilingualism, multilingualism, language standardization, language planning, and etc. comes under sociolinguistics of society and the areas of the study of language function and variation in the social context of a speech community like, speech acts, language and gender, or power or politeness, etc. comes under the sociolinguistics of language.

One might as well say that sociolinguistics is an interdisciplinary, problem oriented subject, where all the social problems arising out of language or languages are studied. This open-ended definition provides for a wide scope and varieties for the

discipline, as a result we have seen in the last couple of decades, emergence of many

sub-branches like, language and culture, ethnicity, nationality, language conflict and

social change, language planning, standardization and modernisation of language,

language and international relations, etc. The main areas of concern in sociolinguistics

are, interaction, variation, culture, power and ideology, language contacts and

applications of sociolinguistics.

2.2. A brief overview of Pragmatics:

Pragmatics is usually associated with semantics, or for that matter as a branch of

semantics which studies the meanings that sentences have in particular context in

which it is uttered. The modern usage of the term pragmatics was first introduced by

Charles Morris, in his book 'Foundations of the theory of signs (1938)' which

investigates syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic relations of linguistic and non-

linguistic signs, and examines the roles various types of signs may play in influencing

human behaviour. Ultimately, it paved the way for pragmatics as a field of linguistic

enquiry in the early 1970's.

Semantics is the study of meanings, taken as a form of the theory of truth, which

borrows its technical tools from mathematical logic, now, a connection derived from

the observation that a speaker who knows the meaning of a sentence knows, at the

very least, under what conditions it is true or false. Every sentence, be it the simplest

conveys two sources; its truth condition and also additional inferences that we

typically make by reasoning on the speaker's motives for uttering one sentence rather

than the other, the former sources is provided by semantics and the later by

pragmatics, and in this way the two fields meet working out together the meaning of a sentence or an utterance. Charles Morris distinguishes the field of semantics and pragmatics as, 'the study of the relation of signs to the objects to which the signs are applicable' to semantics and pragmatics as 'the study of the relation of signs to interpreters'. However, because the use of the word signs is confusing due to its various meanings and implications, Steven Davis would later replace the word 'signs' with 'linguistic units', and a modified definition that distinguishes the two field of study stands as, semantics being 'the study of the relation of linguistic units to the world, and pragmatics as 'the study of the relation of linguistic users to its users' (Horn & Ward 2004). Geoffrey Leech too explained the distinction between semantics and pragmatics, and traced their differences to two different uses of the verb 'to mean' as in:

(1) What does X mean, and

(2) What do you mean by X

Where semantics traditionally deals with meaning as a dyadic relation as in (1) and so meaning in semantics is defined purely as a property of expression in a given language, in abstraction from particular situation, speaker or hearer. On the other hand, pragmatics deals with meaning as a triadic relation as in (2) where meaning is defined relative to a speaker or user of the language (Leech, 1983). However, problems relating to defining pragmatics remain as Levinson puts it that, the problem lies in the term pragmatics itself, as the term covers both context-dependent aspects of

language structure and principles of language usage, and understanding that has nothing or little to do with linguistic structure (Levinson, 1983).

Pragmatics is also studied as a sub-branch of semiotics, which again is usually studied as a sub-branch of semantics. Generally known as, 'science of signs' or 'the theory of signs', the term semiotics is derived from Ferdinand de Saussure's coinage of '*sémiologie*', which refers to 'a science which studies the role of signs as a part of social life'. Signs in semiotics are that meaningful unit which is interpreted by sign-users as 'standing for' something other than itself. For a very generic definition of pragmatics it can be called a study of meaning, however a more precise definition in linguistics would be to defined it as a study of how utterances have meanings in situations. A situation can be roughly described as a meeting of human interactants having a common goal. The situation here also comprises the various real world circumstances that either have occasioned the meeting or are material in creating its context. The context that we are referring to here is dynamic, and cannot be given at a time once and for all, it not only takes into account the background of the interactants from which they act and speak, but also constantly adjusts itself to the new developments in the interaction seen against the original background (Mey 2006: 788). As already discussed, the relation between pragmatics and semantics has been more of complementarity rather than distinct. Deixis or indexicality, presupposition, conversational implicature, speech acts, politeness, etc., forms the important areas of study in pragmatics, and in all these, semantics play a huge role in achieving the goals of pragmatics, and vice versa.

2.3. Pragmatics and sociolinguistics:

As discussed there has been no clear cut definition of pragmatics which could bring pragmatists to an agreement, but it is clear that pragmatics addresses issues relating to language use, and the addressing of these issues in the first place cannot be done without considering the social aspects of it. In fact pragmatics appears to be the first historically motivated approach towards a societal relevant practice of linguistics, which seems to originate from at least four of the following tendencies, forming what we know as pragmatics in the early 1990's:

(a). The 'Antisyntactic' tendency: Believed to be a result of the chomskyan School of Linguistics, whereby all linguistic science was supposed to fit into the linguistic framework, this tendency was met with much protest, and a numerous other alternative framework proposed in the late 1960's, none of which has a truly pragmatic orientation.

(b). The social-critical theory: Originating from Europe this tendency provides for a need for a socially useful science of language, which succeeded in getting the attention of the early pragmaticians, especially due to the effects language have on the lives of the people, when it comes to unequal societal power.

(c). The Philosophical tradition: Marked by Searle's work on 'Speech Acts' in 1969, this tendency originates with the British critical tradition of language tradition, formed later as a pragmatic territory by Chomsky's rebellious students.

(d). The ethnomethodological tradition: This tradition emphasises on communication rather than on grammar, on how people get their messages across and not on the ways in which they constructed their sentences. In its early stages it is seen that the ethnomethodological view is never taken seriously, however starting from the 1970's ethnomethodological research started to appear in pragmatics.The question of pragmatics and society is intimately connected with the relationship between linguistics as a pure science and the practice of linguistics as applied to what people use their language for, to 'what they do with the words'. Because of its extralinguistic influences the later is traditionally considered not a pure science, while the former carries the prestige of a pure science. However, pragmatics as a discipline has been always made continuous efforts to do away with these differences, as their main concern has always been on the user of the language, who are to be accredited with providing the bread and butter of linguistics theorizing, and the need to integrate the endeavours of works in the fields of applied sociolinguistics. This 'user' aspect in pragmatics is what sets it apart from or even opposed to both syntax and semantics as isolated disciplines. In pragmatics the 'users' which we are referring to here, has to be has to place where they belong too, i.e. in their social context, as the main conditioning factor that made the activity possible (Mey, 2009: 50-52). To describe the relation between pragmatics and sociolinguistics Mey writes:

> We cannot describe language and its use outside the context of that use, viz. the society in which language is used. To start out either with a definition of language (which one?), and then define society (what kind of?), or the other way around, will

only lead to endeavours (as frantic as they are makeshift) to paste together what never should have been separated in the first place (Rajagopalan, 2006: 946).

2.4. Politeness:

One of the fields of study which is found in both pragmatics and sociolinguistics would be politeness studies. In laymen's terms politeness refers to proper social conduct and tactful consideration of others, however despite decades of studies on politeness, a consensual definition of the meaning of the term or the very nature of the phenomena is still being researched. There is also another sense in which politeness is understood other than a proper social conduct, and that is of appropriateness, an intuitive ability common to all to distinguish what constitute polite as against rude, or tactfulness as against offensive behaviour. Even though these definitions as mentioned above does apply to the technical definition of linguistic pragmatics, they do in part, as the later has a much broader and a substantial concept where linguistic action is carried out more specifically in ways in which the relational function in linguistic action is expressed.

According to Fraser (1990) there are four views of politeness that can be distinguished as:

(a). The social norm view: Linguistic realization of politeness are inextricably linked to the respective culture-bound ideologies of use, which often are codified in etiquette manuals providing exegeses of the relevant social norms, displaying a great deal of historic relativity.

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(b). The face saving view: Scientific conceptualizations perceive politeness as a 'conversational maxim' as 'face saving' activity or as conversational contract. Grice's cooperative principle which regulates conversation, whose purpose is maximally efficient transmission of information, forms the basis in this view. This view conceptualizes politeness as essentially addressing members' 'individual needs, here it is through the reciprocal attribution of face wants and their symbolically exchanged appreciation in the form of politeness strategies that cohesive social ties are maintained and reinforced.

(c). Conversational maxim view: This view emphasizes enhancement of interpersonal relationships through abiding by social regulations, which help minimize friction between participants and thus ensure efficient functioning of social aggregates.

(d). The conversational contract view: proposed by Fraser this view represents the most global perspective on politeness. According to this view a polite conduct implies acting in accordance with the requirements of the conversational contract at any given moment of an encounter. The terms that determine this view are the participant's rights and obligations, which may change during the course of the interaction itself, depending on how it is going. Thus acting politely is virtually the same as using language appropriately.

The aspect of politeness in the conversational contract view is what we refer to as deference, a term adopted by Fraser from Goffman, while the aspect of politeness in the face saving view and conversational maxim view where politeness serves to implement speaker's goal when such goals are face threatening or involve impolite

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beliefs, is referred to as 'strategic or volitional', with the need to be distinguished from politeness as social indexing or discernment. Unlike strategic politeness, discernment operates independently of speaker's current goals, and rather represents the interlocutor's ascribed and achieved social properties, linguistically encoded in address terms and other forms of personal reference like honorifics (Kasper, 2001: 187-189). Though politeness is traditionally a field of study in pragmatics, it has now developed to cover a wider area of interdisciplinary research works, and one such example is that of pragmatics and sociolinguistics, both of which dominantly focuses on the user's interface. The study of discernment politeness as discussed above is one such area to be particular[iv], where pragmatics finds its interpretations in sociolinguistics and *vice versa*. One can make out from the above that the study is predominantly sociolinguistic, rather than a pragmatic concern as long as the social marking is not optional.

Politeness can be studied with the help of speech acts, such as, request, apologies, complaints, compliments, refusals, disagreement, thanking, offers, etc. While the degree of politeness in these speech acts may differ from an individual to another, depending on the relationship of the speaker with the interlocutor, which could be in terms of social status, gender, age etc., there are also differences that come with the language and the culture the speakers or the interlocutors are from. For instance, some kind of linguistic action are carried out more frequently in some culture than in others, like the act of thanking which seem to occur more frequently in some western context than in some Asian cultures. Or conventional indirectness,

rather than nonconventional indirectness are found to be the most polite request

strategy in American English and Hebrew, or that direct politeness strategies are

considered to be more acceptable in Slavic languages, Hebrew and German than in

any of the standard varieties of English, when it comes to interaction with familiars

but not intimates (Kasper, 2001: 190).

Brown and Levinson's (1978) work on politeness is the most well known

among all the works done on politeness so far, other well known names who have

worked on politeness are Watts, Fraser, Kasper, Blum-Kalka, etc. An attempt on

defining politeness will be made in the following along with the works worth

mentioning to fulfil the purpose of this paper as we discuss the various theories of

politeness, and how it came about.

2.4.1. Defining politeness:

Politeness is a social phenomenon, a means to achieve good interpersonal

relationships, and a norm imposed by social conventions. Politeness is universal, that

is, it can be observed as a phenomenon in all cultures. It is resorted to by speakers of

different languages as a means to an end and it is recognised as a norm in all societies.

Despite its universality, the actual manifestations of politeness, the ways to realize

politeness and the standards differ in different cultures (Tian, 2006). It is a form of

social interaction that is conditioned by the socio-cultural norms of a particular

society; it can be expressed through communicative and communicative acts

(Alfattah, 2010). Politeness is one of the most important aspects of human

communication: human beings can only exist in peace together if certain basic conventions of politeness are observed (Rash, Felicity, 2004: 48).

Politeness can also be seen in three dimensions; civil or socially correct, friendly, and tactful or diplomatic. A quick look at the literature shows that different researchers have favoured different senses, as Fraser (1990) said, 'one could say that for Leech (1983) being polite involves making the hearer 'feel good' (polite as friendly); to Brown and Levinson (1987) it means making him not 'feel bad' (polite as diplomatic); for Fraser himself it is 'the expected state' (polite as socially correct).'

Watts (2003) uses the term Politic behaviour to define politeness which refers to: "that behavior, linguistic and non-linguistic, which the participants construct as being appropriate to the ongoing social interaction. The construction may have been made prior to entering the interaction, but is always negotiable during the interaction, despite the expectations that participants might bring to it" (Watts, 2003).

Politeness is an interdisciplinary subject so widely spread, it has been difficult to define it, or to limit its scope of study, as a subject of study it has been only three decades, though the practice or the traditions of politeness has existed when man first used language, and there are many more areas of politeness that is yet to be studied.

2.4.2. Theoretical background:

What led to the study of politeness has in the beginning much to with the notion of speech acts in pragmatics, where we see Grice's (1989) Cooperative Principle (CP), later modified by Lakoff (1973), following in the same by Leech

(1983) and by Brown and Levinson (1978), whose work on politeness has been the most influential.

2.4.2.1 Speech act theory:

A speech act is created when a speaker or a writer 'S' makes an utterance 'U' to hearer or reader 'H' in context 'C'. In simple terms speech acts are acts done in the process of speaking, however, theories of speech acts is especially concerned with those acts that are not completely covered under one of the major divisions of grammar or under some general theory of action. Thus, we have greetings like 'Hi!' which cannot be completely described in grammar or in the formal features of the utterance, which shows that that there are conventional aspects to the study of speech acts. Also in utterances like, 'Oh! I love chocolates', it is not convention but the speaker's intention in making the utterance and recognition by the addressee of that intention under the condition of utterance, which plays the all important role here. Much of speech theory is devoted to striking the proper balance between convention and intention, and though they play important role they do not guarantee success, especially in situations where different language speakers meet, who may necessarily understand each other (Horn & Ward, 2004).

2.4.2.1.1. J. L. Austin:

The beginning of the modern study of speech acts can be credited to the publication of Austin's (1962) book, '*How to do things with words*' where he cited examples of utterances like:

(i). I christen this ship the Joseph Stalin

(ii). I now pronounce you man and wife

Which seem designed to do something rather than merely say something, and for such sentences Austin called them 'performatives', which do not have truth values, and for descriptive sentences employed mainly for saying something rather than doing something, he called them 'constantives' which carry truth values. Later on Austin substituted the two with three speech acts which stands as a contrast among the kinds of acts that are performed when language is put to use and they can be briefly discussed as under:

(a) Locutionary acts: They are those acts of speaking which involves the construction of speech, such as uttering certain sounds or making certain remarks, etc., using them in conformity with the grammatical rules of a particular language, as in:

He said to me, 'Shoot her!'

(b) Illocutionary acts: They are those acts done in speaking, including and especially those acts that in the apparent purpose for a performative sentence, as in:

He ordered me to shoot her.

(c) Perlocutionary acts: They are consequences or by-products of speaking, whether intended or not, as in:

He persuaded me to shoot her (Horn & Ward 2004).

Of the three acts, the illocutionary act is Austin's central innovation, he considers it to be the central component of language function since an illocutionary act is the actual performance of the speaker's purpose in speaking. It is also this act that has received the most attention in speech act studies. Austin argued for four kinds of felicity conditions: (a) a preparatory condition to establish whether or not the circumstances of the speech act and the participants in it are appropriate to its being performed successfully; (b) an executive condition to determine whether or not the speech act has been properly executed; (c) a sincerity condition and (d) a fulfilment condition determined by the Perlocutionary effect of the speech act. If all the relevant felicity conditions were satisfied for a given illocutionary act, it is considered 'happy' or 'felicitous' (Mesthrie 2001).

2.4.2.1.2 J.R. Searle:

However this was not without criticism, to which Searle (1969) came in defence and building upon Austin's work proposed a systematic framework which can incorporate speech acts, or more specifically, illocutionary acts into linguistic theory. Being aware of the significance of context, Searle (1969) takes Austin's felicity conditions a step further and systematizes the nature of conditions as (Mey, 2009) (Lin, 2005):

(a) The prepositional content condition; future act A of S

(b) The preparatory condition; (a) H would prefer S's doing A to his not doing A, and S so believes, (b) it is not obvious to both S and H that S will do A in the normal course of events.

(c) The sincerity condition; S intends to do A

(d) The essential condition; the utterance of e counts as an undertaking to do A.

Here S stands for the speaker, h for the hearer, A for the action, and e for the linguistic expression. The propositional content condition is in essence concerned with what the speech act is about, it specifies the restrictions on the content of what remains as the 'core' of the utterance after the illocutionary act part is removed. The preparatory conditions prepare the prerequisites for the speech acts. As for the sincerity condition, it is fulfilled only when an act is performed sincerely and genuinely, and an act can be performed without fulfilling the sincerity condition would result in the abuse of the term used by Austin. And the essential condition defines the act being performed in the sense that the speaker has the intention that his or her utterance will count as an act, and that this intention is recognised by the addressee (Mey (2009: 1003).

2.4.2.1.3 Indirect speech acts:

Speech acts are classified into direct speech acts and indirect speech acts depending on the relation between the sentence type and the illocutionary force. In a direct speech act there is a direct match between a sentence type and an illocutionary force, while in an indirect speech act there is no direct relationship between a sentence type and an illocutionary force. In other words indirect speech acts are those speech

acts whose force differs from what is taken to be literal meaning of the sentence uttered, for which we have examples like, hints, irony, metaphors, etc. this can be explained better with the following examples:

(a) Please pass me the salt

(b) Pass the salt

(c) Could you pass me the salt?

Where in case of (a) and (b) an explicit performative or the illocutionary force is applied in direct match with the sentence, in the form of a request and an imperative, however when the request is made in the form of an interrogative as in (c), the speech act becomes an indirect speech act. Indirect speech acts can also be realised in a situation where a speaker might warn a hearer of a bull charging in the form of a warning, which will make the speech act a direct speech act. However, in the same situation a speaker might warn the hearer by telling him/her to the effect the bull is about to charge, producing him/her an illocutionary effect of understanding that the speaker is stating that the bull is about to charge, causing him or her to be warned, and in such case with regard to the effect (perlocutionary) of warning, we have an indirect speech (Horn & Ward, 2006: 68).

It is seen that most people choose to use indirect forms in their speech acts, and the reason for that is often that speakers resort to it, to make sure they do not sound rude, and this is where the notion of pragmatic politeness in speech comes into play. Also most theories of speech acts barely touch on the reasons for which speakers use indirect rather than direct forms of speech acts, nor do they seek an explanation

for which particular indirect forms will be used under what conditions (Horn & Ward, 2006: 71).

The Speech Act Theory is not without criticism, although it has been very influential in a number of fields. Many researchers criticize traditional speech act research for basing their findings on simulated speech in isolated and single-sentence utterances that are divorced from the context. Summarizing on the criticisms of the speech act theory Lin Huey(2005), writes that unlike the traditional speech act research, the size or the unit of analysis of a speech act should not be limited to the sentence level, also that the analysis of the utterance in speech act theory should take the 'local' context, such as, conversational sequences into account, and the analysis of speech act should also consider the 'global' context, like, the socio-cultural values and beliefs of the speech community where the utterance takes place (Lin, 2005: 22).

2.4.2.2. Grice's Cooperative Principle:

While Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) focus on propositional meanings, another theory developed which stresses and concentrates on the unstated propositions, and this theory owes much to Grice who first stresses on the idea that ordinary communication takes place not directly by means of conventions, but in virtue of a speaker's evincing certain intentions and getting his or her audience to recognise those intentions. Also known as the father of intention-based semantics in which conventional meaning is of fundamental importance, Grice's communication model deals with indirectly-conveyed meaning called 'conversational implicature'.

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Watts (2003) presents the work of Grice as the watershed between the speech act approaches to the study of intentional meaning and logico-pragmatic approaches to the study of presuppositions and the study of processes of interfering and the negotiation of meaning. In the speech act approaches and the logico-pragmatic approaches the theoretical focus remained on the role of the speaker. While in the logico-pragmatic approach of study also known as the a 'Gricean' approach, the role of the hearer emerges more frequently as a crucial factor in processes of inferring meaning. Grice's contribution to the 'pragmatic revolution, though reaches back to the 1950's with the publication of his book 'Meaning', his most important contribution to the study of utterance meaning was made only in the late 1960's where he delivered a lecture on 'Logic and conversation' at Harvard University, embedded in his lecture were his original dual level of meaning interpretation into what he called and is now known as 'Cooperative Principle (CP)' for conversation (Watts, 2003: 57).

For Grice conversation communication is a series of cooperative efforts between the participants who observe a common principle, as his CP reads, 'Make your contribution such as is required, at the stage which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchanged in which you are engaged' (Lin, 2005: 23). Grice's CP consist of a limited set of context related conversational maxim, to which he maintains that, interactants in a conversation exchange should adhere, and violating any of the maxims leads the addressee to make what is termed as 'implicatures' in order to ascertain the speaker's intended meaning and thereby reinstate the CP. The maxims as proposed by him are as under:

a. the maxim of Quantity, in which interactants should keep their conversational contributions as informative as is required for the purpose of the conversational exchange, but not more informative;

b. the maxim of quality, in which interactants should say only what they believe to be true or that for which they have adequate evidence;

c. the maxim of relation, in which interactants should make their contributions relevant to the purpose of the overall conversation;

d. the maxim of manner, in which interactants should avoid obscurity of expression and ambiguity, should not engage in unnecessary verbosity, and should present their contributions in an orderly manner (Watts, 2003: 57-58).

With his cooperative principle, together with its related maxims, Grice aims to explain a set of regularities, i.e. those governing the generation and interpretation of 'conversational implicature'. In an instance of two sibling conversation, where one (John) comes carrying an ice-cream and says:

John: I didn't bother buying one for you

Sam: That's uncommonly generous of you

On the face of it Sam's reply is not true. In such case however, according to CP it would be assumed that Sam was making an appropriate comment on John's behaviour, in spite of the appearances. Thus, the result would be that Sam sacrificed a conversational maxim at one level, in order to uphold it at another, in other words

Sam had said something false, but implied something that is true. Grice argues that without the assumption that the speaker is operating according to the CP, there is no mechanism to prompt someone to seek another level of interpretation.

2.4.2.3. Lakoff's Conversational maxim approach:

Robin Lakoff (1973) is one of the first to conduct studies on politeness. Robin Lakoff's work on politeness consists of a number of relatively early articles (*'The logic of politeness; or minding your P's and q's (1973)', 'Questionable answers and answerable questions', and 'Stylistic strategies with a grammar of style' (1973)*), her monograph on gender differences in language (*Language and women's place'* (1975) and a more empirically based article dealing with the language of therapeutic discourse (*'The limits of politeness: therapeutic and courtroom discourse' (1989))*. Out of which perhaps it would be *'The logic of politeness; or minding your P's and q's'*, that best conceptualizes the phenomenon of politeness (Watts: 2003: 58-59).

The 'conversational maxim view' postulates a politeness principle as a complement to Grice's CP. The CP regulates conversation whose purpose is maximally efficient transmission of information, i.e. a primary referential orientation and the politeness principle addresses relational goals, serving primarily to 'reduce friction in personal interaction' (Mesthrie, 2001: 187). Lakoff's view on politeness is an extension of Grice's, where in an attempt to account for the politeness phenomena, proposes two basic rules, which she calls 'rules of pragmatic competence', which are:

Rule 1: Be clear

Rule 2: Be polite

Lakoff argues that all of Grice's conversational maxims postulates fall under her Rule 1, because Grice's maxims relate mainly to clarity and orderliness in conversation, since to him if one's main concern is the message to be communicated, the speaker will concentrate on the clarity of the utterance – Rule 1, whereas if one is to consider the status of the interlocutors and/or the situation the expression is involved, then the main concern should be on the expression of politeness.

In her 1973 work, lakoff lists three politeness rules which she later reformulates in her 1979 work as:

1. Don't impose – formality: keep aloof

2. Give options – deference: informal

3. Make a feel good – camaraderie/intimate: show sympathy (Lin 2003, 25-26).

If a speaker were to preface an utterance with 'I'm sorry to disturb you, but . . .', that part of the utterance would constitute formal politeness. If s/he were to say 'Would you mind closing the window?' this would constitute an example of informal politeness. If a speaker were to preface a request for a loan with an utterance like, 'Hey! That's a terrific suit you've got on there!' this would constitute an example of intimate politeness (Watts, 2003: 61).

Despite her insistence on pragmatic rules, Lakoff does not set up a production model of politeness. She claims that 'if one causes something to happen by linguistic means, one is using a linguistic device' (1973a: 293) and that 'the *pragmatic* content of a speech act should be taken into account in determining its acceptability just as its syntactic material generally has been, and its semantic material recently has been' (Watts, 2003: 59).

2.4.2.4. Leech's maxims of Politeness:

Developed about the same time as Brown and Levinson's (1978) politeness theory, Geoffrey Leech's theory of politeness is considered one of the most fully developed alternative frameworks of politeness study. Leech approach though shares similar approach to politeness to the others discussed so far, it differs in its analysis of linguistic politeness. Leech stresses on the issue of 'why people are often so indirect in conveying what they mean', and proposes a Politeness Principle (PP), which states:

> Minimize (other things being equal) the expression of impolite beliefs.... Maximize (other things being equal) the expression of polite beliefs (Mey 2009: 716).

So, for example, if Mark's niece who recently bought a new pair of shoes, asked him if he liked her new shoes – bright pink plastic sandals, decorated with glitter. Mark actually finding them rather ghastly, but rather than saying "I think they're awful," he replied "they look really cool." The Politeness Principle accounts for Mark's

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nicely ambiguous response, which was strictly truthful but minimized the expression

of Mark's very impolite beliefs about her shoes (Mey, 2009: 716).

The approach taken by Leech on general pragmatics are understood to be

'rhetorical'[v] in nature, thus his maxims can be also recognised under two systems of

rhetoric as, textual rhetoric and interpersonal rhetoric[vi]. This is arrived at when we

consider an important distinction made by Leech's theory, where the distinction is

between a speaker's illocutionary goals, i.e. the speaker's intention that is to be

conveyed in the utterance, and the speaker's social goals, i.e. the position the speaker

is taking on being truthful, polite, ironic, and the like (Marta 2005: 107). While both

Lakoff and Leech's politeness principles can be said to be an expanded version of

Grice's Cooperative principle, we see Lakoff limiting the maxims to just two, while

Leech's set of maxims is very much larger even to that of Grice's four, and has six

'interpersonal maxims,' as:

Tact maxim: minimize cost to other. Maximize benefit to other.

Generosity maxim: minimize benefit to self. Maximize cost to self.

Approbation maxim: minimize dispraise of other. Maximize praise of other.

Modesty maxim: minimize praise of self. Maximize dispraise of self.

Agreement maxim: minimize disagreement between self and other. Maximize

agreement between   self and other.

Sympathy maxim: minimize antipathy between self and other. Maximize sympathy

between self and other.

Each of these maxims operates by way of a set of scales: cost-benefit,

optionality, indirectness, authority and social distance, as according to Leech a

speaker always strives to maximize the benefit for his or her hearer while minimizing

the cost that is unfavourable to the hearer, and ultimately reaches the social goal of

establishing and maintaining comity (Lin 2005: 27).

In a comparative study conducted between the Asia and west on the maxims,

for example the Modesty maxim, which states 'minimize the expression of praise of

self; maximize the expression of dispraise of self,' it is seen that the maxim apply

differently in differently cultures, and Leech's maxim provides a way of accounting

for a number of cross-cultural differences in politeness behaviour, as well as

perceptions of what count as polite in different cultures and sub-cultures (Mey, 2009:

717).

The major purpose of Leech's PP is to establish and maintain feelings of

comity within the social group. Whereas Lakoff considers the rules of conversation

(Grice's CP) and the rules of politeness (Leech's PP) to constitute pragmatic

competence, Leech considers the CP and PP to constitute only the principles of

interpersonal rhetoric (Watts, 2003: 64). Each of these Interpersonal Principles has the

same status in his pragmatic theory, with the (CP) and its associated maxims used to explain how an utterance may be interpreted to convey indirect messages and the (PP) and its maxims used to explain why such indirectness might be used (Marta, 2005: 107). Leech (1983) distinguishes between what he calls 'Relative Politeness', which refers to politeness *vis-a-vis* a specific situation, and 'Absolute Politeness', which refers to the degree of politeness inherently associated with specific speaker actions. Thus, he takes some illocutions (e.g., orders) – and presumably the linguistic forms used to effect them – to be inherently impolite, and others (e.g., offers) to be inherently polite (Marta, 2005: 107). The terms polite and impolite as it can be seen are also used by Leech, however it differs with that of Brown and Levinson's version of politeness and impoliteness (will be discussed in the following and more in detail in the next chapter) in that Leech's negative politeness or impoliteness consist of the minimization of the impoliteness of impolite illocutions, and positive politeness or being polite consist of the maximization of the politeness of polite illocutions.

The main problem with Leech's approach to the analysis of politeness, as a number of critics have pointed out, is that there is no motivated way of restricting the number of maxims. This means it is difficult to falsify the theory since any new problem can be countered by the development of yet another maxim writes Mey(2009: 717). While Watts (2003) writes that the principal criticism of Leech's model, then, is that it considers linguistic politeness from the point of view of speech act types, some of which appear to be inherently polite or impolite, but gives the researcher no clear idea of how an individual participating in an interaction can

possibly know the degree and type of politeness required for the performance of a

speech act.

2.4.2.5. Brown and Levinson's politeness theory:

Brown and Levinson (1987) view politeness as a complex system for

softening face-threatening acts (Alfattah, 2010: 148). According to this theory

politeness is defined as the speaker's attempt to manage a potentially disruptive nature

of speech acts with the intention to save the face of others (Alfattah, 2010: 148). It is

thus, a redressive action taken to counter balance the disruptive effect of face

threatening acts (FTA's). Brown and Levinson defined face-threatening acts (FTAs)

according to two basic parameters: (1) Whose face is being threatened (the speaker's

or the addressee's), and (2) Which type of face is being threatened (positive- or

negative- face). Acts that threaten an addressee's positive face include those acts in

which a speaker demonstrates that he/she does not approve of or support the

addressee's positive face or self image (e.g., complaints, criticisms, accusations,

mention of taboo topics, interruptions). Acts that threaten an addressee's negative face

include instances in which the addressee is pressured to accept or to reject a future act

of the speaker (e.g., offers, promises), or when the addressee has reason to believe

that his/her goods are being coveted by the speaker. Examples of FTAs to the

speaker's positive face include apologies, acceptance of a compliment, self-

humiliations, and confessions. Some of the FTAs that are threatening to the speaker's

negative face include expressing gratitude, accepting a thank-you, an apology or an offer, and making promise (Wagner, 2004: 22-23).

Brown and Levinson's (1987) model of politeness was developed to complement Grice's pragmatics, and to account for utterances which appear to violate the cooperative principle although participants still appear to be engaged in cooperative behaviour. Some violations of the maxim of quality, for example, involve lying to avoid being rude to a hearer, and indirect requests similarly seem to violate the maxim of manner in order to avoid causing offence with a more direct equivalent. In this model, Brown and Levinson invoke the notions of positive and negative face. In polite exchanges, participants attend to positive face needs by attempting to meet one another's desires, and attend to negative face needs by not impeding or imposing on these desires. Departures from the conventions of the politeness principle involve what are termed face-threatening acts (FTA's) (Mey, 2009: 1053).

Brown and Levinson's theory though might have more to do with the 'conversational logic' proposed by Grice, it is initially believed to be influenced by Goffman, and this can be seen in Brown and Levinson's concentration on the concept of 'face wants.' Brown and Levinson's politeness theory examines the ways in which speakers and hearers use conversational implicature to fulfil the 'face wants' of higher-status participants in conversation. Brown and Levinson's model of politeness usage is posited as a valuable framework for understanding social interactions, especially the strategic use of language. Within their theory's conceptionalization, politeness becomes a model for all human public social interaction, and the correct

and appropriate use of conventional politeness form is seen to be embedded is an understanding of social relations and human actions (Alfattah, 2010: 149).

Brown and Levinson state that face is something that is emotionally invested, and that can't be lost, maintained or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in an interaction (Brown & Levinson, 1978: 66). Though the concept of face of Brown and Levinson's has its roots in Goffman's, they differ in that Goffman's concept of face seeks to accommodate both strategic and social indexing behaviour and is best apprehended in the context of social order as ritual. Their politeness principles, proposes that there is a public-self image that we all want to claim and protect – one that consists of the want to be stroked and the want to be left alone. These two competing wants and their concomitant claims for universality is what triggered a large body of work on politeness pragmatics (Mey, 2009: 798). This concept of face can be thus described as having two components, 'positive face' and 'negative face', which are two related aspects of the same entity and refer to two basic desires or 'wants' of any individual in any interaction:

(a) Negative face: the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-   distraction – i.e. to freedom of action and freedom from imposition.

(b) Positive face: the positive consistent self-image or 'personality' (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants (Mey, 2009: 61).

Their model of politeness with their strategies can be represented as under:

lesser

↑ estimated risk of face-loss to addressee
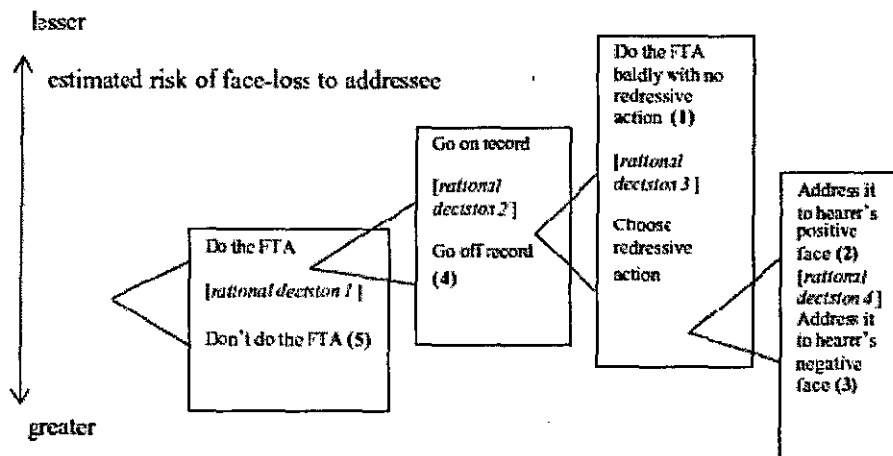
Figure 2.1. Brown and Levinson's politeness strategy

The first strategy is employed when there is no risk of loss of 'face' involved,

here the participants have no doubts about the communicative intention of the

speaker, i.e. a promise. Brown & Levinson (1987: 69) claim there is no need for

redressive action since the interlocutors are either on intimate terms or because other

demands for efficiency override their 'face' concerns. The second and third strategies

involve redressive action. Here the speaker tries to maintain his 'face' as much as

possible and at the same time tries to mitigate the potential threat of the act. The

fourth strategy is employed when the risk of loss of 'face' is great, the communicative

act is ambiguous, i.e.: a hint, and its interpretation is left to the addressee. The 'off

record' strategy, also called hints or non-conventional indirectness, is thus related to

the flouting of Grice's maxims in which meaning is to some degree negotiable by

means of conversational implicatures. Their fifth strategy includes cases in which

nothing is said due to the fact that the risk involved is too great (Reiter, 2000: 14).

Brown & Levinson (1987) claim their politeness theory to be universally

valid, however they arrived at this by conducting research on just three languages, i.e.

English, Tzeltal and Tamil, and thus their claim on universality is naturally classified. In their work they posit a universal Model Person with the ability to rationalize form communicative goals to the optimal means of achieving these goals. This Model Person can be seen as the embodiment of universally valid human social characteristics and principles of social reasoning. Brown & Levinson, however, admit that much cultural elaboration is expected on the level of, for example, what kinds of speech acts threaten face, what kinds of politeness strategies are preferred and what kinds of social relationships will trigger face-protective strategies. And in spite of the criticism most of the research into politeness since the 1987 republication of Brown & Levinson's theory in book may be characterized as somehow related to Brown & Levinson's theory. The theory has been the preferred framework, for example, in empirical work on particular types of speech acts in a wide range of languages and cultures and in cross-cultural work considering the ways in which two or more cultures differ in their realizations of politeness (Liisa, 2006: 326).

Further discussions will be made on Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness in the next chapter, where an effort for an application of the theory in Tenyidie will be made.

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[i] The influential works includes Weinreich's (1953)Languages in contact (a structural and social account of bilingualism), Einar Haugen's (1953) two volume study of the social history of the Norwegian language in America, and Joos (1962) on the dimensions of style

[ii] By this I am referring to the areas of sociolinguistics that has developed during the 1970's, which are not a part of the variationist sociolinguistics, with contributions from sociologists, like conversational analysis, etc..

[iii] Speech community refers to a community of speakers with shared rules of speaking and a shared speech variety

[iv] In general the study of politeness in pragmatics and sociolinguistics are interrelated.

[v] Rhetoric here means 'the effective use of language in its most general sense, applying it primarily to everyday conversation, and only secondary to more prepared and public uses of language'.
[vi] It is under this interpersonal rhetoric that we find Leech's Politeness Principle, also called 'interpersonal maxims

Chapter 3

Politeness in Tenyidie

3.1 Brown and Levinson's politeness Strategies:

When it comes to a theoretical framework for the studies of politeness most researchers either opt for Leech's model or Brown and Levinson's model of politeness. Leech's model of politeness is found to be descriptive and very taxonomic which researchers find it useful in accounting for their data. On the other Brown and Levinson's model of politeness is found to be more of a productive model. It provides for a model that claims to explain the occurrence of specific forms of linguistic politeness in preferences to others and to do so, on the basis of claims of universality. Till date the two models remain to be the most influential models available for research works on politeness because like no other models their models are found to be very elaborative and detailed. Their models allow researchers to test and apply real language data, and the examples they provide in support of their theory are very extensive of the kinds of linguistic structures that are put to use to realise politeness strategies (Watts 2003).

Politeness is one of the many social aspects in linguistics, sometimes studied as a variable in itself and sometimes on variables in it. A linguistic variable can exist at any level of the grammar, ranging from phonetics to discourse, from phonology and syntax (Wolfram, 1993). A sociolinguistic variable is a linguistic element that co-varies not only with other linguistic elements, but also with a number of

extralinguistic independent variables like social class, age, sex, ethnic group or contextual style (Fasold, 1990). The sociolinguistic variables we will be focussing on as we proceed henceforth will be of social distance, gender, age, and others which we will point out as we come across them. A quick glimpse of politeness in Tenyidie can be represented in the context of a student conversing with a teacher as[i]:

<div>

A. A phfü   keba leshu hau ha lie[ii]

   I search do book this one

   'This is the book I was looking for'

B. A leshü hau selie vi   mo mo ga

   I book this use good   intrgtve

   'Can I use this book?'

C. N kebvii te   derei a bu leshü hau pie · lievi tuo mo mo shi,

   you disturb gr   but me to   book this look okay gr   intrgtve

   n ketso   nyü ba lie

   you ask   want gr

   'Sorry to disturb you, but I wanted to ask you if I can take a look at this book'

D. A leshu hau phfü   ba ru

   I book this search do gr

   'I was looking for this book'

</div>

According to Brown and Levinson, there are four types of politeness strategies that sum up human "politeness" behaviour: Bald On Record, Negative Politeness, Positive Politeness, and Off-Record-indirect strategy.

If you answered A, you used what is called the Bald On-Record strategy which provides no effort to minimize threats to your Hearers' "face."

If you answered **B**, you used the Positive Politeness strategy. In this situation you recognize that your teacher has a desire to be respected. It also confirms that the relationship is friendly and expresses group reciprocity.

If you answered **C**, you used the Negative Politeness strategy which similar to Positive Politeness in that you recognize that they want to be respected however, you also assume that you are in some way imposing on them. Some other examples would be to say, "I don't want to bother you but..." or "I was wondering if ..."

If you answered **D**, you used Off-Record indirect strategies. The main purpose is to take some of the pressure off of you. You are trying not to directly impose by asking for a pen. Instead you would rather it be offered to you once the teacher realizes you need one, and you are looking to find one. A great example of this strategy is something that almost everyone has done or will do when you have, on purpose, decided not to return someone's phone call, therefore you say, " I tried to call a hundred times, but there was never any answer."

What is not being accounted for here is the relation that the teacher has with the student. The relationship between a teacher and a student is not always distant, in fact a good teacher is one who makes sure that the students open up to him with their problems, which would mean that student should feel free to talk to the teacher. It is not impossible a situation to hear a student say:

Tenyidie: (e)A   leshü   hao   pei   ta   tuo   ho

          I   book   this   take   gr   do   gr

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'I am taking this book'

The above sentence when translated in English sounds more like a statement, it would be if not for the 'ho' in the last part of the sentence, which in tenyidie stands as kind of a question marker. If we are to make the same sentence that would have a translation in English in the form of a question it would be:

(f) A leshu hao   pei   to ho, ndie?   'I am taking this book okay?'

      I book   this take   gr   okay

The same sentence if we are to make it a statement, which would leave no option for the H to say either 'yes' or no' would be:

Tenyidie: (g) A leshu hao pie ta tuo!

                'I am taking this book'

What (e) expresses is as mentioned more of a statement, but which is still a question, it is rather direct but still need the 'yes' or 'no' or 'okay', from the Hearer. How do we place such sentences in the above, it is direct but does not fall in to Bald on record because it still looks for the H's response. For a student to say that to his/her teacher, it sure seems to signal friendliness, but too direct to fall into positive politeness category, it is close to the description of negative politeness as given earlier, however there is no clear cut distinct words used, so as to be able to relate to a category. It is this **social distance** between the S and H, that forms one of the variable for analysis in this paper.

Brown and Levinson theory of politeness relies heavily on the notion of face, or one's public image. There are two sides to their approach; positive face reflects the desire to be well thought of in one's community while, negative face reflects the desire to be independent and autonomous. Their politeness strategies are various means to preserve the two faces of interlocutors in the face of potentially face-

threatening acts, such as asking for a favour of some kind. Examples of positive

politeness in English and Tenyidie can be given as:

English: Would you be a dear and hand me that spoon?

Tenyidie: N   pezie   rei   leshu   hau   khashu   cie

You   please   gr   book   this   give   do

'Can you please give me this book?'

Or in Tenyidie: (to kids or someone considerably younger than you)

No   nuokevi   la   hatsa   vorlie   cie

You good child   here   come   gr

'You are a good kid, come here'

The above examples attends to the addressee's positive face, while negative politeness

can be represented as:

English: I hate to bother you, but could you hand me that spoon

Tenyidie: N   kebvü te,   derie   n   pezie   rei   kecie   khapie ha tsa shu

You bother gr   but   you   please   do   spoon   give   me   do

lie cie

gr

The above example attends to the addressee's negative face. The universality of

Brown and Levinson's principles has been questioned; some have claimed there are

basic differences between Asian and European cultures, suggesting that in the east the

desire for harmony and the good of the group outweighs the individualism which characterises Western societies (Gu, 1990). Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness argues for two fundamental motivations, i.e. positive and negative face and their politeness strategies are redressive actions taken to counterbalance face threatening acts (FTA's)(Lin, 2005: 2-3). They provide for fifteen strategies addressed to positive politeness and ten sub-strategies to the hearer's negative face, below is a representation of the strategies in Tenyidie:

3.1.1. Positive politeness Strategies:

Strategy 1: Notice, attend to H (his/her interest, wants, needs, goods etc..):

no therhei chü si se ru,→ (FTA) a la phfe puo do sü lievi tuo mo

you weave make good me for shawl one weave do can

mo ga

intrgtve

'You are very good at weaving, can you make a shawl for me?'

Strategy 2: Exaggerate (interest, approval, sympathy with H):

Aya! Vizo n se moro suo bei te ha, → (FTA) no a la mhapuo chü

You need must bad do you me for one thing do
shü lievi tuo mo mo ga

can intrgtve

'Aya! Vizo I'm badly in need of you, can you do one thing for me?'

Strategy 3: Intensify interest to the hearer in the speaker's contribution:

Thie   lie   nu   tsu   ru   mha puo ngu → (FTA) [begins narrative]

Today field in   go   gr   thing one see

    'when I went to the field today, I saw something....'

Strategy 4: Use in-group identity markers in speech:

Azeu   no phir kelie puotou te, → (FTA) thedze puo   kepu   morosuo ba te ru

friend you come do good gr   story one discuss must   there gr

    'It's good that you came friend, got something important to discuss'

Strategy 5: Seek agreement in safe topics:

No pu kebau   puotou zo → (FTA) sodu   kese   lievi to mo mo ga

You say + PST right   gr   tomorrow meet can   intrgtve

    What you said is right ..... Can we meet tomorrow?

Strategy 6: Avoid disagreement:

No   pu   kebau   kerkrü te   icü   pu   liesuo. → (FTA) derei   mhaca

You say   PST   wrong gr that say cannot   but   way

kekrei   pu   nu   le   shü ro...   sü-u mo me

different one in   think do gr ...   isn't it so

'What you said is not wrong, but if we think of it in one way.... Is not it like that?'

Strategy 7: Presuppose, raise, assert common ground:

Hako ha sü avu la   molie, rei → (FTA) khe kekrei   ra   vo ta tuo

This gr   us   for   not   come different place go do

'This things are not for us, let us go somewhere else'

Strategy 8: Joke to put the hearer at ease:

A: Thie   tei   le thor te, ketie rei   pa lie suo

   Today weather hot very gr outside also go gr neg

        'The weather is so hot today, can't even go outside'

B: Ketho zo

   True gr

A: → (FTA) No   theva   tie   kinu   phir   lievi to mo mo ga

        You evening time home come can   intrgtve

        'Can you come over in the evening?'

Strategy 9: Assert or presuppose knowledge of and concern for hearer's wants:

A kinu vocü cie   no cha kebau pie   vor tuo. → (FTA) ketho, a

I home come when you ask do   bring come   O   me

la mhapuo chü lie vi tuo   mo mo ga

for one thing do gr   can   intrgtve

'When I come home, I'l bring what you asked for.....O can you do one thing

for me?'

Strategy 10: Offer Promise:

(a) A mho puo khrü se tuo mu, → (FTA) no   thie   a mhatho puo

    chüshü cie

I thing one buy gr will gr you today me work one

do gr

'I'll buy something for you,….. Can you work in my place today?'

Or in Tenyidie the FTA can also come first even in the same case:

(b) → (FTA) No thie a la mha puo chüshü liro, (Strategy 10) a
mha

You today me for thing one do if I
thing

puo khrü n tsü tuo

one buy you give gr

'If you do something for me, I will buy you something'

However, notice the replacement of 'mu' by 'liro,' both sentences can be used to make an offer, but in terms of preference or usage, it is more likely that people will choose to use (b).

Strategy 11: Be optimistic that the hearer wants what the speaker wants, i.e. that the FTA is slight:

No ki kemesa nu ba nyü cü kemhie → (FTA) a la ta ro, mha

You house clean in stay like do same me for gr thing

Kehoukerou puo rei kelhu lielho.

Here and there one also throw neg

'Just as you want to live in a clean house, if I were you, I will not throw things here and there'

Startegy 12: Include both S and H in the activity:

A lho se te, rüli lie khe. (FTA → S wants wants to stop and rest, and wants

Me tired gr rest do lets

to get H agree to do the same)

'I'm tired let's take rest"

Strategy 13: Give or ask for reasons:

Menüo tazhie, → (FTA) kinu   vor ta khe

  Late   geting   home go gr let's

'It's getting late, let's go home'

Strategy 14: Assert reciprocal exchange for tit for tat:

(FTA) No thie a la mha puo chüshü   liro, (Strategy 14) a mha

You today me for thing one do if   I thing

puo khrü n   tsü   tuo

 one buy   you give gr

'If you do one thing for me, I'll buy you something'

Strategy 15: Give gifts to H (goods, sympathy, understanding, cooperation):

A: (strategy 15) A   n   la   thevo   chü   khrü ba ho

                 I   you for   pork   meat   buy   gr

B: N pezie.   'thank you'

  You thank

A: Hamo lie. → (FTA) avu do   puo kerüchü lievi tuo mo mo ga

   Okay gr   let's some one   talk   can   intrgtve

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'That's okay, ... Can we talk for saome time?'

3.1.2. Negative politeness strategies:

Strategy 1: Be conventionally direct:

No   n   pezie   rei   haki   phi cie

You your please   gr   here   come gr

'Can you please come here'

Strategy 2: Do not assume willingness to comply. Question, hedge:

A   n   ki   mha   puo   ketso   tuoü   phir   zhie   lie.

I   your home thing one   ask   to   come   gr

'I came to your house to ask you one thing'

Strategy 3: Be pessimistic about ability or willingness to comply. Use the subjunctive:

No   n   tei   kha   shü   lievi   tuo   ro, a   n   ze   kerüchü   nyü   ya
lie

You your time   give   can   if   a   you   with   talk   like   gr

'If you can spare some of your time, I would like to speak to you'

Strategy 4: Minimize the imposition:

A rukri vapuo n ruchü morosuo ba lie

I   quick   once you talk must gr

'I need to have a quick word with you'

Strategy 5: Give deference:

U te,   a tsü   kerkrü za   te

Yes gr   I there wrong slight gr

'Yes I was wrong there'

Strategy 6: Apologise:

N   kebvü   la te,   mha   puo   n   ki   pu   morosuo te

You bother   again   thing   one   you   with say   must   gr

'Had to bother you again, but I must tell you something'

Strategy 7: Impersonalise the speaker and the hearer. Avoid the pronouns 'I' and 'you':

A: Hau   supuo   phiku   ga

   This   whose   shoe   intrgtve

      'whose shoe is this'

B: A vie lie   'mine'

   I   mine

A:.Phiku   ko   se   hanu   shü   ya   mo

   Shoe   pl   wear here   keep gr neg

'Shoes should not be kept here'

Strategy 8: State the FTA as an instance of a general rule:

Mechü   nu   sada   te   kecü   kha ho, → (FTA) no   te   baro   n
gei .

Public   in   cigarette smoke   do   stop gr   you smoke do you with

raka   pena   tuo.

Money penalty gr

'Smoking is not allowed in a public place, I you smoke you will be penalised'

Strategy 9: Nominalise to distance the actor and add formality:

Zu   dze   kecü   kha te ho. → (FTA) n za   suopuo ga

alcohol sell do   banned gr   your   name gr

'Selling alcohol is banned here...... your name?'

Strategy 10: Go on record as incurring a debt, or as not indebting H:

→ (FTA) Mhanu nu a mhatho nu a   khrohi shü liro, (Strategy 10) a n
Lie

        If   in   I   work   in   l   help   do   then   I
your field

mhatho nu   n khrohi shü tuo,

work   in you help do gr

'If you'll help me with my work, I'll help you with your work in the field'

The other strategies can be further classified into similar fashion as:

3.1.3. Bald on record:

The bald on record strategy is found to be in agreement with Grice Maxims, which

defines the basic set of assumptions underlying every talk exchange. These utterances

though are not strictly bound by the maxims. The main reason for the use of this strategy is so that, whenever S wants to do the FTA with maximum efficiency more than he wants to satisfy H's face, even to any degree, he will choose the bald on record strategy. There is also another case of FTA where non-minimization occurs while doing the FTA primarily in the H's interest. Accordingly the classification of strategies can be done as:

1. Instances where the face threat is not minimized:

Strategy 1: An emergency:

Phir   mha cie

Come   quick gr

'Come quickly'

Strategy 2: task oriented:

Tsu kha shü

That give do

Give me that

Strategy 3: request:

Nouva tsücie

Have meal.

Strategy 4: Alerting:

Tsu   tsa phi hiecie

There   gr go don't

'do not go there'

Strategy 5: Hear me out

A   pfhe   rünyü   shücie

I   voice   hear

Strategy 6: Little or no desire to maintain someone's face:

pfhe   menyi   rukra   mo ta hiecie

clothes   wash   remember   neg   gr

'Do not forget to wash the clothes'

2. Instances where the FTA is primarily in H's interest:

Strategy 7: Warning:

Menuo   lie   rutou tatuo ho

Cautious   be   fall   gr

'Be careful, you might fall'

3. Instances where face threat is minimized implicitly:

Strategy 8: Welcome:

Ler lie / vor cie

Come in

Strategy 9: offers:

Sizo   ta   cie   a   athuo   kenuoze   chüshü tuo

Leave gr   gr   I   myself   later   do

'Leave it, I'll do it later'

3.1.4. Off-record Strategy:

This strategy according to Brown and Levinson is the most polite way of

communicating a face threatening act. Following this strategy leaves one with more

than a single interpretation for the communicative act, leaving the face threatening act

as well as the correct interpretation of the act open to question. Thus if a speaker

wants to do an FTA but wants to avoid the responsibility for doing it, he/she can opt

for an off record strategy and leave it up to the addressee to decide how to interpret it.

For this strategy to work a speaker must violate Grice maxim of efficient

communication (Lin, 2005: 37-38). The sub-strategies in the off record strategy can

be grouped according to maxim they violate as:

(a). Violates relevance maxim:

Strategy 1: Giving hints:
chu   cü   kemo telhe   te

Meat eat   not   long gr

'It's been a long time since we last met'

Haki   sei   se   lie ha

Here   cold   quite   gr

'It's quite cold here'.

Strategy 2: Give association clues:

Ah! Molie raka pielie rükra   mo la   ta luo.

No money take remember no again   gr

'Oh! I forgot to take my money again'

Strategy 3: Presuppose:

Thei   rei   a   bu   mhacha   la lie

Today again   me let   cook   again gr

'They made me cook again today'

(b). Violates quantity maxim:

Strategy 4: Understating:

Khriesamia   cü-u   thuo rei   chulie si   mo me

Young people   that   even   able   know   intrgtve

'Don't you young people know even how to do that?'

Strategy 5: Overstating:

Thie   nuolhou thekra   thenyie   vor we

Today   people   hundred thousand   come gr

'Hundreds and thousands of people turned out today'

(c). Violates quality maxim:

Strategy 6: Using tautologies:

A   a   thuo pherie   vor   zhie lie

I   me   self   roam   come   gr

'I just by just by myself'

Strategy 7: Use contradictions:

A: Puo phizhü me

   He come   intrgtve

   'Is he coming?'

B: Phir   cü bi,   mo cü bi

   Come like gr neg 'like gr

   'looks like he is coming and not comong'

Strategy 8: Be ironic:

Chü si zo lie

Do   good gr

'that so great of you'

Strategy 9: Use metaphors:

Thudo mhie zo lie

Bull   like gr

'just like a bull'

Strategy 10: Use rhetorical questions:

A   kidi   si   tuo ga

I   how   know   intrgtve

'How would I know'

(d). Violates manner maxim:

Strategy 11: Being ambiguous:

Lexical ambiguity:

Hau   puo   khu   'this is his paddy field/plate'

This   his   paddy feild/plate

Puo thu   shü

He wrote/ dash it

Puoko chokri, tenyidie, mu English la kepetha   phfii   ba

They   and   for teachers search do

'they are looking for teachers in chokri, tenyidie and English'

Strategy 12: Be vague:

Kehoupuo rie u thuo u si   lie cü   mese

Anybody gr own   know   do   should

'everybody should know their own selves'

The core of Brown and Levinson's model (1978: 76) is the claim that the
"weightiness" or degree of face threat posed by an act is a function of three social
factors:

  • The relative *power* the hearer (H) has over the speaker (S). Power is an

    asymmetric relationship. If all other factors are equal, I must use more

    politeness to a more powerful Hearer to maintain a constant level of threat.

• The *social distance* between H and S. Social distance is roughly the inverse

of familiarity and is symmetric. The more familiar my H is, the less politeness

I need to use.

• The *imposition* of the raw act itself. Highly imposing acts, requests or topics

demand more redress if a constant level of threat is to be maintained.

Brown and Levinson's strategies of politeness, draws conclusions on what sentence

will go to which category, by the degree of face threat caused by the above social

factors, but what about **Gender**. Take for example bald on record, if we are to give a

sentence tenyidie such as:

Mhai vorlie   'come fast'

Fast   come

The strategy will simply put the sentence under bald on record, which talks about

hints, presupposition, irony, etc. However, the sentence above not only talks or

commands somebody to 'come fast' but it tells you that when such words are uttered

they are in most instances, by the elders in the community to someone considerably

younger man or woman or a kid, thus the elements of **social distance** in the simple

sentence. That is not all, the sentence also tell you that it most unlikely that, they will

be uttered by a woman, as woman are considered more polite and soft in the

community, thus the **gender** factor in the language out of a simple sentence as such.

Also even if a woman does speak such words, it is most likely to be to her own

children.

Proceeding further we will look into politeness in tenyidie with the help of some of the speech acts, and discuss their strategies, starting with request.

3.2. Request

A request is an act which gets the addressee to do or not to do something and can be seen as a "directive" in a broader sense. Directives are "acts which attempt to get the hearer to do something" and are one of the six broad types of language functions, alongside expressive, referential, metalinguistic, poetic and phatic. Directive is defined as utterances attempting to get someone to do something (Cheng, 2009).

According to Brown and Levinson's (1978) theory of politeness, making a request is face-threatening for both speakers and hearers. Requests are intrusive on hearers' autonomy (i.e., Brown and Levinson's "negative face") because they are asked to do something, which otherwise would not have occurred. On making a request, speakers also take risks in being disapproved of by receivers (i.e., Brown and Levinson's "positive face"), if listeners decline the request. Although participants are preoccupied by pursuing instrumental goals (i.e., to achieve a desirable agreement effectively) in negotiation, participants also have face concerns about both parties' autonomy and approval. Therefore, participants have incentives to be aware of the social effects that will be evoked by various forms of information requests (Huang, 2000:110).

A request may vary in strategy type and level of directness, we shall adopt the strategy developed by the Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realisation Project (CCSARP)

who identified three levels of directness for request (Hassall, 1999), represented in Tenyidie as:

3.2.1. Request Strategies

(1). Direct Strategies

- Mhachaki chü kemesa walie.

  Kitchen do clean do

  'Clean up the kitchen'

- No mhachaki chü kemesa wa morosuo ho.

  You kitchen do clean do must

  'You'll have to clean up the kitchen'

- N pezierei mhachaki chü kemesa walie luo/cie.

  You please kitchen do clean do gr

  'Please clean up the kitchen.'

The direct strategies are also classified as Mood derivative, Performatives, hedge performatives and obligation statements by Blum Kulka and House (1989).

(2). Conventionally indirect strategies

- Mha chü kemesa waro kimhie?

  Work clean do how

  'How about cleaning up?'

- N pezierei mhachaki chü kemesashülie vime moga/vi mbe?

You please kitchen do clean can intgr

'Could you clean up the kitchen, please?'

While his strategy are classified as Suggestory formulae and Query preparatory.

(3). Non-conventionally indirect strategies

- No mhachaki bie perhu sewate.

  You kitchen in dirty leave

  'You have left the kitchen in a right mess'.

Lastly Strong hints, and mild hints falls under the category of non-conventional indirect strategies.

Both situational and cultural factors influence use of these request strategies. Different cultures seem to agree on general trends of situational variation. For example, a big favor usually comes with more indirect and/or polite strategies than a low-imposition request. Friends use more casual requests than acquaintances provided that the content of the request is the same. However, the specific directness levels appropriate for given situations might differ cross-culturally. It can be seen that all the strategies provided above for request can be easily represented in tenyidie. However if one is to choose which strategy is preferred most when it comes to making request in the speech community, it would be the imperatives in the direct speech strategy in particular, and in general it would be the conventional indirect strategies.

3.2.2. Request Perspectives

Requests usually include reference to the requester, the recipient of the request, and/or the action to be performed. The speaker can manipulate requests by choosing from a variety of perspectives (Blum-Kulka, et al., 1989) in making requests:

(1) Hearer-oriented: Here the emphasis is on the role of the hearer:

- N   pezierei   mhachaki chü kemesashülie vime moga/vi mbe?

  You please   kitchen   do   clean   possible+intrgtve

  'Could you clean up the kitchen, please?'

The request here is a conventionally indirect performative request, according to which the H is usually left with an option to carry out the task or decline. Such request can be used irrespective who the speaker is, however the differences in the answer of the request can be arrived at when we consider the social aspects of the S. For instance though the same words in the sentence may be used, it is seen as rather a direct request when spoken to someone with a **lower social status**, like a helper than to a son/daughter or sibling. In such case the choice of option which is supposed to be associated with the request remains for the son/daughter or sibling, but not for the helper.

(2). Speaker-oriented: The emphasis is on the speaker's role as the requester:

(i) A   bu   vapuo   n   leshü   selie vi   mo moga?

    I   to   once   your book   use   good   intrgtve

    'Can I borrow your book?'

Perhaps the more polite way to ask for the book as in the above would be to add 'N pezierei' (please), at the beginning of the sentence, however it is polite enough or the choice of the words are appropriate to be used, to ask for a book from anyone. But if somebody wants to take it to a higher or a more polite way of asking the book, the S would have to resort to address terms. Address terms in tenyidie like 'kepethau' (teacher/Sir) , 'zeu' (friend), can be added to the request to make it more polite, or to bring more force into the S's request so as to bring about better chances of granting the request.

(3). Speaker- and hearer-oriented (inclusive strategy):

- Avu kibou chü kemesa watuo me?

  We   room do   claen   gr   intrgtve

  'Shall we clean up the room?'

- Mhachaki chü kemesa waro vituo nhie.
  kitchen   do clean   if   good intrgtve

  'It would be good to clean up the kitchen.'

Whenever a speaker performs a request, he/she is not only uttering it as a question, statement or command, but performing an act which includes a certain number of conditions, characteristics and different kinds of effects. Referring to requests in particular, a native speaker of the language uses certain strategies in order to maintain norms and principles that form part of social interaction. Every time a speaker performs a request, he/she is acquainted with the fact that conversations follow particular conventions and organizational principles (Marazita, 2009). With the

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request strategies presented, the choice of which strategies to use and in what context

depends on the social distance, the social power and the level of imposition of the act.

3.3. Apology

Among the speech acts we employ in our daily life and most of the situations, apology

is one of the most frequently utilized speech acts. An apology is a speech act which

aims to provide support for the hearer (H) who was actually or potentially mal-

affected by a violation (X) for which the speaker (S) is at least partially responsible.

When apologizing, the S is willing to humiliate him/herself to some extent and to

admit to fault and responsibility for X. Hence, the act of apologizing is face-saving for

the H and face-threatening for the S, in Brown and Levinson's (1978) terms (Olshtain

and Cohen, 1990). To Brown and Levinson (1987) an apology is a face-threatening

act that requires the speaker to admit the responsibility for some behaviour (or failure

to carry out some behaviour) that has proved costly to the hearer. Their politeness

model regards apology as 'negative politeness strategy' in that they convey respect,

deference and distance rather than friendliness or involvement (Wagner, 2004). It is in

a sense remedial action that serves to maintain, restore and augment the interpersonal

relationship. Apologies are found in all human communities in that human being is a

social creature and maintenance of harmony in one's interpersonal relationships is a

socially warranted necessity (Farashaiyan and Amirkhiz, 2011).

3.3.1. Apology strategies:

As in the case of request the coding manual of CCSARP developed by Bxlum Kalka et. Al, is being used again to look into how tentyidie fits into the apology strategies:

(1). Illocutionary Force Indicating device (IFIDs):

(a) An expression of regret: (i) A   kejo   'I'm sorry'

                           I   sorry/fault

                 (ii) A kekrüwate   'I'm wrong / I'm sorry'

                        I   wrong+gr

Both (i) and (ii) can be an expression of regret here, however if one is to talk about which one would be more appropriate to express regret, it would be (ii). In the case of (i) it is used in many other situations like the English 'I'm sorry', which is used even in cases where one may not be on the wrong.

(b) An offer of apology: A kejo chaya 'I apologise'

                     I fault ask

(j) A request for forgiveness: (i) A kejo   va   cie   'Forgive me'

                               I fault remove do

                       (ii) A kejo   va   a tsü cie 'Do forgive

                           me'

                      I fault remove I give do

In a similar case with the examples of expression of regret, in the examples here (i) is most frequently used, however since we are talking about an apology which is requesting for forgiveness, it would be more appropriate to use (ii). Another element

worth mentioning here is the social distance between the S and H, in that the closer
the interlocutors they are more likely to use the example (i).

(2) **Explanation or account**: (i) A simo di chüwatie 'I did it without

knowing'

I know+neg gr do

(ii) Mhatho kekri kruo puo la nu, a menuote ho

Work other some because I late+past gr

'I was late because I was caught with some other
works'

(3) **Taking on responsibility**: This formula has a direct link to the speaker's cost and
loss of face which results from performing the speech act of apology. The speaker
admits responsibility for the offence by choosing from a number of sub-formulas:
explicit selfblame, lack of intent, expression of embarrassment, admission of facts and
refusal to acknowledge guilt. Within these sub-formulas the speaker shows how much
responsibility s/he is prepared to take for the offence (Reiter, 2000)

(a). Explicit self blame: In choosing 'explicit self-blame' the speaker explicitly
acknowledges that s/he has been at fault and thus accepts a high level of responsibility
as in:

(i) A la te 'It's because of me'

I because gr

(ii) A kekrü - wate 'It's my fault'

I   wrong gr

(b) Lack of intent and (c) expression of self deficiency, can be represented by the same example as in:

A simo di   chu-wate   'I did it without knowing'

I   know+neg do+gr

(k) Expression of embarrasment: N   dzü   mengate   ho

You   face   embarrass gr

A point worth mentioning here is that, literally translated the sentence would mean "I am embarrassed by/with you", however the meaning of the sentence doesn't carry the meaning that we get by literal translation. Also here the sentence could basically mean three things, i.e, unless the context is presented the meaning of the sentence could be any of the three: (i) it could either mean the speaker is embarrassed because he could not fulfil someone's expectation (ii) it could also be used when someone has committed an embarrassing act on someone or (iii) it could be used while accepting a gift, in which case it would mean, that there is a history of exchange of gifts, where: either comparatively the speaker give away lesser gifts, or it could just be an expression of humility and politeness.

(l) Self-dispraise: (i) A   ruli   thor   lie   'I am really slow'

I   slow   gr=real   gr

(ii) A   rei   nya   tou   zo   lie   · 'I must be really crazy'

I   also   crazy   gr=real   gr   gr

(m) Justify Hearer: N   nou   meyie   ba   rei   mezhü

your   heart   angry   gr   even   right

'your anger is justified / you are right to be angry'

(n) Refusal to admit guilt: This can be done in the following three ways:

(i) Denial of responsibility: A   la   mo   'It wasn't because of me'

             I   because neg

(ii) Blame the hearer: (i) N   la   zo.

             You   because gr

               (ii) N   thuo   n   la   zo 'it's because of you'

               You   only   you   because gr

The third circumstances here, i.e. (iii) pretend to be offended, can have the same example as above, where the sentence (i) can be uttered by the speaker for something which he/she did wrong, but blames the other by saying the same. An example of one such situation could be in a context where, two siblings are trying to get something fixed. The elder brother needing a hammer to fix the broken roof asks for the younger brother to get him a hammer, but the younger brother took a long time to bring the same, by which time due to some circumstances the roof came off. And though it is the older who has been fixing the roof all this time may say 'N la zo', thereby not only blaming the brother but getting offended, as a measure of self defence.

(4). Concern for the hearer:

A	n	nei	kemo	chü	wata	zo	mo	nhie
I	you	happy	not	do	gr	gr	neg	intgrtve

'Did I upset you? / Did I make you unhappy?'

(5). **Offer of repair:** This strategy is appropriate for use only in circumstances where there are actual damage, and the speaker can offer to do what can be done for the same.

A	puoma	chu	pie	n	tsüshütuo	'I'll pay for the damage'
I	price	pay	do	you	give	

(6) Promise for forbearance:

Hasie	hakemhie	Chu	la	lie	lhote
From today	the same	do	again	aux	not

'I will not do this again / Today onwards I will not do this again'.

Having presented the strategies of apologies the choice of strategies like request vary according to the three parameters mentioned earlier, i.e. social distance, social power and the severity of the offence. For instance, in a context where a person dash someone on his way, he may simply say 'A kejo' (I'm sorry), at the same time if the person whom the speaker dashed upon is someone older, or someone he recognised as being his teacher, uncle, or anybody of higher status, it would be more appropriate for him to say, ' A kejo va cie', thereby requesting to be forgiven, and thus the switch from an 'expression of regret' to a 'request for forgiveness' due to social distance or power.

3.4. Greetings:

As with politeness in general, greetings can be analysed within the framework of theories of "face". When we approach our fellows, we are entering their personal

space, their "territory". This can be interpreted as an FTA, particularly if we remain silent, as silence is naturally experienced by human beings as disconcerting: breaking a silence, as in greeting, is a sign of friendly intent. A greeting, if performed correctly, that is with appropriate words, tone of voice and body language, can attenuate the force of a potential FTA (Rash 2004: 50).

What we call "how are you?" (HAY?) utterances are a class of conversational moves that needs to be delimited as to precise forms and functions. Berger and Bradac (1982) commented that *how are you?* is often not intended to produce self-revelation "but rather *merely* [emphasis added] to signal acknowledgement of the other". They also commentedthat literalist interpretations of *how are you?* are the basis of an old joke:

> A: how are you?

> B: I have bursitis; I worry about my future; and my uncle is wearing a dress these days (Coupland et. Al, 1992: 217).

Communication with people begins in greetings, in most cases it starts with the family itself, it is how the process of communication starts. Of course, that does not mean that every conversation has to begin with greetings. However how one greets the other, or how a speaker firstly speaks to the other to a great extend determines the relation the speaker shares with each other and to an extend how the conversation would progress.

Tenyidie may not have an equivalent greeting term to the English, 'Hi' or 'Hello', but the language has many varied forms of greetings, where the way they greet reveals the relation they have with each other, even separate the young from the old. The most common form of greeting perhaps would be the equivalent of the English 'How are you?':

(a) A: Viba   zo   nhie   'How are you'

       Good   gr   intrgtve

   B: Vi   ba   zo   'I'm fine/ I'm good'

    Good   gr   still

   C: Vithor   'good/ very good'

(b) Shürho   ba   zo   nhie   'How are you?'
    Health   state   still   intrgtve

(b) is also another form of saying the same English equivalent 'How are you?', the difference comes in the usage. It is usually used as an enquiry to one's health, also when friends or acquaintances meet after a long time it is usually used. While the response (c), is usually used more among peers.

There are also greetings in similar ways where we can make out if the S and the H are acquaintances or strangers, for instance:

(c). Shürho   tuo ya   zo nhie?   'Hope all is well / hope everything's well'

    Healthy   been   intrgtve

(d). Vi   tuo ya   zo nhie?   'Hope all is well / hope everything's good'

It is only in cases where the S and the H has known each other at a point of time that the above greetings are used. They may not necessarily be friends, but they have to know each other in one way or the other, and must have been some since they met last.

There are no equivalent forms of greetings as in English greetings like 'Good morning', good afternoon,' etc. However there exist forms of greetings related with meal time, where among acquaintances, when one makes a visit in the mornings or in the evening[iii] one would say:

(e). Mha   tsü   ta   me   'Taken your food?'

      Thing   eat   pst   intrgtve

Usually used on a visit during the morning meals or evening meals, which is though an actual enquiry into if the H has taken his/her food, the answer is not conditioned. It is just a way to start a conversation if the speaker is visiting or it could be a greeting on the run. Another example of greeting on the run would be:

(f) Merei   te?   'Busy?'

      Busy   gr

A S will use the above if he/she sees the H busy with some work, as the S is passing by, however, the same sentence can be used in another context where the S visits your home, but meant to meet someone else, sees you working or being busy with something. That will automatically mean that the S is not there to see the H. The

structure of the sentence does not have an overt interrogative marker, and it is indeed more like the expression of the state of the H, but one that brings out a reply out of the H with either a 'Ü' (yes) or 'mo' (no), or other possible related answers.

As mentioned earlier that 'shürho ba zo nhie' is used when one wants to make an enquiry about one's health, however the same is not usually used when the H is in the hospital and the S wants to enquire about the health of the H. Rather in such cases one would use:

(g) Kimhie   ba   ro   "How are you doing?'

    How   state   intrgtve

Another interesting fact of greetings in Tenyidie speaking community is that, it is considered impolite not to greet at all. Be it a stranger or an acquaintance, when one meets they are expected to greet each other. This is usually done by saying:

(h)A: Retuo   zhie   me   'Going for a walk? / taking a walk?'

    Roam   going to   intrgtve

B: Ü   retuo   zhie

    Yes   roam   gr   'Yes going for a walk?'

(i)A: Retuo   me   'Going for a walk? / taking a walk?'

    Roam   intrgtve

B: Ü   retuo   zhie   ' Yes going for a walk'

    Yes   you   gr

Both the above examples have the same interpretations in English, however in the usage of such sentences it is most likely that (g) will be used to address someone with

whom the S has acquaintance, while (h) is likely to be used on strangers. These greetings have more to do with formalities than with what the person is actually doing, i.e. if he is busy and is in a hurry to go somewhere, or is just on a walk. They are more like the English greeting 'How do you do', which is a form of greeting, where the S is not looking for an answer to how you are doing health wise or anything, but just a greeting ritual.

Another instance of greeting where the context and timing plays a major role is greetings at night, while the examples (h) and (i) are still applicable here, among friends and acquaintances, in context where there is no time to chat or enquire about each other, one is most likely to say:

(j) Mho   vilie   cie   'Goodnight'
    Dream   good   do

While the same can be used in the same context as the 'English Goodnight' as well. Conversations are ended usually by saying:

(k) O   Siesii 'okay then'
    Ok   then
(l) Siesii   surho   balie   cie   'okay, stay healthy!'
    then   good health stay   gr
(m) Siesii vilie   cie   'stay good'
    then   good   gr

In the case of (m) it can be either used in place of goodnight, or for any partings in any part of the day, or as a farewell. In fact all the examples in (k), (l) and (m) are also used in for saying the English equivalent 'Goodbye'.

Greetings in Tenyidie are thus very complex to an extend, and the appropriate usage

of the same is best made when used by a native speaker. The lexical ambiguity can be

best understood only with context, and its usage by someone who has spent sufficient

time to understand the language, if not a native speaker.

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[i] Following examples do not carry tone markings, Tone is a very important aspect of the Tenyidie Language, and very complex too, with its varied meaning at a level itself, not to talk about five tones. Also ,missing in the data are the transcription, both of which I could not provide due to the limited time I had to write this paper.

[ii] The letters used for spelling here are the standard letters used in Tenyidie literature. Readers are kindly requested to refer to the phonemic chart in Appendix I, for the phonemic value of the alphabets.

[iii] People in the community usually take their meals in the mornings, and early in the evenings around, the reason for this being that, traditionally all are farmers and thereby leave home early to go to the fields. There are also greetings related to meal time in the afternoon in the fields.

Conclusion

Tenyidie is one of the most developed languages of all the Naga languages, and this has been so in regards to translations works and literature. Perhaps the fact that they run master's and doctorate courses in the language proves that. However, works done in the language in linguistics are few and limited to specific fields. On the people, one cannot draw a concrete conclusion on who forms the tenyimia community as long as a common origin of the tribes can be proved. However, it will be interesting to explore the languages of the tribes that fall under the tenyimia community and examine their similarities, and through it, though it may be far fetch a common origin of the languages.

(I). **Reservations**: Initially in writing this paper, the objective was to prepare corpora, and make a sociolinguistic analysis of the variables that are available in Tenyidie. However, the complexities that came up as I started my work, brought me to the realization that to prepare for a corpora is a work far too broad, to be able to present a satisfactory work, within the limited time period given to complete this paper. And Tenyidie not being my mother tongue, added to the complexities, I was then left with the two of either to still go for the work with an incomprehensive and limited data, because the title of this dissertation suggest so, or take up a field of study that relates more to the other half of the title of this dissertation, and make it more fruitful a work. And in deciding to stick with the later, I took up politeness. Tone is an important feature of the language however the present does not account for them due to time constraints, and focussed on the other features of the language that still contributes to the aim of study in this work. The work unsatisfactory it may be can be continued and further researched in my further studies. Working on politeness only made me realise how much more one can still do research work not only on the politeness of tenyidie, but the whole study of politeness itself.

(ii) Findings: With the sources that are available, which I must admit is limited (and so are the works done in the language), I made an attempt in Chapter 1, to account for the history of the language and the people in brief, which is yet again inconclusive, as a matter of fact one cannot conclude on such matters, but what can one do is present the language as it is presently, and that is what I have done. There are works done on the language by, foreigners as well as Indian linguist on the language, however, for a brief introduction of the language D. Koulie (2005) and Ravindran's (1974) work on the language were most useful.

An attempt to present the relationship between sociolinguistics and pragmatics is made in the second chapter. Taken separately the field of pragmatics seem to have little to with sociolinguistics, but on a closer look the speech acts, the implicature, the maxims, etc, all cannot but do with the social aspects of language use. And thus we find both the discipline closely linked with each other, and one of the areas where the two meets is being considered for the writing of this paper, i.e. politeness with its socio-pragmatic nature as the focus. Three decades have passed since serious study on politeness began, though the act or use of politeness were applied or use since the very time man learned how to speak. Theories of politeness were developed over the years and among them stands Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness and Leech's theory of politeness. Out of which Brown and Levinson's theory is chosen for its productive nature to look at politeness in Tenyidie.

The third chapter is an attempt to analyse politeness in Tenyidie, presenting the same with the politeness strategies of Brown and Levinson's. Then a look into speech acts such as request, apology and greetings are made with strategies of the speech acts. Data collection was done in interviews, and conclusions on them are made mostly by virtue of being a tenyimia myself and with friends who speaks the language. One will notice that no clear

cut conclusions were made with the strategies, as they are not only context dependent, but on who a person is and his/her social status. In such cases one can only make conclusions as the most frequently used strategy or most likely to be used assumptions. Be it request or apology, the more a S wants to be polite the more indirect ways or formation of words he would use to construct his sentence.

Research done with naturally recorded speech, perhaps gives the most reliable conclusions or findings, however to do so one will have to record speeches for a long period of time. Furthermore researches are area specific, and there is no guarantee that one gets to record just what he/she needs in the form of natural speech for research even after several attempts, for that specific area of research. And considering the time allotted to write this paper such attempts would be futile, so I went for a planned situation and conversation.

There are still many areas in Tenyidie where the language has not been studied, for that matter, the field of politeness studies itself is also in need of further research especially with regards to the tones and a whole set of prosodic features that can lead to another dimension of politeness study, or on the same post-Brown and Levinson. Tenyidie as mention earlier, and I am mentioning again, is by far the most developed language even among the tribes that forms the tenyimia community, this I say so, so that a distinction can be made for the languages that I am referring to, while at the same time being aware that the mystery still remains as to which languages comes under the community, and the very origin and the existence of the community itself. It is needless to say how much more are the needs for work on the languages that are lesser known, within the community itself.

Angami Alphabet Chart:

Angami Alphabet	Phonemic Value	Angami Alphabet	Phonemic Value	Angami Alphabet	Phonemic Value	Angami Alphabet	Phonemic Value	Angami Alphabet	Phonemic Value
ü	□	o	o	ny	ny	b	b	f	f
üi	□i	ou	ou	t	t	m	m	v	v
a	a	k	k	th	th	pf	pf	w	w
ai	ai	kh	kh	d	d	bv	bv	wh	wh
i	i	g	g	n	n	y	y	s	s
ie	ie	ng	ng	ts	ts	yh	yh	sh	sh
u	u	c	c	tsh	tsh	r	r	z	z
uo	uo	ch	ch	dz	dz	rh	rh	zh	zh
e	e	j	j	p	p	l	l	h	h
ei	ei	jh	jh	ph	ph	lh	lh		

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