POLITENESS THEORY AND REQUESTS IN XHOSA

BY

MAWANDE DLALI

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Promoter: Prof JA du Plessis

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this dissertation is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any University for a degree.
ABSTRACT

This study investigates how politeness may be employed in requests in Xhosa. While numerous studies on speech act have been conducted in different languages, the investigation of speech acts in African Languages, particularly Xhosa, shows no such progress. This study attempts to fill this gap by examining the notions of politeness in requests as perceived among the Xhosas.

With the study of speech acts, two instances of meaning have been identified. In the first meaning a speaker utters a sentence and means exactly and literally what he says. In the second meaning the speaker utters a sentence with an additional illocution with a different prepositional content.

It has been established that various meanings play a role in the understanding of indirect requests. This finding is based on the theory of Brown and Levinson's (1987) face work of politeness. Scholars like Clark and Schunk (1980) argue that the politeness of response is governed by the attentiveness hypothesis which states that the more attentive the hearer is to all aspects of the speaker’s request, within reason, the more polite he is.

One of the most common motivations for politeness is a request. Brown and Levinson (1987) define politeness as the manifestation of respect for and recognition of another’s face. They delineate face into two components: negative face and positive face. Positive face is the way a person wants to be regarded, admired, or approved by others and to be treated as a friend. On the other hand, negative face is the person’s desire not to be imposed on by other people. A request threatens face in the sense that it imposes on the hearer, that is why in some cases requests call for mitigation, so as to compensate for their impositive effect on the hearer.

Various subcategories of requests within which negative politeness may appear have been established, as well as the various ways in which these subcategories of requests may be linguistically expressed in Xhosa. Three distribution types of request categories with negative politeness have been found: high frequency, No very regular and negligible.
Requests with the highest frequency may be divided into three subcategories: compliance; information; and action. These subcategories demand non-threatening strategies: compliance demands obedience, action demand doing things with a desired result, and information demands knowledge from a person. These three are thus face-threatening acts, which demand respect for the hearer's antonomy. Such requests may seriously threaten the hearer's negative face. If no politeness strategy is attempted, these requests will be viewed as most threatening acts.

The ten negative politeness strategies of Brown and Levinson did not apply to Xhosa because they have been developed for a Western language. In the place of these strategies, it has been found that negative politeness may be expressed in Xhosa through certain subcategories as above, but also through certain pragmatic functions by means of which negative politeness may be applied to avert a face-threatening act.

Brown and Levinson (1987) list fifteen positive politeness strategies. In the case of the four Xhosa books, which were analyzed, only eight strategies for positive politeness were found. These strategies can be divided into two groups: high frequency and negligible. The most regular strategies are: seek agreement, give or ask for reasons, address forms, presupposition, and those, which include both speaker and hearer.

An explanation for the high frequency of these strategies is to be found within positive politeness. Positive politeness forms emphasize closeness between speaker and hearer and it can be seen as a solidarity strategy. Thus, a face saving act, which is concerned with the person's positive face, will show solidarity.
Hierdie studie ondersoek hoe beleeftheid aangewend kan word in Xhosa versoeko. Daar is verskeie studies oor spraakhandelinge in verskillende tale, maar die onderzoek na spraakhandelinge in die Afrikatale, veral Xhosa, toon nie sodanige vooruitgang nie. Hierdie studie poog om hierdie gaping te vul deur die begrip beleefheid in versoeko by die Xhosa te ondersoek.

In die studie van spraakhandelinge is twee instansies van betekenis geïdentifiseer. In die eerste betekenis uiter 'n spreker 'n sin en die betekenis is presies wat gesê word. In die tweede betekenis uiter die spreker 'n sin met 'n bykomende illokusie met 'n verskillende proposisionele indruk.

Daar is vasgestel dat verskeie betekenisse 'n rol speel in die verstaan van indirekte versoeko. Hierdie bevinding is gebaseer op die teorie van Brown en Levinson (1987) se werk oor gesig in beleefheid. Onder andere Clark en Schunk (1980) is van mening dat die beleefheid van 'n respons op 'n versoek beheer word deur die attentheid hipotese waardeur aangedui word dat hoe meer aandagtig 'n hoorder is op alle aspekte van die spreker se versoek, hoe meer beleefd hy is.

Een van die algemeenste motiverings vir beleefheid is versoeko. Brown en Levinson (1987) definieer beleefheid as die manifestasie van respek en erkenning van 'n ander se gesig. Hulle grens gesig af in twee dele: negatiewe gesig en positiewe gesig. Positiewe gesig is die wyse waarop 'n persoon beskou, bewonder of waardeer word deur ander en om soos 'n vriend behandeld te word. Aan die ander kant, negatiewe gesig is 'n persoon se begeerte om nie bedrieg te word deur ander en om nie bedrieg te word deur ander mense. 'n Versoek bedreig gesig in die sin dat dit misbruik maak van die hoorder. Dit is waarom in sommige gevalle daar versagting vir versoeko is om te vergoed vir die misbruikmaking op die hoorder.

Verskeie subkategorieë van versoeko waarin negatiewe beleefheid voorkom is onderskei, asook die verskillende wyses waarin hierdie subkategorieë van versoeko linguisties uitgedruk kan word in Xhosa. Drie spreidingstipes van versoek kategorieë met negatiewe beleefheid is gevind: hoë frekwensie, nie baie reëlmattig en onbeduidend. Versoeko met
die hoogste frekwensie kan verdeel word in drie subkategorieë: inskiklikheid, inligting en handeling. Hierdie subkategorieë vereis strategieë wat nie bedreiging inhou: inskiklikheid vereis gehoorsaamheid, handeling vereis dat iets gedaan moet word met 'n sekere resultaat, en inligting vereis kennis van 'n persoon. Hierdie drie is dus handelinge wat 'n bedreiging inhou vir gesig en wat respek vereis vir die hoorder se outonomie. Sulke versoekte kan 'n ernstige bedreiging inhou vir die hoorder se negatiewe gesig. As geen beleefdheidsstrategie gevolg word, kan hierdie versoekte beskou word as handelinge wat geweldig bedreigend is.

Die tien negatiewe beleefdheidsstrategieë van Brown en Levinson (1987) is nie van toepassing in Xhosa nie, omdat dit ontwikkel is vir 'n Westerse taal. In die plek van hierdie strategieë is gevind dat negatiewe beleefdheid in Xhosa uitgedruk kan word deur sekere subkategorieë soos hierbo, maar ook deur sekere pragmatiese funksies waardeur negatiewe beleefdheid aangewend kan word om in handeling wat gesig bedreig af te weer.

Brown en Levinson (1987) gee 15 strategieë vir positiewe beleefdheid. In die geval van Xhosa is agt (8) van hierdie strategieë gevind in die boeke wat geanaliseer is. Hierdie strategieë kan in twee groepe verdeel word: hoë frekwensie en onbeduidend. Die strategieë met die hoogste frekwensie is: soek ooreenstemming; gee of vra redes; aanspreekvorme, presupposisie en die wat beide spreker en hoorder insluit.

'N Verklaring vir die hoë frekwensie van hierdie strategieë kan gevind word in positiewe beleefdheid. Positiewe beleefdheid benadruk nabyheid tussen spreker en hoorder en dit kan gesien word as 'n solidariteitsstrategie. Dus, 'n handeling wat gesig red wat betrokke is by 'n persoon se positiewe gesig sal solidariteit toon.
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DECLARATION</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPSOMMING</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aim ........................................................................ 1
1.2 Method and Organization................................. 3

## CHAPTER 2: SPEECH ACTS

2.1 Aim ........................................................................ 5
2.2 Introduction ....................................................... 5
2.3 Speech Acts .......................................................... 6
  2.3.1 Searle (1969) .................................................. 6
  2.3.2 Searle (1975a) ................................................ 15
    2.3.2.1 Introduction ............................................. 15
    2.3.2.2 Different types of differences between different types of illocutionary acts ............................................. 16
    2.3.2.3 Weaknesses in Austin's taxonomy .................... 20
    2.3.2.4 Alternative taxonomy ................................. 22
  2.3.3 Searle (1975b) ................................................ 26
  2.4 Requests .......................................................... 32
    2.4.1 The politeness of indirect requests ................ 33
      2.4.1.1 Permission ............................................. 34
      2.4.1.2 Imposition ............................................. 34
      2.4.1.3 Ability ................................................ 35
      2.4.1.4 Memory ................................................ 35
      2.4.1.5 Commitment ......................................... 35
      2.4.1.6 Obligation ............................................ 35
    2.4.2 The politeness of responses ............................ 37
2.4.3 Ervin-Tripp et al (1987) .................................................................38
  2.4.3.1 Conventional Requests ......................................................38
  2.4.3.2 Interpretive processes ....................................................40
  2.4.3.3 Activity ............................................................................41
  2.4.3.4 Situation ...........................................................................42
  2.4.3.5 Speaker contests ...............................................................42
  2.4.3.6 Overlapping situations ......................................................43
  2.4.3.7 Situation in Interpretation ..................................................43

2.4.4 Hong (1996) ............................................................................44

2.4.5 Bargiela-Chiappini et al (1996) .................................................46

2.4.6 Holtgraves and Young (1992, 1990) .........................................47

2.4.7 Craig et al (1986) ....................................................................48
  2.4.7.1 Politeness in the discourse of requests ...............................49
  2.4.7.2 Meaningful variations .......................................................49
  2.4.7.3 Combination of superstructures .......................................50
  2.4.7.4 Multifunctionality ............................................................50
  2.4.7.5 Other sources of indeterminacy .......................................50
  2.4.7.6 Aggravation and speaker-oriented facework .......................51

2.4.8 Fukushima (1991) ....................................................................52

2.4.9 Meyer (1992) ..........................................................................53

2.4.10 Beal (1994) ...........................................................................55

2.4.11 Blum-Kulka and House (1989) ...............................................57
  2.4.11.1 Alerters ..........................................................................57
  2.4.11.2 Supportive moves ..........................................................58
  2.4.11.3 Head acts ........................................................................58

2.5 Summary .....................................................................................60
  2.5.1 With regards to Speech acts ..................................................60
  2.5.2 With regards to Requests ......................................................61

CHAPTER 3: POLITENESS

3.1 Introduction ................................................................................63
  3.1.1 Politeness as a real-world goal ..............................................63
  3.1.2 Deference versus politeness ................................................63
3.1.3 Register
3.1.4 Politeness as an utterance level phenomenon
3.1.5 Politeness as a pragmatic phenomenon

3.2 Politeness explained in terms of principle and maxims

3.2.1 Ambivalence and politeness
3.2.2 Pragmatic principles

3.3 Politeness and the management of face

3.3.1 Face-threatening acts

3.3.2 Reconstructing Brown and Levinson's argument

3.3.3 A consideration of the empirical data

3.3.4 Out with the old and in with the new: Cohesion and coherence

3.3.5 A conceptualization of politeness

3.3.6 Other views on politeness
3.3.5.3 Enactment of strategic politeness ...........................................92
3.3.6 Social and psychological variables determining politeness investment.94
3.3.7 Discourse types ........................................................................95
3.3.8 Rudeness ..................................................................................96
3.3.9 Brown and Levinson's face-saving theory of politeness ..................97
3.3.10 Chinese face and Brown and Levinson's face .............................99
3.3.11 Chinese face and politeness (limào) .........................................101
3.3.12 Face in Japanese culture ..........................................................103
3.3.13 A re-examination of Brown and Levinson .................................107
3.4 Cultures and strategy types ..........................................................107
3.5 Politeness Revisited ......................................................................108
3.6 A new look at repair work .............................................................110
3.7 Linguistic politeness and politic verbal behaviour ...........................114
3.8 Linguistic universals and universals of language usage ....................115
3.9 Terms of address as realizations of politic behaviour and politeness ....118
3.10 Politeness strategies ....................................................................118
   3.10.1 Standard uses of Bald on Record where other demands override
          face concerns ............................................................................118
   3.10.2 Bald on Record oriented to Face-threatening Act .....................122
3.11 Positive politeness ......................................................................124
   3.11.1 Claim common ground ..........................................................124
   3.11.2 Convey that the speaker and hearer are co-operators ...............138
   3.11.3 Fulfill the want of the hearer ..................................................143
3.12 Negative politeness ....................................................................144
3.13 Off-Record ................................................................................164

CHAPTER 4: NEGATIVE POLITENESS AND REQUESTS

4.1 Aim ..........................................................................................172
4.2 Subcategories of requests ............................................................172
   4.2.1 Aim .......................................................................................172
   4.2.2 Number of requests with negative politeness ............................173
   4.2.3 Subcategories of requests with negative politeness ..................173
4.3 Negative politeness in requests ....................................................183
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4.3.1</th>
<th>Aim</th>
<th>183</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.3.2</td>
<td>Request for compliance</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.2.1</td>
<td>Statement</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.2.2</td>
<td>Condition</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.2.3</td>
<td>Possibility</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.2.4</td>
<td>Question</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.2.5</td>
<td>Necessity</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.2.6</td>
<td>Request</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.3</td>
<td>Request for action</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.3.1</td>
<td>Statement</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.3.2</td>
<td>Question</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.3.3</td>
<td>Necessity</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.3.4</td>
<td>Request</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.3.5</td>
<td>Condition</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.3.6</td>
<td>Possibility</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.3.7</td>
<td>Exception</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.3.8</td>
<td>Permission</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.3.9</td>
<td>Contract</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.3.10</td>
<td>Ability</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.3.11</td>
<td>The verb clause</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.4</td>
<td>Information</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.4.1</td>
<td>Statement</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.4.2</td>
<td>Question</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.4.3</td>
<td>Necessity</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.4.4</td>
<td>Exclamation</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.5</td>
<td>Meeting</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.5.1</td>
<td>Statement</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.5.2</td>
<td>Request</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.5.3</td>
<td>Question</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.5.4</td>
<td>Necessity</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.6</td>
<td>Patience</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.6.1</td>
<td>Statement</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.6.2</td>
<td>Necessity</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 5: POSITIVE POLITENESS AND REQUESTS

5.1 Aim ........................................................................................................... 321

5.2 Strategies for positive politeness ................................................................. 321

5.3 Requests ....................................................................................................... 329
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.3.1</td>
<td>Seek agreement</td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.1.1</td>
<td>Qangule</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.1.2</td>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.1.3</td>
<td>Ngewu</td>
<td>358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.1.4</td>
<td>Saule</td>
<td>367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.2</td>
<td>Give (or ask for) reasons</td>
<td>389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.2.1</td>
<td>The reasons is contained in a statement</td>
<td>389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.2.2</td>
<td>The reason appears after kuba</td>
<td>399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.2.3</td>
<td>The reason appears in a NP</td>
<td>404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.2.4</td>
<td>After into</td>
<td>408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.2.5</td>
<td>The reason is in a future event</td>
<td>410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.2.6</td>
<td>The complement of nga is an infinitive clause</td>
<td>413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.2.7</td>
<td>The interrogative ni</td>
<td>414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.2.8</td>
<td>With ngenxa</td>
<td>416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.2.9</td>
<td>Condition</td>
<td>417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.3</td>
<td>Presupposition</td>
<td>419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.3.1</td>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.3.2</td>
<td>Qangule</td>
<td>422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.3.3</td>
<td>Saule</td>
<td>423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.3.4</td>
<td>Ngewu</td>
<td>424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.4</td>
<td>Address form</td>
<td>425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.5</td>
<td>Intensify interest</td>
<td>434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.5.1</td>
<td>Ngewu</td>
<td>434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.5.2</td>
<td>Saule</td>
<td>435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.6</td>
<td>Include both speaker and hearer in the activity</td>
<td>436</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.6.1</td>
<td>Ngewu</td>
<td>436</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.6.2</td>
<td>Qangule</td>
<td>437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.6.3</td>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.7</td>
<td>Exaggerate</td>
<td>439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.8</td>
<td>Optimism</td>
<td>440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.9</td>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>440</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1 AIM

Politeness theory as expounded by Brown and Levinson (1978) portray people as rational beings who attempt to maintain face. They separate face into two wants: the desire to have one’s personality and possessions approved by others (positive face), and the desire to maintain autonomy and be unimpeded by others (negative face). Brown and Levinson agree that people at times do engage in actions, which threaten face, and they make three assumptions about how actions threaten face:

(a) Many actions are intrinsic face-threatening acts (FTA) which run contrary to the face wants of the addressee and/or the speaker. They present a list of speech acts, which are intrinsic FTAs. For justification of this assumption they rely on the analysis of Searle (1969) of how speech acts are defined and created through constitutive rules, such as preparatory conditions and sincerity conditions.

(b) Classes of speech acts threaten only one type of face. There are acts that threaten only negative face and those that threaten positive face.

(c) Face threats arise from individual speech acts and can be understood without analyzing larger discourse units.

Thus, Brown and Levinson offer a very conventional account of FTAs in which entire categories of speech acts, analyzed in isolation, intrinsically threaten either positive or negative face due to their defining conditions.

The politeness theory of Brown and Levinson has been extensively criticized (see i.a. Coupland et al., 1988; Crag et al., 1986; Lim, 1990; Lim and Bowers, 1991; Penman, 1990; Tracy, 1990).

Brown and Levinson did offer one account of when messages become face threatening, but several aspects of this account are problematic. It is thus the primary aim of this research to take issue with their three assumptions as explicated above. To attain this
aim, issue will be taken with reference to the speech act of requesting. For this purpose two other issues need to be taken into account if it is acknowledged that requests can create multiple threats for a message target's face. The first issue pertains to the possible relationship between request and positive face. The constitutive rules underlying requests do not seem to create intrinsic threats to the desire for approval. Requests seem to have the potential to threaten approval under specific circumstances. These circumstances will be investigated in this study. Secondly, there is a range of positive face threats, which might emerge from requests. This issue relates to differences in the dimensionality of the two face wants. Negative face is an unidimensional concept since it pertains to very restricted aspects of a hearer's self-image, centering on his want to be unimpeded (Brown and Levinson 1978:70). In contrast positive face is a multidimensional concept since it pertains to a range of personality characteristics, actions and possessions that an individual hopes other will appreciate. Is there then a limit on the range of potential threats, which can arise when a request is uttered as part of an appeal for compliance in a particular context?

Thus a revised analysis of requests and face will be investigated which address these issues and which may lead to various changes in the theory arising from the analysis. An example of such a possible change is the following: When a message has failed to fulfil an obligation, appeals for compliance will be perceived as threatening to the target's positive face as well as negative face.

The study will then focus on the speech act of requests in Xhosa. It will begin by giving an overview of how requests may be viewed in Xhosa. An example may be taken from Searle (1975): "Please pass the salt" which may be viewed in the following way according to Brown and Levinson:

Nceda udlulise ityuwa
Khawudlulise ityuwa
Ungayidlulisa ityuwa
Usengayidlulisa ityuwa
Ungaba uyidlnise ityuwa

Such requests may be uttered without expressing any disapproval. Thus the circumstances for disapproval need to be noted.
The two kinds of face, i.e. positive and negative, will be studied with regard to how they may be expressed in isolation in Xhosa according to the model supplied by Brown and Levinson, e.g. in positive politeness there is a strategy of giving or asking for reasons (strategy 13) as to why the speaker wants what he wants:

**Kutheni ungandiboleki imoto yakho usuku lube lunye?**
Why can’t you lend me your car just for one day?

An example of negative politeness is given in their strategy 3 by explicitly expressing doubt that the conditions for the appropriateness of the speaker’s speech act obtain e.g.

**Ubuseaga nakho na ukuhlamba le moto?**
Could you wash this car?

The speech act of requesting will thus be analyzed in detail in Xhosa with regard to positive and negative face.

### 1.2 METHOD AND ORGANIZATION

An analysis will be attempted of all requests, which are found in the following books:

(a) A.C. Jordan  
**Inggumbo yeminyanya**

(b) Z.S. Qangule  
**Amaza**

(c) N. Saule  
**Idinga**

(d) L. Ngewu  
**Yeha mfaz’ obulal’ indoda**

These books are specifically selected because they include many requests. These requests will be classified into those with positive and negative face. Each of these requests will then be further classified into various subcategories depending on the type of request which may be found.
The dissertation will comprise of the following chapters:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter 1</th>
<th>Introduction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 2</td>
<td>Speech acts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 3</td>
<td>Politeness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 4</td>
<td>Negative politeness and requests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 5</td>
<td>Positive politeness and requests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 6</td>
<td>Conclusions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 2
SPEECH ACTS

2.1 AIM

The aim of this chapter is threefold: in the first place a definition of a speech act will be attempted. In the second place, the speech act according to the views of Searle in the following publications, Searle 1969, 1975, 1975, will be summarised. In the third place, an overview of requests will be given by means of the summary of the following publications: Clark and Stunk 1980; Ervin-Tripp et al 1987; Hong 1996; Bargiela - Chiappini et al 1996; Holtgraves and Young 1990; 1992; Craig et al 1986; Fukushima 1991; Meyer 1992; Beal 1994; Blum-Kulka and House 1989.

2.2 INTRODUCTION

Austin (1960:52) originally used the terms "speech act" to refer to an utterance and the "total situation in which the utterance is issued".

Yule (1996) defines a speech act as an action that is performed by producing an utterance. This action consists of three related acts namely, locution, illocution and perlocution. The locution is the production of a meaningful linguistic expression or, as Thomas puts it, the actual words uttered. When we utter words we do that with a specific purpose in mind. This is referred to as illocutionary act. In fact, an illocutionary act refers to the force of an utterance. When we create an utterance with a function we intend to have an effect. This is known as the perlocutionary act. For example, I might say: Kushushu apha. It's hot in here! (locution) meaning: I want some fresh air! (illocution) and the perlocutionary effect be someone opens the window.

All competent adult speakers of a language can understand and as a result, interpret the illocutionary force correctly most of the time. In fact, things were going to be difficult if a speaker had no idea of how the hearer would react. Although this is the case, sometimes things can go wrong, as in the following example.
A man and a woman enter a supermarket. The man is carrying a sports bag. The woman goes to buy a few things, while her husband is busy paging through the magazines:

A. Igosa: Umhlekazi angathanda ukushiya ibhegi yakhe apha kusini na?
   Official: Would the gentleman like to leave his bag here?

B. Indoda: O! Hayi, enkosi, andizi kuba mde apha.
   Man: Oh no, thank you, I won't be long here.

A. Igosa: Ubona nje ... ubukhulu becala ziyathanda ukubiwa ezi ncwadi kule ndawo.
   Official: You see ... most of the time these books are always stolen here.

The illocutionary force of A's utterance is to request B to leave his bag, but B interprets it as an offer. Part of the problem stems from the fact that the same locution could have a different illocutionary force in different contexts. This is why Thomas (1995) says today that the term speech act can be used to mean the same as illocutionary act. He goes on to say, you will find the terms speech act, illocutionary act, illocutionary force, pragmatic force or just force, all used to mean the same thing - although the use of one rather than another may imply different theoretical positions.

2.3 SPEECH ACTS
2.3.1 Searle (1969)

Searle (1969) in his book entitled “Speech Acts” uses the hypothesis of language as a rule-governed intentional behaviour to explain the possibility of, not to provide evidence for, linguistic characterizations. The form which is taken by this hypothesis is that speaking a language is performing speech acts, acts such as making statements, giving commands, asking questions, making promises and so on, and more abstractly, acts such as referring and predicating. These acts are in general made possible by and are performed in accordance with certain rules for the use of linguistic elements.

Searle's (1969) reason for concentrating on the study of speech acts is that all linguistic communication involves linguistic acts. The unit of linguistic communication is not, as has generally been supposed, the symbol, word or sentence, but rather the production or
issuance of the symbol or word or sentence in the performance of the speech act. To take the token as a message is to take it as a produced or issued token. More precisely, the production of a sentence taken under certain conditions is a speech act, and speech acts are the basic units of linguistic communication. A way to come to see this point is to ask ourselves what is the difference between regarding an object as an instance of linguistic communication and not so regarding it? One crucial difference is this. When I take a noise or a mark on a piece of paper to be an instance of linguistic communication, as a message, one of the things I must assume is that the noise or mark was produced by a being or beings more or less like myself. As a natural phenomenon like the wind in the trees or a stain on the paper, I exclude it from the class of linguistic communication, even though the noise or mark may be indistinguishable from spoken or written words. Furthermore, not only must I assume the noise or mark to have been produced as a result of intentional behaviour, but I must also assume that the intentions are of a very special kind peculiar to speech acts. For example, it would be possible to communicate by arranging items of furniture in certain ways. The attitude one would have to such an arrangement of furniture would be quite different from the attitude I have to the arrangement of furniture in this room, even though I might regard the arrangement as resulting from intentional behaviour.

It might then be objected to this approach that such a study deals only with the point of intersection of a theory of language and a theory of action. But Searle’s (1969) reply to that would be that if his conception of language is correct, a theory of language is part of a theory of action, simply because speaking is a rule-governed form of behaviour. Now, being rule-governed, it has formal features, which require independent study.

But a study purely of those formal features, without a study of their role in speech acts, would be like a formal study of the currency and credit systems of economies without a study of the role of currency and credit in economic transactions. A great deal can be said in the study of language without studying speech acts, but any such purely formal theory is necessarily incomplete. There are, therefore, not two irreducibly distinct semantic studies, one a study of meanings of sentences and one a study of the performances of speech acts. For just as it is part of our notion of the meaning of a sentence that a literal utterance of that sentence with that meaning in a certain context would be the performance of a particular speech act, so it is part of our notion of a speech act that there is a possible
sentence the utterance of which in a certain context would in virtue of its meaning constitute a performance of that speech act.

The speech acts performed in the utterance of a sentence are in general a function of the meaning of a sentence. The meaning of a sentence does not in all cases uniquely determine what speech act is performed in a given utterance of that sentence, for a speaker may mean more than what he actually says. But it is always in principle possible for him to say exactly what he means. Therefore, it is always in principle possible for every speech act one performs or could perform to be uniquely determined by a given sentence, given the assumptions that the speaker is speaking literally and that the context is appropriate for these reasons, a study of the meaning of sentences is not in principle distinct from a study of speech acts. Properly constructed, they are the same study. Since every meaningful sentence in virtue of its meaning can be used to perform a speech act, and since every possible speech act can in principle be given an exact formulation in a sentence or sentences, the study of the meanings of sentences and the study of speech acts are not two independent studies but one study from two different points of view. It is possible to distinguish at least two strands in contemporary work in the philosophy of language. The one which concentrates on the uses of expressions in speech situations and one which concentrates on the meaning of sentences. Practitioners of these two approaches sometimes talk as if they were inconsistent, and at least some encouragement is given to the view that they are inconsistent by the fact that historically they have been associated with inconsistent view about meaning.

Searle (1969) also says something about the principle of expressibility. This principle states that whatever can be meant can be said. It is possible to misconstrue this principle in ways, which would render it false. Often we mean more than we actually say. For instance if you ask me “Are you going to the movies?” I may respond by saying “Yes” but, as it is clear from the context, what I mean is “Yes, I am going to the movies”, not “Yes, it is a fine day” or “Yes, we have no bananas”. Similarly, I might say “I’ll come” and mean it as a promise to come i.e., mean it as I would mean “I promise that I will come”, if I were uttering that sentence and meaning literally what I say.

In such cases, even though I do not say exactly what I mean, it is always possible for me to do so. If there is any possibility that a hearer might not understand me, I may do so. But often I am not able to say exactly what I mean even if I want to because I do not know
the language well enough to say what I mean, for instance, if I am Xhosa speaking and trying to communicate in English. Worse, because the language may not contain words or other devices for saying what I mean. But even in cases where it is in fact possible to say exactly what I mean, it is in principle to come to be able to say exactly what I mean.

The hypothesis that the speech act is the basic unit of communication, taken together with the principle of expressibility, suggests that there are a series of analytic connections between the notion of speech acts, what the speaker means, what the sentence uttered means, what the speaker intends, what the hearer understands, and what the rules governing the linguistic elements are.

The hypothesis of Searle's work is that speaking a language is engaging in a rule-governed form of behaviour. To put this more clearly, talking is performing acts according to rules. Searle then goes further and makes some distinctions, which naturally suggest themselves to us as soon as we begin to reflect on simple speech situations. Imagine a speaker and a hearer and suppose that in appropriate circumstances the speaker utters one of the following sentences:

1. Sam smokes habitually
2. Does Sam smoke habitually?
3. Sam, smoke habitually!
4. Would that Sam smoked habitually

One thing is obvious: anyone who utters one of these can be said to have uttered a sentence formed of words in English language. In uttering 1. a speaker is making an assertion, in 2. asking a question, in 3. giving an order, and in 4. expressing a wish or desire. And in the performance of each of these four different acts the speaker performs certain other acts which are common to all four. In uttering any of these the speaker refers to or mentions or designates a certain object Sam, and he predicates the expression "smokes habitually" of the object referred to. Thus, we shall say that in the utterance of all four the reference and predication are the same, though in each case the same reference and predication occur as part of a complete speech act which is different from any of the other three.
Austin (1962) referred to these complete speech acts as "illocutionary acts". Some of the English verbs denoting illocutionary acts are: "state"; "describe"; "assert"; "warn"; "remark"; "comment"; "command"; "order"; "request"; "criticize"; "apologize"; "censure"; "approve"; "welcome"; "promise"; "object"; "demand" and "argue". Austin (1962) claimed that there are well over a thousand such expressions in English.

In the utterance of any of the four sentences in the example a speaker is characteristically performing at least three distinct kinds of acts: (a) uttering words (morphemes, sentences) = performing utterance acts; (b) referring and predicing = performing propositional acts; (c) stating, questioning, commanding, promising etc. = performing illocutionary acts. In performing an illocutionary act one characteristically performs propositional acts and utterance acts. Thus, in performing different utterance acts, a speaker may perform the same propositional and illocutionary acts. Nor, of course, need the performance of the same utterance act by two different speakers or by the same speaker on different occasions, be a performance of the same propositional and illocutionary acts. The same sentence may, for example, be used to make two different statements.

Utterance acts consists simply in uttering strings of words. Illocutionary and propositional acts consist characteristically in the uttering of words in sentences in certain contexts, under certain conditions and with certain intentions. For certain purposes one might wish to break up what Searle (1969) have called utterance acts into phonetic acts, phonemic acts, morphemic acts etc. And of course, for most purposes, in the science of linguistics it is not necessary to speak of acts at all. One can just as well discuss phonemes, morphemes, sentences etc.

To these three notions Searle wishes to add Austin's notion of the perlocutionary act. Correlated with the notion of illocutionary acts is the notion of the consequences or effects such acts have on the actions, thoughts, or beliefs, etc. of hearers. For example, by arguing I may persuade or convince someone, by warning him I may scare or alarm him, by making a request I may get him to do something, by informing him I may convince him. The underlined expressions above denote perlocutionary acts.

Correlative with the notion of propositional acts and illocutionary acts, respectively, are certain kinds of expressions uttered in their performance. Propositional acts cannot occur
alone, that is, one cannot just refer and predicate without making an assertion or asking a question or performing some other illocutionary act.

Searle (1969) also uses reference as a speech act and, in so doing, attempts partially to clarify the notion of referring. In using the examples he uses the expressions such as "you", "the Battle of Waterloo", "our copy of yesterday's newspaper", "Caesar", "the constellation of Orion". It is characteristic of each of these expressions that their utterance serves to pick out or identify one "object" or "entity" or "particular" apart from other objects, about which the speaker then goes on to say something, or ask some question. Any expression, which serves to identify, anything, process, event, action, or any other kind of "individual" or "particular", Searle refer to it as expression. Referring expressions point to particular things. They answer the questions "who?"; "what?" or "which?" It is by their function that referring expressions are to be known.

To sum it up, the speech act of referring is to be explained by giving examples of paradigmatic referring expressions, by explaining the function, which the utterance of these expressions serves in the complete speech act, and by contrasting the use of these expressions with other expressions. The utterance of a referring expression characteristically serves to pick out or identify a particular object apart from other objects.

In talking about the propositions Searle (1969) says: whenever two illocutionary acts contain the same reference and predication provided that the meaning of the referring expression is the same, the same proposition is expressed. Thus, in the utterances of the previous examples 1 – 4 the same proposition is expressed. And similarly in the expressions of utterances of:

5. If Sam smokes habitually, he will not live long.
6. The proposition that Sam smokes habitually is uninteresting.

The same proposition is expressed as in 1 – 4, though both in 5 and 6 the proposition occurs as part of another proposition. Thus a statement is to be sharply distinguished from an assertion or statement of it, since in utterance 1 – 6 the same proposition occurs, but only in 1 and 4 is it asserted.
Stating and asserting are acts, but propositions are not acts. A proposition is what is asserted in the act of asserting, what is stated in the act of stating.

The expression of a proposition is a propositional act, not an illocutionary act. And, as we saw, propositional acts cannot occur alone. One cannot just express a proposition while doing nothing else and have thereby performed a complete speech act. One grammatical correlate of this point is that clauses beginning with “that ...”, which are a characteristic form for explicitly isolating propositions are not complete sentences. When a proposition is expressed, it is always expressed in the performance of an illocutionary act.

The hypothesis of Searle's book is that speaking of a language is performing acts according to rules. The form this hypothesis will take is that the semantic structure of a language may be regarded as a conventional realization of a series of sets of underlying constitutional rules, and that speech acts are acts characteristically performed by uttering expressions in accordance with these sets of constitutive rules.

Some very simple sorts of illocutionary acts can be performed apart from any use of any conventional devices at all, simply by getting the audience to recognize certain of one's intentions in behaving in a certain way. And these possibilities show us the limitations and weaknesses of the analogy with games, for one cannot, for example, score a touchdown at all apart from invoking certain conventions. However, the fact that one can perform some illocutionary acts while standing outside a natural language, or any other system of constitutive rules, should not obscure the fact that in general illocutionary acts are performed within a language in virtue of certain rules, and indeed could not be performed unless language allowed the possibility of their performance.

Searle (1969) says illocutionary acts are characteristically performed in the utterance of sounds or the making of marks. The crucial question to be asked then is: what is the difference between uttering sounds or making marks and performing an illocutionary act? One difference is that the sounds or marks one makes in the performance of an illocutionary act are characteristically said to have meaning, and a second related difference is that one is characteristically said to mean something by the utterance of those sounds or marks. Characteristically, when one speaks one means something by what one says and what one says, the string of sounds that one emits, is characteristically said to have a meaning.
But what is it for one to mean something by what one says, and what is it for something to have a meaning? To answer the first of these questions Searle (1969) proposes to borrow and revise some ideas of Paul Grice. Grice give the following analysis of the notion of non-natural meaning. To say that a speaker S meant something by X is to say that S intended the utterance of X to produce some effect in a hearer H by means of the recognition of this intention.

Searle also thinks that this is a very useful beginning of an account of meaning, first because it makes a connection between meaning and intention, and secondly because it captures the following essential feature of linguistic communication.

In speaking I attempt to communicate certain things to my hearer by getting him just to recognize my intention to communicate just those things. I achieve the intended effect on the hearer by getting him to recognize my intention to achieve that affect. As soon as the hearer recognizes what it is my intention to achieve, it is in general achieved. He understands what I am saying as soon as he recognizes my intention in uttering what I utter as an intention to say that thing.

I shall illustrate this with a simple example. When I say “Hello”, I intend to produce in a hearer the knowledge that he is being greeted. If he recognizes it as my intention to produce in him that knowledge, then he hereby acquires that knowledge.

However valuable this account of meaning is, it seems to be defective in at least two crucial respects, according to Searle. First it fails to account for the extent to which meaning can be a matter of rules or conventions. This account of meaning does not show the connection between one’s meaning something by what one says, and what that which one says actually means in a language. Secondly, by defining meaning in terms of intended effects it confuses illocutionary with perlocutionary acts.

Searle (1969) says we need to reformulate the Gricean account of meaning in such a way as to make it clear that one’s meaning when one utters a sentence is more than just randomly related to what the sentence means in the language one is speaking. In our analysis of illocutionary acts, we must capture both the intentional and the conventional aspects and especially the relationship between them. In the performance of an illocutionary act in the literal utterance of a sentence, the speaker intends to produce a
certain effect by means of getting the hearer to recognize his intention to produce that effect. Furthermore, if he is using words literally, he intends this recognition to be achieved in virtue of the fact that the rules for using the expressions he utters associate the expression with the production of those effects.

Turning to Searle's objection i.e. a second objection to Grice's account. In effect, the account says that saying something and meaning it is a matter of intending to perform a perlocutionary act. First it could not be the case that in general intended effects of meant utterances were perlocutionary because many kinds of sentences used to perform illocutionary acts have no perlocutionary effect of greeting. When I say "Hello" and mean it, I do not necessarily intend to produce or elicit any state or action in my hearer other than the knowledge that he is being greeted. But that knowledge is simply his understanding what I said, it is not an additional response or effect. Furthermore, there is no perlocutionary effect of for example, promising which will distinguish promises from firm statements of intentional and emphatic predictions.

All three tend to create expectations in the hearer about the future, but "I promise" does not mean "I predict" or "I intend". Any account of meaning must show that when I say "I promise" or "Hello" and mean it, I mean it in exactly the same sense of "mean" as when I say "Get out" and mean it. Yet Grice's account seems to suit only the last of the three sentences, since it is the only one whose meaning is such that in ordinary cases the speaker who utters and means it intends to produce an "effect" on the hearer of the kind Grice, discusses the meaning of the intended perlocutionary effect, namely getting the hearer to leave, the meanings of "Hello" and "I promise" do not.

Secondly, even where there generally is a correlated perlocutionary effect, I may say something and mean it without in fact intending to produce that effect. Thus, for example, I may make a statement without caring whether my audience believe it or not but simply because I feel it my duty to make it.

Searle (1969) in his presentations of the conditions considers the case of a sincere promise. His reason for doing so is that it is fairly formal and well articulated. It also has more than local interest and many of the lessons to be learned from it are of general application.
In order to give an analysis of the illocutionary act of promising Searle (1969) asks what conditions are necessary and sufficient for the act of promising to have been successfully and non-defectively performed in the utterance of a given sentence.

He then answers this question by stating these conditions as a set of propositions such that the conjunction of the members of the set entails the proposition that a speaker made a successful and non-defective promise, and the proposition that the speaker made such a promise entails this conjunction.

There are various kinds of possible defects of illocutionary acts but not all of these defects are sufficient to vitiate the act in its entirety. In some cases, a condition may indeed be intrinsic to the notion of the act in question and not satisfied in a given case, and yet the act will have been performed nonetheless. In such cases, Searle says the act was defective. His notion of the defect in an illocutionary act is closely related to Austin's notion of an "infelicity". Not all of the conditions are logically independent of each other. Sometimes it is worthwhile to state a condition separately even though it is, strictly speaking, entailed by another.

2.3.2 Searle (1975a)

2.3.2.1 Introduction

Searle's (1975) main purpose is to develop a reasoned classification of illocutionary acts into certain basic categories or types. Since any such attempt to develop a taxonomy must take into account Austin's classification of illocutionary acts into his five basic categories of verdictive, expositive, exercitive, behabitive and commissive, the intention is to assess Austin's classification to show in what respects it is adequate and in what respects it is inadequate. Furthermore, since basic semantic differences are likely to have syntactical consequences, another intention is to show how these different basic illocutionary types are realized in the syntax of a natural language such as for example, English.
2.3.2.2 Different types of differences between different types of illocutionary acts

Any taxanomical effort of this sort presupposes criteria for distinguishing one kind of illocutionary act from another. The question then according to Searle (1975) is “what are the criteria by which we can tell that of three actual utterances one is a report, one a prediction and one a promise?”. He explains that in order to develop higher order genera, we first need to know how the species promise, prediction, report etc., differ from one another. When one attempts to answer that question one discovers that there are several quite different principles of distinction; that is, there are different kinds of differences that enable us to say that the force of this utterance is different from the force of that utterance. For this reason the metaphor of force in the expression “illocutionary force” is misleading since it suggests that different illocutionary forces occupy different positions on a single continuum of force. What is actually the case is that there are several distinct criss-crossing continua.

A related source of confusion is that one is inclined to confuse illocutionary verbs with types of illocutionary acts. We are inclined, for example, to think that where we have two nonsynonymous illocutionary verbs they must necessarily mark two different kinds of illocutionary acts. Searle then makes a distinction between illocutionary verbs and illocutionary acts. According to Searle (1975) illocutions are part of language as opposed to particular languages. Illocutionary verbs are always part of a particular language: French, German, English or whatnot.

Differences in illocutionary verbs are a good guide but by no means a sure guide to differences in illocutionary acts. Searle (1975) lists twelve significant dimensions of variation in which illocutionary acts differ. These dimensions are:

(1) Differences in the point (or purpose) of the (type of) act

The point or purpose of an order can be specified by saying that it is an attempt to get the hearer to do something. The point or purpose of a description is that it is a representation (true or false, accurate or inaccurate), of how something is. The point or purpose of a promise is that it is an undertaking of an obligation by the speaker to do something. In this regard, it is important to notice that the terminology of “point” or “purpose” is not meant to
imply, nor is it based on the view, that every illocutionary act has a definitionally associated perlocutionary intent.

The point or purpose of a type of illocution is referred to as its illocutionary point by Searle (1975). Illocutionary point is part of but not the same as illocutionary force. Thus e.g. the illocutionary point of request is the same as that of commands: both are attempts to get the hearer to do something. But the illocutionary forces are clearly different. In general, one can say that the notion of illocutionary force is the resultant of several elements of which illocutionary point is only one.

(2) Differences in the direction of fit between words and the world

Some illocutions have as part of their illocutionary point to get the words (more strictly – their propositional content) to match the world, others to get the world to match the words. Assertions are in the former category, promises and requests are in the latter. The best illustration of this distinction is provided by Miss Anscombe (1957). Suppose a man goes to the supermarket with a shopping list given him by his wife on which are written the words "beans, butter, bacon and bread". Suppose as he goes around with his shopping cart selecting these items, he is followed by a detective who writes down everything he takes. As they emerge from the store both shopper and detective will have identical lists.

But the function of the two lists will be quite different. In the case of the shopper’s list, the purpose of the list is, to get the world to match the words, the man is supposed to make his actions fit the list. In the case of the detective, the purpose of the list is to make the words match the world; the man is supposed to make the list fit the actions of the shopper. This can be further demonstrated by observing the role of “mistake” in the two cases. If the detective gets home and suddenly realizes that the man bought pork chops instead of bacon, he can simply erase the word bacon and write pork chops.

In the examples the list provides the propositional content of the illocution and the illocutionary force determines how the content is supposed to relate to the world. Searle (1975) proposes to call this difference a difference in direction of fit. The detective’s list has a word-to-world direction to fit; the shopper’s list has a world-to-word direction to fit.
(3) Differences in expressed psychological states

A man who states, explains, asserts or claims that P expresses the belief that P; a man who promises, vows, threatens or pledges to do A expresses an intention to do A; a man who orders, commands, requests H to do A expresses a desire that H do A. In general, in the performance of any illocutionary act with a propositional content, the speaker expresses some attitude, state etc., to that propositional content.

If one tries to do a classification of illocutionary acts based entirely on differently expressed psychological states, one can get quite long assertions, remarks and explanations, but also postulations, declarations, deductions and arguments. Intention will collect promises, vows, threats and pledges. Desire or want will collect requests, order, commands, askings, prayers, pleadings, beggings and entreatives. The three dimensions namely, illocutionary point, direction of fit, and sincerity condition are the most important according to Searle (1975) and he builds most of taxonomy around them. But there are several others that need remarking:

(4) Differences in the force of strength with which the illocutionary point is presented

Both, “I suggest we go to the movies” and “I insist that we go to the movies” have the same illocutionary point, but it is presented with different strengths. Analogously with “I solemnly swear that Bill stole the money” and “I guess Bill stole the money”. Along the same direction of illocutionary point or purpose there may be varying degrees of strength.

(5) Differences in the status or position of the speaker and hearer as these bear on the illocutionary force of the utterance

If the General asks the Private to clean up the room, that is in all likelihood a command or an order. It the Private asks the General to clean up the room, that is likely to be a suggestion or proposal or request but not an order or command.
(6) **Differences in the way the utterance relates to the interests of the speaker and hearer**

Consider, for example, the differences between boasts and laments, between congratulations and condolences. In these two pairs, one hears the difference as being what is or is not in the interests of the speaker and hearer respectively.

(7) **Differences in relation to the rest of the discourse**

Some performative expressions serve to relate the utterance to the rest of the discourse. Consider for example, “I reply”; “I deduce”, “I conclude” and “I object”. These expressions serve to relate utterances to the other utterances and to the surrounding context.

(8) **Differences in propositional content that are determined by illocutionary force indicating devices**

The differences, for example, between a report and a prediction involve the fact that a prediction must be about a future whereas a report can be about the past or present.

(9) **Differences between those acts that must always be speech acts, and those that cannot be, but need not be performed as speech acts**

For example, one may classify things by saying “I classify this as an A, and this as a B”. But one need not say anything at all in order to be classifying; one may simply throw all the A’s in the A box and all the B’s in the B box.

(10) **Differences between those acts that need extra linguistic institutions for their performance and those that do not**

There are a large number of illocutionary acts that require an extra-linguistic institution, and generally a special position by the speaker and the hearer within that institution in order for the act to be performed. Thus, in order to bless, excommunicate, christen, pronounce guilty, it is not sufficient for any old speaker to say to any old hearer, “I bless”; “I excommunicate” etc. One must have a position within an extra-linguistic institution.
Most illocutionary verbs have performative uses, e.g. “state”; “promise”; “order”; “conclude”. But one cannot perform acts of e.g. boasting or threatening, by saying “I hereby boast” or “I hereby threaten”. Not all illocutionary verbs are performative verbs.

Some illocutionary verbs seem to mark what we might call the special style in which an illocutionary act is performed. The difference between for example, announcing and confiding need not involve any difference in illocutionary point but only in the style of performance of an illocutionary act.

2.3.2.3 Weaknesses in Austin's taxonomy

Austin (1962) advances his five categories very tentatively more as a basis for discussion than as a set of established results. Here are Austin’s five categories:

Verdictives

This consists in the delivery of a finding, official or unofficial, upon evidence, or reasons as to the value or fact so far as these are distinguishable. Examples of verbs in this class are: acquit, hold, calculate, analyze, date, characterize, rank, and describe.

Exercitives

One of these is giving a decision in favour of or against a certain course of action or advocacy of it. Examples are: order, command, direct, plead, beg, and recommend.

Commissives

This is to commit a speaker to a certain course of action. Examples are: promise, vow, pledge, contract, guarantee.
Expositives

These are used as acts of exposition involving the expounding of views, the conducting of arguments and the classifying of usages. Examples are: affirm, deny, illustrate, and answer.

Behabitives

This includes the notion of reaction to other people's behaviour or fortunes and of attitudes and expressions of attitudes to someone else's past conduct. Examples are apologize, thank, deplore, commiserate, congratulate.

The first thing to notice about these lists is that they are not classifications of illocutionary acts but of English illocutionary verbs. Austin (1962) seems to assume that a classification of different verbs is a classification of kinds of illocutionary acts, that any two non-synonymous verbs must mark illocutionary acts. Even granting that the lists are of illocutionary verbs and not necessarily of different illocutionary acts, it seems to Searle (1975), one can level the following against it:

(a) Not all verbs listed are even illocutionary verbs. Take "intend": it is clearly not performative.

(b) There is no clear or consistent principle or set of principles on the basis of which the taxonomy is constructed.

(c) Because there is no clear principle of classification and because there is a persistent confusion between illocutionary acts and illocutionary verbs, there is a great deal of overlap from one category to another and a great deal of heterogeneity with some of the categories.

(d) Not only is there too much overlap from one category to the next, but within some categories there are quite distinct kinds of verbs.

(e) Related to these objections is the further difficulty that not all of the verbs listed within the classes really satisfy the definitions given.
In sum, there are six related difficulties with Austin's taxonomy. In ascending order of importance: there is a persistent confusion between acts and verbs, not all the verbs are illocutionary verbs, there is too much overlap of the categories, too much heterogeneity within the categories, many of the verbs listed in the categories don't satisfy the definition given for the category and, must important, there is no consistent principle of classification.

2.3.2.4 Alternative taxonomy

In this section Searle (1975) presents a list of what he regards as the basic categories of illocutionary acts. He also discusses briefly how his classification relates to Austin's.

Representatives

These are to commit a speaker to do something, that being the case, to the truth of the expressed proposition. All the members of the representative class are assessable on the dimension of assessment, which includes true and false. Using Frege's assertion sign to mark the illocutionary point common to all and the symbols introduced above, this class may be symbolized as follows:

\[
\text{!} \uparrow \quad \text{B (p)}
\]

The direction of fit is words to the world; the psychological state expressed is Belief (that p). It is important to emphasize that words such as "belief" and "commitment" are here intended to mark dimensions; they are so to speak determinable rather than determinates.

Directives

The illocutionary point of these consists in the fact that they are attempts by the speaker to get the hearer to do something. They may be very modest "attempts" as when I invite you to do it or suggest that you do it. Using the shriek mark for the illocutionary point-indicating device for members of this class generally, there is the following symbolism:

\[
\text{!} \uparrow \quad \text{W (H does A)}
\]
The direction of fit is world-to-words and the sincerity conditions are want. The propositional content is always that the hearer H does some future action A.

**Commissives**

These are the illocutionary acts whose point is to commit the speaker to some future course of action. Using C for the members of this class, the following symbolism is used:

\[ C \uparrow 1 (S \text{ does } A) \]

The direction of fit is world-to-words and the sincerity condition is intention. The propositional content is always that the speaker S does some future action A.

**Expressives**

The illocutionary point of this class is to express the psychological state specified in the sincerity condition about a state of affairs specified in the propositional content.

In performing an expressive, the speaker is neither trying to get the world to match the words nor the words to match the world, rather the truth of the expressed proposition is presupposed. The symbolization for this class must proceed as follows:

\[ E \circ (P) (S / H + \text{ property}) \]

Where E indicates the illocutionary point common to all expressives, \( \circ \) is the null symbol indicating no direction of fit. P is the variable ranging over the different psychological states expressed in the performance of illocutionary acts in this class and the propositional content ascribes some property to either S or H.

**Declarations**

It is the defining characteristic of this class that the successful performance of one of its members brings about the correspondence between the propositional content and reality, successful performance guarantees that the propositional content corresponds to the
word. If I successfully perform the act of appointing you a chairman, then you are a chairman. Declarations are a very special category of speech acts. Their structure is symbolized as follows:

\[
\text{D} \uparrow \text{O (P)}
\]

Where D indicates the declarational illocutionary point, the direction of fit is both words-to-world and world-to-words because of their peculiar character of declarations; there is no sincerity condition, hence we have a null symbol in the sincerity condition slot; and we use the usual propositional variable P. The reason there has to be a relation of fit arrow here at all is that declarations do attempt to get language to match the world.

Some syntactical aspects of the classification

Searle (1975) discusses explicitly some points about English syntax. He examines the syntactical structure of the sentences containing the performative occurrence of appropriate illocutionary verbs appropriate to each of the five categories. The sentence, e.g. "I predict John will hit Bill" has the deep structure shown in the following figure 1.
Representatives

The deep structure of such a paradigm, representing sentences as "I state it is raining" and "I predict he will come" is simply, I verb (that) + S. This class provides no further constraints; though particular verbs may provide further constraints on the lower node S.

Directives

Such sentences as "I order you to leave" and "I command you to stand at attention" have the following deep structure:

I verb you + Fut Vol Verb (NP) (Adv)

"I order you to leave" is thus the surface structure realization of "I order you + you will leave" with equine NP deletion of the repeated you.

Commissives

Such sentences as "I promise to pay you the money" and "I pledge allegiance to the flag" and "I vow to get revenge" have the deep structure

I verb (you) + I Fut Vol Verb (NP) (Adv)

It should be noted that not all of the paradigm commissives have "you" as an indirect object of the performative verb.

Expressives

These require characteristically a gerundive transformation of the verb in the lower node S. We say:

I apologize for stepping on your toe
I congratulate you on winning the race
I thank you for giving me the money
The deep structure of such sentences is:

\[ I \ \text{verb} \ \text{you} + I/you \ \text{VP} = \text{Gerundive Noun} \]

The explanation of the objectory gerundive is that there is no direction of fit. The forms that standardly admit of questions concerning direction of fit, i.e. that clauses and infinitives, are impermissible.

Declarations

Searle mentions the syntactical form

\[ I \ \text{verb} \ \text{NP}_1 + \text{NP}_1 \ pred \]

both to forestall an argument for erecting a separate semantic category for them and because many verbs of declarations have this form. Indeed, there appear to be several different syntactical forms for explicit performatives of declaration.

2.3.3 Searle (1975b)

One of the simplest cases of meaning are those in which a speaker utters a sentence and means exactly and literally what he says. In such areas, Searle (1975b) says the speaker intends to produce this effect by getting the hearer to recognize his intention to produce it, and he intends to get the hearer to recognize this intention in virtue of the hearer's knowledge of the rules that govern the utterance of the sentence. But not all cases of meaning are this simple. In hints, insights, irony and metaphor – the speaker's utterance meaning and the sentence meaning come apart in various ways.

One important class of such cases is that in which a speaker's utterance of a sentence, means what he says, but also means something more. For example a speaker may utter a sentence \textit{I want you to do it} by way of requesting the hearer to do something. The utterance is incidentally meant as a statement, but it is also meant primarily as a request, a request made by way of making a statement. In such cases Searle (1975) says a
sentence that contains the illocutionary force indications for one kind of illocutionary acts can be uttered to perform, in addition another type of illocutionary act.

There are also cases in which the speaker may utter a sentence and mean what he says and also mean another illocution with a different propositional content. For example, a speaker may utter the sentence Can you pass the salt? And mean it not merely as a question but as a request to pass the salt. In such cases it is important to emphasize that the utterance is meant as a request, i.e. the speaker intends to produce in the hearer the knowledge that a request has been made to him, and that he intends to produce this knowledge by means of getting the hearer to recognize his intention to produce it.

The problem posed by indirect speech acts is the problem of how it is possible for the speaker to say one thing and mean that but also to mean something else. And since meaning consists in part in the intention to produce understanding in the hearer, a large part of that problem is that of how it is possible for the hearer to understand the indirect speech act when the sentence he hears and understands means something else. The problem is made more complicated by the fact that some sentences seem almost to be conventionally used as indirect requests. For example in Searle's (1975) two examples, which read: Can you reach the salt? or I would appreciate it if you would get off my foot, it takes some ingenuity to imagine a situation in which their utterances would not be requests.

A Sample Case

Searle (1975) draws our attention to the consideration of a typical case of the general phenomenon of indirection. This he does by offering two examples:

1. Student X: Let's go to the movies tonight
2. Student Y: I have to study for an exam

The utterance of (1) constitutes a proposal in virtue of its meaning, in particular because of the meaning of "Let's". The utterance of (2) in the context just given would normally constitute a rejection of the proposal, but not in virtue of its meaning. In virtue of its meaning it is simply a statement about Y. Statements of this form do not, in general,
constitute rejections of proposals, even in cases in which they are made in response to a proposal.

The question then arises, How does X know that the utterance is a rejection of the proposal? And that question is a part of the question, How is it possible for Y to intend or mean the utterance of (2) as a rejection of the proposal. In order to describe this case, Searle (1975) introduces some terminology. He says that the primary illocutionary act performed in Y's utterance is the rejection of the proposal made by X, and that Y does that by performing a secondary illocutionary act of making a statement to the effect that he has to prepare for the exam. He performs the secondary illocutionary act by way of uttering a sentence the literal meaning of which is such that its literal utterance constitutes a performance of that illocutionary act.

Searle (1975) says that the secondary illocutionary act is literal, and the primary illocutionary act is not literal. Assuming that one know how X understands the literal secondary illocutionary act from the utterance of a sentence, the question is, how does he understand the non-literal primary illocutionary act from understanding the literal secondary illocutionary act. And that question is part of the larger question, how is it possible for Y to mean the primary illocution when he only utters a sentence that means the secondary illocution, since to mean the primary illocution is to intend to produce in X the relevant understanding?

Searle (1975) then offers a brief reconstruction of the steps necessary to derive the primary illocution from the literal illocution. In this regard he (Searle) also criticizes himself in that he has not discussed the role of the assumption of sincerity, or the conditions that attach to various of the steps. It should also be noted that the conclusion of the steps is probabilistic. This is because the reply does not necessarily constitute a rejection of the proposal. Y might have gone on the say:

(3) I have to study for an exam, but let's go to the movies anyhow.

(4) I have to study for an exam, but I'll do it when we get home from the movies.

The inferential strategy is to establish, first, that the primary illocutionary point departs from the literal and second, what the primary illocutionary point is.
Some sentences “conventionally” used in the performance of indirect directives

Searle(1975) begins with a short list of some of the sentences that could quite standardly be used to make indirect requests and other directives such as orders. At a pretheoretical level these sentences naturally tend to group themselves into certain categories.

Group 1: Sentences concerning H’s ability to perform A:
Can you reach the salt?
Can you pass the salt?

Group 2: Sentences concerning S’s wish that H will do A:
I would like you to go now
I want you to do this for me, Henry

Group 3: Sentences concerning H’s doing A:
Will you quit making that awful racket?
Would you kindly get off my foot?

Group 4: Sentences concerning H’s desire or willingness to do A:
Would you be willing to write a letter of recommendation for me?
Would you mind not making so much noise?

Group 5: Sentences concerning reasons for doing A:
You ought to be more polite to your mother
You should leave immediately

Group 6: Sentences embedding one of these elements inside one another; also, sentences embedding an explicit directive illocutionary verb inside one of these contexts:
Would you mind awfully if I asked you if you could write me a letter of recommendation?
Would it be too much if I suggested that you could possibly make a little less noise?
Some Putative Facts

Searle (1975) begins by noting some of the salient facts about the sentences in question. He also says that not everyone will agree that what follows are facts.

**Fact 1:** The sentences in question do not have an imperative force as part of their meaning.

**Fact 2:** The sentences in question are not ambiguous as between an imperative illocutionary force and a non-imperative illocutionary force.

**Fact 3:** Notwithstanding facts 1 and 2, these are standardly, ordinarily, and normally indeed, I shall argue, conventionally used to issue directives.

**Fact 4:** The sentences in question are not, in the ordinary, sense, idioms.

**Fact 5:** To say they are not idioms is not to say they are not idiomatic.

**Fact 6:** The sentences in question have literal utterances in which they are not also indirect requests.

**Fact 7:** In cases where these sentences are uttered as requests, they still have their literal meaning.

**Fact 8:** It is a consequence of fact 7 that when one of these sentences is uttered with the primary illocutionary point of a directive, the literal illocutionary act is also performed.

An explanation in terms of the theory of Speech Acts

The difference between the example concerning the proposal to go to the movies and all the other cases is that the other cases are systematic. The only thing that needs to be done, is to describe an example in such a way as to show how the apparatus used in the first example will suffice for these other cases and also will explain the systematic character of other cases.
Searle (1975) thinks the theory of speech acts will enable us to provide a simple explanation of how these sentences, which have one illocutionary force as part of their meaning, can be used to perform an act with a different illocutionary force. Each type of illocutionary act has a set of conditions that are necessary for the successful and felicitous performance of the act. To illustrate this, Searle (1975) presents the conditions on two types of acts within the two genuses, directive and commissive.

A comparison of the list of felicity conditions on the directive class of illocutionary acts and our list of types of sentences used to perform indirect directives show that Groups 1 – 6 of types can be reduced to three types: those having to do with felicity conditions on the performance of a directive illocutionary act, those having to do with reasons for doing the act, and those embedding one element inside another one. Thus, since the ability of H to perform A is a preparatory condition, the desire of S that H perform A is the sincerity condition, and the predication of A of H is the propositional content condition, all of Groups 1 – 3 concern felicity conditions on directive illocutionary acts. Since wanting to do something is a reason par excellence for doing it, group 4 assimilates to Group 5, as both concern reasons for doing A.

If we look at our lists and sets of conditions the following generalizations naturally emerge:

**Generalization 1**: S can make an indirect request by either asking whether or stating that a preparatory condition concerning H’s ability to do A obtains.

**Generalization 2**: S can make an indirect directive by either asking whether or stating that the propositional content condition obtains.

**Generalization 3**: S can make an indirect directive by stating that the sincerity condition obtains, but not asking whether it obtains.

**Generalization 4**: S can make an indirect directive by either stating that or asking whether there are good or offending reasons for doing A, except where the reason is that H wants or wishes, etc. to do A, in which case he can only ask whether H wants, wishes etc., to do A.
It is the existence of these generalizations that accounts for the systematic character of the relation between the sentences in Group 1 – 6 and the directive class of illocutionary rules.

The next step is to try to describe an example of an indirect request with at least the same degree of pedantry we used in our description of the rejection of a proposal. Let us then take the simplest sort of case: At the dinner table, X says to Y, "Can you pass the salt?" by way of asking Y to pass the salt. Now, how does Y know that X is requesting him to pass the salt instead of just asking his abilities to pass the salt? Notice that not everything will do as a request to pass the salt. Thus, if X had said "Salt is made of sodium chloride" or "Salt is mined in the Tatra Mountains", without some special stage setting, it is very unlikely that Y would take either of these utterances as a request to pass the salt. Searle (1975) then provides a bare bones reconstruction of the 10 steps necessary for Y to derive the conclusion from the utterance.

The hypothesis being put forth in this article is that all the cases can be similarly analyzed. According to this analysis, the reason I can ask you to pass the salt by saying "Can you pass the salt?", but not by saying "Salt is made of sodium chloride" or "Salt is mined at the Tatra Mountains" is that your ability to pass the salt is a preparatory condition for requesting you to pass the salt in a way that the other sentences are not related to asking you to pass the salt. But, obviously, that answer is not by itself sufficient, because not all questions about your abilities are requests. The hearer therefore needs some way of finding out when an utterance is just a question about his abilities and when it is a request made by way of asking a question about his abilities. It is at this point that the general principles about conversation come into play.

2.4 REQUESTS

When people make requests, they tend to make them indirectly. According to Clark and Schunk (1980) they generally avoid imperatives like "Tell me the time?", which are direct requests, in preference for questions like "Can you tell me the time or assertions like "I'm trying to find out what time it is", which are indirect requests. The curious thing about indirect requests is that they appear to have one meaning too many. "Can you tell me the time", as a request, has the indirect meaning "I request you to tell me the time". Yet it also possesses the literal meaning "I ask you whether you have the ability to tell me the time".
Clark and Schunk (1980) investigate two issues jointly. The first is comprehension. In this one the question is whether a literal meaning plays a role in the understanding of indirect requests. The second issue is politeness: what makes some indirect requests, and some responses, more polite than others?

2.4.1 The politeness of indirect requests

In a request and its response, two people coordinate an exchange of goals. For convenience, let us assume the requester is a woman called A, and the requestee a man called B. In her turn, A requests B to do something for her, and in his turn, B commits himself, or refuses to commit himself to do what she wanted. When she requests information, B ordinarily gives the information instead of merely committing himself to give it.

According to Clark and Schunk (1980), the problem with requests is that, on the surface, they are inequitable. While A benefits from the information she receives, it costs B some effort to give it to her. In Goffman’s (1967) terms, requests threaten B’s “face”. People ordinarily act to maintain or gain face and to avoid losing face. Clearly A’s requests, by imposing on B, are potentially threatening to B’s face. Brown and Levinson (1978), following up work by Lakoff (1973, 1977) have incorporated this idea in a general theory of politeness whose basic tenet its this: people are polite to the extent that they enhance, or lessen the threat to, another’s face. In our case, A will be polite to the extent that she can reduce or eliminate the threat to B’s face caused by her request.

Clark and Schunk look at only a few of the linguistic devices by which A could reduce or eliminate the threat to B’s face – for example, “Can you (or) Couldn’t you (or) Will you tell me the time?” They further claim that these devices differ in how much they benefit or cost B. Ordinarily, if a device benefits B, it simultaneously costs A, although the benefit to B may not equal the cost to A.
Table 1: Examples of the request types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DESCRIPTIVE CATEGORY</th>
<th>REQUEST TYPE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Permission</td>
<td>May I ask you where Jordan Hall is?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Might I ask you where Jordan Hall is?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Imposition</td>
<td>Would you mind telling me where Jordan Hall is?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Ability</td>
<td>Can you tell me where Jordan Hall is?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Could you tell me where Jordan Hall is?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Memory</td>
<td>Have I already asked you where Jordan Hall is?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Did I ask you where Jordan Hall is?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Commitment</td>
<td>Will you tell me where Jordan Hall is?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Obligation</td>
<td>Shouldn’t you tell me where Jordan Hall is?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The linguistic devices Clark and Schunk have selected are ones in which A asks B a literal question answerable by yes or no, and by virtue of that question she requests from him a relatively slight piece of information.

These requests vary from polite to impolite, some of them take a literal yes answer for compliance, and others take a no. Since all these requests have the same indirect meaning, their differences lie in the literal meanings. Indeed, these requests can be ordered, on a priori intuitive grounds, for how much their literal meanings, if taken seriously, would benefit B or reduce the costs to B. It should also be noted that all of them have one cost in common. They impose on B by asking a question he must answer with yes or no.

2.4.1.1 Permission

With the literal meaning of “May I ask you where Jordan Hall is?”, A is offering B the authority to grant her permission to make her request. This is obviously a great benefit to B. He now has a higher status, or authority, than he had the moment before, and the status entitles him to give permission to A even to make a rather trivial request.

2.4.1.2 Imposition

With the literal meaning of “Would you mind telling me where Jordan Hall is?” A is no longer offering B the full authority to permit her to ask him for the wanted information. Still, she is offering him the authority to say that her request imposes too much. This benefits B. A is thereby admitting that she is imposing on him, and the admission benefits B too.
2.4.1.3 Ability

When A says "Can you tell me where Jordan Hall is?" she is literally asking B to say whether or not he has the ability to tell her where Jordan hall is. By giving him the opportunity to deny this ability, the question both benefits and costs B a little bit. It benefits him by allowing him to avoid embarrassment of being asked a request he couldn't comply with. But is costs him a little by suggesting that he may not be competent to comply.

2.4.1.4 Memory

The literal meaning of "Have I already asked you where Jordan Hall is?" makes a subtle demand on B. It asks him whether or not he can remember whether A asked him earlier for the location of Jordan Hall.

2.4.1.5 Commitment

With the literal meaning "Will you tell me where Jordan Hall is?" A is asking B whether or not he will commit himself to tell her the wanted information. Commitments, of course, are quite the opposite of permissions. In commitments, B obligates himself to A to carry out an action. This gives her the authority later to demand the fulfillment of his obligation, and that puts him in a position inferior to her.

2.4.1.6 Obligation

The last request "Shouldn't you tell me where Jordan Hall is?" should be the least polite of all. By using shouldn't, A is literally asking B whether or not he is under some obligation to tell her the wanted information. By using "shouldn't", she further implies that B has failed in his obligation. Her request then, costs B in two ways. It implies that he is obligated to tell her something; he has no choice in the matter. And it scolds him for already having failed in his duties.

As this discussion shows, the ways in which literal meaning can be used to benefit and cost B involve many factors. The ordering of the six categories of requests is Clark and Schunk's best judgment of how these factors combine for a net amount of politeness. Yet
three factors that cut across these six categories and lead to subsidiary predictions are conditionality, negativity and strength.

The difference between “May I ask you?” and “Might I ask you?” is one of conditionality. The subjunctive might ordinarily indicate that what is being said is conditional or something. For “Might I ask?” Brown and Levinson (1978), among others, speculate that the implicit position is “if you please”. If so it might should benefit B and increase the politeness of the request, since it makes explicit that B can do as he pleases. The same contrast is found between “Can you tell me?” and “Could you tell me?” and “Will you tell me?” in each case, the conditional request should be the more polite of the two.

The second factor is negativity, the difference between "can" and "can't" and between "will" and "won't". The literal question "Can you tell me?" doesn't express any opinion pro or con about what the answer is likely to be. "Can't you tell me?" however, does, in some contexts, it indicates that A expects a yes answer, supposing that B really can tell her the information. In other contexts, it indicates that A supposes that B cannot tell her the information and what she is questioning is whether or not her supposition is correct.

The final factor is strength. Compare "I will go" and "I want to go". Although they differ in other ways too, they differ in the strength of the implied desire to go. “Will" indicates an intention to go; “want” indicates a more positive desire. For A to ask B to want to tell her something is therefore to ask for a stronger commitment.

Clark and Schunk conclude by saying that these predictions assume requests among peers who are acquainted but not intimate. Among other people, the same factors should come into play but with different consequences. It would be very odd for a General to ask a Private "May I ask you what time it is?" That would put the General in an inferior position that is inconsistent with his rank. The literal meaning still benefits B. It is just that it is inappropriate for a General to defer to a Private.
2.4.2 The politeness of responses

Just as there are many ways of making requests, so there are many ways of responding to them. For A's request "Can you tell me the time?" B could respond in any of these ways, among others: "Six"; "six o'clock"; "it's six"; "it's six o'clock"; "yes, six"; and "yes, I can, it's six". The question then is: how does B choose? One way is by the seriousness of A's literal meaning (Clark, 1979). If B understands A to have intended the literal meaning of her request to be taken seriously, then to be cooperative he should include a literal move such as "yes" or "sure" or "yes, I can". If the literal meaning was intended merely pro forma, he needn't include such a move.

Clark and Schunk (1980) propose an attentiveness hypothesis: The more attentive B is to all aspects of A's request, within reason, the more polite B is. For indirect requests for information, there are at least four ways B can benefit A.

1. **Precision**: B should provide the requested information as precisely as required. In the time example, "It's six" would be more polite in most contexts than "It's late afternoon".

2. **Clarity**: B should express the requested information clearly. "It's six o'clock", for example, is clearer without being unnecessarily wordy or redundant than "six", where ellipsis could interfere with A's comprehension of the information.

3. **Completeness**: B should take seriously the literal meaning, as well as the indirect meaning. Ordinarily, that means including a literal move, making "Yes, it's six" more polite than a mere "It's six".

4. **Informality**: B should put A at ease by not being too formal, or too informal, for the occasion. In casual conversations among acquainted peers "Sure, it's six" might well be more polite than "Yes, it's six". B should ordinarily be much less polite when he doesn't comply with A's request. To be attentive to A's request is, ideally, to comply with it.

5. **Apologies**: B should apologize for not complying. In the time example "I'm sorry, I can't" would be more polite than a simple "I can't."
Explanations: B should explain why he is not complying. Responses that contain a good reason, like "I can't, I don't have a watch" would be more polite than ones without, like "I can't".

One politeness of an indirect request springs principally from its literal meaning. The theory that Clark and Schunk (1980) have drawn on, Brown and Levinson's face work theory of politeness, predicts that a request is polite to the extent that it increases the benefits, or lowers the costs, to B.

The politeness of a response to a request is governed by the attentiveness hypothesis, which is itself derived from Brown and Levinson's face work theory. It is this: the more attentive B is to all aspects of A's request, within reason, the more polite he is.

2.4.3 Ervin-Tripp et al (1987)

Ervin-Tripp et al (1987) brings to focus, with the aid of some experimental techniques, the extent to which interlocutors actually rely on linguistic information versus contextual aid and situational knowledge to understand speech acts, in particular, requests.

2.4.3.1 Conventional requests

Models of speech-act interpretation implied in the speech-act analyses of philosophers and linguists have been relevant chiefly for the understanding of conventional polite requests such as "Would you give me the keys?" or "Can you help me?" Ervin-Tripp et al say these have been interesting because they have a literal meaning which is potentially ambiguous with respect to illocutionary force. Thus "Can you pass the salt" can be heard either as a question about the hearer's ability or as a request to perform a service for the speaker. It is for this reason that they are sometimes referred to as requests.

Ervin-Trip et al propose typical interpretive models for hearers of conventional speech acts. These models have the following features:
The hearer makes a literal, or if appropriate, idiomatic interpretation of the propositional content and illocutionary force of an utterance.

Following this initial interpretation, the hearer checks the situation and if there is a mismatch between the literal or idiomatic interpretation and the features of the prevailing situation, the hearer restarts by moving to the next interpretation on a hierarchy of possibilities.

If incongruence remains, the hearer tests hypotheses about the intention of the speaker, given what is said and what the situation is, using implicature or inference.

Finally, the hearer derives implications for action, if any, from a construal of the speaker's intentions.

These sorts of models are inadequate. The primary difficulties with them rest with the assumption that context and situation play a secondary role in the interpretive process, and that the hearer entertains nonliteral interpretations of a speaker's utterance only after literal interpretations have had to be discarded. On the other hand, many conventional requests remain transparent to interpretation by conversational implicature, despite the fact that in most everyday situations they can also be understood either through speech-act idioms or through the type of situational interpretation.

Conventional requests are explicit in two domains. They are explicit in respect to the action requested of the hearer. This is contained in what Searle (1969) refers to as the propositional component. "Can you pass the salt" contains "you pass the salt". Each is also explicit with respect to some aspect of the prerequisites to cooperation. In this example, the request is explicit about questioning one prerequisite - hearer's ability to comply: can you? It is precisely this second domain of explicitness, which has made such requests conventional, and socially gradation and even subtlety through paraphrase.

Conventional requests are, because of their explicitness, "completely on record" and are understood by very young children. They are not empirically interesting from the standpoint of interpretive ambiguity.
2.4.3.2 Interpretive processes

Ervin-Tripp et al argue that when we hear "open the door" we know exactly what to do. This is a familiar action, which has been formulated explicitly by the speaker. If we decide to carry out the order, we have only set in motion the act, which the speaker has already identified for us. When an order is in the form of an imperative, it is the speaker who has to figure out exactly the act the hearer is to do. From the explicitness of an imperative, the addressee knows who is to act, the act to do, and the object affected.

But in many cases speakers do not act this far. Speakers sometimes just mention what the problem is. Children, for example, typically just say what is on their minds. On other occasions, interpersonal considerations are more apparent. The desire to stay on good terms with one's addressee can lead to wanting to avoid the appearance of giving orders. The concern not to imply that the hearer is an outsider can lead to avoiding the explicitness either of imperatives or of conventional requests. When speakers are in the midst of a well-coordinated joint activity they don't always need to be explicit. Sometimes they speak elliptically. Sometimes a gesture suffices, for example, they just point to the relevant object.

Ervin-Tripp et al further argue that because speech is so often and so reliably coexistent with other international modalities, and refers to the environment of these actions and the objects they affect, a theory of speech act interpretation which is based on context-free utterances risks being disabled.

A proposal, by Ervin-Tripp et al, for a contextually-based model of interpretation would suppose some interpretive steps such as the following. This sort of model can be contrasted with the genre of model described above which relegates the context to a secondary position:

2a The hearer identifies the situation and does what is normal in the situation. If an action trajectory can be foreseen which is appropriate to the hearer's role, a cooperative hearer starts with the expected action.

2b If the partner talks about the setting, the hearer observes what is mentioned and reassesses the situation in that light, to start action.
2c The hearer interprets an utterance idiomatically, by interpretive conventions, and residually, literally.

2d The hearer answers questions according to the cultural constraints of the role of a cooperative conversational partner.

2e The hearer tests the fit of the interpretation (c) with the action foreseen (a) and, if there is a mismatch, restarts by moving to the next interpretation on a hierarchy of possibilities.

2f If incongruence remains, the hearer tests hypotheses about the specific intention of the speaker in making the utterance, using implicature or inference.

These formulations assume that listeners develop knowledge of what to do in practical situations. Thus the analysis of situations in which speech occurs becomes critical to understanding responses to speech, as well as to understanding the development of such understanding in children. A situation could be a class, cooking dinner, doll play, or grocery shopping.

2.4.3.3 Activity

In observing requests between adults in offices, between children at play, and among family members at mealtime, we have been struck with the importance of familiar types of activity trajectories in the coordination of talk and action (Ervin-Tripp et al., 1987). Mother brings a bag of groceries in the door and sets it on the kitchen table, takes out bottles, boxes, and jars, then puts them in the cupboards and refrigerator. These trajectories are projected by an observer on the basis of what is understood about the situation - goals and normal activities, or both, i.e. the commitment of each member to goals in the activities of the situations of any speech or gestures which occur. The role of children in this grocery scene, of course, can vary in different families from passive observer to active collaborator, without changing the child's recognition of what is going on. On the other hand, "this goes to the refrigerator" is more likely to be heard as a request addressed to a young child if the child has in the past participated in putting groceries away.
2.4.3.4 Situation

Ervin-Tripp et al. start by asking what can we mean by situation? Levinson (1979) used the notion of "activity type" which he takes to be

" ... a fuzzy category whose focal members are goal defined, socially constituted, founded, events with constraints on participants, setting ... above all on the kinds of allowable contributions"

In this article, Levinson pointed out that there are activity-specific rules of inference. He focused on goal directed character of activity, which implies that cooperative participants generally act in ways consistent with joint goals.

Levinson's article refers to a gradient between totally prepackaged activity and unscripted events. The situations he mentioned are socially shared, conventional, named events. In such events there is a structure surrounded by norms such that violations of constraints can be recognized and talked about. There may be recognizable internal structuring, episodes and phases. These are conventional, but they can vary in degree of formality. Ervin-Tripp et al refer to these as conventional situations.

They further argue that at the less conventionalized end of the gradient, we have familiar activities and speaker contexts. Familiar activities are those in which participants come to recognize likely sequences and goals, but for which there is also a variation and little concern with norms or naming of the event. Bringing groceries into the house might be such an example.

2.4.3.5 Speaker contexts

During loosely defined activities, speakers indicate by contextual cues in their speech and in their behaviour variations in activity or role of which they can be quite unaware (Gumperz, 1977)

Gee and Savasir (1985) called attention to the distinctions which children make by clusters of language features within global activities such as block play or doll play. An example is a difference in three-year-olds' play between what Gee and Savasir call planning and
undertaking. They discovered their differences by exploring the contrastive use in English of “gonna” and “will” in interactional tests. “Gonna” was used in future planning about noninterpersonal intentions. In contrast, “will” was present in requests, offers, and in the carrying out of collaborative activity in the immediate present.

2.4.3.6 Overlapping situations

Participants are often overlapping in situations. They have the option of which of these situations to bring into the foreground of interaction. As Gumperz (1977) and Gee and Savasir (1985) have pointed out, speech cues themselves may be the way the interactional partners indicate which possible situation they are foregrounding.

If there is primary structuring around topics of talk rather than physical activity, topic shifts alone can cue situation shifting, as in the classroom discourse:

Teacher: What are you laughing at?
Children: Nothing.

The teacher intended to introduce a shift in instructional topic related to the cause of the laughter. The children heard the topic change as a direction to stop laughing, since it referred to a prohibited act.

2.4.3.7 Situation in interpretation

Ervin-Tripp et al (1987) argues that speech is first heard as relevant to ongoing activity. The evidence for this priority is that misunderstandings are biased in the direction of the privileged, activity-relevant interpretation. They further argue that it is incorrect to treat context as secondary to literal or idiomatic meanings in arriving at either action or interpretation. Contexts can be determinative. They prime the hearer for certain interpretations. The privileged interpretation is to the foregrounded activity in which the hearer is engaged.

If there is a formulated activity frame, the speech will be heard as projecting relevant information for that activity. Speech can redefine the situational context itself or it can specify, modify, or stop an activity by means of controlling the attention and knowledge of
the hearer. But such outcomes do not necessarily require a high degree of explicitness about what the hearer has to do.

2.4.4 Hong (1996)

Hong's (1996) study is an empirical investigation of request strategies in Chinese with respect to various cultural and social values, intended to analyze Chinese request patterns in terms of the politeness theory proposed by Brown and Levinson. Hong agrees that Brown and Levinson's theory provides a solid theoretical foundation for examining the degree of politeness of certain speech acts.

Studies by He (1993:11) and Ge (1992:352) indicate that the polite linguistic means of requests in Chinese include the following: (1) qing "please"; (2) xiexie "thanks"; (3) duibuqi "sorry", or excuse me; (4) xingma "is it OK?" (5) neg bu neng "is it all right to ...?" and (6) laoqia "may I trouble you to ... ?" He (1993) believes that since the request is an unavoidable social act in human communication, there is a set of request strategies prescribed to the speakers of every language. Although these request strategies are often linguistically different for different languages, their main functions remain the same universally in demonstrating mutual respect and equality between human beings. He (1993:11) summarizes the following four request strategies in Chinese.

1. Be polite: whoever you ask for an action, never behave arrogantly or in an authoritarian manner, because nobody has the obligation to do what you ask.

2. Always use qing "please" : for any request situation, it is better to use qing for any request even at home with family members.

3. Request at an appropriate time: do not ask anyone to do things for you if he/she is experiencing any personal or impersonal difficulties. Your request will only increase his/her burden, and what you ask for has less chance to be carried out.

4. Be tolerant with rejections: understand the other's difficulty in acting upon your request. Never behave rudely to anyone for his/her refusal.
Apparently, He's request strategies support Brown and Levinson's theory that politeness is achieved by continuously satisfying people's face needs. Along with Brown and Levinson's theory, He's strategies are adopted in Hong's study to analyze the questionnaire data.

Through a production questionnaire, Hong analyzed the request patterns of Chinese speakers related to three situations. Two social variables were studied in these situations. It was found that the choice of request strategies was greatly determined by the social power relations and distance between speakers and hearers. Hong's study offers the following major findings:

- speakers adjust their strategies in requesting according to their relative social status to their hearers.
- more pregrounders were employed than postgrounders.
- addresses were utilized.
- the choice of supportive moves can also be affected by the content of a request.
- when a speaker is more confident about his/her request being carried out by the hearer, he/she would make less effort to increase the degree of politeness of the request.
- higher-level addressers tend to make shorter requests to lower level addressers. Short requests (with less supportive moves) seem to have a lower degree of politeness and may imply speaker's superiority, authority, impatience and grievance to the hearers.
- even when speakers have authority over hearers, they still tend to make effort to soften the requests.

It is therefore clear that the results of Hong's study prove that Chinese requests support Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness.
2.4.5 Bargiela-Chiappini et al (1996)

F. Bargiela-Chiappini et al (1996) look at written business requests using a selection of documents written by or to the same person, the MD of an international joint venture. They find that the choice of the same addressee is instrumental to the investigation of the influence of status and other interpersonal variables (power, social distance and request imposition) on the formulation of requests in two broad categories of texts i.e. relational and routine.

Bargiela-Chiappini et al formulated the following observations on the basis of a preliminary examination of a corpus of over 200 documents (letters, facsimiles, memoranda) containing requests:

(1) Written communication is demonstrably a process that takes place between individuals operating within well-defined social and corporate contexts.

(2) Written communication in business is a goal-oriented activity; in the case of requests, the writer aims to get someone to do something, or to get something out of someone;

(3) A factor which affect interpersonal communication whether written or spoken, is the status of the communicators;

(4) the language used in portraying the (potentially) face-threatening act of a request reflects, among other things, the addresser's perception of his/her own status and that of the addressee.

Bargiela-Chiappini et al define status in social terms as containing two aspects: inherent status and relative status. Inherent status results from holding a powerful position i.e. within and outside a company the MD carries this type of status, which is acknowledged by all members of the business community and beyond. The second aspect of status is represented by the relative status enjoyed as a result of the power that an individual can exercise in an inter-personal relationship, to that a department or interest group commands in an intergroup relationship. Relative status gives the individual, or group, less power and clout than inherent status since it usually does not operate beyond
corporate boundaries, i.e. the department, in the case of interpersonal relationships, or the company, in the case of intergroup relationships.

In business communication, the potential reward, i.e. what a person or a group is trying to obtain through verbal interactions, or through written requests, can be seen to increase the status of the petitioned. The higher the perceived value of the reward, the higher the relative status attributed to the person or group who is being asked for something.

In studies of the pragmalinguistic features of requests, the work on politeness that Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) developed from the notion of "face-work" (Goffman, 1967, 1971) has been extremely influential and offers a conceptual framework that has been widely applied to and tested in spoken, and to a lesser extent, written discourse. In particular, recent work on politeness in professional written discourse includes, among others, Trosborg (1995); Meyer (1992); and Cherry (1988).

Bargiela-Chiappini et al view business correspondence as a complex goal-oriented activity that is context dependent. Their analysis focus not only on the formal features of the request itself but also on the text in which it is embedded in order to map the variety and distribution of politeness strategies in relationship to status, power and imposition. Speakers are more likely to adopt multiple goal request strategies - one goal being the protection of negative face - when the imposition on the listener is greater. This phenomenon causes increased cognitive load and, consequently, may have detrimental effects on speech fluency (Meyer 1992). The weight of imposition is determined not only by the weightiness of the request, which itself may trigger face-saving strategies, but also by interpersonal factors such as power and relational distance (Brown and Levinson, 1987).

2.4.6 Holtgraves and Young (1992, 1990)

Holtgraves and Young (1992, 1990) tested Brown and Levinson's claim to the universality of their verbal strategies and the ordering on a politeness continuum of concern for listener's face. The results of their experiments, based on subjects perceptions elicited by hypothetical vignettes, confirm this claim. On the more complex aspect of the interaction between interpersonal variables and politeness, however, Holtgraves and Young's experiments show that the relationship between power, distance and politeness is much
more the same in two very different cultures, but does not have an additive effect on the predicted request strategies. More specifically on power and distance, their experiments demonstrate that the influence of these factors on politeness appears to be inversely proportional to the size of the request, i.e. in cases of high imposition, power and distance matter less than the potential threat to face.

2.4.7 Craig et al (1986)

Craig et al 's(1986) analysis of politeness in the discourse of requests documents some of the difficulties involved in implementing a coding scheme for politeness. They point out several structural features of the politeness theory that render difficult the sort of experimental interpretation that has been envisioned and propose instead a more feasible and appropriate way to use the theory, which the study of politeness in requests then illustrates.

At least four structural characteristics of the politeness theory inhibit an experimental test of its logic (Graig, Tracy, Spisek). First, the theory appears to conceptualize politeness (face readiness) as a continuum that can be assumed to underlie the order of the five super strategies. However, no conceptional structure links the lower-level output strategies, via some form of scaling or aggregation, to an underlying continuum of politeness.

Second, the output strategies cannot easily be subjected to an analysis like that applied to compliance - gaining message strategies, because the output strategies, unlike the compliance – gaining strategies, are not a formal typology; they are not mutually exclusive and exhaustive, but instead are open–ended lists with considerable overlap in meaning among the members of each list and even, to some extent, between lists.

Third, the five super strategies, although they are a typology and are ordered in terms of degrees of politeness, are not linked to an underlying politeness continuum in a way that would facilitate a quantitative test.

Fourth, even though an equation is given for computing the amount of face threat, as a function of situational parameters (Distance, Power, Rank), the theory does not predict any definite empirical relationship between the situational parameters and the use of politeness
out to be very complex (Brown and Levinson, 1978, pp 233-237). Speakers select strategies in such a way as to exploit the "logic" of politeness in order, for example, to portray an imposition as being smaller or the speaker's power over the hearer as being greater than might be expected.

Craig et al argue that the theory of politeness does not easily lend itself to experimental or quantitative interpretation. Instead Brown and Levinson (1978) offer a complex interpretive framework, the usefulness of which is made evident by showing how it enables the analyst to make sense of the wide range of examples of language usage that would otherwise be puzzling or understandable only in ad hoc ways. The most obviously appropriate way to test the politeness theory is by applying it to new types of examples. To the extent that the theory sheds light on the examples, it is supported and its evidentiary base broadened; to the extent that puzzles remain or can be eliminated only by ad hoc interpretations, modifications of the theory may be in order.

Craig et al (1986) argue that this study of politeness in the discourse of requests illustrates this process. Conceptual issues that arose in the recorded cooling sessions were explored with reference to examples in the data. Several conclusions emerged concerning both the discourse of requests as well as the politeness theory itself.

2.4.7.1 Politeness in the discourse of requests

Craig, Tracy, Spisek (1986) present several tentative generalizations in this section. Further theoretical and research implications are also considered where appropriate.

2.4.7.2 Meaningful variations

An initial observation is that meaningful variations in the use of politeness strategies are prominent in the requests. Indeed, many of the most noticeable similarities and differences among individuals in how they responded to the request situations can be traced to the use of positive and negative politeness strategies. The requests thus offer an abundance of politeness phenomena for study.
2.4.7.3 Combination of superstructures

Speakers do not restrict themselves to a single super strategy. In particular, complex combinations of positive and negative politeness strategies occur in many of the requests.

As Brown and Levinson (1978:235–236) point out, the mixture of super strategies sometimes produces a hybrid variety in which, for example, a basically positive politeness approach is hedged in order to soften the presumption. In other cases, the mixture of these strategies reflects a kind of oscillation between positive and negative politeness that can be accomplished either awkwardly or gracefully.

2.4.7.4 Multifunctionality

Different strategies not only co-occur in the same message but can be realized simultaneously in the same language. This potential for multifunctionality, with its attendant ambiguity, contributes both to the richness of discourse and to possibilities of misunderstanding. It also poses difficulties for the task of identifying politeness strategies in messages.

The multifunctionality of discourse can make politeness strategies difficult to “code”, or interpret in actual cases. The examples of strategy usage offered by Brown and Levinson (1978) are of only limited help for this purpose. Brown and Levinson use brief examples, usually single sentence utterances, to illustrate output strategies, requiring only that the reader see that the discourse could reflect the use of certain strategy, given a congruent context that the reader partly provides. The result is a catalogue of strategic possibilities that presumably are available to speakers and hearers. Coding, in contrast, requires the observer to decide whether the discourse does in fact include a strategy.

2.4.7.5 Other sources of indeterminacy

At least two additional kinds of indeterminacy are encountered by the observer of politeness in the discourse of requests. The first arises from the fact that politeness strategies are just slightly exaggerated variations of ordinary forms.
Positive politeness in general requires the observer to decide whether what appears to be normal, friendly talk is sufficiently marked to constitute the use of a strategy. Positive politeness strategy #13, to give or ask reasons, is most clearly marked in a “pushy” request like “Why not lend me your cottage for the weekend?” (Brown and Levinson, 1978:13). However, the strategy is actually defined more broadly as one of including the hearer in one’s thinking process by giving reasons for the FTA.

2.4.7.6 Aggravation and speaker-oriented facework

A final observation is that speakers, in making requests, often make use of facework strategies that cannot be accounted for within the existing framework of the politeness theory.

Politeness strategies are conceived to be oriented primarily to the face wants of the hearer. Brown and Levinson (1978) do not systematically analyze strategies of face attack (aggravation of FTA) or speaker-oriented facework, although both sorts of strategies fall outside the scope of the politeness theory strictly construed, they impinge on the theory in ways that threaten its coherence.

Aggravation is easily thought of as occurring toward the pole opposite mitigation of a continuum of discourse strategies. Thus at first glance it would seem a simple matter to take account of aggravation by adding a sixth super strategy, less polite than the bald on record strategy to the politeness theory. What further changes would then be required to preserve the theoretical logic is a question beyond the scope of this study.

Perhaps it will ultimately be possible to subsume the politeness theory along with aggravation and speaker-oriented strategies within a more general theory of facework. It can be noted that some examples in the request data of facework strategies are not easily couched in the existing politeness framework.

Actually, one would expect to find very little aggravation and only a moderate amount of speaker-oriented facework in the request messages. None of the hypothetical situations is described in a way that would suggest a hostile or non-cooperative relationship, and it seems unlikely that many speakers would spontaneously project such a relationship in a favour-asking situation. And as for speaker-oriented facework, it is clear that the act of
making a request, a direct impingement on the hearer's freedom, primarily threatens the hearer's negative face, not the speaker's face.

Nonetheless the act of making a request also potentially calls into question the responsibility, competence, independence and so on, of the requester, so some speaker-oriented facework would be expected. It is not, then, surprising that only a few of the requests can be interpreted as including any marked aggravation of the FTA.

Speaker-oriented facework is more common in the requests but presents some difficulties of analysis. Just as positive politeness strategies are often only slightly exaggerated variations of typical, friendly discourse, speaker-oriented facework strategies are often difficult to distinguish from normal social behaviour. Speakers, for example, who adorn their requests with the usual, appropriate politeness markers could be said to be presenting themselves as competent members of society. All social behaviour is self-presentation in this general sense, but speaker-oriented facework strategies, extending the logic of the politeness theory, must have a more specific function: the strategic manipulation of normal forms so as to mitigate some threat to the speaker's positive or negative face.

The multifunctionability of discourse often renders speaker oriented strategies ambiguous. In many of the request messages, for example, speakers are at pains to portray themselves as responsible competent, self-reliant individuals who do not ordinarily ask other people to do what the speakers could do for themselves.

Thus the discourse of requests makes use of aggravating and speaker oriented facework strategies as well as the hearer oriented, redressive strategies that are the central focus of the politeness theory.

2.4.8 Fukushima (1991)

Fukushima (1991) investigated how Japanese university students performed in English, when offering something to someone and when making requests, in situations where the addresser requests, in situations where the addresser and the addressee are equal in status, and in situations where the degrees of closeness between them are different.
When closeness was considered, Fukushima (1991) found that the Japanese subjects were not successful in performing appropriately in situations.

Even when addressing the same addressee, there are cases when changes in language usage occur. For example, when the task is rather demanding for the addressee, more indirect expressions are used. The production becomes longer, and the reasons are provided with the requests.

Fukushima (1991) also found that even when the task was not demanding and when the addressee was very close to the addressee, the native English-speaking subjects did not use direct expressions, as did Japanese subjects. It seems that the ways of changing one's distance in English are a little different from those used in Japanese. Changing their distance from the addressees is more often used in English than in Japanese. In English, they seem to change their distance in their patterns of speech even to the same addressee. They at times shorten the distance. Calling the addressee by his/her first name soon after the first meeting would be an example of this. They sometimes keep a definite distance, even to a very close friend, using indirect expressions.

In Japanese, the distance between the addressee and the addressee appears to be set more firmly than in English, and the Japanese keep the same distance. If the addressee's status is higher than that of the addressee, the addressee would remain formal in language usage to the addressee. If the case is reversed, the addressee is allowed to use rather direct expressions.

Fukushima (1991) continues that these differences need to be investigated further, by collecting more in-depth data in Japanese with wider samplings. If there is a difference as suggested here, Japanese teachers of English need to teach the students the various language usages based on not only surface expressions, but also cultural background. Information on what to say on certain occasions must be taught along with increased opportunities for the students to use them.

2.4.9 Meyer (1992)

Janet R. Meyer's (1992) study asks whether fluency is affected by variations in situational features that bear upon the likelihood that a speaker will naturally actuate a face-saving
goal. She found that subjects not encouraged to address negative face were less fluent in high than in low imposition request situations. One interpretation of this finding is that the perception of high imposition caused subjects to activate a goal to protect negative face. Once that occurred, the request goal and face-saving goal independently activated linguistic representations in parallel. This produced competing plans at different levels of output. The time required to reconcile these plans was reflected in longer latencies and filled pauses, while competing plans not yet resolved produced false starts.

There are, however, a number of additional factors, which may have contributed to the effect observed for degree of imposition. First, it is possible that the pauses and dysfluencies observed in high imposition situations were caused by the fact that subjects were addressing secondary goals other than, or in addition to a goal to protect negative face e.g. a goal to make a good impression. As Greene, Lindsey and Hawn (1990) point out it is possible that, in multiple goal situations, speakers sometimes intentionally employ hesitations as a means of conveying restrictance. False starts and repetitions might serve a similar purpose.

Finally, it might be argued that the effects observed for degree of imposition were attributable to variations in features other than imposition. While speaker dominance was higher in both high imposition situations than in one low imposition situation, the direction of this difference makes it unlikely that the effect observed for imposition is attributable to it. For both schematic and unschematic situations, intimacy is higher in the high than in the low imposition situation. This raises the possibility that the effect observed for imposition may be partly attributable to differences in intimacy (Baxter, 1984).

In general, the findings seem consistent with existing evidence that an attempt to consciously address multiple goals has a negative impact on fluency (Greene and Lindsey, 1989; Greene, Lindsey and Hawn, 1990). In one respect, the present results might appear to contrast with these reported by Greene and his colleagues. In their research, instructing subjects to address multiple goals had a detrimental effect upon fluency.

In Meyer’s (1992) study, encouraging subjects to address negative face needs had no effect upon fluency in high imposition situations. Because the instruction manipulation was more subtle in Meyer’s study, the results are not directly comparable.
The broader purpose of Meyer's study was to learn more about the cognitive processes involved in addressing multiple goals. There are a number of issues that might be addressed in future research in this area. First, while the above findings are consistent with the notion that situational features give rise to face goals, the results tell little about the cognitive processes underlying this relationship. Second, both the present results and the findings of Greene and his colleagues seem to suggest that in any attempt to address multiple goals:

(a) the behaviours activated by one goal will need to be reconciled with the behaviours activated by the other goal;
(b) this will produce competing plans; and
(c) there will be a resulting detrimental effect on fluency. There is a need for further research which asks whether there are some situations where this is not the case.

2.4.10 Beal (1994)

Beal (1994) investigates one of the most common sources of cross-cultural misunderstanding between French and English speakers: the way questions and requests are phrased. Her study is based on an analysis of hundreds of authentic speech acts recorded in an office-work situation in which French people used English as a second language. The analysis compares questions in English by Australian speakers with questions in French and in English by native French speakers.

Beal's (1994) analysis demonstrated marked differences in the strategies used by first language speakers and second language speakers when requesting. The second language speakers demonstrated a number of weak points in their mastery of second language and transferred a number of linguistic and pragmatic habits from French into English. This could convey an impression of impatience, bluntness, or flippancy.

The most striking fact was how little thought the company as an institution had ever given to the role of language in communication. They seemed to consider language as a neutral tool, which had nothing to do with the specific society and culture it represented and was somehow transparent for everyone.
As far as second language speakers are concerned, the analysis shows that an important number of interlanguage errors can be traced to poor linguistic training and pragmalinguistic transfer. The formulation of requests obviously constitutes a practically sensitive area, but research shows that turn-taking and patterns of routinized speech (Beal 1992) can also play an important part in giving an overall impression of either politeness or flippancy.

English speakers of Australian English use twice as many downgraders with conventional indirectness as the speakers of Canadian French and Hebrew (Blum-Kulka and House, 1989:62)

Another important finding about Australian English was that the high level of indirections combines with a very low degree of intransituational variability (Blum-Kulka and House 1989:133). In other words, most requests in most situations with most types of participants tend to be formulated in the same way. From this vantage point, what emerges are actually peculiarities of Australian English speech habits. The relative directions of the French, or the fact they may establish finer distinctions of hierarchy or degree of imposition in the formulation of a request stops appearing as an ability. It is the Australians who seem unduly tentative, self-effacing and egalitarian. The term "whimperatives" has even been coined by some linguists (e.g. Wierzbicka 1991) to describe this type of indirect requests.

Requests are some of the speech acts that are particularly interesting because according to Brown and Levinson (1978), they constitute face-threatening acts. They also affect the participant's face wants in markedly different ways.

Theoretical works on requests have shown the complexity of the relationship between form, meaning and pragmatic prerequisites involved (Gordon and Lakoff, 1975; Searle, 1975). However, on the other side, this theoretical work has shown the high social stakes involved for both interlocutors in the choice of linguistic options. Requests are pre-event acts. They expect the speaker's expectation of the hearer with regard to prospective action, verbal or non-verbal.

Requests are therefore face threatening by definition (Brown and Levinson, 1978): hearers can interpret requests as intrusive impingements on freedom of action, or even as a show
in the exercise of power. Speakers may hesitate to make the request for fear of exposing a need or risking the hearer's loss of face. The abundance of linguistic options available for requesting behaviour testifies to the social intricacies associated with choice in mode of performance.

Studies of requests in the recent past have focused on revealing the sociopragmatic system of a particular society (Ervin-Tripp, 1976; Blum-Kulka et al. 1985); or concentrated on discovering the processes of interpretation involved Clark and Lucy, 1975); Clark, 1979; Clark and Schunk, 1980; Gibbs, 1985) some have used the case of requests to study politeness phenomena (Brown and Levinson, 1978; Leech, 1983; Lakoff, 1973; House and Kasper, 1981; Blum-Kulka, 1987) or to discuss basic issues of indirectness in discourse (Morgan, 1978; Dascal, 1983).

Requests are face-threatening acts and call for redressive action and they concern events that are costly to the hearer. In requiring a future effort from the interlocutor, they impose mainly on the hearer. They are also made to cause an event or to change one. Requests call for the mitigation, compensating for their impassive effect on the hearer (e.g. Fraser and Nolen, 1981; House and Kasper, 1981; Rintell, 1981; Walter, 1981).

2.4.11 Blum-Kulka and House (1989)

Requests have also been studied at length using the Cross Cultural Speech Act Realization project (i.e. CCSARP). The general goal of the CCSARP investigation is to establish patterns of request realizations under the different social constraints across a number of languages and cultures (Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper, 1989).

Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper (1989) identify as a request sequence all the utterances involved in the turn completing the dialogue in the DCT (i.e. Discourse-completion test). They have found the following in their analysis:

2.4.11.1 Alerters

These serve as attention-getters, and hence are equal in function to all verbal means used for this purpose. Coding of address terms proceed by type (nominal categories) noting
variations in type of appellations (Title & surname / Surname only etc.) as well as semantic variations in terms used (Darling, could you ...)

2.4.11.2 Supportive moves

Requests are often preceded by checks on availability (Are you busy?) and attempts to get a precommitted (Will you do me a favour?). They may also be preceded or followed by grounders which provide the reason for the request (I missed the class yesterday, could I ... ) or by promises and threats, all of which serve to persuade the hearer to do X. Some supportive moves, like grounders, can serve as requests by themselves ("I must have left my pen somewhere" responded by "here, take mine").

2.4.11.3 Head acts

The head act is that part of the sequence, which might serve to realize the act independently of other elements. Head acts can vary on two dimensions: (a) strategy type and (b) perspective.

(a) **Strategy types**: The nine strategy types (on a scale of indirectness) are as follows:

1. **mood derivable**: utterances in which the grammatical mood of the verb signals illocutionary force (Leave me alone; "Clean up that mess")

2. **performatives**: utterances in which the illocutionary force is modified by hedging expressions ("I am asking you to clean up that mess")

3. **hedged performatives**: utterances in which the naming of the illocutionary force is modified by hedging expressions. (I would like you to give your presentation a week earlier than scheduled).

4. **obligation statements**: utterances, which state the obligation of the hearer to carry out the act.

5. **want statements**: utterances, which state the speaker's desire that the hearer carry out the act.
6. **suggestory formulae**: utterances, which contain a suggestion to do X.

7. **query preparatory**: utterances containing reference to preparatory conditions (e.g. ability, willingness) as conventionalized in any specific language.

8. **strong hints**: utterances containing partial reference to object or element needed for the implementation of the act.

9. **mild hints**: utterances that make no reference to the request proper (or any of its elements) but are interpretable as requests by context.

As one moves up this scale, the length of the inferential process needed for identifying the utterance as a request becomes longer. Thus while in 1, 2, and 3 illocutionary force is derivable via linguistic indicators, in 4, and 5 its understanding relies on semantic content of the utterance. While in 6 and 7 interpretation is aided by conventional usage, in 8 and 9 it tends to rely heavily on the context. These various means are all subservient to the pragmatic end of relative requestive transparency.

(b) **Perspective**:

Choice of perspective presents an important source of variation in requests. Requests can emphasize the role of the agent and be speaker oriented (Can I have it?) or focus on the role of the recipient and be hearer oriented (Can you do it?). Two other possibilities are for requests to be phrases as inclusive (Can we start now?) or as impersonal (It needs to be cleaned).

Choice of perspective affects social meaning; since requests are inherently imposing, avoidance to name the hearer as actor can reduce the form’s level of co-erciveness. The four alternatives are often available to speakers within a single situation, though not necessarily for the same request strategy.

JR Meyer’s (1994) study is concerned with the cognitive processes underlying the formulation of a plan for a request message. Existing theory suggests that situation schemes containing a type of request goal and situational features may serve as the activating conditions for both pre-assembled sequences of speech acts and linguistic
devices. This possibility was investigated by analyzing the extent to which subjects employed the same speech act sequence and same linguistic device across situations containing the same request goal and same features, the same request goal but mismatched features, and different request goals and mismatched features.

As predicted, consistency in the use of speech act sequences was significantly greater across situations containing the same request goal than situations containing different request goals. In contrast, whether the situations contained matched or mismatched configurations of features had little influence on redundancy. Consistency in the use of linguistic devices also appeared to be influenced more strongly by the type of request being made than by configurations of situational features. The relatively low consistency observed for speech act sequences suggests that the order of speech acts in plan may be determined more frequently by on-line processes than by the retrieval of an abstract script.

2.5 SUMMARY

This chapter has given a brief account of the views of several scholars on speech acts and requests. On speech acts, the following articles have been discussed: Searle 1969; 1975; 1975. On requests, the following articles have been discussed: Clark and Schunk 1980; Ervin-Tripp et al 1987; Hong 1996; Bargiela-Chiappini et al 1996; Holtgraves and Young 1990; 1992; Chaing et al 1986; Fukushima 1991; Meyer 1992; Beal 1994; Blum-Kulka and House 1989.

2.5.1 With regard to Speech acts

Searle (1969) highlights the fact that speaking a language is performing acts according to rules and this is done in order to explain the possibility of linguistic explanation.

Again Searle (1975) identifies two cases of meaning. The first case of meaning is the one in which a speaker utters a sentence and means exactly and literally what he says. The second case of meaning is the one in which the speaker utters a sentence and mean what he says and also mean another illocution with a different propositional content.
Lastly Searle (1975) develops a reasoned classification of illocutionary acts into certain basic categories. He also assesses Austin's classification to show in what respects it is adequate and in what respects inadequate.

2.5.2 With regard to Requests

Clark and Schunk (1980) are of the opinion that literal meaning does play a role in the understanding of indirect requests. They base their work on the theory of Brown and Levinson’s (1987) face work of politeness. Again Clark and Schunk (1980) say that the politeness of a response to a request is governed by the attentiveness hypothesis which states that the more attentive B is to all aspects of A's request, within reason, the more polite he is.

Ervin-Tripp et al (1987) argue that it is incorrect to treat context as secondary to literal or idiomatic meanings in arriving at either action or interpretation.

Fukushima (1990) investigated how Japanese university students performed in English, when offering something to someone and when making requests, in situations where the addresser and the addressee are equal in status and the degrees of closeness between are equal.

Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper (1989) identify as a request all the utterances involved in them completing the dialogue in the DCT (i.e. discourse —completion test).

Beal (1994) says there are marked differences in the strategies used by first language speakers and second language speakers when requesting. According to his findings, the second language speakers demonstrated a number of linguistic and pragmatic habits from their mother tongue to English.

Meyer (1992) says that the subjects not encouraged to address negative face are less fluent in high than in low imposition request situations. Another interpretation of this finding is that the perception of high imposition caused subjects to activate a goal in order to protect negative face.
Bargiela-Chiappini et al (1996) say the choice of the same addresser / addressee is of utmost importance when it comes to the investigation of the influence of the status and other interpersonal variables such as power, social distance and request imposition on the formulation of requests in two broad categories of text i.e. relational and routine.

Hong (1996) supports Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness. He has found that the main functions of requests among the Chinese remain universally in demonstrating mutual respect and equality between human beings. This view is also supported by Holtgraves and Young (1990, 1992).

Craig et al (1986) argue that the theory of politeness does not lend itself to the experimental and quantitative interpretation. Instead they argue that the most obviously appropriate way to test the politeness theory is by applying it to new examples.
CHAPTER 3
POLITENESS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

There has been a great deal of interest in politeness to such an extent that politeness theory could almost be seen as a subdiscipline of pragmatics. Jenny Thomas (1995) first outlines the principal theories of politeness and tries to clear up some of the most common misunderstandings. This she does by delimiting the concept of politeness. Under the heading of politeness people have discussed five separate, though related, sets of phenomena. These are as follows:

- Politeness as a real-world goal
- Deference
- Register
- Politeness as a surface level phenomenon
- Politeness as an illocutionary phenomenon

3.1.1 Politeness as a real-world goal

Firstly this has no place within pragmatics. We can have no access to speakers’ real motivation for speaking as they do. Discussions as to whether one group is politer than another are ultimately futile. As linguists we have access only to what speakers say and to how their hearers will react.

Thomas (1995) discusses deference and register for two reasons. The first reason is that politeness is frequently confused with deference / register. Secondly, the politeness / deference distinction is a useful illustration of the distinction between pragmatics and sociolinguistics.

3.1.2 Deference versus politeness

Although deference is connected with politeness, it is a distinct phenomenon. It is the opposite of familiarity. It refers to the respect we show to other people by virtue of their
higher status, greater age, etc. Politeness is a more general matter of showing consideration to others. Both deference and politeness can be manifested through general social behaviour, e.g. we can show deference by standing up when a person of superior status enters a room, or show politeness by holding a door open to allow someone else to pass through, as well as linguistic means.

Thomas' reason that deference has little to do with pragmatics is that generally, unless the speaker deliberately wishes to flaunt the behavioural norms of a given society, the speaker has no choice as to whether to use the deferent form or not – usage is dictated by sociolinguistic norms. Thus a soldier has no real choice about addressing a superior office as "Sir". Military discipline dictates the forms used. It is a sociolinguistic norm, with penalties attached to the non-observance of the norm, and does not necessarily indicate any real respect or regard for the individual so addressed.

3.1.3 Register

Halliday (1978:32) defines register as the way in which "the language we speak or write varies according to the type of situation".

Certain situations e.g. very formal meetings, or types of language use e.g. report writing versus writing a note to a close friend, as well as certain social relationships, require more formal language use. Register has little to do with politeness and little connection with pragmatics, since we have no real choice about whether or not to use formal language in formal situations. Register is primarily a sociolinguistic phenomenon.

Choice of register has little to do with the strategic use of language and it only becomes of interest to the pragmatists if a speaker deliberately uses unexpected forms in order to change the situation or to challenge the status quo. Examples of the former might be if a prospective postgraduate student dropped into a university department for a chat and then something, which began as an informal information-seeking event, was changed by one of the participants into a formal admission interview. An example of the latter would be if you decided to disrupt a stuffy meeting using language not normally associated with that particular type of event, such as cracking jokes or making fun of the person chairing the meeting.
3.1.4 Politeness as an utterance level phenomenon

Much early work in the area of politeness focused on utterance level realizations (e.g. the early work of Rintell, Walters, and Fraser on cross-cultural pragmatics). Walters (1979a and 1979b) defined his interest as being “how much politeness could be squeezed out of speech act strategies alone”, and to investigate the perception of politeness by native and non-native speakers of English and Spanish, using a standard lexical context, in order to establish a hierarchy of politeness, instructing his informants to ignore context as much as possible. In a similar experiment Fraser (1978) asked informants to rate for politeness various forms of request (would you X? Could you X?, Can you X?, Do X? etc, [where X is some request or imposition]) for which no context was supplied. These studies found that members of a particular community showed a very high level of agreement as to which linguistic forms were most polite, and in general it was found that the more grammatically complex or elaborate the strategy, the more highly it was rated for politeness.

Two issues then arise from studies of this nature. The first again relates to the pragmatics/sociolinguistics divide: listing the linguistic forms which can be used to perform a speech act in a given language is not pragmatics, anymore than, say, listing all the words for “adult human female” in a given language falls within the realism of pragmatics. These are sociolinguistic phenomena. This only becomes pragmatics when we look at how a particular form in a particular language is used strategically in order to achieve the speaker’s goal. This leads to the second issue: as soon as we put a speech act in context, we can see that there is no necessary connection between the linguistic form and the perceived politeness of a speech act. The third reason why it is unsafe to equate surface linguistic form with politeness is that some speech acts seem almost inherently impolite. For example I can think of no polite way in any language I speak of asking someone to stop picking their nose. Regardless of the elaborateness of the linguistic form, no matter how much you hedge it about, it is always going to be offensive.

3.1.5 Politeness as a pragmatic phenomenon

More recent work in politeness theory, notably that of Leech (1980 [1977] and 1983a) and Brown and Levinson (1987 [1978]) has focused on politeness as a pragmatic phenomenon. In these writings, politeness is interpreted as a strategy (or series of
strategies) employed by a speaker to achieve a variety of goals, such as promoting or maintaining harmonious relations.

Following Fraser (1990), Thomas (1995) has grouped the pragmatic approaches to politeness under three headings: the conversational-maxim view (exemplified by Leech) the face-management view (exemplified by Brown and Levinson) and Fraser's own conversational-contact view. Thomas has also added a fourth approach, which he termed "pragmatic scales" view, proposed by Spencer-Oatrey (1992), which brings together many of the strengths and avoids some of the weaknesses of the three previous approaches.

3.2 POLITENESS EXPLAINED IN TERMS OF PRINCIPLES AND MAXIMS

Leech (1980 [1977] and 1983a) sees politeness as crucial in explaining "why people are often so indirect in conveying what they mean". Leech also introduces two concepts, which are relevant for our discussion, namely ambivalence and pragmatic principles.

3.2.1 Ambivalence and politeness

We have already observed that it is difficult to put politely into words something, which is, by its nature, likely to cause offence to the hearer. This is certainly true when we are dealing with purely surface level encoding of politeness. However, by employing an utterance, which is ambivalent, i.e. one, which has more than one potential pragmatic force, it is possible to convey messages, which the hearer is liable to find disagreeable without causing undue offence.

3.2.2 Pragmatic principles

Leech (1980 [1977] and 1983a) introduces the Politeness Principle (PP) which runs as follows:

Minimize the expression of impolite beliefs;
Maximize the expression of polite beliefs.
There is a good deal of evidence that people do respond consciously to considerations of politeness, for instance, people will explicitly mark the fact that they cannot or do not intend to observe politeness norms.

Leech (1983a: chapter 6) introduces a number of maxims which he claims, stand in the same relationship to the PP as Grice's maxims stand to the CP. These maxims are necessary in order to explain the relationship between sense and force in human conversation. They range from those which have very extensive, but no means universal applicability, to the somewhat idiosyncratic. The maxims are Tact, Generosity, Approbation, Modesty, Agreement, and Sympathy. They are formulated as imperatives. This according to Thomas (1995) is unfortunate, but it does not mean that they are in any sense rules for good behaviour.

3.2.2.1 The Tact maxim

This maxim states: "Minimize the expression of beliefs which imply cost to other, maximize the expression of beliefs which imply benefit to other."

Whether or not the strategy of minimizing the expression of cost to other is perceived as polite or impolite may be highly culture specific. A second aspect of the Tact maxim is that of mitigating the effect of request by offering optionally.

A third component of the Tact maxim is the cost/benefit scale. If something is perceived as being to the hearer's benefit, X can be expressed politely without employing indirectness, e.g. Have a chocolate. However if X is seen as being costly to the hearer, greater indirectness may be required e.g. could I have one of your sandwiches?

3.2.2.2 The Generosity maxim

Generosity maxim states: "Minimize the expression of cost to other, maximize the expression of benefit to other." This maxim explains why it is safe to say: You must come and have a dinner with us, while the proposition that we will come and have a dinner with you requires to be expressed indirectly.
As Leech indicates, languages/cultures differ in the degree to which you are expected to apply this maxim, underapplying it will make the speaker mean; overapplying it will seem sarcastic.

3.2.2.3 The Approbation maxim

This maxim states: "Minimize the expression of beliefs which express dispraise of other; maximize the expression of beliefs which express approval of other". The operation of this maxim is fairly obvious: all things being equal we prefer to praise others and if we cannot do so, to sidestep the issue, to give some sort of minimal response ("Well...") or to remain silent. Once again, societies will vary greatly in the degree to which criticism is acceptable.

3.2.2.4 The Modesty maxim

The modesty maxim states: "Minimize the expression of praise of self; maximize the expression of dispraise of self". This is another maxim, which varies enormously in its application from culture to culture.

3.2.2.5 The Agreement maxim

The Agreement maxim runs as follows: "Minimize the expression of disagreement between self and other; maximize the expression of agreement between self and other". As with all the other maxims, the usual caveats apply concerning the need to take account of the relationship between speaker and hearer and of the nature of the interaction in which they are involved.

It is not being claimed that people avoid disagreeing with one another. It is observed that they are much more direct in expressing their agreement, than disagreement. Time and again you will hear someone who holds a diametrically opposed view to the one just expressed begin a counter argument by saying: "Yes, but...".
3.2.3 Problems with Leech's approach

There is a major flaw in Leech's approach to politeness as presently formulated, which has been discussed by a number of people (see, for example, Dillon et al., 1985; Thomas, 1986; Brown and Levinson, 1987; Fraser, 1990). There appears to be no motivated way to restricting the number of maxims. In theory it would be possible to produce a new maxim to explain every tiny regularity in language use. This makes the theory at best inelegant, at worst virtually unfalsifiable.

Thomas (1995) has spent a considerable time explaining and exemplifying Leech's approach because it allows us, better than any other approaches, to make specific cross-cultural comparisons and to explain cross-cultural differences in the perception of politeness and the use of politeness strategies.

3.3 POLITENESS AND THE MANAGEMENT OF FACE

The most influential theory of politeness was put forward by Brown and Levinson (1978 and revised in 1987). Central to Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness is the concept of "face" as proposed by Goffman (1967).

Within politeness theory "face" is best understood as every individual's feeling of self worth or self-image. This image can be damaged, maintained, or enhanced through interaction with others. Face has two aspects viz. positive and negative. An individual's positive face is reflected in his or her desire to be linked, approved of, respected and appreciated by others. An individual's negative face is reflected in the desire not to be impeded or put upon, to have freedom to act as one chooses.

3.3.1 Face-threatening acts

According to Brown and Levinson certain illocutionary acts are liable to damage or threaten another person's face; such acts are known as "face-threatening acts" (FTAs). An illocutionary act has the potential to damage the hearer's positive face, or its negative face; or the illocutionary positive face to S's negative face. In order to reduce the possibility of damage to H's face or to the speaker's own face, he or she may adopt certain strategies. The choice of strategy will be made on the basis of the speaker's assessment
of the size of the FTA. The speaker can calculate the size of the FTA on the basis of the parameters of power (P), distance (D) and rating of imposition (R).

3.3.1.1 Superstrategies for performing face-threatening acts

According to Brown and Levinson, the first decision to be made is whether to perform the FTA or not. If the speaker does decide to perform the FTA, there are four possibilities: three sets of on-record superstrategies (perform the FTA on record without redressive action [bald-on-record], perform the FTA on record using positive politeness) and one set of off-record strategies. If the speaker decides that the degree of face threat is too great, he or she may decide to avoid the FTA altogether.

3.3.1.2 Performing a FTA without any redress (bald-on-record)

There are occasions when external factors constrain an individual to speak very directly, for example, if there is an emergency of some sort, or where there is a major time constraint (making an international telephone call) or where there is some form of channel limitation (e.g. speaking on a field telephone). In emergencies or in highly task-oriented situations, such as teaching someone to drive, we find that the speaker is likely to focus on the propositional content of the message and pay little attention to the interpersonal aspect of what is said.

If the speaker decides that the overall “weightiness” of the FTA is very small (e.g. you are making a trivial request of someone you know well and who has no power over you) the request may be made “bald-on-record”. The same is true if threatening act is perceived as being in the hearer’s interest: “Have a chocolate.”

3.3.1.3 Performing a FTA with positive politeness

Within Brown and Levinson’s theory, when you speak to someone you may orient yourself towards that individual’s positive face (which appeals to H’s desire to be liked and approved of). Brown and Levinson (1987 [1978]:101-129) list fifteen positive politeness strategies, giving copious illustrations from many different languages.
3.3.1.4 Performing a FTA with negative politeness

Negative politeness is oriented towards a hearer's negative face, which appeals to the hearer's desire not to be impeded or put upon, to be left free to act as they choose. Negative politeness manifests itself in the use of conventional politeness markers, difference markers, minimizing imposition. It is also very interesting to note that many warning notices, which have a wide readership employ negative politeness.

3.3.1.5 Performing a FTA using off-record politeness.

Brown and Levinson list a further fifteen strategies for performing off-record politeness. These include give hints, use metaphors, and are ambiguous or vague.

3.3.1.6 Do not perform FTA

Brown and Levinson's final strategy "Do not perform FTA" appears to be self-explanatory. There are times when something is potentially so face-threatening, that you don't say it. Brown and Levinson do not discuss this strategy, but Tanaka (1993) discusses two sorts of saying nothing. There are times when the speaker decides to say nothing and genuinely wishes to let the matter drop. There are other occasions when an individual decides to say nothing but still wishes to achieve the effect, which the speech act would have achieved had it been uttered. Tanaka (1993:50-1) terms these two strategies OOC-genuine and OOC-strategic.

OOC-genuine: S does not perform a speech act, and genuinely intends to let the matter remain closed. S/he does not intend to achieve the perlocutionary effect.

OOC-strategic: S does perform a speech act, but expects A to infer her/his wish to achieve the perlocutionary effect.

There is a third situation – where there is such a strong expectation that something will be said that saying nothing is in itself a massive FTA. For example, failing to express condolences to someone for the death of a loved one.
Bruce Fraser (1990) provides an overview of how scholars approach an account of politeness. He sees a common understanding of the concept and how to account for it as being the main problems. The lack of consistency among researchers on what politeness is struck him, never mind how it might be accounted for. Fraser attempts to identify and explicate what he has found to be the four major perspectives on the treatment of politeness. These are the social-norm view; the conversational-maxim view; the face-saving view; and the conversational-contract view. For each of these views Fraser provides a characterization of politeness embraced if not articulated by those writing from the perspective, and shows how this notion gets played out in their account.

3.3.1.7 The social-norm view

The social norm-view of politeness reflects the historical understanding of politeness embraced by the public within the English-speaking world. Briefly stated, it assumes that each society has a particular set of social norms consisting of more or less explicit rules that prescribe a certain behaviour, a state of affairs, or a way of thinking in a context. A positive evaluation (politeness) arises when an action is in congruence with the norm. On the other side, a negative evaluation (impoliteness) arises when an action is to the contrary.

There is also a normative view, which considers politeness historically to be associated with speech style, whereby a higher degree of formality implies greater politeness. In this regard, one is reminded of Garfinkel’s experiments of the 1970s in which students were instructed to behave more politely than usual with their families and to observe the reactions. Most students equated increased politeness with increased formality, and reported that such increased unexpected formal behaviour was interpreted as impoliteness, disrespect or arrogance.

Examination of the traditional linguistic writings reveals almost no reference to politeness. Presumably it was not then, as it is now, taken to be a part of grammar, but was associated with language use. What little can be found however, reflects the normative adherents among the current researchers?
3.3.1.8 The conversational-maxim view

The conversational-maxim perspective relies on the work of Grice (1967, published 1975) in his now classic paper “Logic and conversation”. In an attempt to clarify how it is that speakers can mean more than they say, Grice argued that conversationalists are rational individuals who are, all other things being equal, primarily interested in the efficient conveying of messages. He proposed his general Cooperative Principle (CP) which provides that you should say what you have to say, when you have to say it, and the way you have to say it.

While the CP is of paramount importance and is assumed to be operative in most conversations, Grice associates with the CP a set of more specific maxims and sub-maxims, which he presumes that speakers follow. While one or more maxims may not be fulfilled by a speaker at a point in a conversation, Grice assumes that the CP is always observed and that any real or apparent violations of the maxims signal conversational implicatures: non-explicit messages intended by the speaker to be inferred by the hearer. These conversational maxims are guidelines for the rational use of language in conversation and are qualitatively different form the notion of linguistic rule associated with grammar.

Lakoff (1973) was among the first to adopt Grice’s construct of Conversational Principles in an effort to account for politeness. Unlike Grice, Lakoff explicitly extends the notion of grammatical rule and its associated notion of well-formed to pragmatics. Extending this to the domain of politeness, he considers the form of sentences i.e. specific constructions to be polite or not.

Although entitling his 1973 paper “The Logic of politeness”; Lakoff never actually says what he takes politeness to be. In his later works he is more explicit, referring to politeness as “a device used in order to reduce friction in personal interaction” (Lakoff, 1979:64). Lakoff (1973) suggests two rules of Pragmatic Competence:

(a) Be Clear
(b) Be Polite
He takes these to be in opposition to each other, and notes that they are at times reinforcing, at other times in conflict. In addition she posits sub-maxims (sub-rules), adapted as follows:

Rule 1: Don't Impose
(Used when formal/interpersonal politeness is required)

Rule 2: Give Options
(Used when informal politeness is required)

Rule 3: Make A feel good
(Used when intimate politeness is required)

These three rules are applicable more or less depending on the type of politeness situation as understood by the speaker. For example, if a speaker assesses the situation as requiring Intimate Politeness, window shutting might be requested by uttering “Shut the window”, while the Informal Politeness might be met with “Please shut the window”. The reader is never told how the speaker/hearer is to assess what level of politeness is required.

The position of Leech (1983) is a grand elaboration of the conversational maxim approach to politeness. Like Lakoff, Leech adopts the framework initially set out by Grice. He opts for rhetorical pragmatics, i.e. his account of goal directed linguistic behaviour.

3.3.1.9 The face-saving view

Brown and Levinson (1978; 1987) are certainly the best known of the recent approaches to an account of politeness. For a strong motivation for not talking strictly according to conversational maxims is to ensure politeness. While Brown and Levinson do acknowledge that politeness is not the only reason for deviation, they do not elaborate on their motivation such as sarcasm, humor, and irony to name but a few.

In contrast to Leech, they maintain that Grice's CP has a very different status in their theory from any so-called politeness principles. More specifically, the CP specifies a socially neutral framework within which ordinary communication is seen to occur, the
operating assumption being “no deviation from rational efficiency without a reason” (1987:5). It is, however, considerations of politeness, which do not provide principled reasons for such deviations.

They go one step further and assert that linguistic politeness must be communicated that it constitutes a message, a conversational implicature of the sort proposed by Grice. Moreover, they propose that the failure to communicate the intention to be polite may be taken, as absence of the required polite attitude. The speaker of “I would really like it if you would shut the door”, for example, implicates not only a request, but also implicates the intention to be polite. On the other hand, uttering “Shut the door” under the same circumstances may be heard as conveying the lack of polite intentions.

They place this explanation for politeness within a framework in which their rational Model Person has “face”, the individual’s self-esteem. Adopted from Goffman (1967), face is a universal notion, albeit a culturally elaborated self-image, that every member [of society] wants to claim for himself (1987:61). Brown and Levinson (1987) characterize two types of face in terms of participant wants rather than social norms:

**Negative Face:** “the want of every competent adult member” that his action be unimpeded by others (p.62).

**Positive Face:** the want of every competent adult member that his wants be desirable to act least some others (p. 62)

Face is something that can be lost, maintained, or enhanced, and any threat to face must be continually monitored during an interaction. And, since face is so vulnerable, and since most participants will defend their face if threatened, the assumption is made that it is generally in everyone’s best interest to maintain each other’s face and to act in such ways that others are made aware that this is one’s intention.

The organizing principle for their politeness theory is the idea that “some acts are intrinsically threatening to face and thus require softening” (1987:24). To this end, each group of language users develops politeness principles from which they derive certain linguistic strategies. It is by the use of these so-called politeness strategies that speakers succeed in communicating both their primary messages as well as their intention to be
polite in doing so. And in doing so, they reduce the face-loss that results from the interaction.

Whereas Leech proposes that certain types of acts are inherently polite or impolite, Brown and Levinson propose that such acts are inherently face-threatening to the speaker, to the hearer, or to both. They propose the following four-way analysis:

(a) Acts threatening to the hearer's negative face: e.g. ordering, advising, threatening, and warning.
(b) Acts threatening to the hearer's positive face: criticizing, disagreeing, and raising taboo topics.
(c) Acts threatening to the speaker's negative face: e.g. accepting an offer, accepting thanks, promising unwillingly;
(d) Acts threatening to the speaker's positive face: e.g. apologizing, accepting compliments, and confessing.

Brown and Levinson (1987:69) posit a taxonomy of possible strategies for performing FTAs, summarized as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Low face risk to the participant</th>
<th>High face risk to the participant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Do FTA</td>
<td>Baldly without Redress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't do FTA</td>
<td>On Record</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Off Record</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>With Redress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Positive politeness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Negative politeness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Redressive strategies may involve positive politeness or negative politeness. Off-record politeness requires a more complicated inference e.g. "It would help me if no one were to do anything for just a moment". Use of an off-record strategy may be motivated by factors other than politeness, for example, avoiding giving a direct answer to a question, or playing with language.
Analogous to Leech's proposal that scales are involved in assessing the degree of politeness required, Brown and Levinson claim that a speaker must determine the seriousness of a face-threatening act in terms of three independent and culturally-sensitive variables, which they claim subsume all others that play a principled role:

(a) Social Distance (D) between the speaker and hearer, in effect the degree of familiarity and solidarity they share;

(b) Relative Power (P) of the speaker with respect to the hearer; in effect the degree to which the speaker can impose will on the hearer;

(c) Absolute Ranking (R) of impositions in the culture, both in terms of the expenditure of goods and/or services by the hearer, the right of the speaker to perform the act, and the degree to which the hearer welcomes the imposition (1987:74ff).

In their model, the “weightiness” $W_x$ of a FTA is calculated thus:

$$W_x = D(S, H) = P(H, S) + R_x$$

With the assumption that each of the three variables can be measured on a scale 1 to n with n being a relatively small number. The operation of their model can be summarized into the following steps (1987:90-91):

(a) Unless the speaker intends to form an FTA with maximum efficiency, the speaker must determine that he/she wishes to fulfil the hearer's face wants to some degree as a rational means to secure the hearer's co-operation, either for purposes of face maintenance or some joint activity, or both.

(b) The speaker must then determine the face-threat of the particular (FTA $W_x$) and determine to what extent to minimize the face-loss of the FTA, considering factors such as the need to not overemphasize the degree of potential face-loss.

(c) The speaker must then choose a strategy that provides the degree of face saving consistent with (b) above. Retention of the hearer's cooperation dictates that the strategy chosen meet the hearer's expectation of what is required at that point.
(d) The speaker must then choose a linguistic means that will satisfy the strategic end. Since each strategy embraces a range of degrees of politeness, the speaker will be required to consider the specific linguistic forms used and their overall effect when used in conjunction with one another.

3.3.1.10 The conversational-contract view

The fourth and final approach to politeness is that presented by Fraser (1975); Fraser and Nolen (1981) and elaborated on here. This approach differs in certain important ways from that of Brown and Levinson, although it does adopt Grice’s notion of a cooperative principle and also recognizes the importance of Goffman’s notion of face.

We can begin with the recognition that upon entering into a given conversation, each party brings an understanding of some initial set of rights and obligations that will determine what the participants can expect from the others. During the course of time, or because of a change in the context, there is always the possibility for renegotiations of the conversational contract: the two parties may readjust just what rights and what obligations they hold towards one another.

The dimensions on which interactive participants establish rights and obligations vary greatly. Some terms of conversational contract may be imposed through convention; they are of a general nature and apply to all ordinary conversations. Speakers, for example, are expected to take turns, they are expected to use a mutually intelligible language, to speak sufficiently loudly for other to hear clearly, and to speak seriously. These are seldom negotiable.

And finally, previous encounters or the particulars of the situation may determine other terms. These are determined for each interaction, and most are renegotiable in the light of the participant’s perception and/or acknowledgements of factors such as the status, the poser, and the role of each speaker, and the nature of the circumstances. These latter factors play a crucial role in determining what messages may be expected; both in terms of force and content.
We enter into a conversation and continue within a conversation with the understanding of our current conversational contract at every turn. Within this framework, being polite constitutes operating within the then current terms and conditions of the CC.

Politeness, in this view, is not a sometime thing. Rational participants are aware that they are to act within the negotiated constraints and generally do so. When they do not, however, they are then perceived as being impolite or rude. Politeness is a state that one expects to exist in every conversation. Participants note that someone is being polite – this is the norm – but rather that the speaker is violating the CC. Being polite does not involve making the hearer feel bad, nor making the hearer not feel bad.

The intention to be polite is not signaled, it is not implicated by some deviations from the most efficient bald-on-record way of using the language. Being polite is taken to be a hallmark of abiding by the CP – being cooperative involves abiding by the CC. Sentences are not ipso facto polite, nor are languages more or less polite. It is only speakers who are polite, and then only if their utterances reflect an adherence to the obligations they carry in that particular conversation.

From this perspective much of what Brown and Levinson take as politeness phenomena might be better treated as intended deference: “that component of activity which functions as symbolic means by which appreciation is regularly conveyed” (Goffman, 1971:56). On this view deference is a component of an activity, and is not associated with an activity, per se.

Douglas J Glick (1998) sees Brown and Levinson’s book on Politeness as the one which has continued to inspire empirical work as the source on politeness and, more generally, as an important exemplar on the study of the relationship between language and society. In addition, the broad scope of their treatment of these concerns has created a work in which many, if not most, of the assumption guiding the contemporary study of language use are to be found. Glick (1998) therefore explores the ways in which the explicit logical structure of their model lacks internal definitional cohesion and, as a result, how as a whole it lacks coherence based on a failure to satisfy implicit values of empirical source, which in theory ground the rhetorical force of the argument.
3.3.2 Reconstructing Brown and Levinson’s argument

Brown and Levinson set the stage for their work by assuming a universal convergence among the various linguistic means of the world’s languages. This is curious of course, because with such an assumption they proclaim by definition, rather than empirically, the universal power of specifiable social forces to motivate particular classes of linguistic use. These assumed convergences are said to be reflected in three universal classes of language more from (a) language making “lesser” requests that stresses social solidarity and in-group membership, or positive politeness, through (b) language using formally conventionalized markers of negative politeness in the face of bigger requests to (c) language which consists of complete indirection or off record message (p. 57).

With this, then, as a second starting point (in the present reconstruction of the argument), we gain a preliminary glimpse into how the empirical task is to be refigured in an ultimately circular manner. The project is now presented as an empirical search for the kinds of reasoning that are used by the interactants in producing these universal strategies (p. 57). As the authors will still want to conclude that specific social principles of interaction constitute an independent logical and rational motivation for this universal fact of variation, we find a more accurate account of the structure of the argument made.

In setting out the component parts of this universal pragmatic surround, the authors propose the use of a constructivist model, that sets up each speaker and hearer as a Model Person (MP) endowed with two defining characteristics: “face” and “rationality” (p. 58-62). The former attributes to them both a positive desire to be approved of (in certain respects) and a negative desire to be unimpeded. The latter makes a shared “mutual knowledge” of their ability to choose and interpret linguistic strategies as a means that satisfy particular communicative and face-oriented end (p. 59). Indeed, in order to ensure that this knowledge can be shared, the authors argue that participants’ shared and rational abilities in these tasks constitute an internally consistent system of practical reasoning (p. 58). Thus, their model assumes that social interaction is a strategic, speaker-based mapping of means to ends and that such reasoning is based on an admittedly only “near perfect” system of logical inference. The strategies themselves, as described below, are to be explained as empirical facts in the terms of these interrelated rational and logical assumptions.
Figure 1: Strategies resulting from speakers’ estimation of FTA risk.

The particular strategies (numbered in Figure 1) are presented, and thus interrelated in the following manner. This in fact is the same as Brown and Levinson (p. 60). The first three strategies are all “on-record”. All such strategies are marked by any act in which a speaker’s communicative intent is clear to all interactants (p. 68). Meaning in such acts is thus defined to be relatively given and unambiguous. To speak baldly without redress (1) is to perform an act in the most direct, clear unambiguous and concise way possible and redressive strategies (2) and (3) are those that somehow achieve a respective concern for the hearer’s positive and negative face (p. 69). The contrasting “off-record” strategy (4) is instantiated, conversely, by any act in which there is more than one possible speaker intention (p. 69). As a result, it is assumed that in such acts, meaning is relatively less fixed and thus, more negotiable. Overall, every linguistic utterance is assumed to incorporate an inherent potential as an FTA. Each strategy is chosen based on the speaker’s estimation of the inherent risk of performing a particular act. This selection of a particular strategy reflects a reckoning with certain opposing socialinteractional demands on the speaker.

Thus far, the reader has been asked to accept the above strategies as a fact of universal convergence. One explanation for these empirical facts comes in the rational and logical terms of the constructivist model introduced above. Within the terms and assumptions of this model, the authors propose a fairly complete list of a priori benefits associated with each of the strategies. These general a priori benefits associated with each strategy are respectively summarized (p. 72-73). Strategy 1, bald-on-record, serves the speaker’s desire for clarity, perspicuousness, demonstrable, non-manipulativeness and efficiency. Strategy 2, positive redress, satisfies aspects of hearers’ positive face and thus generally
softens the demands inherent in the FTA. Strategy 3, negative redress, satisfies aspects of hearer’s negative face, and thus, generally softens the demands inherent in the FTA. Strategy 4, off-record, allows the speaker to satisfy the negative face demands of the hearer to a degree greater than that afforded by the negative politeness strategy and thus allows him/her to avoid the inescapable accountability that on-record strategies entail. In general, these benefits are organized into two opposing sets of forces (p. 73-74).

The first set of forces pressures the speaker, who desires to utter an FTA, to be concerned with the hearer’s face concerns. This creates a pressure for a lower strategy choice (i.e. moving in Figure 1 down towards strategy 5). Opposing these pressures, and thus pulling the speaker towards a more direct on-record strategy, are contextual variables (i.e. moving in Figure 1 “up” towards Strategy 1). The desire for increased clarity and the desire not to make the act seem more threatening than it actually was, are mentioned as examples. A speaker’s contextualized language use strategically reflects this opposition. The strategies purport to present, then, what one might call a strategic encoding of relative politeness. One either says what one intends or not. Strategy 1 or one considers the positive and/or negative face demands of the hearer and generally softens the directness of one’s approach – Strategies 2, 3 and 4. Indeed conventionalized indirectness – essentially equated with strategy 3 – is defined as a compromise between the speaker’s desire to go off record and thus maximize concern for the hearer’s face, and his/her desire to obtain the goals inherent in the FTA itself. It is the shared and rational, means-ends reasoning, formulated in the terms of the authors’ universal surround, that is exclaimed to explain the empirical fact of the distinctness and ranking of the strategies as such.

The assumptions about what “rational” interactional participants assume about each other are set up as goals in a logical system modified to suit inferential reasoning in interaction. This system attempts to establish an internally consistent way in which face demands can be implicationally linked in means-ends claims of goals and linguistic acts. The internally consistent means that the system purports to establish logically are the very grounds of the rational means-ends reasoning that all MPs are assumed to share. These logical features of the system thus function in the author’s argument to establish the inferential reasoning of interaction as non-random and sharable.

The linguistic utterances are understood to possess an inherent potential as FTAs. It is this fact and its unpacking that the above strategies universally encode. Utterances are
first understood as potential FTAs based on the particular speech-act types that they are assumed to instantiated. Though these speech act-types, they are understood to presuppose different participant and face foci. All utterances are assumed to be classifiable in two distinct ways (p. 67).

The authors then go on to add to this deciding speech act based method of knowing any particular utterance's potential as an FTA. They make the claim that the potential weightiness of an utterance as a FTA can be universally computed based on the following sociological variables: (a) the social distance \( D \) between speaker \( S \) and hearer \( H \) (a symmetric relation); (b) the relative power \( P \) between \( S \) and \( H \) (an asymmetric relation); and (c) the absolute ranking of imposition \( R \) of utterances in a particular culture.

The authors summarize these ideas in the following formula:

\[
W_x = D(S, H) + P(H, S) + R_x
\]

Where \( W \) is presented as a quantitative measure of any utterance's \( x \) overall “risk” potential an FTA.

### 3.3.3 A consideration of the empirical data

Table 3.1: From super-strategy to linguistic utterance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Super-strategies</th>
<th>Linguistic Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bald on-record</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Speaker desired to speak with maximum efficiency</td>
<td>1a Watch out!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Speak directly</td>
<td>1b (i) Give me the nails</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Face threat is ignored or irrelevant</td>
<td>1b (ii) Pardon me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Output strategy 3: Have relevant grammatical focus</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Positive Politeness</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Redress hearer wants to be approved of</td>
<td>2a Help me with this bag will you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Claim common ground</td>
<td>2b (i) Lend us two books.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Claim in group membership with H</td>
<td>2b (ii) Come here, honey.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Output strategy (4): Use in group identity markers</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Functional focus on in-group marking)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In Table 1, consider the first curious mix of linguistic forms, speech-act types and maxim-like directives that are offered as particular output strategies for each of the four main super-strategies types. The empirical instantiation of each strategy is represented as a claim of inferentially related maxims. For each strategy in Table 1, each consecutive step in this inferential logic reproduced in descending order in parentheses, with the last step in this chain of reasoning being the output strategy. The authors then discuss particular functional foci as means of achieving the communicative goal inherent in the output strategy.

The most basic problem isolated in Table 1 is the understanding of instantiation as one move from one level of inferential reasoning to the next. Glick (1998) focuses here on the links among the example utterance form itself, its respective output-strategy, and their overall super-strategy. He isolates two relative variants of the basic problems of the instantiation in and arouses these particular links in the inferential chain. It turns out that whereas some examples can be understood to instantiate the particular chain of reasoning laid out beside them, for others it is rather more difficult to make such a case. This distinction has been captured in the apposition between the (a) and the (b) examples. In the (a) examples, however, non-necessary, it is reasonable to assume that the example utterance does not satisfy the functional focus, output-strategy, and super-strategy to its
left. Glick focuses on the (b) examples and highlights two relative types of difficulties with the assumed instantiations reported. No distinction has been captured in the (b.i) and (b.ii) examples.

Consider first each of the (b.i) examples in turn. Similar to the (a) examples, it is reasonable to assume that such examples do indeed instantiate the assumptions listed to their left. In each case, this is only reasonable after additional assumptions have been made. These assumptions are neither accounted for, nor justified, in and by the terms of their theoretical presentation.

Consider example (1b.i), how are we to understand such an utterance as relevant without an assumption about the particular ongoing activity in which it is uttered. Moreover, if it is this ongoing activity that makes the FTA irrelevant, then it is not exactly clear how the social forces inherently expressed in and through such a measure of “risk” are universal.

In (2b.i), such an utterance is likely to involve redress to a hearer’s desires to be approved of in an overall attempt to mitigate the request. The interesting omission here is that without further specifies on the exact social relations between the speaker and the hearer and the type of in group marker used, we are unable to differentiate between an utterance that would normally function as a strategy and one that would not.

In (3b.i) one could construct a context in which the author’s general interpretation was reasonable but it would rely upon additional assumptions. To begin, without the optional parenthesized material, the particular speech act that such an utterance is supposed to instantiate is, in fact, far from obvious.

Finally, consider (4b.i). One can only assume that such an utterance is a hint, derived by a violation of a maxim of relevance, based on the additional assumption that speaker knows that the hearer is on his or her way into town.

Consider now the (b.ii) examples in turn. If the authors’ interpretations of the (b.i) examples above were still defendable possibilities, the (b.ii) examples are interpreted in ways that seem relatively unlikely. In (1b.ii), given the normative status of such an utterance as a member of a quasi-ritualized interaction, it is not at all clear why it should be
understood as an attempt on the speaker's part to be both relevant and maximally efficient.

In (2b.ii), such an utterance, though it might presuppose a particular in-group relationship between, let us say, a father and a daughter, one would need to know about their particular normative patterns of address in order to be able to justify the general assumption that it marked an appeal by the father to the daughter's face concerns.

In (3b.ii), the functioning of the "tag question" is similarly problematic. Assuming that it participates in an act of reportive evaluation about an event that both speaker and hearer has witnessed; it is more likely to be interpreted as a decided impingement on its hearer. The assumptions even here are as numerous as they are crucial.

Consider finally (4b.ii). As described, there is no theoretically based reason for interpreting this utterance as a hint, even though it does focus on particular motives and/or conditions for doing another act. Again, it only becomes a hint based on the incorporation of other background assumptions – minimally, about the relations between the speaker and hearer and the likely state of thirst that the hearer knows the speaker to be suffering from.

In all the (b) examples above and indeed relatively so for the (a) examples as well, it is fair to say that the example utterance is a problematic instance of its respective super-strategy unless other types of assumptions are made about the context of use.

3.3.4 Out with the old and in with the new: Cohesion and coherence

3.3.4.1 The search for logical cohesion and scientific coherence

Glick (1998) says if one wants to argue that all human beings are good, one has to be able to identify instances of both of the terms of the argument in a non-circular manner. The explicit definitions here failed to give a sufficient empirical directions (cf., the above discussions of 1b.i, 3b.i, 4b.i and 4b.ii from Table 1). Example forms are presented and analyzed with little mention of the independent speech act types that presumably grounded their classification as instances of particular strategies. Yet these were "originally" given as the independent defining features of classes of strategic use.
Modifying our hypothesis in search for coherence, let us assume that it is a case of model fitting, in which classes of identical units of analysis are explained or motivated by some type of theoretical machinery. This type of explanation takes the empirical assistance of the dependent variable for granted and merely tries to construct a theoretical motivation for its specific shape.

Though the independent principle of social interactions (relative risk to hearer’s face, is put forth as an explanation for these particular clauses of use) the application of the theory to the data is far from clear. It is never made clear how particular utterances are to be located at the intersection of social distance, social power and relative utterance weight. The central theoretical notion of inherent risk was never clearly operationalized so that different utterances could be universally composed in terms. How these various influences on linguistic use are reduced to an unilinear and unidimensional scaling cannot be justified by appeal to their abstract theoretical functions.

The rational and logical surround proposed by the authors is itself, however, unclear in its relation to the data. The chains of inferential reasoning as the authors themselves make theoretically explicit, are by no means necessary. The authors themselves state that at every link in the inferential chain of such logically derived means and ends, the outputs show ampliativeness and defensibility. This despite their appeal to a logical notion of partial satisfactoriness in the face of the problematic indeterminancy (p. 89), they readily acknowledge that the outputs of their logical system are non-necessary. Each strategy has both multiple and overlapping motivations.

Moreover, the authors also readily admit that the extent of the influence on linguistic use that is informed by force concerns can itself vary across different cultures.

3.3.4.2 First-order coherence

The first relevant set of socio-cultural assumptions needed emerge from institutional world of higher education where the authors operate. They constitute dominant, cross-disciplinary assumptions in contemporary academic discourses about language and society. However inconsistent as a logical synthesis, the authors do represent many, if not most, of the various “voices” in the related academic disciplines. More often than not, they are present by silent assumption / or as unquestioned first principles.
There is a general assumption in the academic study of language and society that the significance of contextualized linguistic utterances is in principle relatively contingent. Utterance A exists in a social context that determines and is relatively determined by the following utterance B. This contingency has been assumed to find an ultimate and largely unproblematic solution in and through a society’s basic speech act types.

A second, equally problematic interpretive assumption operates within the terms of the first. There is also a general interpretive assumption in academic disciplines concerned with the interpretation of linguistic utterances in relation to social context that denotational content is transparent and privileged. In conjunction with this semanticized view of the utterance, there is a general assumption that this privileged semantic content finds its adjusted meaning in context by appeal to particular pragmatic principles. That is understood to dictate its use.

Recall the authors’ conception of the hedge. Utterance parts functioned as hedges when they were interpreted denotational descriptions that acted to cancel, and/or somehow mitigate, the given presuppositions surrounding the particular speech-act in which they were embedded. The problematic result, however, is that a privileged denotational functioning is assumed to be the default semiotic norm across all contexts of interaction.

Figure 2: A socio-historic reconstruction of the authors’ argument.
Consider Figure 2 in our attempt to document the ways in which the above socio-cultural assumptions complement the logical structure of the author’s argument. It allows us to understand how, why and where the argument lacks definitional cohesion and is incoherent as a scientific argument. Gricean maxims, for our purposes here are simply one example of the attempt to propose the set of pragmatic principles that are assumed to adjust literal, semantic content to context. This underlying model of context is called direct speech. In it speakers are rational intentional agents, who clearly and efficiently say what they mean. It appears in the authors’ text as the definition of bald on-record use, i.e. Strategy (1). All other strategic classes are simply defined in opposition. These types of uses have accordingly been dubbed indirect and are generally understood to emerge as linguistic outputs of a set of pragmatic principles of politeness. These principles, in fact, are understood to account for specific, analytically isolated types of use, in which Grice’s maxims fail.

3.3.4.3 Second-order coherence

As we have seen, the authors were arguably aware of the problems of cohesion and coherence that characterized their work. And yet, in places one is surprised to still find the conclusion that their particular social principles of interaction universally cause the particular clauses of strategic use. This has been the central assumption in the present reconstruction of their argument.

Their work, as a whole, demonstrates a generalizable semiotic construction. It displays the structure of an ideological text. The explicit argument there is simply replaced by dominant, and thus appealing, socio-historic assumptions. A universal pragmatic surround of story-like assumptions informs and ultimately informs and ultimately supports the fact of the proposed universal relations. In their presentation, however, the independent grounds for these variables were lost through omission and or contradiction. It is this very lack of scientific coherence that is exploited in creating a cumulative, and even more compelling, reasonableness, about the persuasiveness of the argument.

Though semiotically complex in its component parts, one might say that the text as a coherent whole iconicity resembles what Bernstein has called a restricted code. It is only by appeal to normative and ideological presuppositions that are ultimately irrelevant to and in this case destructive of, the intended coherence of the authors’ argument that it
cumulatively develops a sense of being reasonably persuading. Such appeals are to assumptions about the social world that are shared by the social group for which the world is constructed in two distinct ways.

The first is the metaphoric nature of the general descriptive terms that have come to be applied in isolated styles. There are metaphoric re-presentations of what are at best only normative, culturally specific institutions of language use. They are metaphors based on reasonable stereotypic assumptions that ground particularly clear types of use.

The next ones are the appeals to the common culture of the social scientist that are sprinkled throughout the author's presentation. They appeal to well-rehearsed discourses in scientific explanation. In their own conclusions it is not surprising that the authors extend their own ideological reasoning in the construction of other reasonable essentializations. They offer such generalizations both within and across cultures.

Gabrielle Kasper (1990) sees Brown and Levinson's politeness theory as the one, which has generated a wealth of conceptual and emprical research undertaken in the theoretical and methodological traditions of a number of social sciences. As the theory with claims to universality, it needs elaboration and revision. Kasper therefore delineates a research agenda on pertinent issues that will outline directions for future politeness studies. The following are the issues that Kasper puts forward for consideration:

3.3.5 A conceptualization of Politeness

3.3.5.1 Strategic politeness

The early theories of politeness unanimously conceptualize politeness as strategic conflict avoidance: Lakoff (1973, 1975), Brown and Levinson (1978) and Leech (1983). Most explicit in this view is Brown and Levinson's theory, where politeness is defined as redressive action taken to counterbalance the disruptive effect of the face-threatening acts. Brown and Levinson (1987:1) derive the assumed pervasiveness of FTAs from Goffman's reasoning that members adapt a basic interactional strategy "the diplomatic fiction of the virtual offence, or worst possible reading (Goffman, 1971:138)."
Researchers studying politeness in non-Western societies have contested the claim to universality. As argued by Ide (1989), Hill et al (1986) and Matsumoto (1988, 1989) in their discussions of politeness in Japanese culture, and by Gu (1990), negative politeness, addressing interactants' territorial concerns for autonomy and privacy, derives directly from the high value placed on individualism in Western culture. Given the collective rather than individualistic orientation of Japanese culture, negative face wants seem negligible and cannot account for politeness behaviour.

Moreover, occidental cultures, too, are far from homogeneous as far as their endorsement of the lone ranger mentality inherent in the notion of negative face goes. Wierzbicka (1985) raises objections against the ethnocentrically Anglo-Saxon perspective of much pragmatic theorizing, pointing out that in Polish verbal interaction, involvement and cordiality, rather than distance and polite permissions, are reflected in strategies of linguistic action.

Whether the criticism of the kind offered by Wierzbicka will have to result in a revised politeness model, or whether the social needs she identifies can be accommodated within existing politeness theories, remains to be empirically studied. If the proposed distinctions can be subsumed under positive politeness a case could be made for maintaining Brown and Levinson's model and accounting for variability in types of politeness as an expression for cultural ethics by the different weight cultures place on negative and positive face respectively.

3.3.5.2 Politeness as social indexing

Strategic politeness has to be distinguished from politeness as social indexing (e.g. Ervin-Tripp et al., 1990) or "discernment" (Hill et al., 1986; Ide, 1989). Discernment, unlike volitional politeness, operates independently of the current goal a speaker intends to achieve. Rather, it represents the linguistic expression of social warrants. Social warrants, or deference entitlements are constituted by two kinds of attributes namely "macro-social properties" comprising both ascribed characteristics (age, sex, family positions) and achieved social properties (rank, title, social position); and individuals situated performance. Studies addressing the linguistic encoding of discernment have typically focused on macro-social properties, as in Brown and Gilman's classical examination of pronouns of power and solidarity.
While to date no language has been shown to entirely fall short of forms for social indexing, nor lack contexts where social marking is mandatory, the extent to which social indexing is obligatory varies greatly across languages (Kasper, 1990). In Japanese, as Matsumoto (1990) demonstrates, there is no such thing as socially unmarked sentences, whereas in all Indo-European languages, there evidently is. As the choice of linguistic forms in Japanese carries social information, Matsumoto further argues that unexpected social markings give rise to interactional implicatures, much in the same way that violations of the Gricean maxims instantiated conversational implicature.

The postulated integrity of strategic and discernment politeness is supported by developmental evidence: children acquire social indices before and independently of politeness strategies (Ervin-Tripp et al., 1990). Yet where speakers are free to choose between alternative social markers, for instance terms of address, such choices may well reflect strategic decisions (e.g. Wierzbicka, 1985; Blum-Kulka, 1990).

3.3.5.3 Enactment of strategic politeness

Brown and Levinson concur with Leech in viewing threat to specific face wants and the accrual of costs and benefits, respectively, as inherent properties of illocutionary acts. What is seen as inherently costly or beneficial is theoretically determined by the politeness model endorsed. Thus while Brown and Levinson view thanks, apologies and compliments as FTAs, Edmonds (1981) argues for the inherently hearer-supportive nature of thanks and apologies. Holmes (1986, 1988) categorizes compliments as beneficial to the hearer, though she concedes both intercultural and cross-cultural variability in the politeness impact of complimenting behaviour.

The empirical test to which these theory-derived predictions can be put is to examine the kinds and degrees of politeness invested in the performance of illocutionary acts in which face concerns are essentially involved. The cross-cultural data on requests do support the hypothesis that imposition on the hearer is regularly counterbalanced by mitigating strategies, whereas speaker’s costs and hearer’s benefits tend to be maximized in apologies through gushing (e.g. studies conducted in the CCSARP).

However, the linguistic enactment of politeness is much less straightforward than the initial hypothesis suggests. Least problematic to the universability aspirations of politeness
theories is the attested fact that the linguistic encoding of politeness strategies is contingent on the properties of any linguistic system and the conventionalized norms of usage (Kasper, 1990). Subjective and aspect, to name but two, cannot be universally utilized to convey politeness since not all languages have such synthetic forms. Conventions such as routine formulae and idiomatic expressions tend to be language specific and then would not be expected to have formal or even functional equivalencies across languages. Therefore Wierzbicka’s (1985) allegation of Anglo-Saxon lingua-centrism in the work on speech act realization overshoots the mark on this point: request formulae such as “why don’t you”, “how about”, and the question tag system are just specific for English as the “no” particle is for Japanese (e.g. Matsumoto, 1988).

Throughout the literature on request realization in a variety of Western languages, the strategic function of indirectness has been determined as avoiding intrusion of the addressee’s freedom of action, i.e. attending to her negative face wants (Kasper, 1990). Rather than emphasizing distance, indirectness in Japanese culture appears to express empathy between participants, symbolizing a high degree of shared presuppositions that would not only make more explicit request performance unnecessary, but even disrupt social bonds. Ervin-Tripp attests a very similar function to indirectness in American interaction in families and communal groups, where requisite hints serve as communicative abbreviation to enhance in-group solidarity. Blum-Kulka (1987) found that indirectness is assessed as less polite than both conventional indirectness and direct requisite strategies by Israeli informants.

Little is known yet about the relative contribution of illocutionary force modifiers to the politeness value of linguistic action. For requests, three modifactory dimensions have been discerned: directness, external modification of the core request and internal modification, which can operate both on core request and external supporters (e.g. Blum-Kulka et al 1989B). Kasper (1990) suggests that even if the main focus of interest is a specific speech act, the discourse context has to be taken into account to adequately describe and assess the distribution and junction of mitigating and aggravating politeness strategies.
3.3.6 Social and psychological variables determining politeness investment

It was originally proposed by Brown and Levinson that the weightiness of FTAs, and hence the degree of politeness investment, was compatible by adding the values of social power, social distance and degree of imposition in the FTA. While some studies indeed demonstrate a linear relationship between power and directness (e.g. Blum-Kulka et al., 1985) and social distance and directness (e.g. Ervin-Tripp, 1976), even a cursory glance at the literature suggests that matters are far from that simple.

Studies by Holmes (1984) demonstrate that greater politeness investment does not necessarily encode lack of power in conversational interaction. As originally predicted by Brown and Levinson, both the values and weightiness of power and distance vary cross-culturally. Ide et al. (1986) demonstrates that differential perceptions of the addressee's power vis-à-vis the requester is encoded in the request strategies of Japanese and American informants. Blum-Kulka and House (1989) attest different power relationships reflected in the requesting behaviour and social perceptions of speakers of Argentine Spanish compared to German speakers.

Much research effort has been directed towards the impact of interlocutors' sex on politeness enactment. As would be expected, cross-cultural differences on this variable are considerable. In her studies of compliments and compliment responses in New Zealand English, Holmes (1986, 1988) concludes that women appear to compliment as an expression of solidarity, whereas men tend to perceive compliments as face-threatening, thus complimenting less and in more mitigated forms, and responding to compliments more evasively than women. Consistent with her findings on compliments, Holmes report that in New Zealand apologizing behaviour, women both give and receive more apologies than men, they apologize more readily and for lighter offences, and prefer other oriented apologizing strategies. In other studies, gender-related effects have been shown to interact with social distance, as reported for the use of honorific in Japanese directness (Ide, 1982, Ide et al., 1986).

In addition to context-external social variables, factors pertaining to the linguistic act that is being carried out co-determine the degree of face-oriented modification (Kasper, 1990). Context–internal factors constitute the elements of the compounded R-factor postulated by Brown and Levinson and hence are specific to different speech acts. Thus for requests,
the relevant context-internal factors have been identified as speaker's and hearer's rights and obligations, likelihood of hearer's compliance and speaker's difficulty in carrying out the request (Blum-Kulka and House, 1989).

The interplay between context-external and context-internal variables is highly complex. At this point, no generalization is in sight that would account for their interaction in a systematic way. Kasper (1990) says the only way to achieve this goal some time in the future is by a large body of carefully conducted empirical studies, tending out the contribution of different variables to politeness investment across a wide variety of contexts and cultures. Few studies have addressed this issue so far. For requests, Blum-Kulka et al (1985) responds that requisite goal, age and power interact in determining strategy selection in Israeli culture.

The picture presenting the contribution of different kinds of context external and context-internal social and psychological variables is thus strikingly colorful. Kasper (1990) then says that just as there is no simple console effect of contextual parameters on type and degree of politeness behaviour, the same politeness strategies are apt to encode different social and psychological meanings at any given point in verbal interaction.

3.3.7 Discourse type

Two global distinctions between discourse types have been proposed that bear the quality and quantity of politeness. Transactional discourse types focus on the optimally efficient transmission of information (Lakoff, 1989). Conversational behaviour that is consistent with the requirements of transactional discourse will thus be characterized by close observance of the Co-operative Principle. Interactional discourse, by contrast, has as its primary goal the establishment and maintenance of social relationships. In interactional discourse, therefore, the Co-operative Principle is regularly overridden by the Politeness Principle in order to ensure that participants' face wants are taken care of.

Kasper (1990) says on the criteria of politeness investment, discourse types can be arranged on a continuum ranging from total lack of politeness in the most radical forms of transactional discourse to complete domination of politeness over propositional information in the prototypically interactional discourse forms. As a typical instance of transactional discourse, Lakoff (1989) mentions academic lecturers. However, even though the primary
function of lectures doubtlessly is information transmission, representational acts typically occurring in natural science lectures, have been found to be carried out with considerable amount of mitigating politeness.

While it is arguably a common feature of ordinary conversation across cultures to operate predominantly on the relational level, the ways in which politeness in conversation is jointly enacted varies cross-culturally (Kasper, 1990). Watts (1989) found in a recent study that dinner table conversations among adult participants of equivalent social background discussing the same topic varied significantly between British and Swiss-German families. Differences occurred in the negotiation and management of topic choice and development, the management of intervention behaviour and use of discourse markers. Whereas the British participants predominantly aimed at maintaining an interpersonal equilibrium through overtly cooperative conversational activity, the Swiss conversationalists placed more emphasis on displaying positions and counter-positions on the topic and exhibited more argumentative, overtly competitive behaviour.

As discourse types which are clearly transactionally focused in their overall goals but exhibit a complex interplay of different politeness patterns between the participants, Lakoff (1989) analyzed therapeutic and courtroom discourse. Lakoff demonstrates convincingly how the formal politeness of the courtroom not only serves the function of reducing friction, but symbolically mark the courtroom as a world distinctly different from everyday interaction.

### 3.3.8 Rudeness

Lakoff (1989) distinguishes three kinds of politeness:

(a) polite behaviour, which is manifest when interlocutors adhere to politeness rules, whether expected or not;

(b) non-polite behaviour, amounting to non-conforming with politeness rules where conformity is not expected; and

(c) rude behaviour, where politeness is not conveyed even though it is expected.
In terms of their social significance, the first two types of politeness differ distinctly from the think in that they are both in accordance with polite behaviour. Rudeness, by contrast, is inherently confrontational and disruptive to social equilibrium.

Kasper (1990) proposes to distinguish motivated from unmotivated rudeness. Unmotivated rudeness refers to the violation of the norms of political behaviour due to ignorance. The types of rudeness Kasper addresses are of the motivated kind, in the sense that the speaker intends to be heard as rude. Preliminarily, three types of rudeness can be distinguished: rudeness due to lack of affect control, strategic rudeness and iconic rudeness.

Mao (1994) draws upon the insights generated by current cross-cultural research on linguistic politeness. More specifically, he examines what face means and signifies in Chinese, and to a later extent, in Japanese. He also compares the characteristics of face in these two cultures with Brown and Levinson's conceptualization of face, identifying those two major divergences that distinctively mark them apart and inevitably challenge Brown and Levinson's universal claim. Mao (1994) also proposes an alternative and more open construct, the one that puts us in a better position to account for the face divergences discovered so far, and to explain other face dynamics.

Mao (1994) considers his study as a direct response to Kasper's call for elaborating and revising, in the light of current empirical data, those politeness theories (including Brown and Levinson) that have laid claims on universality. It is an attempt to use Brown and Levinson's original study of politeness as a point of departure for a specific comparative study of politeness phenomena in other cultures.

3.3.9 Brown and Levinson's face-saving theory of politeness

Brown and Levinson's face-saving theory anchors itself within Grice's original model of conversation, and assumes that human communication is rational, purposeful and goal directed (1987:4, 58, 64). Against this Gricean model it aims to account for our deviation from Grice's Cooperative Principle and its four attendant conversational maxims. What specifically informs and constitutes their model is a highly abstract notion of face, one that they argue is universal (1987:13, 61-62).
Goffman (1967:5) characterizes face as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself which others assume he has taken during a particular context". He sees face not as a private or an internalized property lodged in or on his body, but as an image located in the flow of events, supported by other people's judgement, and endorsed by "impersonal agencies in the situation" (1967:7). Seen in this light, face becomes a public image that is on loan to individuals from society, and that will be withdrawn from them if they prove unworthy of it. To secure this public image, people engage in what Goffman calls "face-work", performing action "to make whatever (they are) doing consistent with face" (1967:12), while trying to save their own face (a defensive orientation) as well as others (a protective orientation) (1967:14). Goffman (1967:15-23) specifies two kinds of face-work: the avoidance-process (avoiding potentially face-threatening acts) and the corrective process (performing a variety of redressive acts).

Mao (1994) proposes a distinction between Goffman and Brown and Levinson in as far as face is concerned. In Mao's view, Goffman's face is a public, interpersonal image, while Brown and Levinson's face is an individualistic, self-oriented image. Brown and Levinson construct face as consisting of two kinds of desires or face wants. They call these negative face and positive face: Negative face refers to one's want to be unimpeded by others and to one's claim to freedom of action. Positive face has to do with one's want to be appreciated and approved of by others (1987:61).

Since it is a self-image that is always faltered in interaction, face is a natural prey to threat of interference. Many things that we do with words are potentially face-threatening, including ordering, advising, offering, promising, criticizing, contradicting, etc. Brown and Levinson call these linguistic behaviours face-threatening acts. They further suggest that we adopt various speech strategies to minimize or eliminate such threats.

What needs to be stressed, though, is that facework is also a mutually beneficial enterprise. In complimenting a partner's new dress, for example, a speaker is not only attending to the partner's positive face, but also consolidating, or anointing his own positive face, showing off, as it were, his good taste, and encouraging the partner's complimentary feedback. In performing such a speech act, the speaker could very well initiate a round of mutual enhancement of positive face, consummating a genuine talk exchange.
Brown and Levinson also discuss the act of complimenting, but they focus only on its face-threatening aspects. For them, by complimenting the partner's dress, the speaker may indicate a desire for it. Such an act on the part of the speaker, they say, may impede the partner's freedom of action and constitute a threat to her negative face (1987:66). Moreover, if the partner accepts the compliment, according to Brown and Levinson (1987:68), she may also feel compelled to disparage the dress or return the compliment, either of which may detract from her positive face.

3.3.10 Chinese face and Brown and Levinson's face

Two major differences between Chinese perception of face and Brown and Levinson's perception of face seem to feature out of a discussion of miánzi and lián. Mao (1994) believes that these two differences inevitably undermine Brown and Levinson's claim that their face construct enjoys universal significance.

The first difference has to do with their overall conceptualization of face. By defining face as "the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself" (1987:6), Brown and Levinson center their definition upon the individual, rather than the communal aspect of face. The self is the principal constituent that informs and contextualizes the content of face. The self is public only to the extent that it depends on another's face being maintained; that it is negotiated with others via discourse activity. The self appropriates the public only to preserve its own interests. The overall composition of this self-image, with its negative and positive aspects, remains constant and predetermined. It is not susceptible to external pressure or intersectional dynamics, and it only concerns the individuals "wants" and "desires".

Mao (1994) says if one expects to encounter the same orientation in Chinese face, one is bound to be disappointed. He further adds that Chinese face does not privilege the self nearly as much as does Brown and Levinson's definition of face. Rather, Chinese face encodes a reputable image that individuals can claim for themselves as they interact with others in a given community. It is intimately linked to the views of the community and to the community's judgement and perception of the individual character and behaviour. Chinese face emphasizes not the accommodation of individual wants or desires, but the harmony of individual conduct with the views and judgement of the community. As a
public image, Chinese face depends upon and is indeed determined by the participation of others.

The second difference pertains to the content of face. Brown and Levinson conceive face as consisting of negative face and positive face. Their negative face refers to and values an individual’s need to be free of external impositions. But miànzi according to Mao (1994) communicates something different. It defines a Chinese desire to secure public acknowledgement of one’s prestige reputation. One may argue, within Brown and Levinson’s framework, that by tailoring their behaviour to this desire, Chinese in fact yield to external imposition, and thus, willingly or unwillingly, impair their negative face. But Mao argues that this kind of argument misses the mark. That is, when one obtains miànzi in Chinese, one wins a recognition not so much of one’s claim to freedom of action as of one’s claim to the respect of the community.

This recognition may or may not be deserved. Whatever freedom accrues to such recognition is of secondary consideration. In short, miànzi in Chinese cannot be properly understood in terms of negative face.

While miànzi clearly stands apart from negative face, lián seems to bear some resemblance to positive face (Mao, 1994). In varying degrees, both lián and positive face identify an individual desire to be liked and to be approved of by the others. But again Mao says their resemblance goes no further than that. For one thing, the distinctive moral overtone evidenced in lián is not registered in positive face. If one loses lián, one is most likely to suffer condemnation by the community, because one’s conduct will be considered socially disagreeable or even immoral (Hu, 1994:46). By the same token, as long as one lives up to the socially endorsed code of conduct, one is entitled to claim to lián as everyone else is; that is, to an honest, decent face (Hu, 1994:46).

Mao (1994) says to suggest that lián is more socially situated than positive face does not mean that lián is completely immune for dyadic interaction, although the impact of a single discourse activity on lián is more likely to be incremental and indirect. For example if a speaker openly challenges a partner’s opposition to abortion, following Brown and Levinson, all things being equal, the speaker is also implicitly expressing a dislike of this belief, and hence threatening the partner’s positive face. The speaker can also perform
the challenging act in a more subtile manner, opting for an off-record strategy in an attempt to anoint the partner’s positive face.

If the speaker performs the same single speech act in Chinese, and in the same manner, this only threatens the partner’s miànzi. But if the challenge is repeated for days, this may eventually threaten the partner’s liàn for such an act may very well be construed as representing a negative judgement of the partner’s overall character from the community. On the other hand, if, after hearing the speaker’s challenge for the first time, the partner gives a well thought-out response in a respectful manner, this protects his or her miànzi and ensures the well being of his or her long-term liàn.

3.3.11 Chinese face and politeness (limào)

Mao (1994) suggests that miànzi and liàn constitute a quintessential aspect of mainland Chinese politeness.

There is a growing awareness that the term "politeness" needs to be defined more precisely and consistently if more fruitful cross-cultural politeness research is to be pursued (cf. Watts et al., 1992a). Watts et al (1992b:3) suggest that a distinction should be made between first order and second order politeness, or between conventional ways in which polite behaviour is perceived and talked about by members of socio-cultural groups and a research construct politeness, which is part of a theory of social behaviour and language usage. Similarly, Ide et al (1992) demonstrate in empirical terms that politeness is conceptualized differently by Americans and Japanese.

As regards Watts et al(1992) distinction between first and second order politeness, what Mao wishes to address here pertains more to first order politeness. That is, to how politeness is manifested and conveyed within the framework of a given culture. More specifically, to be polite in Chinese discourse is to know how to attend to each other’s miànzi and liàn and to enact speech acts appropriate to and worthy of such an image. Otherwise stated, mainland Chinese speakers can be seen as being polite if they demonstrate with words their knowledge of miànzi and liàn. Mao says to be polite without a proper understanding of miànzi and liàn is almost analogous to trying to throw a party without guests.
Gu (1990) investigates Chinese politeness as manifested in actual interaction. Chinese politeness, according to Gu, is characterized by a tendency to denigrate oneself and respect the other. This tendency can be traced back to the classical Chinese notion of li: feudal hierarchy order (1990:238-239). He says that the concept of limão includes respectfulness, modesty, attitudinal warmth, and refinement (1990:239). From time to time in his discussion, Gu draws our attention to the notion of face. He observes that the Chinese notion of negative face differs from the definition of Brown and Levinson (1990:241-242). Gu (1990:242) bases this observation on the fact that such speech acts as inviting, offering and promising in Chinese are not generally regarded as threatening to the hearer's negative force. For example to insist on inviting someone to dinner is considered to be polite in Chinese even if the invitee declines the invitation. Such an act does not pose a threat to the invitee's negative face, as it might, according to Brown and Levinson, in an English-speaking context (Gu, 1990:242).

However, Gu's discussion does not go far enough. While recognizing the incompatibility between the Chinese notion of negative face and Brown and Levinson's characterization of negative face, Gu never provides his own definition of Chinese negative face, nor does he state whether the concept of negative face, which he adopts from Brown and Levinson without any explanation, applies to Chinese interaction at all.

Mao (1994) also thinks that what underlies Gu's confusion is his failure to properly examine Chinese face and to call Brown and Levinson's conceptualization of face into question. In analyzing a place of Chinese invitational discourse, Gu observes for example, that issuing an invitation is, in the Chinese context, intrinsically polite. This does not quite corroborate Brown and Levinson's (1990:253-254) claim that inviting poses a threat to the invitee's positive face. However, not only does Gu fail to follow up on his own insight, but he also seems to equivocate on this point later.

Similarly, Gu (1990:254-255) acknowledges that accepting invitation risks the invitee's face, for the invitee may be seen as being greedy. However, he does not identify which aspect of face is threatened in this case. Assuming that it is positive face, we are still left wondering whether Chinese invitational discourse has anything to do with negative face. If Chinese invitational discourse indeed does not involve negative face, we must wonder what this means for Brown and Levinson's face model as a whole.
Mao’s critique of Gu’s study of politeness in modern Chinese is meant to achieve two things. First, it is meant to illustrate the importance of addressing the intrinsic relationship between face and politeness in the Chinese context. Second, it is meant to echo Gu’s contention that Chinese politeness is informed by a tendency to denigrate the self and respect the other (1990:238), that formulating maxims to give substance to the Politeness Principle in this context (1990:245) could represent a useful approach to the study of Chinese politeness. Mao also intends to suggest that such an approach remains incomplete until we bring on broad Chinese miànzi and liān. According to Mao, these two concepts help give substance to politeness, and they shed light on whatever maxims we propose.

3.3.12 Face in Japanese culture

Brown and Levinson (1987:245) point out that Japanese culture is, relatively speaking, negative politeness oriented. They suggest that the sense of imposition or debt among Japanese is probably greater in comparison with Anglo-American culture (1987:247). On the other hand, they maintain that this cultural variation does not affect their basic notion of face as consisting of the want to be approved of and the want to be left alone. Some recent studies concerning this subject, however, have seriously challenged such a claim (Hill et al., 1986; Matsumoto, 1988, 1989; Ide 1989).

Matsumoto (1988) questions Brown and Levinson’s claim that the constituents of face could apply to Japanese interaction. She argues that what is most alien to the Japanese notion of face is Brown and Levinson’s formulation of negative face as a desire to be unimpeded in action. Such a desire, according to her, presupposes that the basic unit of society is the individual, a presupposition that is uncharacteristic of Japanese culture (1988:405). What is characteristic of Japanese culture is not a claim to individual freedom of action but a distinctive and perennial emphasis on interpersonal relationships. Such an emphasis revolves around acknowledging and maintaining one’s position in relation to other members of the same community, and in accordance with the perceptions about such a position. This kind of emphasis constitutes a Japanese concept of face (Matsumoto, 1988:405-408).

The concern for social interrelationships is encoded in the Japanese language, whose complex honorific system is the most obvious instance of this encoding. Mao says a
Japanese speaker cannot help but make morphological or lexical choices based on the given interpersonal relationship. In say “Today is Saturday” in Japanese, the speaker has to select a capula with proper honorific (plain, polite or superpolite), depending on his or her relationship with the addressee, and on the latter’s perception of this relationship. As a result, there are many variations of this plain English sentence in Japanese (Matsumoto, 1988:415-416). These linguistic choices become the bulk of Japanese face-work. To attend to each other's face in Japanese culture is to recognize each other's social position and to convey such a recognition through the proper linguistic means, including formulaic expressions, honorific, verbs of giving and receiving, and other relation-acknowledging devices (Matsumoto, 1988:409-423).

It is true that Japanese culture has often been described as a deference culture – a description that Mao suspect may have led Brown and Levinson to claim that it is also negative politeness oriented. But deference in Japanese culture focuses on the hierarchical social structure between addresser and addressee (Matsumoto, 1988:424) rather than on people’s desire to be free of imposition as is suggested by Brown and Levinson. When the addressee assumes a higher or lower social status, the addressee is expected to acknowledge this social relationship, and show his or her dependence on it, by making deferent impositions, or by displaying his or her disposition to take care of the addressee. Mao warns that to say that Japanese culture is a deference culture without properly considering its underlying content may risk arriving at inadequate conclusions.

Ide (1989) makes a similar point. She criticizes Brown and Levinson’s face model for failing to give an adequate account of both formal linguistic forms, including honorific, and the concept of group membership in face-to-face interaction in Japanese (1989:230). Linguistic discernment refers to the systematic encoding of the distinction between the ranks or the roles of the speaker, the referent, and the addressee (Ide, 1989:230).

Japanese discernment, as described by Ide (1989), seems to echo Chinese liàn, in that both concepts appear to project a public image that either observes status differences and social interdependence, or internalizes social sanctions and solidifies itself in the company of others.
While Japanese discernment is systematically encoded in the Japanese language at the morphological and lexical levels, Chinese liān is, more often than not, enacted at the discourse level, and to a much lesser extent at the lexical level.

Ide concludes that because Japanese society is defined in terms of group membership and social hierarchy, the basis for interaction in the Japanese context is not face, but "the role or status defined in a particular situation" (1989:24). In contrast, when individualism becomes an overriding concern for interaction, Ide (1989:241) argues it is easy to see why face, with its emphasis on individual need, constitutes the key to interaction.

As Mao has said, face does not have to be considered as a sole prerogative of the individual. In so far as Chinese miánzì and liān are concerned, face is a public property, it is like a convenient between the individual and the public. That is, face is on loan to the individual from society (Goffman, 1967:10), and the individual is obliged to act in a way that is worthy of this loan.

Fraser and Nolen (1981) and Fraser (1990), in trying to account for politeness phenomena from a conversational-contract perspective, also move away from the concept of face. According to their account, people enter into conversation with an understanding of a set of rights and obligations. These rights and obligations are prescribed by social institutions, determined by previous encounters, or yet to be renegotiated the current interaction, and they are part and parcel of the conversational contract.

Mao's short excursion into the notion of Japanese face, and also his brief critique of the conversational-contract perspective on politeness, are meant to re-inforce the argument that any study of politeness that focuses on nonlocal significance must consider, for better or for worse what is indigenous to Chinese and Japanese face. Attempts to turn face as a public image into a faceless norm risk losing an important signifying force.

Meier (1995) uses Brown and Levinson as his starting point when discussing the theory of politeness. He says Brown and Levinson's theory rests on three basic notions, which are face, face-threatening acts (FTAs) and politeness strategies. It is in the area of negative and positive politeness strategies that deviations from Brown and Levinson's framework begin to appear. Leech (1983), for example, would classify apologies as positive politeness strategies. Only Holmes (1990) grants importance to S's (positive) face, at
least initially in suggesting that it also derive some benefit from apologies. Holmes (1990) goes further in arguing that apologies can address both positive and negative face need.

Olshtain and Blum-Kulka (1985) distinguish between negatively and positively oriented apology strategies and use these to characterize different cultures. We find, however, they associate the greater use of intensification and the strategy of minimizing an imposition with the opposite strategy types that Brown and Levinson do.

McLaughlin et al (1983) classify justifications as threats to H's face, which would seem to preclude their being politeness strategies, although for Brown and Levinson justifications are, in fact, negative politeness strategies. Allowing for both would take multifunctionality a bit far, as it entails the same act simultaneously threatens and redresses H's face.

According to Meier (1995) taxonomics within apology studies also seems to have found little consistent guidance from Brown and Levinson's model of politeness. The bases for classification of strategies employed therein are very hazy at best, if not totally lacking, resulting in significant inconsistencies and contradictions, which seriously effect the meaningless of the results as well as comparability across studies.

Meier (1995) also notes that problems with invoking Brown and Levinson's theory are not confined to apology studies, but appear in other areas as well. In regard to weight factors (i.e. power, distance and rank) neither Baxter (1994), McLaughlin et al (1983), nor Holmes (1990) found the variable of social distance to act as a determinant of politeness. Furthermore, in contradiction to Brown and Levinson's prediction, Baxter (1984) found that a closer relationship between interlocutors resulted in greater rather than less politeness. Rank of imposition also asserted little influence in both Baxter's study and one on Repair Work carried out by Meier (1992). In addition, McLaughlin et al (1983) did not find power to be a predictor of account strategies.

Also to be noted is that despite Brown and Levinson's warning against quantifying their categories, this is precisely what has been done in many studies (e.g. Olshtain and Blum-Kulka, 1985; Blum-Kulka, 1990).
3.3.13 A re-examination of Brown and Levinson

In order to understand the inconsistencies pointed out in the above section, we need to return to Brown and Levinson's difference between negative and positive face. Meier (1995) submits that this is a rather dubious difference.

Negative face involves the desire to be unimpeded; positive face, on the other side, involves the desire for others to show that they want my wants to be achieved. By not impeding me, you are, however, acting in accord with one of my wants, in essence showing that you want my want to be achieved. Any threat to negative face is thus subsumable under positive politeness.

Meier notes that the lack of clear differentiation between positive and negative face ineluctably carry-over to Brown and Levinson's specifications of FTAs and politeness strategies as well. First, it is not always clear whether an act qualifies as a FTA or as a politeness strategy and, if the latter is the case, whether it is a negative or positive strategy. Apologies, for example, although classified by Brown and Levinson as negative politeness strategies, could be viewed as requests for exoneration (e.g. please forgive me) and requests would be threats to H's face, which would bring their status as a politeness strategy into question. Promising and complimenting are directly assigned contradictory status by Brown and Levinson, both being marked as face-threatening acts as well as positive politeness strategies. Brown and Levinson additionally claim that deference, a negative politeness strategy, has two sides to its realization, a negative and a positive one.

One can surmise that it is this lack of differentiation between strategy types that leads Ide (1990:76) to conclude in her investigation of the Japanese particle wa that negative and positive politeness strategies are two sides of the same coin. It is in this regard that Meier (1995) points out that we seem to have a framework in which something can be anything, and it is thus not surprising that we find varying interpretations we do in the studies drawing from Brown and Levinson's theory.

3.4 CULTURES AND STRATEGY TYPE

Although studies characterizing different speech communities as being more or less polite, positively or negatively oriented or direct or indirect, they generally opt for one or the other
of these dichotomies, they are inextricably bound. Meier says the distinction between
direct and indirect is analogous to the positive-negative dichotomy within Brown and
Levinson's framework, wherein indirectness is associated with negative politeness, which
is deemed to be more face redressive than positive politeness.

Adegbija (1989:58) asserts that politeness is very critically important in communication in
Nigeria, implying that there are speech communities where politeness is of less importance.
Politeness *per se* is also used by Blum-Kulka (1990) to differentiate parent-child
interactions, i.e. she finds Israeli parents to be more polite to each other than to their
children whereas American parents are equally polite to each other and to their children.
The direct Germans (House and Kasper, 1981) become indirect when considered in
conjunction with Greeks. Australians too seem to be indirect when placed next to Hebrew
speakers and Germans (Blum-Kulka and House, 1989). And, the consistently positively
oriented Hebrew speakers even take on lives of negative orientation when juxtaposed with
Argentines (Blum-Kulka and House, 1989).

It is clear that identifying cultures in terms of negative and positive orientation, indirectness
and directness is problematic. Not only is there a problem of criteria to consider but also
the dependence of the characterizations on specific cultures being compared and on the
particular communicative act in context.

Meier (1995) asserts that the use of such labels is not only unhelpful, but risks
perpetuating national stereotypes and lingua-electricity.

The problematic relationship between directness and politeness has not gone unheeded,
however, in contrastive studies. Blum-Kulka (1987, 1989), Held (1989) have both
addressed the issue and rejects the automatic linear association of indirectness with
politeness.

### 3.5 POLITENESS REVISITED

Throughout the literature, politeness has been depicted in a variety of ways, e.g., as
deference, as formality, as indirectness, as appropriateness, as marked by particular form,
etc. (Meier, 1995). Craig *et al* (1986) in an attempt to resolve what they see as
confounding of appropriateness with politeness, suggest two types of politeness *viz.*
message strategies and social judgements. Lakoff (1989) proposes a threefold distinction between polite, non-polite and rude. And Watts (1992:50) even introduces the term politic behaviour to refer to a broader concept of social appropriateness from which politeness may be derived.

Meier proposes that if politeness be used as terminology, the preferable definition is to be found in appropriateness, representative of those (e.g. Fraser and Nolen, 1981; Gu, 1990) who describe politeness in terms of doing what is socially acceptable. This in turn assumes a standard external to, but interacting with, the linguistic behaviour itself. With such a view, politeness can only be judged relative to a particular context and a particular addressee’s expectations and concomitant interpretation.

Additionally, it would not make sense with such a view to assert as Holmes (1990:156) does that to apologize it to act politely. An apology, or any other supposedly polite speech act, may well be deemed inappropriate both by virtue of its ill-advised occurrence in a particular situation or the way it is carried out. This lead to an extension of Brown and Levinson’s concept of politeness in another sense as well, i.e. politeness is not simply a secondary act piggy-backed to another as in Brown and Levinson’s framework. An apology, for example, may itself constitute the primary act.

Politeness can be said to be universal only in the sense that every society has some sort of norms for appropriate behaviour although these norms will vary. This accounts both for society’s in which individual’s position within a group takes precedence as claimed for Japanese society (e.g. Matumoto, 1998; Ide, 1989) or for those in which the individual takes precedence.
3.6 A NEW LOOK AT REPAIR WORK

Figure 2: Model of Repair Work

According to Meier's (1995) view, repair work functions to remedy any damage incurred to an "actor S" image upon the establishment of a responsibility link between an actor and behaviour which fell below the standard expected relative to a particular reference group. This responsibility link allows for cases in which the actor takes responsibility for another's action (e.g. parents feel responsible for their children's behaviour.)

The damaged image, depicted in a shaded box in Figure 2 also effects a divergence of S's and H's worlds. It should be noted that in stark contrast to Brown and Levinson and those who incorporate their framework, Meier posits Repair Work to be an image-saving device as regards the speaker, making S's image the central figure.

Repair Work is thus an attempt to show that the Speaker is a good guy and can be relied upon in future to act predictably in accordance with the social norms of a particular reference group. Leech (1983:82) captures this quite succinctly: "unless you are polite to
your neighbour (sic)... you will no longer be able to borrow his mower”. By acting appropriately and contributing to a group’s underlying social harmony, the actor is accorded social value and consequently a certain amount of power.

The potential myriad ways to effect Repair Work are thus categorized according to their focus of function in bringing about the convergence between S and H. These have been grouped into three major categories (as depicted in Figure 2), branching off of Repair Work. The S → H type involves S seeing things H’s way, expressing appreciation for H’s feelings. Examples of this include the following: expressing empathy with H; expressing negative feelings; explicit statement of a bad performance. The second major strategy on the other hand, involves getting H to see things S’s way. Subsumed under this category are excuses, justifications, appeal to H’s understanding and so on.

The third category is depicted as S and H meeting halfway. In this case the focus is on absolution with an attempt to wipe the slate clean. Routine formulae as well as expressing a hope for a continuation of or a return to status quo are examples of this third category.

The model Meier (1995) has presented for Repair Work is located within a framework of social interaction, providing a basis upon which to functionally identify different ways of doing Repair Work. This is advantageous for the analysis of linguistic data investigating one language, or focussing on interlanguage.

Watts (1992) compares the 1702 definition of politeness with a selection of those offered in pragmalinguistic/sociolinguistic literature of the past fifteen years. Lakoff (1975:64) interprets politeness as those forms of behaviour which have been developed in societies in order to reduce friction in personal interaction. Whereas the 1702 definition referred specifically to English society, Lakoff’s definition indirectly claims universality. In doing so, however, the fundamentally egocentric aims of politeness, its subtle, premeditated application and the distinct possibility that it will be the verbal velvet to conceal the iron fist, are lost.

Leech (1983:104) defines politeness as those forms of behaviour which are aimed at the establishment and maintenance of comity i.e. the ability of participants in a socio-communicative interaction to engage in interaction in an atmosphere of relative harmony. The maxims which he suggests as part of a Politeness Principle to supplement Grice’s co-
operative Principe, *viz.* Tact, Generosity, Approbation, Modesty etc., may according to Watts derive from an essentially British attitude towards politeness such as is evident in the 1702 definition. What is lacking is, as in the case of Lakoff's definition, the basically egocentric nature of politeness behaviour. In addition, as Brown and Levinson (1987:4) point out, if we need to posit new maxims every time we wish to explain how it is that interaction has nevertheless been carried out in an atmosphere of relative harmony, we will simply end up with an infinite number of maxims, and the theory of politeness becomes vacuous.

Fraser and Nolen (1981:96) suggest that politeness is the result of a conversational contract entered into by the participants in an effort to maintain socio-communicative verbal interaction conflict-free. Politeness is then nothing but a set of constraints on verbal behaviour. As in the case of Leech's theory, it is unclear how many constraints we will have to posit since the nature of verbal interaction varies considerably with respect to the social setting, the participants, the goals of the interaction, the overall style of language to be employed etc. Once again the basically egocentric nature of politeness is listed in this type of definition and the term becomes vacuous.

In as much as they all agree that, whereas on the surface politeness may appear to fulfil altruistic goals, it is nevertheless a mask to conceal ego's true frame of mind, and according to Watts these modern definitions of the term do not differ from the eighteenth century definition. There is a clear difference, however, in the ends to which polite behaviour is put. For modern scholars the mask functions to avoid conflict, to tone down potential aggression, and to ensure that the interaction will be accomplished smoothly. For the cultivars of polite manners and good breeding in eighteenth century England, the masks served a more important function, *viz.* to enhance their own social standing and signal their membership in an elitist social class (Watts, 1992).

Watts (1992) mentions five important points which arise as a result of the crucial difference with regard to the ends to which politeness could be put in the modern and the eighteenth century interpretations of the term. These points are as follows:
(a) If within the framework linguistic politeness is claimed to be a universal of language usage, we must then conclude that all speech communities have linguistic ways and means at their disposal of masking less altruistic ends, i.e., of avoiding conflict and maintaining in a state of equilibrium the perceived fabric of interpersonal relationships. If, within the early eighteenth century framework, the same claim of universality is made, we are forced to the conclusion that all speech communities have at their disposal linguistic ways and means of enhancing ego's social standings, of signaling membership in a social elite, and stigmatizing and or persecuting non-members. Indeed, such linguistic ways and means may exist, but only on condition that the socio-cultural structure of the speech community rectifies them.

(b) Conflict avoidance and maintaining the fabric of interpersonal relationships among the participants in a verbal interaction may indeed involve the use of many linguistic forms associated with the eighteenth century concept of politeness. However, it is also true that the fabric of interpersonal relationships can equally well involve several other types of linguistic behaviour not normally covered by the term politeness, e.g. directly expressed orders, warnings, threats, teasing, insulting, making statements that are open to interpretation as bald, on-record face threats. Here again we need a term, which will cover the full range of linguistic behaviour, which is deemed to be socially and culturally appropriate in any given social activity.

(c) In the eighteenth century sense of the term, linguistic politeness is subject to changes in the overall structure of society through time. If the social constraints on politeness change, i.e. the features of that in-group which qualifies as the social elite of the age, so too will the forms of linguistic politeness. In this sense, rules of linguistic politeness are always regulative and ephemeral. They do not help to constitute the social group, but regulate membership to it and appropriate behaviour with it.

(d) The canon of politeness in the eighteenth century included ritualized forms of verbal behaviour, which are commonly interpreted as forms of linguistic politeness in modern theories, e.g., appropriate ways of carrying out certain types of speech act such as thanking, complimenting, apologizing, etc., appropriate speech events for initiating and closing an interaction (e.g. greeting, taking leave, closing a topic, etc) terms of address and appropriate ways of displaying deference towards the
addressee, etc. But the eighteenth century canon included a much wider variety of features, e.g. the appropriate choice of lexemes, socially acceptable topics for conversation, the relationship between talk and silence, between speaking and listening and so on.

(e) Modern research on linguistic politeness phenomena has been carried out within a Western European / North American cultural framework which reaches back to the eighteenth century paradigm at least with respect to its realizations and its masking function, although not with respect to its ends. Hence it has been mightily criticized for having a strong ethnocentric bias (cf. Ide, 1989; Matsumoto, 1989).

Watts (1992) conclusion from points (a) to (e) above is that we need to review our terminology and to introduce a more comprehensive notion from which politeness may be derived.

3.7 LINGUISTIC POLITENESS AND POLITIC VERBAL BEHAVIOUR

The type of politic behaviour revealed by the verbal interaction must be assessed in accordance with the following five factors:

(a) the type of social activity in which the participants to the interaction are engaged (e.g. setting, communicative ends, institutionalized social relationships between the participants, degree of ratified membership in a social group, the open and closed character of the interpersonal network developed through the interaction, etc.),

(b) the speech events engaged in within that activity;

(c) the degree to which the participants share a common set of cultural expectations with respect to the social activity and the speech events making up that activity;

(d) the degree to which the participants share a common set of assumptions with respect to the information state within which the strip of interaction is developed;

(e) the social distance and dominance relationships in force between the participants prior to the interaction.
Two forms of marked behaviour may now be posited, one leading to communicative breakdowns and the other to an enhancement of ego's standing with respect to alter.

The first type of behaviour is non-politic, Watts contends the second as "polite". Thus what counts as polite behaviour depends entirely on those features of the interaction which are socio-culturally marked by the speech community as being more than mere politic.

Under this interpretation many of the strategies of positive and negative politeness suggested by Brown and Levinson will be explicable as socio-culturally determined politic behaviour. Similarly, the use of terms of address, honorifics, ritualized expressions and speech events, indirect speech acts etc., all of which have been considered as examples of linguistic politeness, will only be interpretable as polite forms if they go beyond their normal usage as socio-culturally constrained forms of politic behaviour.

Hill et al (1986) use the Japanese term wakimae, wrongly translated as "discernment", to refer to the almost automatic observation of socially agreed-upon rules, which apply to both verbal and non-verbal behaviour into which Japanese children are socialized. Where no choice between the use or non-use of honorific exists for the Japanese native speaker, it would be more adequate to consider such grammaticalized forms as realizations of politic behaviour. Failure to use them appropriately will clearly lead to breakdowns in the interaction, i.e. non-politic behaviour, which are in themselves meaningful.

3.8 LINGUISTIC UNIVERSALS AND UNIVERSALS OF LANGUAGE USAGE

Within the field of theoretical linguistics two approaches have been made to the question of linguistic universals. The first of these can be seen in Greenberg (1963) and the second is contained in the whole of Chomsky's work and that of the generative linguistics who have adopted and developed Chomsky's views.

The Greenbergian approach consists in comparing and contrasting linguistic systems in an effort to discover what type of linguistic structure are in evidence in the world's languages and what types of structure we may expect to see in Language L given a certain configuration of structures which have already been ascertained. The Chomskyan approach need not be considered as irreconcilable with the typological approach, although many disciples of Chomsky have claimed this to be so. Chomsky considers his form of
generative linguistics to be an ongoing research project with the ultimate aim of reconstructing a Universal Grammar from which the grammar of all human languages may be derived.

Watts (1997) says we could interpret language usage to mean language in use or language used, which is not the same as equating it with performance. Whereas performance entails the performer so that the search for universals involves us in psycholinguistic research, language in use would seem to refer to the structure of language in a corpus of data and variations in that structure. Its study would thus belong to the domain of pragmatics and sociolinguistics.

A further interpretation of language usage and the one Watts believe to be Brown and Levinson's, is the use to which speakers, members of a socio-culturally defined group put language, i.e. the symbolic value that both linguistic structures and also types of act carried out through language have in the culture concerned.

To show that this is Brown and Levinson's interpretation of universals of language usage, Watts (1992) concentrates on the remarks that they make in their introduction to the new edition of their seminal monograph (Brown and Levinson, 1987:45-47) on the possibility of setting up a theory of a universal symbolism of exchange. They suggest that the interpersonal rituals involving the exchange of goods are founded in the familial, or kinship domain. The more sacred, i.e. symbolically charged, the goods are, the more elaborate these rituals will be, and the most sacred thing that can be exchanged is the social person.

If we now assume that in exchanging social persons, i.e., in engaging in social interaction, which in a very large number of cases will involve engaging in speech events, the individual is concerned with the projection of self, then there will be a potentially endless number of ways in which the sacred nature of the social person can be symbolized, one of the most obvious being either in the forms of language used in speech events, or in the ways in which those speech events are negotiated.

Watts suggests that, if it can be shown that certain types of linguistic form exist in all languages, and across all cultures to symbolize the sacred nature of the social person, then we are involved in setting up typological universals of language usage. The linguistic forms themselves may be grammaticalised or lexicalised as honorific bound forms of
address (e.g., within the pronominal and verbal system), etc., or formulaic forms (e.g. free forms of address such as kinship terms, titles, names, terms of endearment, etc.) and structures to carry out specific types of ritualized speech act such as thanking, greeting, etc. Such structures have often been said to reveal politeness, and in as much as they are across the board phenomena, we are justified in considering the linguistic realization of politeness as one type of universal within language usage.

If, on the other hand, it can be shown that the structure of verbal interaction is equivalent to negotiating ways in which the sacred nature of each individual social person can be projected whilst preserving the coherence and equilibrium of the social group, then the search for universals of language usage will be at a deeper level and will consist in determining the underlying nature of intimate stuff and its interaction with notions of social distance and dominance in the culture being investigated.

Brown and Levinson's way of considering politeness is more compatible with the underlying principles approach to universals of language usage than the typological approach. Their notion of face is clearly equivalent to the sacred nature of the social person and although some of the linguistic means for carrying out strategies of positive and negative politeness are grammaticalized, the great majority are techniques for carrying out potentially face-threatening acts indirectly, expressing solidarity with the hearer, bolstering up the latter's positive face when carrying out an act which threatens his negative face etc. The linguistic means for negotiating the interaction along these lines are very varied even within one speech community.

For this reason the notion of politic behaviour has been suggested to account for the insight that all verbal interaction involves the negotiation of the coherence and equilibrium of the social group, within which the sacred nature of the social person can be projected. When politic behaviour is governed more by social distance and dominance than by the exchange of intimate stuff, grammaticalized honorifics and address forms, formulaic expressions, ritualized and semi-ritualized indirect speech acts, conventionalized means of face-threat minimization and maximization of the addressee's positive face, solidarity display, etc., will be explicit in language usage.
3.9 TERMS OF ADDRESS AS REALIZATIONS OF POLITIC BEHAVIOUR AND POLITENESS

Brown and Levinson (1987:45) point out that both bound pronominal terms of address and free forms (e.g. titles, names, terms of endearment, etc.) are linguistic realizations of intimate and non-intimate stuff which depend crucially on underlying configurations of social distance and dominance. Those forms, bound or free, which are considered non-intimate are then classified as polite, politeness thus being the means by which the socio-cultural constraints on the exchange of social persons or face, in interpersonal interaction can be signaled.

Deducing from Watts' analysis, it is clear that the definition of linguistic politeness he offers sees it as a marked extension or enhancement of politic verbal behaviour, as a conscious choice of linguistic forms, which in accordance with the dictates of time and fashion, are conventionally understood to be an attempt on the part of ego to enhance his standing with respect to alter. It is thus not deviant behaviour, it is not in other words non-politic. However, it is certainly marked, and its functions may easily be non-altruistic and clearly egocentric.

3.10 POLITENESS STRATEGIES

3.10.1 Standard uses of Bald on Record where other demands override face concerns

3.10.1.1 Urgency or despair (Imperatives)

There are circumstances where there is no need at all to be polite when confronted with a certain situation, no matter whether the person addressed is old, powerful, or a respected member of a society. This is done using an imperative for example:

(a) Phumani kuyatsha!
    Everybody out, there is fire!

This is the situation when the house is on fire.
(b) **Bambani apho!**  
After him!

When one is chasing a thief and he wants other people to help him.

3.10.1.2 **Speaker is not interested in hearer's face**

Sometimes a speaker doesn’t care whether what he says satisfies the hearer or not, for example:

(a) **Speaker is powerful (Imperative):** Powerful people, like businessmen, teachers, older members of society, have a tendency of using imperatives when talking to others for example:

(i) **Bhala ngoonobumba abakuhlu.**  
Write in capital letters.

This is what the teacher says to his students.

(ii) **Thatha itshintshi.**  
Keep the change.

When you want somebody to keep the change after you have sent him to the shop.

(b) **Speaker does not care about face (potential):** In this situation the speaker can be old or young. This is done by the use of potential –**nga**, as in the following examples:

(i) **Ungathatha izinto zakho.**  
You can take your things.

Here the speaker doesn't care whether someone takes his things.
(ii) Ungaxela.
You can report.

The speaker doesn’t care whether one can report.

3.10.1.3 Face-threatening Act (FTA) is in interest of hearer

In doing the Face-threatening Act, the speaker conveys that he takes care of the hearer.
In this regard, no redress is required. This is found in:

(a) **Warnings**: (negative imperatives)

(i) **Umlumkele akananyani**.
You must be careful of him, he is a liar.

Warning somebody against someone who could be dangerous.

(ii) **Ungathethi namntu**.
Don’t talk to anybody.

Warning somebody that he should not talk to strangers.

(b) **Warnings**: (statements)

(i) **Isipaji sakho sivelile**.
Your wallet is showing.

Warning somebody about his wallet that could be lost.

(ii) **Ivili lakho lihlile**.
Your wheel has a puncture.

Warning somebody about his wheel that has a puncture and about the danger that might happen because of this.
(c) **Advice:** (positive and negative imperative)

There is no redress that is required here, for example:

(i) **Ungabi naxhala.**

Don't worry.

When you comfort somebody not to worry.

(ii) **Thuthuzeleka.**

Don't cry.

This is done when comforting somebody so they will not feel sad.

(d) **Permission:** (potential –nga)

Granting permission for something that the hearer has requested may be baldly on record. In Xhosa this is done by using a potential –nga:

(i) **Ungahlawula ngetsheki.**

You can pay using a cheque.

When you give a customer a permission to pay using a cheque.

(ii) **Ungahamba.**

You can go.

When you give somebody permission to go.

(e) **Farewell** (subjective / imperative)

Farewell formulae may also be non-redressed. This is done through the use of subjunctive and imperative, like in the following examples:
(i) **Ube neholide emnandi!**
May you have a nice holiday!

When wishing someone a nice holiday.

(ii) **Hamba kakuhle!**
Go well!

When you wish someone a nice journey.

### 3.10.2 Bald on Record oriented to Face-threatening Act

#### 3.10.2.1 Welcoming (imperative, potential –nga)

This is the situation where the speaker insists that the hearer may impose on his negative face, for example:

(i) **Ngena kweli cala.**
Come this side.

When you tell a visitor which side to use when entering your place.

(ii) **Ungangena.**
You can come in.

When you tell somebody that he can come in.

#### 3.10.2.2 Farewell (imperative)

This happens where the speaker insists that the hearer may transgress on his positive face by taking his leave. It is done through the use of an imperative for example:
(i) *Sala kakhule.*

Stay well.

When you wish somebody to stay well.

(ii) *Hamba kakhule.*

Go well.

When you wish somebody to go well.

3.10.2.3 Offers (questions, imperatives, future tense)

This is where the speaker insists that the hearer may impose on the speaker's negative face. The face-threatening act here uses questions, imperatives, potential *–nga* and the future tense, for example:

(i) *Kunjani ngesiselo?*

How about a drink?

When you offer somebody something to drink.

(ii) *Rhabula.*

Drink.

When you offer somebody a sip.

(iii) *Ndiza kuthengela itikiti.*

I'll buy you a ticket.

When you offer to buy someone a ticket.

(iv) *Ungeza wedwa.*

You can come alone.

When you offer to include somebody even if he is alone.
3.11 POSITIVE POLITENESS

3.11.1 Claim common ground

3.11.1.1 Tell the hearer he is admiring and interesting

*Notice and attend to the hearer’s interests, wants, needs and goods:* Here it is suggested that the speaker should take notice of the aspects of the hearer’s condition, that is, noticeable changes, remarkable possessions, anything which looks as though the hearer would want the speaker to notice and approve of it, for example:

(a) Comment and praise

(i) *Kudala usebenza apha, kunjani ngento etyiwayo?*
    
    You’re been working here for a long time, how about something to eat?

This is a situation when you want someone to have something to eat.

(ii) *Inokuba udiniwe ngoku kuba kudala umi ngeenyawo kunjani ngendawo yokuhlala?*
    
    You must be tired now because you’re been standing for a long time. How about a chair?

When you offer a place to sit down.

(b) Ask a question about it

(i) *Mahle la mathayara ale moto yakho. Ubuwafumana phi?*
    
    Your car has beautiful tyres. Where did you get them?

When you want to know more about the tyres.

(ii) *Ndiyayithanda le jezi yakho. Uyithenge phi?*
    
    I like your jersey. Where did you buy it?

When you want to know about the shop.
Exaggerate interest, approval or sympathy with the hearer
This is often done with exaggerated intonation, stress, and other aspects of prosodies, as well as with intensifying modifiers.

(a) **Negative for positive exaggeration**

(i) *Abayithandi abantu le moto.*
The way people love this car.

This is a situation when people show an interest in a certain type of car.

(ii) *Andizanga ndiyibone indlu entle ukogqitha le yakho.*
I never saw a house as beautiful as the one you have.

When you show an interest in one’s house.

(b) **Emphatic absolute pronoun**

(i) *Oyena mntu unemoto entle nguwe lo.*
You are the person who owns the beautiful car.

When you show an approval of one’s car.

(ii) *Abona bantwana bacula kakuhle ngabesikolo sakho.*
The children who sing well are the ones from your school.

When you show an interest in someone’s school as well as the approval of their music.

**Intensify interest to the hearer**

Intensifying the speaker’s own contributions to the conversation by, for instance, making a good story, is another way for the speaker to communicate to the hearer that he shares some of his wants. This may be done by using:
(a) **Statement which increases the hearer’s interest, i.e. mostly about hearer**

This is a common feature of positive politeness conversations, as it pulls the hearer right into the middle of the events being discussed metaphorically at any rate, thereby increasing their intrinsic interest to him:

(i) *Ndithi ndisahleli njalo, ndive isikhalo, ndithi xa ndikrobayo kanti nguye.*
   When I’m sitting, I hear screaming, then I look only to find out it’s her.

This is a situation when you want to give an explanation of who was causing a noise.

(ii) *Ndiyazibona ezaa moto bendingayazi ukuba enye yazo ibiyeyakho.*
   I saw those cars. I didn’t know that one of them was yours.

When you want to talk about the cars that you saw.

(b) **Directly quoted speech**

The use of directly quoted speech rather than indirect reported speech is another feature of this strategy. For example:

*Umphathiswa wezothutho uthe “Lowo ufunyenwe eqhuba ephantsi kweempembelelo zotywala uya kufumana isohlwayo esiqatha”.*
   The minister of transport said: “Anyone who is found driving under the influence of alcohol is going to receive a heavy punishment”.

(c) **Tag questions**

Another feature of this strategy is the use of tag questions or expressions. These are used to draw the hearer as a participant into the conversation.

(i) *Uyayazi?*
   You know?
(ii) **Uyeva?**
Do you hear?

(d) **Exaggerate facts**

This is a related technique.

(i) **Ndiyafa yindlala.**
I’m dying of hunger.

When you want to describe how hungry you are

(ii) **Ndifike esitya intaba yomngqusho.**
I arrived when he was eating a mountain of mealies.

When you want to describe the quantity of food someone was eating.

3.11.1.2 **Claim in-group membership with the hearer**

Using in-group identity markers

By using any of the innumerable ways to convey in-group membership, the speaker can implicitly claim common ground with the hearer that is carried by that definition of the group. These include:

(a) **Honorific address forms**

In many languages (for reasons discussed below) the second person plural pronoun of address doubles as an honorific form to singular respected or distant alters. Such usages are called T/V systems, after the French **tu** and **vous** (see Brown and Gilman, 1960). In such languages, the use of a T (singular non-honorific pronoun) to a non-familiar alter can claim solidarity.
Generic names and terms of address
These are the other address forms that are used to convey such in-group membership:

(i) **Mama**
    Mom

    When you are speaking to the mother.

(ii) **Malume**
    Uncle

    When you are speaking to the uncle

Diminutives and endearments
These have a similar function of claiming in-group solidarity. When they are used:

(a) Such forms may be used to soften Face-threatening Acts:

(i) **Yima kweli cala sisana.**
    Stand this side, little sister.

    When you give directions.

(ii) **Ndingakunceda bhutana?**
    Can I help you, little brother?

    When you want to offer some assistance.

(b) Using such in-group kinds of address forms with imperatives as in:

(i) **Phendula ifowuni sana.**
    Answer the phone, kid.

    When you want a child to answer the phone.
(ii) Hlamba le hempe yam sthandwa.
Wash my shirt, sweetheart.

When you want your partner to do something for you.

It indicates that the speaker considers the relative power (power, status difference) between himself and the addressee to be small, thus softening the imperative by indicating that this is not a power-backed command.

(c) In-group language dialect or slang

The phenomenon of code switching involves any switch from one language or dialect to another in communities where the linguistic repertoire includes two or more such codes. In some cases, situations of diglossia (Ferguson, 1964), the switch is between two varieties or dialects of a language, one of which is considered high and prestigious and the other low and domestic. Other cases simply involve switching from one language to another, in bilingual or multilingual communities.

In situations where code switching occurs, we may expect a switch into the code associated with in-group and domestic values to be a potential way of encoding positive politeness when redress is required by a face-threatening situation (a resource nicely paralleled by a switch from the V to the T pronoun in languages with T/V systems).

On the other hand, switches into a code associated with external relations may, amongst other things, signal a face-threatening act accompanied with negative politeness, or it may simply signal a withdrawal of positive politeness and its associated emotional support.


This is a situation where people were promised to be well paid after a completion of a project. Now they are voicing their anger and dissatisfaction.
Use of jargon or slang
Related to the use of an in-group language or dialect is the use of in-group terminology. By referring to an object with a slang term, the speaker may evoke all the shared associations and attitudes that he and the hearer have toward that object, this then may be used as a face-threatening act redress. For example, use of brand names in a request may stress that the speaker and hearer share an (in-group) reliance on the required object:

(i) Andiyincanywa le nto.
I don’t like this thing.

This is a situation where there is something you don’t want.

(ii) Zwakala kweli cala.
Come this side.

When you call somebody to your side.

(d) Contraction and ellipsis

Because of the reliance on shared mutual knowledge to make ellipsis comprehensible, there is an inevitable association between the use of ellipsis and the existence of in-group shared knowledge. For example, in order for the utterance of “Nails” to be interpretable, the speaker hearer must share some knowledge about the context that makes the utterance understandable (for example the speaker and hearer are co-operating in building a house and the speaker has the hammer in hand). It is perhaps for this reason that the use of ellipsis and contraction is associated with positive politeness, and therefore the presence of ellipsis may mark an utterance as being positively polite. Even the use of conventionally indirect requests, normally a feature of negative politeness, if marked by ellipsis crosses over into positive politeness:

(i) Awuyi ngaphaya?
Are you not going that direction?

When somebody is driving a car and you want a lift to a certain destination
(ii) Kunjani ngento eselwayo?
How about something to drink?

A situation when you want to have something to drink

3.11.1.3 Claim common point of view, opinion, knowledge

Seek Agreement

Safe topics

Another characteristic way of claiming common ground with the hearer is to seek ways in which it is possible to agree with him. The raising of safe topics allows the speaker to stress his agreement with the hearer and therefore to satisfy the hearer's desire to be right, or to be corroborated in his opinions. The weather is a safe topic for virtually everyone, as is the beauty of gardens, the incompetence of bureaucracies, and the irritations of having to wait in line. The more the speaker knows about the hearer, the more close to home will be the safe topics he can prove with the hearer. And in many cultures, the face-threatening act of making a request is normally preceded by an interim of small talk on safe topics (it is usually crops, or weather, or illness, or current local happenings), as a way of reassuring the hearer that you didn't come simply to exploit him by making a request, but have an interest in general in maintaining a relationship with him. Another aspect of seeking agreement involves looking for those aspects of topics on which it is possible to agree and sticking to them. For example, if your neighbour comes home with a new car and you think it hideously large and polluting, you might still be able to say sincerely: “Isn't your new car a beautiful colour?”

(i) Uyivile into yokuba uMphathiswa wezindlu uza kufika phaya eholweni ngolwesithathu? Loo nto ndiza kuya mna, ndifuna ukuzivela ngokwam. Ndidicela undinike ipayinti yobisi ndilibele ngokuya bendisevrenkileni
Did you hear that the Minister of Housing is going to be at the local hall on Wednesday? I am going to be there, I want to hear for myself. I would like you to give me a pint of milk, I forgot it whilst I was at the shop.

It is cold these days. One cannot be certain what the weather is going to be like. I would like to borrow a rake because I want to clean my garden.

Repeat statements of the hearer

Agreement may also be stressed by repeating part or all of what the preceding speaker has said in a conversation. In addition to demonstrating that one has heard correctly what was said, repeating is used to stress emotional agreement with the utterance (or to stress interest and surprise). For example:

(a) **USipho ufumene ibhasari.**
    Sipho got a bursary.

(b) **He! USipho ufumene ibhasari!**
    Sipho got a bursary!

This may be highly conventionalized so that for example, if it is possible to answer a question by repeating part of it, rather than simply “yes” or “no”, the answer will repeat:

(a) **Uza konzakala lo mntwana akeva.**
    This child is going to get hurt, she is silly.

(b) **Akeva.**
    She is silly.

3.11.1.4 **Avoid Disagreement**

Token Agreement

The desire to agree with the hearer leads to mechanisms for pretending to agree, instances of “token” agreement. Sacks (1973) has collected numerous examples in English of the remarkable degree to which speakers may go in twisting their utterances so as to appear to agree or to hide disagreement – to respond to a preceding utterance with “Yes, but...” in effect rather than a blatant “No”. To draw on Sacks’s (1973) American
data, the “Rule of Agreement” yields examples like the following (where B is a response to A, in each case):

A: **Kulapho uhlala khona, eKomani?**
   Is it where you stay, at Queenstown?

B: **Kulapho ndazalelwa khona**
   That’s where I was born.

A: **Iyavakala into endiyithethayo?**
   Do you get what I mean?

B: **Kancinci.**
   A little bit.

**Rule of Contiguity**

A parallel study is involved in the “Rule of Contiguity” (Sacks, 1973), which states that answers should follow questions but are displaced to soften agreement, as in the following:

A: **Imshiye enendawo eyonakeleyo esisigxina, ndicinga njalo.**
   It has left him with a permanently damaged part, I believe.

B: **Eh, kodwa usenethemba.**
   Eh! But he still has hope.

**Pseudo-agreement**

Another example of apparent or pseudo-agreement is found in English in the use as a conclusory marker, an indication that the speaker is drawing a conclusion to a line of reasoning carried out co-operatively with the addressee. This may refer to a genuine prior agreement. English **so** works in a similar way. But **then** and **so** are often used where there is in fact no prior agreement, by pointing to a fake prior agreement they call upon the co-operative agreement associations. Unfortunately, this is not applicable in Xhosa.
Hedging opinions
Alternatively, the speaker may choose to be vague about his own opinions, so as not to be seen to disagree. We have seen that one positive politeness output leads the speaker to exaggerate, and this is often manifested by choosing words at the extremes of the relevant value scale. Thus words like the following may abound in positively polite talk:

| Iyamangalisa | Iyakhwanqisa |
| Ayiqhelekanga | Iyoyikeka |
| Mangalisa | Ihlazo |

as well as intensifying modifiers such as ngokupheleleyo, ngokuggibeleleyo and the like. Using such extremes to characterize one’s opinions is risky, in the light of the desire to agree – that is, risky unless the speaker is certain of the hearer’s opinion on the subject.

3.11.1.4 Presuppose, raise or assert common ground

(a) Gossip, small talk
The value of the speaker’s spending time and effort on being with the hearer, as a mark of friendship or interest in him, gives rise to the strategy of redressing a face-threatening act by talking for a while about unrelated topics. The speaker can thereby stress his general interest in the hearer and indicate that he hasn’t come to see the hearer simply to do the face-threatening act (e.g. a request), even though his intent to do it may be made obvious by his having brought a gift.

(b) Shift deictic centrings: person, time, place
Nearly all sentences in natural languages encode point of view by means of deictic. Deictic has to do with the way in which sentences are anchored to certain aspects of their contexts of utterance, including the role of participants in the speech event and their spatio-temporal and social location. For example, the pronoun “I” normally refers to the participant who has the role of speaker, while “now” refers to a time that includes the time of utterance, and “there” refers to a place more distant from the speaker than that indicated by “here” and so on.

Fillmore (1971b, 1974, 1975) has developed a set of distinctions that characterize the ways in which sentences are deictically anchored in this way, and we rely heavily on his
suggestions throughout this section. It seems a safe hypothesis that the normal unmarked
deictic centre is the one where the speaker is the central person, the time of speaking (or
coding time) is the central time, and the place where the speaker is at coding time is the
coding place. Thus the sentence “John came to London” encodes that John’s motion was
towards the speaker, as indicated by the verb “to come” and that the event took place prior
to the time of speaking, as indicated by the past tense. That is to say, temporal and
spatial descriptions are here understood relative to the time and place of speaking, the
central reference point, from which all other usage’s are departures, which take their
meaning, by reference to this basic anchorage point.

However, the fact is that many utterances have deictic centering that is not this one. We
call such departures point-of-view operations, since what they achieve are things like
these: the speaker speaks as if coding time (i.e. the central time) were located in a past
event, or the speaker speaks as if the central person were the hearer. Such operations or
metaphors serve many purposes — stylistic, as in the “vivid present”, conceptual, as in the
hedge on certainty in sentences like “That rustling will be a chipmunk” (cf. R. Lakoff, 1970).

They also perform basic politeness functions (as Fillmore, 1971b predicted) especially by
switching to the addressee’s point of view. Thus Fillmore (1975) notes that in a Mexican
Indian language, when being differential, instead of the normal “I am here, you are there”,
or one says “I am there, you are here”. In other words, “here” now means the place where
the addressee is. Such methods of “taking the role of the other” are basic politeness
phenomena.

(c) Presuppose
The word “presuppose” is used loosely in this sense: the speaker presupposes something
when he presumes that it is mutually taken for granted. The manipulation of such
presuppositions where something is not really mutually assumed to be the case, but the
speaker speaks as if it were mutually assumed, can be turned to positive-face redress, as
illustrated in the following four sets of examples:
(i) Knowledge of the hearer’s wants (negative questions)

Negative questions, which presume “yes” as an answer, are widely used as a way to indicate that the speaker knows the hearer’s wants, tastes habits, etc, and thus partially redress the imposition of the face-threatening acts. For example:

(a) Awayifuni inyama eyojiweyo?
     Don’t you want a braai?

This is a situation when you offer somebody a meal.

(b) Awuyifuni into eselwayo?
     Don’t you want something to drink?

A situation when you offer somebody something to drink.

(ii) Your values are shared

The use of scalar predicates such as “tall” assumes that the speaker and the hearer share the criteria of placing people (or things) on this scale. As Lakoff (1972) points out, a man is part of a set of “tall men”: according to his degree of tallness, which depends on his height relative to other men to whom he is compared. Even more relative are value judgements on scales like good – bad, beautiful – ugly, interesting – boring, not only is the mapping of the criterion on the predicate contextually relative, but the criteria themselves are relative.

Thus the preference of extremes on value scales that is a feature of positive politeness derives part of its impact from the tacit claim that the speaker and the hearer have the same values with respect to the relevant predicate, the same definition of what the scale is, of what constitutes beauty or goodness, e.g.:

(i) UJomo Sono ngoyena mdlali webhola uphambili, uyamkhumbula?
    Jomo Sono is the best soccer player, do you remember him?
This situation indicates that both the speaker and the hearer are followers of a soccer player.

(ii) **Usayikhumbula laa ntombazana yayiyeyona intle phaya esikolweni?**
Do you still remember that girl who was the most beautiful at school?

This situation indicates that both the speaker and the hearer attended the same school.

(iii) **Familiarity**

The use of familiar address forms like “honey” or “darling” presupposes (in some analyses, at any rate) that the addressee is familiar. The use of generic familiar address forms to strangers may therefore soften or redress the threat of face-threatening acts.

(iv) **Knowledge**

The use of the term presupposes (in some senses) that the referents are known to the addressee. Thus the use in group codes – language, dialect, jargon, local terminology – assumes that the hearer understands and shares the associations of that code. This assumption may be exploited as a positive-politeness device:

(i) **Kukho into eyenzekileyo izolo ngokuya bendibukele Ityala lamawele.**
Something happened yesterday when I was watching a programme “Ityala lamawele”

(ii) **UZoleka undiphe isipho esihle somhla wam wokuzalwa.**
Zoleka gave me a nice birthday present.

When the addressee doesn’t know that there is a TV programme called **Ityala lamawele** or that the speaker has a girlfriend called Zoleka, the speaker’s assumption that the hearer does know these things may operate as an expression of good intentions, indicating that the speaker and the hearer share common ground.
3.11.1.5 **Joke**

Since jokes are based on mutual shared background knowledge and values, jokes may be used to stress that shared background or those shared values. Joking is a basic positive-politeness technique, for putting the hearer at "ease" – for example in response to a mistake of the hearer’s, the speaker may joke. Or a joke may minimize the face-threatening act of requesting, as in:

(i) **Kunjani undiboleke lo sgoloza wakho?**
How about lending me this old car of yours?

This is a situation where both the speaker and the hearer understand that the hearer’s car is very old and is travelling slowly.

3.11.2 **Convey that the speaker and hearer are co-operators**

This is a class of positive-politeness strategies that derives from the want to convey that the speaker and the addressee is co-operatively involved in the relevant activity. If the speaker and hearer are co-operating, then they share goals in some domain and thus to convey that they are co-operators, can serve to redress the hearer’s positive face want.

This co-operation may be stressed by the speaker’s indicating his knowledge of and sensitivity to the hearer’s wants. It may be done by claiming some kind of reflexivity between the speaker’s and hearer’s wants – either that the speaker wants what the hearer wants for the hearer, or (by a point of view flip) that the hearer wants what the speaker wants for himself. Thirdly, the speaker may convey his cooperation with the hearer by indicating that he believes reciprocity to be prevailing between the hearer and himself, that they are somehow locked into a state of mutual helping.

3.11.2.1 **Assert or presuppose the speaker’s knowledge of and concern for the hearer’s wants**

One way of indicating that the speaker and hearer are cooperators, and thus potentially to put pressure on the hearer to cooperate with the speaker, is to assert or impart knowledge
of the hearer's wants and willingness to fit one's own wants in with them. The negative questions discussed above may sometimes function in this way as may utterances like the following:

(i) **Ndiyayiqonda into yokuba uza kubhala iimviwo, awunakundiboleka le ncwadi?**
   I understand that you are going to write examinations, can't you lend me this book?

   This situation is a request to borrow one's book.

(ii) **Ndiyayazi ukuba awuzithandi iiteksi, kodwa le ikhuselekile - yiza masikhwele.**
   I know that you don't like the taxis, but this one is safe – come let's have a ride.

   This is an offer to have a ride.

(iii) **Ndiyayazi ukuba unxiba usayizi-34, kodwa bebengekho, ngako oko ndikuphethele usayizi-36.**
   I know that you wear size 34, but there was none, therefore I've brought you size –36.

   This situation functions as an offer as well as an apology for doing what the speaker has done.

3.11.2.2 **Offer, Promise**

In order to redress the potential threat of some face-threatening acts, the speaker may choose to stress his cooperation with the hearer in another way. He may, that is, claim that (within a certain sphere of relevance) whatever the hearer wants, the speaker wants for him and will help to obtain. Offers and promises are the natural outcome of choosing this strategy; even if they are false, they demonstrate the speaker's good intentions in satisfying the hearer's positive-face wants.
(i) **Ndiza kukupathela into emnandi xa ndivela edolophini.**
   I'll bring you something nice when I come back from town.

   This is a situation where one is making a promise.

(ii) **Fumana nantsi indawo yokuhlala.**
   Have a seat here.

   A situation where one is making an offer.

3.11.2.3 **Be optimistic**

The other side of the coin, the point-of-view flip that is associated with the cooperative strategy, is for the speaker to assume that the hearer wants the speaker’s wants and will help him to obtain them. That is, for the speaker to be presumptuous as to assume the hearer will cooperate with him may carry a tacit commitment for the speaker to cooperate with the hearer as well, or at least a tacit claim that the hearer will cooperate with the speaker because it will be in their mutual shared interest. An utterance like the following makes such a claim.

(i) **Khawume kancinci, awukazikami iinwele zakho.**
   Wait for a moment, you have not combed your hair.

   The wife wants the husband to brush his hair before appearing in public; by expressing this want in terms that assume the hearer wants it too (even though he may well not care), she puts pressure on him to cooperate with her wants.

   Presumptuous or optimistic expressions of the face-threatening acts are one outcome of this strategy (and constitute perhaps the most dramatic difference between positive-politeness and negative-politeness ways of doing face-threatening acts) for example:

(i) **Jonga, ndiqinisekile ukuba awunangxaki xa ndiboleka le ncwadi yokho.**
   Look, I’m certain that you won’t have a problem if I borrow your book.
(ii) **Ndiza kuzinceda ngento eselwayo, enkosi.**
I’m going to help myself with a cool drink, thank you.

Such optimistic expressions of face-threatening acts seem to work by minimizing the size of the face threat — $W_x$ — implying that it’s nothing to ask (or offer, etc.) so that the cooperation between the speaker and the hearer means that such small things can be taken for granted.

3.11.2.4 Include both the speaker and hearer in the activity

By using an inclusive **si** (we) form, when the speaker really means “you” or “me” he can call upon the cooperative assumptions and thereby redress the face-threatening acts.

(i) **Sidiniwe kudala sihamba.**
We are tired, we’ve been walking for a long time.

This is a situation where both the speaker and hearer have been walking for a long time.

(ii) **Masifumane indawo yokuhlala.**
Let us sit for a while.

A situation where a speaker and hearer are tired.

3.11.2.5 Give or ask for reasons

Another aspect of including the hearer in the activity is for the speaker to give reasons as to why he wants what he wants. By including the hearer thus in his political reasoning and assuming flexibility (the hearer wants what the speaker wants), the hearer is thereby led to see the reasonableness of the speaker’s face-threatening acts. In other words, giving reasons is a way of implying “I can help you” or “you can help me” and assuming cooperation in a way of showing what help is needed.
This fact leads to pressure to go off record, to test the hearer to see if he is cooperative, if he is likely to be, the context may be enough to push the off-record reason into an on-record request or offer. Thus indirect suggestions which demand rather than give reasons are conventionalized positive-politeness form.

(i)  **Kutheni ungandiboleki imoto yakho usuku lube lunye?**  
Why don’t you lend me your car for one day?

This is a situation where someone is asking for reasons as to why he is not lending a car.

(ii) **Singahambi sobabini nje xa sisiya edolphini?**  
Why don’t we go together when we go to town?

A situation where someone wants to know the reasons as to why they do not go together to town.

These work by demanding reasons “why not”, and assuming (via optimism) that if there are no good reasons why the hearer should not or can not cooperate, he will. Similarly, for past actions if the hearer is asked to give reasons why he did or did not do something, and he has no good reasons, the face-threatening act of criticizing may thereby be accomplished:

(i)  **Kutheni unganxibanga impahla yesikolo?**  
Why you did not wear a school uniform?

This is a situation where someone was supposed to wear a school uniform.

(ii) **Kutheni ungayanga esikolweni?**  
Why didn’t you go to school?

A situation where someone was supposed to go to school.
3.11.2.6 Assume or assert reciprocity

The existence of cooperation between the speaker and hearer may also be claimed or urged by giving evidence of reciprocal rights or obligations obtaining between the speaker and hearer. Thus the speaker may say, in effect:

(i)  
Ndiza kuhlamba le moto yakho ukuba undithengela icuba.
I will wash your car if you buy me cigarettes.

(ii)  
Bendikukhwelise emotweni yam kwiveki ephelileyo, ngako oko ndikhwelise kweyakho kule veki.
I gave you a lift in my car last week, therefore give me a lift in your car this week.

By pointing the reciprocal right (or habit) of doing face-threatening acts to each other, the speaker may soften his face-threatening act by negating the debt aspect and/or the face-threatening aspect of speech acts such as criticisms and complaints.

3.11.3 Fulfill the want of the hearer

This positive-politeness strategy involves the speaker deciding to redress the hearer's face directly by fulfilling some of the hearer's wants, thereby indicating that the speaker wants the hearer's wants for hearer, in some particular respects.

3.11.3.1 Give gift goods, sympathy, understanding cooperation

The speaker may satisfy the hearer's positive face want (that the speaker wants hearer's wants, to some degree) by actually satisfying some of the hearer's wants. Hence we have a classic positive-politeness action of gift-giving, not only tangible gifts (which demonstrates that the speaker knows some of the hearer's wants and wants them to be fulfilled), but human relation wants such as those illustrated in many of the outputs considered above - the wants to be liked, admired, cared about, understood, listened to, etc.
3.12 NEGATIVE POLITENESS

Strategy 1: Be conventionally indirect

In this strategy a speaker is faced with opposing tensions: the desire to give the hearer an "act" by being indirect and the desire to go on record. In this case the compromise of conventional indirectness, the use of phrases and sentences that have contextually unambiguous meanings (by virtue of conventionalization) which are different from their literal meanings solve it. In this way the utterance goes on record, and the speaker indicates his desire to have gone off record (to have carried the same thing indirectly). Conventional indirectness encodes the clash of wants, and so partially achieves them both. Note that there are degrees of conventionalization and so degrees of compromise in one direction (off-recordness) or the other (on-recordness).

Indirect speech acts: felicity conditions

Indirect speech acts are certainly the most significant form of conventional indirectness and have received a good deal of attention from linguists. First, let us indicate what indirect speech acts are.

It has been claimed that the kinds of things that can be done by means of utterances are strictly limited (Searle, 1976) and that sentences carry in their structure indications of their paradigmatic use or illocutionary force. Thus syntactic questions are paradigmatically used to request information, assertions to make statements of fact, imperatives to command and so on. However, it is clear that such paradigmatic or direct uses are not the only ones: rhetorical questions can be used to make assertions, imperatives to make offers, assertions to command. Such other cases constitute the problem of indirect speech acts, or conveyed illocutionary force.

Gordon and Lakoff (1971) drew attention to a systematic way of making indirect speech acts in English: by stating or questioning a felicity condition. A felicity condition is one of the real-world conditions that must be met by aspects of the communicative event in order for a particular speech act to come off as intended. For instance, for a request to be felicitous (successful), the addressee must be thought potentially able to comply with the request, the requestor must want the thing requested, and so on. It is clearly infelicitous
for me to ask you to shut the door if you are crippled, if the door is already shut or is about to shut itself, or if I don't care the slightest bit anyway.

Now, what Gordon and Lakoff noticed was that by questioning whether you can shut the door or by asserting that I want you to shut it, and so on, one can construct readily understandable speech acts. In many contexts these are conventionalized to the extent that there can be no doubt about what is meant - that is, they are on-record expression, for example:

**Question**

(a) Ungayidlulisa ityuwa?
   Can you pass me the salt?

**Assertion**

(a) Unokuyidlulisa ityuwa.
   You can pass the salt.

**Question**

(a) Usengaba udlulisa ityuwa?
   Could you possibly pass the salt?

**Assertion**

(a) Usenokuba uyidlulisa ityuwa.
   You could pass the salt.

**Strategy 2: Question, hedge**

In the literature, a "hedge" is a particle, word, or phrase, that modifies the degree of membership of a predicate or a noun phrase in a set; it says of that membership that it is partial, or true only in certain respects, and that it is more complete than perhaps might be expected (note that this latter sense is an extension of the colloquial sense of "hedge").
Hedges on illocutionary force

It is performative hedges in particular that are the most important linguistic means of satisfying the speaker's want, *Don't assume H is able/willing to do A (and to some extent the want to make minimal assumptions about H's wants)*. Such hedges may be analyzed as adverbs on (often deleted) performative verbs that represent the illocutionary force of the sentence (see for example, Davison, 1973, 1975 and for discussion Corum 1974, Fraser, 1975).

Hedges on encoded particles

In some languages there are particles which encode such hedges in linguistic structure. They often constitute among the most commonly used words in a language, but are typically omitted from dictionaries and given little theoretical attention.

(a) **Clausal adverbs: strengthening**

These are the adverbs that mainly act as emphatic hedges, exactly or precisely or emphatically.

(i) *(Azi)* iyozala nkomoni na.

* I wonder what will be the outcome.

When one wants to know the outcome of a particular situation.

(ii) **Ndifuna usebenze (ngaphezu koko) ndifuna uze nemali.**

* I want you to work, moreover I want you to bring money.

When you expect more than someone can do.

(b) **Clauses: weakening**

These soften what they modify.
(i) (Kulungile), ndiza kushiyeka.
All right, I'll remain behind.

Kulungile (all right) is a concession with a finalizing note that seems to soften demands in casual speech.

(ii) (Kuthiwa) wena ubunxilile izolo.
It is said you were drunk yesterday.

In this situation the speaker avoids responsibility for believing in the truth of the utterance.

(c) Adverbial clauses

There are numerous expressions that hedge illocutionary force:

(i) Siza kufumana uchatha emvuzweni, (ngoio hlobo)
We are going to get a wage increment, in a way.

This is a situation where workers want to get an increment in their wages.

(ii) Imoto yakhe yeyona intle, (ngenene.)
His car is the most beautiful, in a way.

This is a situation where there is a debate over whose car is the most beautiful.

"If" clauses are another very productive source. Heringer (1972) noted that felicity conditions may be suspended by putting them in "if" clauses (excluding those that predicate mental states of the speaker):

(i) Vala ifestile, ukuba unakho.
Close the window, if you can.

(ii) Vala ifestile ukuba ayikavalwa.
Close the window, if it hasn't been closed.
Heringer also proposes two felicity conditions of "deference" and politeness: that the speaker presupposes that he has the permission of the addressee to do volitional acts predicated in the speech act, and that the addressee will not mind doing them.

(i) **Ungayivala ifestile, ukuba awunangxaki?**
Would you close the window, if you don't mind?

(ii) **Ungayivala ifestile, ukuba ufuna ukundinceda?**
Would you close the window, if you want to help me?

**Quality clauses**

These neither say more nor less than is cooperatively necessary.

(i) **Ngokuqinisekileyo ndingatsho ukuthi eli zulu liza kutshintsha.**
With complete honesty I can say that this weather is going to change.

This has been used to stress the speaker's commitment to the truth of his utterance.

(ii) **Iyaziwa ukuba lityala ukuqhuba ngaphandle kwelayisensi.**
It is known to be is an offence to drive without a driver's license.

The clause here has been used to disclaim the assumption that the point of the speaker's assertion is to inform the hearer.

**Quantity clauses**

Here it should be noted that not as much or not as precise information is proved as might be expected.

(i) **Ndifike apho malunga necala emva kwentsimbi yesithandathu.**
I arrived there at approximately half past six.

When one wants to be as accurate as possible about the time.
Relevance clauses

Here it should be noted that because of the sensitivity of topic changes as impositions on the hearer's face, such changes are often done off-record.

(i) **Owu nkosi andazi ukuba kuqhubeka ntoni.**
Oh Lord, I don't know what is going on.

In this case an expletive has been used. This clause marks the change and apologizes for it.

(ii) **Ngoku, bendicinga ukuba kufuneka siqale kwelo cala.**
Now, I was wondering if we should start on that side.

The use of *ngoku* (now) above, interacts with the use of tense deictic, *ngoku* (now) making a claim for relevance (because it is a proximal deictic marker, like *apha* [here]) and the past tense hedging a bit on the relevance.

Manner clauses

Here the speaker is perspicuous, neither vague nor ambiguous:

(i) **Ukuba uhayibona into endithethela phezu kwayo wena ngowutshintsha indlela yakho.**
If you see what I'm talking about, you should change your way.

The situation here is to redress the face-threatening act.

(ii) **Ewe? Kodwa nam bendikhe ndayitsho le nto.**
Yes? But I also said this thing.
Here the expression queries whether the hearer is following the speaker's discourse adequately.

**Strategy 3: Be pessimistic**

This strategy gives redress to the hearer's negative face by explicitly expressing doubt that the conditions for the appropriateness of the speaker's speech act obtain.

(a) **Possibility**

Some ways have already been discussed in which this want may be realized, namely, doing direct requests with assertions of felicity conditions which have had a negated probability operator inserted.

(i)  *Ubuse ngaba nakho na ukh lamba le moto?*
Could you wash this car?

(ii) *Ubunganakho na ukuyiqhuba le bhasi?*
Could you drive this bus?

What is asked is, in some hypothetical world related to this one, can you do so? Quite what the alternativeness relation is in this case is only implicated. Perhaps the missing specifying *ukuba* (if) clause is *ukuba unakho* (if you can).

(b) **Negatives**

These are the other encodings of polite pessimism.

(i) *Andiqondi ukuba wena ungayiqhuba le bhasi?*
I don't suppose that you can drive this bus?

(ii) *Andiqondi ukuba ungayixhela igusha?*
I don't suppose that you can slaughter a sheep?
(c) Mhlawumbi

The use of pessimistic hedges is also found in expressions like:

(i) **Mhlawumbi ungafuna ukundifowunela.**
Perhaps you would want to phone me.

(ii) **Mhlawumbi ungafika ngelinye ixesha.**
Perhaps you can come some other time.

**Strategy 3: Minimize the imposition**

One way of defusing the face-threatening act is to indicate that $R_x$, the intrinsic seriousness of the imposition, is not in itself great, leaving only the distance ($D$), and the power ($P$) as possible weighty factors. So indirectly this may pay the hearer deference.

(a) **Nje**

Here *nje* (just) conveys both its literal meaning of exactly, only, which narrowly delimits the extent of the face-threatening act, and its conventional implicature "merely".

(i) **Ndifuna nje ukukucela ukuba unganakho na ukundihlambela le motwana yam.**
I just want to ask you if you could be able to wash this little car of mine.

When you want to ask somebody to do you a favour.

(ii) **Ndize nje ukuza kunibona.**
I've just came to see you.

When you pay a visit to people you last saw sometime ago.
(b) **Positives**

Another range of expressions that minimize $R_x$ are expressions like: *iqathana* (a piece); *ithontsi* (a drop) etc.

(i) **Khange nditsho ukuba ndifuna inyama enjalo, ndifuna nje iqathana lenyama.**

I didn't say I want that meat, I just want a piece of meat.

Somebody was offered more meat but now he specifies the one he wants.

(ii) **Lo ulapha akazi kufumana nethontsi lebhiya.**

The one who is here is not going to get even a drop of beer.

When somebody refuses to share.

**Strategy 5: Give deference**

There are two sides to the coin in the realization of deference; one in which the speaker humbles and abases himself, and the other where the speaker raises the hearer (pays him positive face of a particular kind, namely that which satisfies hearer's want to be treated as superior). In both cases what is conveyed is that the hearer is of higher social status than the speaker.

(a) **Forms of address**

Probably all language encode deference in generalized forms of address for strangers, unfamiliars, etc. "I" becomes more polite if one uses a form of address:

**A:** **Ngubani othathe iphepha lam apha?**
Who took my paper here?

**B:** **Ndim, mhlekazi bendicinga ukuba sele uqqibile ukulifunda.**
It's me, sir, I think you've finished reading it.
This is a situation where the speaker is a manager and the hearer is just an ordinary worker. The speaker finds his newspaper to be missing and is furious about it.

(b) Humbling of one's self

Deferece phenomena are by no means limited to social factors encoded in language structure; they are also freely expressed in language usage. A good example is the humbling of one's self, one's capacities and possessions.

(i) Ayikho kangako kodwa iza kunihluthisa.
   It's not that much but it'll fill your stomachs.

This is a situation when the table is full of food and you want to act as if there is not much that you can offer people.

(ii) Asiyonto ingako, ndicinge ukuba unokuyisebenzisa ekufakeni iincwadi zakho.
   It's not that much, I thought you could use it for shelving your books.

When you don't want to talk much about the present you give to somebody.

Strategy 6: Apologize

By apologizing for performing a face-threatening act, the speaker can indicate his reluctance to impinge on the hearer's negative face and thereby partially redress that impingement. The deferential use of hesitation and humbleness discussed above is one way of showing the reluctance, but there are many expressions in common use that have the same effect. There are (at least) four ways to communicate regret or reluctance to perform a face-threatening act.

(a) Admit the impingement

The speaker can simply admit that he is impinging on the hearer's face, with expressions like:
(i) *Ndiqinisekile ukuba uxakeke ngolona hlobo, kodwa ke ndifuna ukuthetha nawe.*
I am sure that you are very busy, but I want to talk to you.

When you want to talk to somebody no matter how difficult a situation is.

(ii) *Ndiyayazi ukuba le nto iyakruqula, kodwa ke masiyizame.*
I know that this thing is boring, but let us try it.

When you want to do away with a certain task.

(b) **Indicate reluctance**

The speaker can attempt to show that he is reluctant to impinge on the hearer with the use of hedges or by means of expressions such as the following:

(i) *Ndiyathemba ukuba le nto ayizi kukuhlupha, kodwa mandiyithethe.*
I hope this thing is not going to bother you, but let me say it.

When there's something one needs to say without disturbing the other person.

(ii) *Ndiyathandabuza ukuba mandikuhluphe, kodwa ke andinakwenza ngakumbi.*
I hesitate troubling you, but I cannot do otherwise.

When circumstances force somebody to do things which he would not have done.

(c) **Give overwhelming reasons**

The speaker can claim that he has compelling reasons (for example, his own incapacity) for performing a face-threatening act, thereby implying that he wouldn't dream of impinging on the hearer's negative face.
(i) **Awunakundinedisa ekwenzeni le nto kuba iyandoyisa?**
Can't you help me in doing this, because I cannot manage it?

When one is in desperate need of help.

(ii) **Akakho omnye umntu endimcingayo onokuwazi ukuqhuba le moto.**
I can think of nobody else who could drive this car.

When you want a particular person to help you.

(d) **Beg forgiveness**

The speaker may beg for hearer's forgiveness, or at least ask for acquittal, that is the hearer should cancel the debt implicit in the face-threatening act.

(i) **Ndiyathemba ukuba uya kundixolela xa ndinokukucacisela indlela eyenzeke ngayo le nto.**
I hope that you will forgive me, if I can explain to you how this thing happened.

When you want to be given a chance to show your side of the story.

(ii) **Uxolo, kodwa bendingekho phaya.**
Excuse me, but I was not there.

When you want to clarify a certain point.

**Strategy 7: Interpersonalize speaker and hearer**

One way of indicating that the speaker doesn't want to impinge on the hearer is to phrase the face-threatening act as if the agent were other than the speaker, or at least possibly not the speaker or not the speaker alone, and the addressee were other than the hearer, or only inclusive of the hearer. This results in a variety of ways of avoiding the pronouns mna (I) and wena (you).
(a) **Performatives**

The avoidance of the "I" and "you" pronouns may be such a basic desire that "I" helps to explain the very general loss of overt reference to the subject and indirect object of the highest performative verb. In general in languages, forms like:

(i) *Ndiyaku%xelela ukuba injalo.*
    
    I tell you that it is so.

When you are sure of a certain situation.

(ii) *Ndiyakucela ukuba udenzele le nto.*
    
    I ask you to do this thing for me.

When you want somebody to do you a favour.

(b) **Subjunctive**

In the direct expression of one of the most intrinsically face-threatening speech acts - commanding - most languages omit the "you" of the subject of the complement.

(i) *Ukhuphe le moto apha.*
    
    You take out this car here.

When you want somebody to remove his car. This is said rudely.

(ii) *Khupha le nto.*
    
    Take out this thing.

When you tell somebody rudely to take out what you don't like.

(c) **Impersonal verbs**

In many languages, agent deletion is allowed not only in imperatives, but also in other verb forms that encode acts which are intrinsically face-threatening acts.
(i) **Kuyimfuneko yokuba uye entlanganisweni.**

It is necessary that you go to the meeting.

When you tell somebody about the importance of attending a meeting.

(ii) **Kuyafuneka ukuba uqhankqalaze xa ungonekisekanga ngumvuzo wakho.**

It is necessary that you protest when you are not satisfied with your salary.

When you advise somebody about the steps he needs to take in order to voice his dissatisfaction.

(d) **Passive and neuter-passive**

The passive coupled with a rule agent deletion is perhaps the means of avoiding reference to persons involved in the face-threatening act. It may be used to remove direct reference to the speaker, as in the following pairs:

(i) **Kungosizi ukuvakaliza ukuba amaxabiso aza konyuka ukususela ngoMvulo.**

It is regrettable to announce that the prices are going to increase as from Monday.

When one is mentioning something, which was not expected by most people.

(ii) **Kulindeleke ukuba wonke umntu aphumelele.**

It is expected that everybody should be present.

When one is talking about the expectations.

(e) **Indefinites**

Many languages have some standardized impersonal versions of pronouns, which may serve the face-threatening act purposes to good effect.
(i) Omnye angacinga ukuba kudala ulapha.
One might think that you've been here for a long time.

When you talk about the confusion that someone can find himself in.

(ii) Akufunekanga uzenze ngolo hlobo izinto.
You shouldn't do things that way.

When you specify how things should be done.

(f) Plural pronouns

It seems to be very general in unrelated languages and cultures that the plural pronoun, when used to refer to a single addressee, is understood as indicating deference power or distance (Brown and Gilman, 1960).

(i) Thina apha kwaBears asiyibizi inzala.
We at Bears, we don't charge interest.

The plural thina (we) expresses the nature of the corporation as an entity.

(ii) Siziva sinyanzelekile ukuba sikulumkise ngengozi eza kukwehlela.
We feel obliged to warn you about the accident that is going to happen to you.

Here the term thina (we) is used as a group and this is a reminder that the speaker does not stand alone.

(g) Around you

Just as "you" (singular) gives the hearer no out, nails him with a face-threatening act, so the use of names may do likewise.
(i) **Uxolo, mhlekazi.**
Excuse me, sir.

This is used as an attention-getter.

(ii) **Uxolo, nkosazana.**
Excuse me, miss.

Again here it is used as an attention-getter.

(h) **Reference terms**

The root of this, of course, is the distinction between man and office, the communication of which underlies much of the ritual recorded in ethnographies. The speaker distances himself as an individual from acts he would rather have attributed to the duties and rights of the office.

(i) **Ndiyathemba ukuba uMphathiswa akakhathazekanga.**
I hope the minister is not disappointed.

When one is talking to the minister.

(ii) **Kodwa inkosi akufunekanga izibandakanye namaqela ezopolitiko.**
But the king should not become involved with political parties.

When one is talking to the king.

(i) **Point of view distancing**

This is used to distance the speaker from the hearer or from the particular face-threatening act. One set of mechanisms involves manipulating the expression of tense to provide distancing in time. As the tense is switched from present into past, the speaker moves as if into the future, so he distances himself from the here and now. Hence we get negatively polite face-threatening acts with increasingly remote past tenses, for requests:
(i) **Bendikade ndicinga ukuba unganakho na ukundenzela inceba.**
I've been wondering if you could do me a favour.

When you request somebody to do you a favour.

(ii) **Bendinomdla wokuqonda ukuba kwenzeke ntoni.**
I was kind of interested in knowing what happened.

When one questions politely what happened.

**Strategy 8: State the face-threatening act as a general rule**

One way of dissociating the speaker and hearer from the particular imposition in the face-threatening act and hence a way of communicating that the speaker doesn't want to impinge, but is merely forced to by circumstance, is to state the face-threatening act as an instance of some general social rule, regulation, or obligation. So we get pronoun avoidance by means of the first items rather than the second in pairs of sentences like the following:

(i) **Abakhweli mabangangqiymami elucangweni.**
Passengers must not lean against the door.

When you don't want passengers to be exposed to dangerous situations.

(ii) **Ndiza kukunika umhlala-phantsi ukulandela imithetho yelizwe.**
I am going to give you permission to follow international regulations.

When you want someone to follow the regulations.

(a) **Corporate groups**

Corporate groups and corporations act like individuals in this respect (as in others):
Strategy 9: Nominalize

Ross (1972) has suggested that rather than the age-old grammarian's syntactic categories of noun, verb, adjective, etc., the facts of syntax suggest a continuum from verb through adjective to noun. This corresponds to a continuum from syntactic volatility to syntactic interness.

(a) Verb, infinitive, deverbative

These are syntactic categories that play a role in dealing with some aspects of negative politeness.

(i) *Uqhube kakuhle kakhulu emsebenzini wakho.*
You performed very well in your work.

When you congratulate somebody on his performance.

(ii) *Ukuqhuba kwakho kakuhle emsebenzini wakho kusibangele imincili.*
Your performing well in your work brought us pride.

When you express joy brought about by someone's performance.

(iii) *Umsebenzi wakho omhle usivuyisile.*
Your good performance impressed us.
When you show the impression, which was brought by someone's performance.

Here (iii) seems more formal, more like a business letter than (ii) and (ii) more than (i). Version (i) seems very much a spoken sentence, (iii) very much a written one. So as we nominalize the subject, so the sentence gets more "formal".

(b) Passive, deverbal

These seem to have roughly adjectival status.

(i) Sicela intsebenziswano yakho ngokukhawuleza.
   We urgently request your cooperation.

   When you want somebody's cooperation.

(ii) Intsebenziswano yakho iyacelwa ngokukhawuleza.
    Your cooperation is urgently requested.

   When you want somebody's cooperation.

(c) Familiar phrases

We get the hierarchy of formality in familiar phrases like:

(i) Kuluvuyo kum ukuba ndikwazise.
   It is pleasing to me to introduce you.

   When you want to introduce a person.

(ii) Silusizi ukukuxelela ukuba isicelo sakho asiphumelelanga.
    We regret to inform you that your application was not successful.

   When you inform somebody about his application.
Strategy 10: Go on record as incurring a debt, or as not indebting the hearer

There are two situations here; either a speaker can go on record as incurring a debt, or as not indebting the hearer.

(a) **Claim indebtedness**

Here the speaker can redress a face-threatening act by claiming his indebtedness to the hearer.

(i) *Ndingavuya kakhulu ukuba unokundilungiselela imoto yam.*
    I would be eternally grateful if you would repair my car.

When you want somebody to repair your car.

(ii) *Ndingavuya ukuba ungandenzela iti.*
    I'll be happy if you can make me a cup of tea.

When you want somebody to make tea for you.

(b) **Disclaim indebtedness**

Here the speaker can redress a face-threatening act by disclaiming his indebtedness to the hearer by using expressions such as the following:

(i) *Andinakuze ndikwazi ukukubhatala yonke le mali.*
    I'll never be able to repay you all this money.

When you express something will be impossible.

(ii) *Andisoze ndikwazi ukukuphendula.*
    I'll never be able to respond to you.

When you express unwillingness to do something.
3.13 OFF RECORD

A communicative act is done off-record if it is done in such a way that it is not possible to attribute only one clear communicative intention to the act. In other words, the actor leaves himself an "out" providing himself with a number of different interpretations; he cannot be held to have committed himself to just one particular interpretation of this act. Thus if a speaker wants to perform a face-threatening act, but wants to avoid the responsibility for doing it, he can do it off record and leave it up to the addressee to decide how to interpret it.

Strategy 1: Give hints

If the speaker says something that is not explicitly relevant, he invites the hearer to search for an interpretation of possible relevance. Many cases of truly indirect (off record) speech acts are accomplished by hints that consists in "raising the issue of" some desired act, by stating motives or reasons for doing an action.

(i) Akuseshushu nje apha! (Vula ifestile)
   It's hot in here! (open the window)
   When you want somebody to open the window.

(ii) Le nyama ayinatyuwa (khawugqithise ityuwa)
   This meat is a bit bland (Pass the salt)
   When you want somebody to pass the salt.

Strategy 2: Give association clues

A related kind of implicature triggered by variations is provided by mentioning something associated with the act required of the hearer, either by speaker-hearer’s experience or by mutual knowledge irrespective of their interactional experience.
Strategy 3: Presuppose

A third set of clues to the speaker's intent is related in a different way to the Relevance Maxim. An utterance can be almost wholly relevant in context and yet violate the Relevance Maxim just at the level of its presuppositions. For instance if the speaker says:

(i) Ndichebe ingca kwakhona namhlane.
   I've cut the grass again today.

He presupposes that he has done it before (e.g. last week) and therefore may implicate a criticism. The use of kwakhona (again) forces the hearer to search for the relevance of the presupposed prior event, if it is relevant only on the assumption that the speaker and the hearer are counting the times each does the task and this in turn is relevant because the speaker and the hearer have agreed to share the task, in which case a criticism is implied.

Strategy 4: Understate

Understatements are one way of generating implicatures by saying less that is required. Typical ways of constructing understatements are to choose a point on a scalar predicate
(e.g. tall, good, nice) that is well below the point that actually describes the state of affairs or to hedge a higher point which will implicate the (lower) actual state of affairs.

(i) **Hayi akukho gxeke ngaye (andiqondi ukuba ulungile)**

No, there's nothing wrong with him. (I don't think he is good)

When you don't trust a certain person.

(ii) **Hayi ilungile (Andiyithandi)**

No it's alright. (I don't like it)

When you don't like a particular thing.

**Strategy 5: Overstate**

If the speaker says more than is necessary, he may also convey implicatures. He may do this by the inverse of the understatement principle - that is, by exaggerating or choosing a point on a scale, which is higher than the actual state of affairs. Here, however, the implicatures often lie far beyond what is said. For example:

(i) **Bekukho izigidi ngezigidi zabantu phaya.**

There were millions and millions of people there.

When you want to say there were lots of people at a particular ceremony.

(ii) **Ndicela nje umzuzwana.**

I just ask for a second.

When you want to be given a little bit of time.

**Strategy 6: Use tautologies**

By uttering a tautology, the speaker encourages the hearer to look for an informative interpretation of the non-informative utterance.
(i)  **Amadoda aya kuba ngamadoda.**  
Men will be men.

When you explain the difficulties that people are going to come across.

(ii)  **Impahla zakho zilapho zikhoyo ezam zilapho zikhoyo: khangelisisa kakhulile.**  
(Your clothes belong where your clothes belong, my clothes belong where my clothes belong, check thoroughly.

When you want the hearer not to confuse what he is doing.

**Strategy 7: Use contradictions**

Contradictions, as well as ironies, metaphors, and rhetorical questions considered in the following three sections, all involve violations of the Quality Maxim. By stating two things that contradict each other, the speaker makes it appear that he cannot be telling the truth. He thus encourages the hearer to look for an interpretation that reconcile the two contradictory propositions.

A:  **Ingaba ukhathazekile ngalaa nto?**  
Are you upset about that thing?

B:  **Ewe hayi.**  
Yes no. [This is a direct translation; there is no English equivalent]

Such contradictions may comply a complaint or a criticism.

**Strategy 8: Be ironic**

By saying the opposite of what he means, the speaker can indirectly convey his intended meaning, if there are clues that his intended meaning is being conveyed indirectly.
(i) **USandile ukrele-krele. (emva kokuba uSandile enze ngobudenge izinto ezininzi zilandelelana)**

Sandile is a genius. (after Sandile has done many stupid things in a row)

This is a situation to show that Sandile is a stupid.

(ii) **Unabammelwane abahle akunjalo? (emtyotyombeni)**

(You've got nice neighbours, is that not so? (near the squatter area)

When in actual fact you want to show that it is not nice to have a house near the squatter area.

**Strategy 9: Use Metaphors**

The use of metaphors is perhaps usually on record, but there is a possibility that exactly which of the connotations of the metaphor the speaker intends may be off record. For example:

(i) **UMakhaya yindlamanzi (iinxila)**

Makhaya drinks a lot of water. (is a drunkard)

When you want to say somebody is a drunkard.

**Strategy 10: Use Rhetorical Questions**

To ask a question with no intention of obtaining an answer is to break a sincerity condition on questions, namely, that the speaker wants the hearer to provide him with the indicated information. Thus sincerity condition straightforwardly follows from the injunction "be sincere". Questions that leave answers hanging in the air, implicated, may be used to do face-threatening acts:

(i) **Kufuneka ndikuxele kangaphi? (kaninzi)**

How many times must I tell you? (many times)
When the speaker has been explaining to the hearer several times and yet the hearer keeps on making the same mistake.

(ii) Ufuna ndikuthini?
What do you want me to do about you?

When the hearer has interfered with the speaker's territory in a way that is unforgiveable.

Strategy 11: Be Ambiguous

Purposeful ambiguity may be achieved through metaphor, since it is not always clear exactly which of the connotations of a metaphor are intended to be invoked. Thus:

(i) UJohn ngumpheki ogqibeleleyo.
John is a pretty cook.

Could be either a compliment or an insult, depending on which of the connotations of sharp or smooth are latched on to.

Strategy 12: Be Vague

The speaker may go off record with a face-threatening act by being vague about who the object of a face-threatening act is, or what the offence is.

(i) Kukho umlo oza kubakho namhlanje.
There's going to be a fight today.

When somebody has taken your property without your concern.

(ii) Ndiyobona ukuba kakhethwa abathile.
I see that only a few are chosen.

When there is favouritism.
**Strategy 13: Over-Generalize**

Rule instantiation may leave the object of the face-threatening act vaguely off-record. The hearer then has the choice of deciding whether the general rule applies to him, in this case.

(i) **Ingca kufuneka ichetywe.**
The lawn has got to be mown.

When you mention one of the things to be done.

(ii) **Ukuba laa mnyango uvaliwe, uyancamathela.**
If that door is closed, it sticks.

When you mention that the door should be kept open at all times.

**Strategy 14: Displace H**

The speaker may go off record as to who the target for his face-threatening act is, or he may pretend to address the face-threatening act to someone whom it wouldn't threaten, and hope that the real target will see that the face-threatening act is aimed at him.

Ervin-Tripp (1972:247) cites an example of this, where a secretary in an office asks another, but with negative politeness, to pass the stapler, in circumstances where a professor is much nearer to the stapler than the other secretary. His face is not threatened and he can choose to do it himself as a bonus free gift.

**Strategy 15: Be Incomplete, Use Ellipsis**

Elliptical utterances are legitimated by various conversational contexts - in answers to questions. But they are also warranted by the face-threatening acts. By leaving the face-threatening act half undone, the speaker can leave the implicature hanging in the air, just as with rhetorical questions:
(i) **Khange ndicinge ukuba ndiza kukubona...**

Well, I didn't think that I'm going to see you...

When you express a surprise in seeing a person you never expected to see.
CHAPTER 4
NEGATIVE POLITENESS AND REQUESTS

4.1 AIM

The aim of this section is to establish the various subcategories of requests within which negative politeness may appear. For instance, there is a subcategory for compliance in Jordan's book (1940:120)

*Iqela lakhe lalihleli ngexhala liza kudibana ngobusuku obulandelayo komkhulu, eyaleziwe uMthunzini ukuba kwezi ntsuku zokugqibela maze alale ubuthongo obungehliyo, ezama ukufumana olu suku.*

(His group remained worried, was going to meet on the following day at a Great place, Mtlunzini was told that on these last days, he must not be fast asleep, he must try and get the exact day.)

In the above sentence the speaker makes the request that Mthunzini must not be fast sleep.

A further aim of this section is to establish various ways in which these subcategories of requests may be linguistically expressed in Xhosa. For instance, in the above example of a request, the hortative with a deficient verb –ze is followed by a complement clause which is in the subjunctive i.e. alale, and the compliance is expressed in the subjunctive clause.

4.2 SUBCATEGORIES OF REQUESTS

4.2.1 Aim

The aim of this section is to establish the total number with the percentage of requests with negative politeness in each book. The total number of each subcategory of requests with negative politeness across the four books will also be established.
4.2.2 Number of requests with negative politeness

in the four books i.e. A.C. Jordan's Ingqumbo yeminyanya (A); Z.S. Qangule's Amaza (B); N. Saule's Idinga (C) and L. Ngewu's Yeha mfaz' obulal'indoda (D), the following number of requests with negative politeness were found:

TABLE 1:

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There seems to be a difference in the number of requests in each of the above books, i.e. from 40% to 9% of the total. This discrepancy is due to the fact that these books differ in the number of pages: i.e. the Jordan's book has 240 pages; Qangule's 55 pages; Saule's 125 pages and the book of Ngewu consists of 87 pages.

4.2.3 Subcategories of requests with negative politeness

The following subcategories of requests with negative politeness were noted in the four books above:

Compliance; action; information; patience; attention; meeting; permission; silence; promise; apology; confirmation, assistance.

In each of these subcategories above, the following number of requests with negative politeness were found:

TABLE 2: COMPLIANCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of requests to comply was 60. This request to comply is figured as follows in each book:
TABLE 3: COMPLIANCE IN EACH BOOK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In table 3, one can for instance see that there are 8 requests to comply in *Ingqumbo yeminyanya* of A.C. Jordan. The total number of requests with negative politeness in A.C. Jordan’s book is 101. Thus, the number of requests to comply is 8, and the percentage then is:

\[ \frac{8}{101} \times 100 = 8\% \]

The total number of requests with negative politeness in all four books is 251. Of this total, 60 are requests to comply. The percentage of compliance with regard to the total number of requests is then:

\[ \frac{60}{251} \times 100 = 24\% \]

TABLE 4: ACTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of requests for action was 63. This request for action is figured as follows in each book:

TABLE 5: ACTION IN EACH BOOK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In table 5 one can for instance see that there are 20 requests for action in the book of A.C. Jordan. The total number of requests with negative politeness in A.C. Jordan’s book is 101. Thus the number of requests for action is 20, and the percentage then is:

\[
\frac{20}{101} \times \frac{100}{1} = 20\% 
\]

The total number of requests with negative politeness in all four books is 251. Of this total, 63 are requests for action. The percentage of action with regard to the total number of requests is then:

\[
\frac{63}{251} \times \frac{100}{1} = 25\% 
\]

**TABLE 6: INFORMATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number</strong></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Percentage</strong></td>
<td>44</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of requests for information was 64. This request for information is figured as follows in each book:

**TABLE 7: INFORMATION IN EACH BOOK**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number</strong></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Percentage</strong></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In table 7 one can for instance see that there are 28 requests for information in the book of A.C. Jordan. The total number of requests with negative politeness in A.C. Jordan’s book is 101. Thus the number of requests for information is 28, and the percentage then is:

\[
\frac{28}{101} \times \frac{100}{1} = 28\% 
\]
The total number of requests with negative politeness in all four books is 251. Of this total 66 are requests for information. The percentage of information with regard to the total number of requests is then:

\[
\frac{64}{251} \times \frac{100}{1} = 26\%
\]

**TABLE 8: MEETING**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of requests for meeting was 17. This request for meeting is figured as follows in each book:

**TABLE 9: MEETING IN EACH BOOK**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In table 9 one can for instance see that there are 11 requests for meeting in the book of A.C. Jordan. The total number of requests with negative politeness in A.C. Jordan’s book is 101. Thus the number of requests for meeting is 11, and the percentage then is:

\[
\frac{11}{101} \times \frac{100}{1} = 11\%
\]

The total number of requests with negative politeness in all four books is 251. Of this total 17 are requests for meeting. The percentage of meeting with regard to the total number of requests is then:

\[
\frac{17}{251} \times \frac{100}{1} = 7\%
\]
TABLE 10: PATIENCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of requests for patience was 7. This request for patience is figured as follows in each book:

TABLE 11: PATIENCE IN EACH BOOK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In table 11 one can for instance see that there are 5 requests for patience in the book of A.C. Jordan. The total number of requests with negative politeness in A.C. Jordan’s book is 101. Thus the number of requests for patience is 5, and the percentage then is:

\[
\frac{5}{101} \times 100 = 5\%
\]

The total number of requests with negative politeness in all four books is 251. Of this total 7 are requests for patience. The percentage of patience with regard to the total number of requests is then:

\[
\frac{7}{251} \times 100 = 3\%
\]

TABLE 12: PERMISSION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of requests for permission was 21. This request for permission is figured as follows in each book:
TABLE 13: PERMISSION IN EACH BOOK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In table 13 one can for instance see that there are 15 requests for permission in the book of A.C. Jordan. The total number of requests with negative politeness in A.C. Jordan's book is 101. Thus the number of requests for permission is 15, and the percentage then is:

\[
\frac{15}{101} \times 100 = 15\%
\]

The total number of requests with negative politeness in all four books is 251. Of this total 21 are requests for a meeting. The percentage of a permission with regard to the total number of requests is then:

\[
\frac{21}{251} \times 100 = 8.4\%
\]

TABLE 14: ASSISTANCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total numbers of requests for assistance was 10. This request for permission is figured as follows in each book:

TABLE 15: ASSISTANCE IN EACH BOOK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In table 15 one can for instance see that there are 6 requests for assistance in the book of A.C. Jordan. The total number of requests with negative politeness in A.C. Jordan's book is 101. Thus the number of requests for permission is 6, and the percentage then is:

\[
\frac{6}{101} \times \frac{100}{1} = 6\%
\]

The total number of requests with negative politeness in all four books is 251. Of this total 10 are requests for assistance. The percentage of requests for assistance with regard to the total number of requests is then:

\[
\frac{10}{251} \times \frac{100}{1} = 4\%
\]

**TABLE 16: ATTENTION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of requests for attention was 1. This request for attention is figured as follows in each book:

**TABLE 17: ATTENTION IN EACH BOOK**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In table 17 one can for instance see that there is 1 requests for attention in the book of A.C. Jordan. The total number of requests with negative politeness in A.C. Jordan's book is 101. Thus the number of requests for attention is 1, and the percentage then is:

\[
\frac{1}{101} \times \frac{100}{1} = 1\%
\]
The total number of requests with negative politeness in all four books is 251. Of this total 2 are requests for attention. The percentage of requests for attention with regard to the total number of requests is then:

$$\frac{2}{251} \times \frac{100}{1} = 1\%$$

**TABLE 18: SILENCE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of requests for silence was 4. This request to stay is figured as follows in each book:

**TABLE 19: SILENCE IN EACH BOOK**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In table 19 one can for instance see that there are 4 requests for silence in the book of A.C. Jordan. The total number of requests with negative politeness in A.C. Jordan's book is 101. Thus the number of requests for silence is 4, and the percentage then is:

$$\frac{4}{101} \times \frac{100}{1} = 4\%$$

The total number of requests with negative politeness in all four books is 251. Of this total 4 are requests for silence. The percentage of requests for silence with regard to the total number of requests is then:

$$\frac{4}{251} \times \frac{100}{1} = 2\%$$
TABLE 20: PROMISE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of requests for a promise was 1. This request for a promise is figured as follows in each book:

TABLE 21: PROMISE IN EACH BOOK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In table 21 one can for instance see that there are 1 request for a promise in the book of A.C. Jordan. The total number of requests with negative politeness in A.C. Jordan's book is 101. Thus the number of requests for a promise is 1, and the percentage then is:

\[
\frac{1}{101} \times \frac{100}{1} = 1\%
\]

The total number of requests with negative politeness in all four books is 251. Of this total 1 is a requests for a promise. The percentage of request for a promise with regard to the total number of requests is then:

\[
\frac{1}{251} \times \frac{100}{1} = 0.4\%
\]

TABLE 22: APOLOGY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of requests for apology was 1. This request for apology is figured as follows in each book:
TABLE 23: APOLOGY IN EACH BOOK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In table 23 one can for instance see that there is 1 request for apology in the book of A.C. Jordan. The total number of requests with negative politeness in A.C. Jordan’s book is 101. Thus the number of requests for apology is 1, and the percentage then is:

\[ \frac{1}{101} \times 100 = 1\% \]

The total number of requests with negative politeness in all four books is 251. Of this total 1 is a request for apology. The percentage of request for apology with regard to the total number of requests is then:

\[ \frac{1}{251} \times 100 = 0.4\% \]

TABLE 24: CONFIRMATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of requests for confirmation was 1. This request for confirmation is figured as follows in each book:

TABLE 25: CONFIRMATION IN EACH BOOK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In table 25 one can for instance see that there is 1 request for confirmation in the book of A.C. Jordan. The total number of requests with negative politeness in A.C. Jordan's book is 101. Thus the number of requests for confirmation is 1, and the percentage then is:

\[
\frac{1}{101} \times 100 = 1\%
\]

The total number of requests with negative politeness in all four books is 251. Of this total 1 is the request for confirmation. The percentage of request for permission with regard to the total number of requests is then:

\[
\frac{1}{251} \times 100 = 0.4\%
\]

4.3 NEGATIVE POLITENESS IN REQUESTS

4.3.1 Aim

The aim of this section is to establish how negative politeness may be expressed within the speech act of requesting. Various types of requests have been found in the four books, which have been analyzed, such as a request for compliance, a request for information and others. Each type of request will be considered separately within the following parameters: a definition of each type of request will be given e.g. a definition of compliance. After this, the specific request will be identified within a sentence, which will be analyzed for this purpose. Firstly the meaning of the clause in which the specific request is found will be considered, e.g. a statement, question and others. Then the linguistic expression of such a clause will be given, e.g. a negative clause, and finally, the context in which this clause is interpreted as a request will be considered.

4.3.2 REQUEST FOR COMPLIANCE

The Concise Oxford Dictionary (1995) defines compliance as the obedience to a request or a command. Longman (1978) sees it as a tendency to yield willingly to the wishes of others. On the other hand, the Oxford Reference Dictionary (1986) says to comply is to act in accordance with. For instance in the following sentence, the meaning of the clause...
in brackets is a statement. This statement can be linguistically expressed in the future tense of the indicative with –za:

(1) [Niza kuwukhumbula umyolelo kaZanemvula] kungekafi nam lo, ngoku nicinga kuba sendilibunga.
    You are going to remember Zanemvula’s will before I die, even though you now think that I’m too old to matter.

(Jordan 1940:155)

In sentence (1) above, the clause in brackets can be taken as a request for compliance i.e. the request is that the Mpondomise should follow Zanemvula’s will. The reason for this interpretation is to be found in the context in which this statement has been uttered, i.e. Ngxabane already sees mistakes in Thembeka’s behaviour. This he assigns to the fact that Zwelinzima didn’t follow his father’s will. The request for compliance appears in the following types of sentences within the four books:

4.3.2.1 Statement

Crystal (1997) defines a statement as a sentence that asserts or reports information. The Oxford Reference Dictionary (1986) says a statement is a formal account of facts. Consider the following example:

(2) Xa kukho izaganeko ezinzima ezishukumisa isizwe, [neendonga zendlu zineendlebe zokuva].
    When there are great events affecting the nation, even the walls of the house can hear.

(Jordan 1940:91)

In sentence (2) above, the meaning of the clause in brackets is a statement, which can be linguistically expressed by using an idiom. This clause can also be taken as a request for compliance, i.e. the information should not leak. The reason for this interpretation is to be found in the context in which this statement has been uttered, i.e. there is some evidence that Mafelandawonye were seen at a Great place.
Within the following sentences, the meaning of the clauses in brackets is a statement. This statement can be expressed in various ways:

A negative clause

The following negative clauses that have been found in the texts are interpreted as negative statements with the meaning of a request for compliance.

The verb in the clause is in the negative of the present tense of the indicative:

(3) [Andiqondi ukuba ngumsebenzi wale nkundla ukuzama ukungena kubugoci-goci bezimvo zommangalelwa]
I don’t think that it is the duty of this court to try and enter into the details of the views of the accused.

(Ngewu 1997:71)

(4) Isiko lisiko, [akuthandiswa wena]
A tradition is a tradition, are you are not satisfied?

(Qangule 1974:61)

(5) Ncibane, [akuncedi ukuyibaleka into yokuthetha nonyana wakho]
Ncibane, it does not help to run away from talking to your son.

(Saule 1995:106)

In sentence (3), the request for compliance is that the court should not enter into the details of the views of the accused. The context within which this request has been made is that the prosecutor does not want the lawyer to enter into the details about what Zamile was doing outside marriage.

The request for compliance in sentence (4) is that Namhla should obey the tradition. The context within which this request has been made is that the Bhele people have gathered at Danile’s house. Their intention is to convince Namhla to get married to one of Danile’s sons now that her husband died.
In sentence (5), the request for compliance is that Ncibane should talk to his son. The context within which this request has been made is that MamTshawe wants Ncibane to tell Mlandeli if there is something he doesn't like.

**A future tense clause**

The following future tense clauses that have been found in the texts are interpreted as statements with the meaning of a request for compliance.

The verb in the clause is in the future tense of the indicative:

(6) **[Niza kuwukhumbul' umyolelo kaZanemvula]kungekafi nam lo, ngoku nicinga ukuba sendilibunga.**
You are going to remember Zanemvula's will before I die, even though you think now that I'm too old to matter.

(Jordan 1940:155)

(7) **Ukub' ukhe wawawel' amanz' eNxu loo Zwelinzima, [amathamb' uye kuwaphatha ngezandla]**
If that Zwelinzima crosses the Nxu river, he will hold the bones by hands.

(Jordan 1940:88)

(8) **Loo Mlandelana nimthembileyo [uya kunifaka enyobanyobeni] nikhale sekophulwe.**
That little Mlandeli whom you trust will put you in trouble and you will then notice better how things are.

(Saule 1995:39)

(9) **Ukuba kukh' omnye ke uZwelinzima ozayo ngaba uya kuggqobhoz' eMatyeba, aqabel' eNqadu. [Akayi kunyuka ngeXabane]**
If there's another Zwelinzima coming, he will cross Matyeba, via Nqadu. He won't go through Xabane.

(Jordan 1940:88)
In sentence (6), the request for compliance is that the Mpondomise should follow Zanemvula's will. The context within which this request has been made is that Ngxabane already sees mistakes in Thembeka's behaviour. This he attributes to the fact that Zwelinzima didn't follow his father’s will.

The request for compliance in sentence (7) is that Zwelinzima should not cross the Nxu river. The context within which this request has been made is that the Mpondomise are under the impression that Zwelinzima died long ago. They don't want him to be their king as they believe that Dingindawo is their only king.

Sentence (8)'s request for compliance is that Mbuyiselo and others should not trust Mlandeli. The context within which this request has been made is that Macebo is worried that even if he is the head prefect, he is not the center of attraction. Most people believe in Mlandeli.

In sentence (9), the request for compliance is that Zwelinzima must not rule the Mpondomise. This request has been linguistically expressed by using the negative of the future tense of the indicative with ya. The context within which this request has been made is that the Mpondomise are under the impression that Zwelinzima died long ago. They don't want to believe in what Mthunzini is telling them.

A-past tense

The following verb clauses that have been found in the texts are interpreted as statements with the meaning of a request for compliance.

The verb in the clause is in the A-past tense:

(10) [uMacebo wamxhawula ngesandla esibanda ceke] xa wayevuyisana naye ngeli xa yena uMnumzana Rhadebe wathi xa asa isandla uMlandeli wamgona okosana.
Macobe's hand was very cold when he was shaking Mlandeli's meanwhile when Mlandeli wanted to shake Mr Rhadebe's hand, he simply hugged him just like a child. (Saule 1995:33)
In sentence (10) the request for compliance is that Macebo should show appreciation of Mlandeli’s progress. The context within which this request has been made is that Macebo’s action show that he feels threatened by Mlandeli’s presence at Sontaba.

Sentence (11)’s request for compliance is that the Mpondomise are requesting Zwelinzima to be a good leader. The context within which this request has been made is that it is during the wedding between Thembeka and Zwelinzima.

The verb in the clause is the deficient verb suka with consecutive clause in sentence (12). In sentence (13), it is the deficient verb kha with a consecutive clause with ya as complement. Lastly in sentence (14), it is the negative deficient verb ba with a complement with the progressive sa:

(12) Wathi eboniswa nguNokhwezi [wasuka watyhola ititshala ngelithi ziyamenzelela uMlandeli]
When Nokhwezi was trying to show him, he simply blamed the teachers by saying they favour Mlandeli.

(Saule 1995:37)

(13) Ukuqala kweli hlombe lokubonga, iyinto entsha kwaSontaba, [uMacebo wakha waya kuthi ndum - ndum kuNtanjana]
When this thing of poetry started, which was a new thing at Sontaba, Macebo went to report to Ntanjana.

(Saule 1995:31)
In (12), the request for compliance is that Macebo should accept defeat. The context within which this request has been made is that Macebo is not happy now that Mlandeli got the highest marks in the trial exams.

Sentence (13)'s request for compliance is that Ntanjana should stop Mlandeli for what he is doing. The context within which this request has been made is that Macebo's fear is that Mlandeli is doing things that might bring the school into disrepute.

In sentence (14), the request for compliance is that Ncibane should reply to Nokhwezi's response. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli has been invited to Cape Town but the final decision must come from his father.

A copulative clause

The following copulative clauses that have been found in the texts are interpreted as statements with the meaning of a request for compliance:

These statements can be linguistically expressed by using a copulative clause with kho, the subject agreement affix is existential, with the focus on the following clause, e.g. abakhabayo in sentence (15):

(15) Uvavanyo IwesiLatini walufumana lulula gqitha wathi nqa xa [kukho abakhalayo]
He found the Latin test to be so easy and he was surprised to find that others were complaining.

(Saule 1995:26)
In (15) the request for compliance is that the students should not complain about the test. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli is preparing so much that everything looks easy to him.

Sentence (16)'s request for compliance is that Mlandeli should not be axed. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli did not play well when his school was playing against the other school. Some of his teammates made things difficult for him as they were not supporting him.

In sentence (17), the request for compliance is that Phalisa request Nozinto not to be extravagant. The context within which this request has been made is that Phalisa warns Nozinto not to hurry by going on a spending spree.

A passive verb clause

The following passive verb clause that has been found in one of the texts is interpreted as a statement with the meaning of a request for compliance:

The verb in the clause is a passive in the infinitive as a complement of a NP le nto:

(18) Kutheni na wena wayinokoza kangaka [le nto yokubanjwa kwam?]
    Why do you go about emphasizing the fact that I will be detained?
    (Ngewu 1997:52)
In sentence (18), the request for compliance is that Phalisa should not be too sure that Nozinto is going to be detained. The context within which this request has been made is that Nozinto’s actions make Phalisa unhappy. There is something that is going to make Nozinto to remain behind the bars.

A coordinated clause

The following coordinated clauses that have been found in the texts are interpreted as statements with the meaning of a request for compliance:

The verb in a coordinated clause is in the subjunctive after the present tense uthi in sentence (19) and in (20) it is in the consecutive clause:

(19) Into exakayo ngaye kukuba ungacinga ukuba ungakuwe kodwa [uthi usajonge leyo aphethuke].
    What’s confusing about her is that you can think that she is on your side and while you are still looking at that she turns.
    (Ngewu 1997:22)

(20) Wanela nje ukwamkela abadlali bayo njengenkokheli eyongameleyo [waphela emehlweni].
    He only welcomed its players just like a presiding leader and then he disappeared.
    (Saule 1995:45)

In sentence (19) the request for compliance is that Nconyiwe should not be trusted. The context within which this request has been made is that Phalisa is warning Nozinto about Nconyiwe.

Sentence (20)’s request for compliance is that Macebo should always be present when his school is playing. The context within which this request has been made is that Macebo was present when his school was playing against Qelekekushe because he is not in favour of Mlandeli.
Idiomatic clause

The following idiomatic clauses that have been found in the texts are interpreted as a statement with the meaning of a request for compliance:

The clause in brackets is an idiom:

(21) Xa kukho iziganeko ezinzima ezishukumisa isizwe [neendonga zendlu zineendlebe zokuva].
When there are great events affecting the nation, even the walls of the house can hear.

(Jordan 1940:91)

(22) [Waza wayithetha intsomi emini]
You perform the folktale during the day.

(Qangule 1974:36)

The request for compliance in sentence (21) is that the information should not leak. The context within which this request has been made is that there is some evidence that the Mafelandawonye were seen at a Great place.

In sentence (22) the request for compliance is that something that is not true should not be talked about. The context within which this request has been made is that Vathiswa does not want to believe what Nodabephi is telling her.

The deficient verb clauses

The following deficient verb clauses that have been found in one of the texts are interpreted as a statement with the meaning of a request for compliance:

The verb in the clause is the negative deficient verb zange with the subjunctive clause: in sentence (23) it is with the deficient verb ze in the negative, in sentence (24) there is zange with a subjunctive clause as a complement, and in (25) it has a deficient verb khe in negative Kchange in relative clause with subjunctive clause as a complement:
(23) **UMlandeli [akazange amfihlele uNokhwezi] ukuba isigwebo sakhe akasamkeli.**

Mlandeli never hid it from Nokwezi that he does not accept his punishment.

(Saule 1995:76)

(24) **[Abafundi abazange bazibambe ukungena kwakhe], zajika iintloko zajonga kuye zonke ngentshukumokazi eyabangela ukuba iculo liphazamiseke wada umfundisi uZondi waphakamisa intloko.**

The students couldn't control themselves when he entered, all the heads turned and all attention focussed on him so that the song was disturbed and eventually Reverend Zondi raised his head.

(Saule 1995:29)

(25) **uMacebo wahamba indlela yakhe waziva efutheka ngokufutheka ngenxa yomfo ongakhange abonakalise mbeko kuye akugqiba ukuba yena Macebo, engumongameli oyintloko walooyaka wabafundi.**

Macebo went his way and his anger was growing because of a man who didn't show a respect to him even though he was the head prefect for that year.

(Saule 1995:10)

In sentence (23), the request for compliance is that Mlandeli should have hidden it from Nokwezi that he does not accept his punishment. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli is not satisfied with the way his case has been handled by the school authorities.

The request for compliance in sentence (24) is that the students should control themselves and concentrate on what they are doing. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli arrives late at a church service because he is coming from the disciplinary hearing.
In (25), the request for compliance is that Macebo requests to be given his respect. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli is the man who didn’t give respect to Macebo because he didn’t know that he is the head of the students.

The negative of a copulative clause

The following negative of a copulative clause that has been found in one of the texts is interpreted as a statement with the meaning of a request for compliance:

The verb in a clause is a negative of a copulative clause with a prepositional phrase with na as head:

(26) kwakunzima [ukuthi uMlandeli akanatyala] kuba wayeza kuba ngathi iiprifekthi zakhe akazithembanga.
It was going to be difficult to say Mlandeli was not guilty because it was going to be as if he did not trust their judgement.
(Saule 1995:68)

In sentence (26) above the request for compliance is that Mlandeli should not be found guilty. The context within which this request has been made is that it is during the disciplinary hearing of Mlandeli. He is being accused of trying to overthrow the school.

The infinitive clause

The following infinitive clause that has been found in one of the texts is interpreted as a statement with the meaning of a request for compliance:

The verb in the clause is the negative of the infinitive clause:

(270) Nibantu bani nina [ukungawazi amaxesha okubuza imibuzo enje], sakugqiba ukonwaba kangaka?
What type of people are you that you don’t know the right time to ask questions like these, while we are enjoying ourselves.
(Saule 1995: 58)
The request for compliance in sentence (27) above is that Mlandeli requests both Mbuyiselo and Nokhwezi not to ask certain types of questions when they are busy enjoying themselves. The context within which this request has been made is that Nokhwezi wants to know from Mlandeli what makes him not to be in good terms with Macebo.

Deficient verb in compound tense

The following deficient verb clause that has been found in one of the texts is interpreted as a statement with the meaning of a request for compliance:

The verb in the clause is the deficient verb ye in compound tense verb with infinitive clause in sentences (28) and (29). In sentence (30) it is the deficient verb ye in compound tense in a relative clause which is in the negative:

(28) [Wayezimisele ukumqogqa iindlebe uMacebo] kodwa intoni na wangathi usuzela emanzini kumfo ekwakucaca ukuba inkulu into phakathi kwakhe noMlandeli.
She wanted to make Maceba listen carefully, but her efforts were in vain as it became clear that there is a big thing between him and Mlandeli.  
(Saule 1995:37)

(29) [Wayengafuni ukuwelwa lilahla awayelibona lijinga phezu kwakhe] ngeli xa abanye babengaboni kwanto.
He didn’t want a coal that was hanging over him to fall to him, meanwhile the others, didn’t see a thing.  
(Saule 1995:68)

(30) Umntu owayengayolelwanga zizo zonke ezi zawakawu nguMacebo. 
The person who was not impressed with all these things was Macebo.  
(Saule 1995:42)
In the sentence (28), the request for compliance is that Macebo should listen carefully to what Nokhwezi is telling him. The context within which this request has been made is that Nokhwezi tried to persuade Macebo not to have a negative attitude towards Mlandeli but her efforts were in vain.

The request for compliance of sentence (29) is that Rhadebe requests the others to look into Mlandeli's case the way he sees it. The context in which this request has been made is that Rhadebe is worried that Mlandeli is wrongly accused and that other members of the disciplinary committee don't see this.

Sentence (30)'s request for compliance is that Macebo should be impressed with the changes at school. The context within which this request has been made is that most of the progress that is done at school does not go via Macebo's approval although he is the head prefect.

4.3.2.2 Condition

The Concise Oxford Dictionary (1990) defines condition as something upon the fulfillment of which something else depends. Longman (1978) says a condition is a state of being or existence. For instance, in the following example, the meaning of the clause in brackets is a condition. This condition can be linguistically expressed by using a deficient verb khe with consecutive clause in a condition clause after ukuba:

(31) [Ukuba ukhe wabonwa okanye kweviwa nje], kuphelile ngaye.
If he can be seen or something can be heard about him, he is going to be expelled.

(Saule 1995:33)

In sentence (31) above, the clause in brackets can be taken as a request for compliance i.e. the request is that Mbuyiselo should not be seen. The reason for this interpretation is to be found in the context in which this request has been uttered, i.e. Mbuyiselo is under the influence of alcohol and Mlandeli wants to hide him.

Within the following sentences, the meaning of the clauses in brackets is a condition. This condition can be expressed in various ways:
The condition with ukuba

The following conditions with ukuba that have been found in the texts are interpreted as negative conditions with the meaning of a request for compliance.

The verb in the clause is a copulative clause with kho. The subject agreement suffix is existential and the focus is on umqobo in sentence (32), it is a potential nga in an ukuba clause followed by a subordinate subjunctive in clause (33). Lastly in (34) it is a deficient verb khe with consecutive clause in a condition clause after ukuba:

(32) [Ukuba ke kukho umqobo endleleni.] ebewususa nokuba usebenzise eziphi na iindlela.
If there was an obstacle in the road, he used to remove it using whatever means possible.

(Saule 1995:38)

(33) [Ukuba ungandivumela ndiwenze umsebenzi wam] ingaphela le mini usazi ukuba uzokwenzani apha.
If you can allow me to do my job, by the end of the day you will know what you have come here for.

(Ngewu 1997:26)

(34) [Ukuba ukhe wabonwa okanye kweviwa nje], kuphelile ngaye.
If he can be seen or something can be heard about him, he is going to be expelled.

(Saule 1995:33)

In (32), the request for compliance is that there should be no obstacles in Macebo's way. The context within which this request has been made is that Macebo, as the head prefect of Sontaba, enjoys to use his method of ruling. He doesn't like opposition.

The request for compliance of sentence (33) is that Nozinto should allow Sipho to do his job. The context within which this request has been made is that Nozinto is furious for being at the police station. She does not understand why she is there.
(34)'s request for compliance is that Mbuyiselo should not be seen. The context within which this request has been made is that Mbuyiselo is under the influence of alcohol and Mlandeli wants to hide him.

The condition with xa

The following condition with xa has been found which is interpreted as a negative condition with the meaning of a request for compliance:

The verb in the clause is a copulative with kho, the subject agreement affix is existential and the focus is on umntu osoloko ekungxolela ngaphandle kwesizathu:

(35) Ucinga ukuba ungaze udlale into eyiyo [xa kukho umntu osoloko ekungxolela ngaphandle kwesizathu?]
Do you think that you can play well when there is somebody who is making noise for you with no reason?

(Saule 1995:84)

In sentence (35) above, the request for compliance is that Macebo should stop harassing Mlandeli. The context within which this request has been made is that the rugby boys are talking among themselves after the practise in which they saw a clash between Mlandeli and Macebo.

4.3.2.3 Possibility

The Concise Oxford Dictionary (1990) defines possibility as the thing that may exist or happen. Longman (1978) say a possibility is a degree of likelihood. For instance, in the following example, the meaning of the clause in brackets is a possibility. This possibility may be linguistically expressed by using a potential with a deficient verb ba, followed by a progressive indicative clause:

(36) Efele kwakhe nje xhego lam.
[Ingaba usathandabuza?]
Old chap, she died at her place, why are you still hesitant?

(Qangule 1974:42)
In the above example, the request for compliance is that Lizo request Silumko not to be uncertain about the fact that Zodwa died at her place. The context within which this request has been made is that Silumko is investigating Lizo about the events that led to the death of Zodwa and Sidima.

Within the following sentences, the meaning of the clauses in brackets is a possibility. The possibility can be expressed in various ways:

**The potential verb clause**

The potential verb clauses that have been found in the texts are interpreted as a statement with the meaning of a request for compliance:

The verb in the clause is potential in a matrix clause in (37), and in (38) it is the potential in a relative clause, while in (39) it is the potential verb with infinitive clause:

(37) **[Angachiphiza, iinyembezi kanti nguye umbulali?]**
Can he cry only to find out he is the latter?

(Qangule 1974:36)

(38) **Le meko intsha ivelayo yayimoyikisa kakhulu, [eyijonga njengemeko engamahlukanisa nabo]**
This new situation which was coming used to worry him a lot, and he viewed it as a situation that could separate him from them.

(Saule 1995:39)

(39) **[Ungathini ukundityhafisa kangaka] ndakugqiba ukuzimisela?**
How come you discourage me, when I'm so serious?

(Saule 1995:97)

In (37) the request for compliance is that Lizo should not cry. The context within with this request has been made is that Vathiswa is surprised to hear that Lizo is the one who is responsible for the death of Sidima.
The request for compliance in sentence (38) is that Macebo should not be separated with the other students. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli's behaviour at Sontaba worries Macebo. He is doing everything is his power to oppose Mlandeli's progress.

Sentence (39)'s request for compliance is that Nokhwezi request Mlandeli not to discourage her. The context within which this request has been made is that Nokhwezi is busy practicing tennis when Mlandeli suddenly cracked a joke.

The possibility after ngathi

The following possibilities after ngathi that have been found in the texts are interpreted as negative possibilities with the meaning of the request for compliance.

The verb in the clause is the negative of the present tense of the indicative in sentences (40) and (41). In (42) it is the reflexive verb zimisela with an infinitive clause and in (43) it is a compound tense with a complement clause with za preceded by ngathi:

(40) Nozinga, [kutheni ingathi akuyiqondi nje into yokuba abanye abafazi bahleli qwa?]
Nozinga, why does it look like you don't understand that other women are awake?

(Ngewu 1997:14)

(41) [Ube ngathi akeva uMlandeli], wagqiba wahamba kuba kakade wayeza kubhala uvavanyo lwesiLatini ngoLwesihlanu.
Mlandeli acted as if he was not listening, and he left because on Friday he was going to write a Latin test

(Saule 1995:25)

(42) Mna ndisabuza le yepolisa into. [kutheni ingathi nizimisele ukuyibetha ngoyaba nje?]
I'm still asking the issue of this police. Why does it look like you have decided to put it aside?

(Ngewu 1997:5)
In sentence (40), the request for compliance is that Nozinga should understand that the other women are sophisticated. The context within which this request has been made is that Nozinto's friends are discussing Phalisa. Nozinga is shocked to hear that Phalisa played a role in the death of her husband.

The request for compliance in sentence (41) is that Mlandeli should have known that he is listening. The context within which this request has been made is that the students are in a bathroom and are talking about the forthcoming sports activities.

In (42), the request for compliance is that they must not put the issue of this policeman aside. The context within which this request has been made is that Nozinga wants her friends to tell her more about what happened during the time Nozinto had a love affair with a certain policeman.

In sentence (43), the request for compliance is that people shouldn't have left after Mlandeli had finished playing. The context within which this request has been made is that Mbuyiselo shows Mlandeli how important his contribution is to the whole school.

The potential with a deficient verb

The following clause that has been found in one of the texts is interpreted as a statement with the meaning of a request for compliance:

The verb in a clause is the potential with a deficient verb ba followed by a progressive indicative clause:

(44) Efele kwakhe nje xhego lam. [Ingaba usathandabuza?] Old chap, she died at the place, are you still hesitant?

(Qangule 1974:42)
In sentence (44) above, the request for compliance is that Lizo request Silumko not to be hesitant about the fact that Zodwa died at her place. The context within which this request has been made is that Silumko is investigating Lizo about the events that led to the death of Zodwa and Sidima.

4.3.2.4 Question

The Concise Oxford Dictionary (1990) defines question as a sentence expressed so as to seek information. This view is also shared by Longman (1978) when he says a question is a sentence or phrase, which asks for information. For instance, in the following example, the meaning of the clause in brackets is a question. This question can be linguistically expressed by using the present tense of the indicative in an indirect question after buza:

(45) Wathinta umqala uNtanjana, wakrwela intloko [wabuza ukuba iyaviwa na intetho kaMlandeli.]

Ntanjana coughed, scratched his head and asked if Mlandeli's speech was heard.

(Saule 1995:67)

In sentence (45) above, the clause in brackets is a request for compliance, i.e. the request is that the disciplinary committee should listen to Mlandeli's speech. The reason for this interpretation is to be found in the context in which this request has been made, i.e. Mlandeli has been accused of trying to bring the school into disrepute. He is now defending himself.

With the following sentences, the meaning of the clauses in brackets can be expressed in various ways:

The infinitive clause

The following infinitive clauses in the texts are interpreted as a statement with the meaning of a request for compliance:
The verb in the clause is *qala* with an infinitive clause in (46), and in (47) it is the deficient verb *be* in compound tense; the complement clause is a copulative clause with the potential *nga* in the negative followed by a prepositional phrase with *na* as head and an infinitive clause as complement of *na*:

(46)  *Bekuthiwe [kuqalwa ngam ukubona isiko?]*  
Were it said I am the first one where the custom can be seen?  
(Qangule 1974:61)

(47)  *[Ibangasenakulinda phofu kude kuse?]*  
Can't it wait until sunrise?  
(Ngewu 1997:1)

In (46) the request for compliance is that Namhla should follow the tradition. The context within which this request has been made is that the Bhele people want Namhla to follow the tradition and get married to one of her late husband's brothers. Namhla, on the other side, refuses to do so.

The request for compliance in (47) is that it should wait until the following day. The context within which this request has been made is that Zodidi is responding to Nozinto. She finds it impossible to go to Nozinto's house in the middle of the night. Nozinto, however, insists that she should come immediately as she wants to tell her about a certain thing that she has done.

The interrogative clauses

The following clauses in the texts are interpreted as a statement with the meaning of a request for compliance:

The verb in the clause is the interrogative with *kutheni* in (48) and in (49) it is the interrogative with *ngantoni*:

(48)  *[Kutheni ungabonakalisim kuhlupheka nje?]*  
Why don't you show signs of disturbance?  
(Qangule 1974:3)
In (48), the request for compliance is that Namhla request Lizo to show signs of disturbance. The context within which this request has been made is that Lizo is telling Namhla that there is somebody who is having an affair with his wife.

In (49) the request for compliance is that Mandaba should not worry about Namhla. The context within which this request has been made is that Mandaba is bitter about what Namhla did.

The interrogative with bani

The following clause that has been found in one of the texts is interpreted as a statement with the meaning of a request for compliance:

The verb in the clause is the interrogative with bani:

(50) **He Namhla, [ucinga ukuba uthetha nabani?]**

Namhla, who do you think you are talking to?

(Qangule 1974:53)

In the above sentence, the request for compliance is that Namhla should respect the person she is talking to, in this case MaDlamini. The context within which this request has been made is that MaDlamini is at Namhla’s house and she is very shocked to find her under the influence of alcohol.

4.3.2.5 *Necessity*

The Concise Oxford Dictionary (1990) defines necessity as a state of things or circumstances enforcing a certain course. Longman (1978), defines it as the condition of being necessary, needed or unavoidable. For instance, in the following example the meaning of the clause in brackets is a necessity. This necessity can be linguistically expressed by using an idiom with the deficient verb *ze* in the subjunctive:
(51) Enye into kubantwana besikolo kukuthetha naxa umntu seleqaqanjelwa ngamazinyo, [uze uwuthunge ke owakho]
Bhelekazi
Another thing among school children is to speak even when a person's teeth are asking, you must sow yours, Bhelekazi.
(Qangule 1974:14)

In sentence (51) above, the clause in brackets can be taken as a request for compliance, i.e. the request is that Namhla should not speak when there is no need. The reason for this interpretation is to be found in the context in which this request has been uttered, i.e. Sixhaxha is equipping Namhla for life's experiences. It is during the marriage ceremony of Namhla and Sidima.

Within the following sentences, the meaning of the clauses in brackets can be expressed in various ways:

The subjunctive in subordinate clause

The following clauses in the texts are interpreted as a statement with the meaning of a request for compliance:

The verb in the clause is a subjunctive in sentences (52), (53), (54) and (55). In sentence (56) it is the negative subjunctive in subordinate clause with a copulative clause with kho:

(52) uMphuthumi [wayalezwa kakhulu ukuba anyameke]
Mphuthumi was asked to take it easy.
(Jordan 1940:91)

(53) Ummangalelwa [kufuneka imcacele into yokuba kusenkundleni apha]
It should be clear to the accused that this is the court.
(Ngewu 1997:75)
(54) **Bafika bamomeleza besithi** [kufanele kaloku ukuba bakwantsasana baphande, baza kuphinda bambuyise]
They encouraged him and said the police must do their investigation, they are going to bring him back.

(Saule 1995:91)

(55) **Njengomfiki nanjengomntu ophethweyo,** [kwakufuneka aginye nokuba kuyakrakra, azixolise ngokwenza into esemxholweni xa eyedwa].
Just like a new arrival he was supposed to swallow even if it was bitter, and then satisfy himself by doing what he wants when he is alone?

(Saule 1995:26)

(56) **Kananjalo yayingazi kulunga** [into yokuba inkokheli yonke ingabikho eqeleni elikhokhelayo.]
It was not going to be right that the whole leader is not present in the leading team.

(Saule 1995:43)

In sentence (52), the request for compliance is that Mphuthumi is requested to be cool. The context within which this request has been made is that it has been found that Dingindawo knows that preparations are being made to bring back Zwelinzima as the king of the Mpondomise.

In (53), the request for compliance is that the judge requests Nozinto not to do as she pleases. The context within which this request has been made is that Nozinto has a tendency of interrupting while others are talking.

The request for compliance in (54) is that Mlandeli should agree to be taken by the police. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli is being taken for questioning after his room has been found torched.
In (55) the request for compliance is that Mlandeli should do what he is told to do. The context within which this request has been made is that the houses are doing exercises in preparation for sports competition.

(56)'s request for compliance is that the leader should be present. The context within which this request has been made is that there is a problem at Sontaba when the first team is selected to represent the school. Both Maceba and Mlandeli are playing the same position, so one of them should be left out of the team..

The deficient verb in hortative

The following deficient verbs in hortative that have been found in one of the texts are interpreted as necessity with the meaning of request for compliance:

The verb in a clause is a deficient verb ze in hortative with a subjunctive clause as complement in sentence (57), and in (58) it is a deficient verb khe in hortative with a subjunctive clause as complement; here the necessity is in indirect speech after thi:

(57) Iqela lakhe lalihleli ngexhala, liza kudibana ngobusuku obulandelayo komkhulu, eyaleziwe uMthunzini ukuba kwezi ntsuku zokugqibela [maze alale ubuthongo obungehiyo, ezama ukufumana olu suku.]
His group was worried, was going to meet on the following day at Great place, Mthunzini was told that on these last days he must not be fast asleep, he must try and get the exact day.

(Jordan 1940:92)

(58) ... [wathi kwakuthiwa makakhe athi xha kuxelwe inkosi ukuba nanku uyisekazi eze kubulisa, wahlala phântsi wakhala waphumeleleisa.
... when he was told to wait so that the king could be informed that he wants to greet him, he sat down and cried.

(Jordan 1940:115)
In (57), the request for compliance is that Mthunzini is requested not to fall asleep. The context within which this request has been made is that Mthunzini was going to tell Dingindawo about the latest news, but he found nothing in Mphutumi's suitcase.

The request for compliance in (58) is that Dingindawo is requested to wait for a moment. The context within which this request has been made is that Dingindawo has accepted that Zwelinzima is the real king of the Mpondomise. He is crying simply because he knows that his plans to assassinate Zwelinzima did not succeed.

**Subjunctive in a matrix clause**

The following subjunctive verb in a matrix clause that has been found in one of the texts is interpreted as necessity with the meaning of request for compliance:

The verb in the clause is a subjunctive in a matrix clause with meaning of necessity:

\[(59) \text{[afumane umntwana kule tsotsi uZodwa]} \]

\[\text{Zodwa must have this guy's child.} \]

(Qangule 1974:5)

In the above sentence, the request for compliance is that Zodwa must have a child with the guy she is in love with. The context within which this request has been made is that Lizo no longer loves Zodwa and he wishes every negative thing to happen to her, so that she should have grounds of dumping her.

**The negative hortative clause**

The following hortative clause that has been found in one of the texts is interpreted as necessity with the meaning of request for compliance:

The verb in the clause is in the negative hortative.
In the above example the request for compliance is that Macebo shouldn’t blame other people for his failures. The context in which this request has been made is that Mlandeli tells Mbuyiselo the reason why Macebo has lost his dignity.

4.3.2.6 Request

The Concise Oxford Dictionary (1990) defines request as the act or instance of asking for something. Longman (1978) says request is an attempt to obtain (something) by making one’s wants or desires known in speech or writing.

For instance in the following example the meaning of the clause in brackets is a request. This request can be linguistically expressed by using a subjunctive verb in a coordinated clause after an imperative clause:

(61) **Ukuba ufuna ukuya kudlala full back [yiya uyekane nam]**

If you want to go and play full back, go and stop pestering me.

(Saule 1995:84)

In sentence (61) above, the clause in brackets can be taken as a request for compliance, i.e. Mlandeli requests Macebo to stop provoking him. The reason for this interpretation is to be found in the context in which this request has been uttered, i.e. Mlandeli quarrels with Macebo over a position in the rugby practise.

Within the following sentences, the meaning of the clauses in brackets can be expressed in various ways:
Negative subjunctive clause

The following negative subjunctive clauses that have been found in one of the texts are interpreted as request with the meaning of request for compliance:

The verb in the clause is the negative subjunctive:

(62) [Bafazi, nincede ningandenzi kule nto ndiza kunibalisela] yona kuba yindaba yakwamkhozi.
Ladies, you must please not expose me in which I'm going to tell you because it is a secret.

(Ngewu 1997:15)

(63) Mama uChaneka sicela [ungangeni wena kule nqwelo yabazili]
Mrs Chaneka we ask you not to enter the car for the bereaved.

(Ngewu 1997:61)

(64) [Ungalibali kaloku ukuba phantsi kwezaa mpahla] bazinxibileyo] yimbola ebomvu krwe.
Don't forget that underneath their clothes is illiteracy.

(Ngewu 1997:54)

(65) [Ungalibali ngeCawe ndiza kuba nepati epha endlini]
Don't forget, on Sunday I will have a party here at home.

(Ngewu 1997:53)

In (62), the request for compliance is that Nconyiwe requests her friends not to tell this to anybody. The context within which this request has been made is that they are talking about what Phalisa did in order to attack her husband.

The request for compliance in (63) is that Nozinto should not form part of the procession to the graveyard. The context within which this request has been made is that the policeman wants Nozinto to go with them to the police station for further investigation.
Sentence (64)'s request for compliance is that Nozinto should not forget that her in-laws know nothing. The context within which this request has been made is that Nozinto's in-laws want to do things the traditional way. They don't want any slaughtering on the day of the funeral and also women should not go to the graveyard. Nozinto does not allow that.

In (65) the request for compliance is that Nozinto requests Phalisa not to forget to come to a party on Sunday. The context within which this request has been made is that this will be the first day after the funeral of Zamile.

The imperative clause

The following imperative clauses in the texts are interpreted as request with the meaning of request for compliance:

The verb in the clause is the imperative:

(66) Hayi ntombi, [mthi thsuphe umama wakho]
    (No lady, tell your mother)
    (Qangule 1974:45)

(67) Ubokuyiyeka into xa ungayazi, [uyiyekele abayaziyo]
    You must leave something you don't know, leave it for those who know it.
    (Ngewu 1997:4)

In (66) the request for compliance is that Vathiswa requests Namhla to inform her mother that she is pregnant. The context within which this request has been made is that Namhla is not at all prepared to tell anyone that she is pregnant.

The request for compliance in (67) is that Nconyiwe request Zodidi not to talk about something she does not know. The context within which this request has been made is that they are on their way to Nozinto's house. It is in the middle of the night and they are trying to figure out what is it that Nozinto wants to discuss with them.
4.3.3 Request for action

Longman (1978) defines action as a movement using force or power for some purpose. The Concise Oxford Dictionary (1990) says an action is an exertion of energy or influence. The Reader’s Digest Universal Dictionary (1986) says an action is a condition of exerting energy or being in operation. For instance, in the following sentence, the meaning of the clause in brackets is a statement. This statement can be linguistically expressed by using a deficient verb suka with the subjunctive clause followed by an infinitive clause:

(68) **Wandivelisela indlela yokusebenzisana nabanye, le wena ungenayo, [usuке ufune ukusenza oonyana bakho neentombi zakho]**

He showed me the way of working with other people, this you don't have, and instead you want to make them your sons and daughters.

(Saule 1995:37)

In sentence (68) above, the clause in brackets can be taken as a request for action, i.e. the request is that Nokhwezi requests Macebo not be make them his children. The reason for this interpretation is to be found in the context in which this request has been uttered, i.e. Macebo wanted to know what makes Nokhwezi to be impressed with whatever thing that Mlandeli is doing.

4.3.3.1 Statement

For a full description of statement, refer to paragraph 2.1. Consider the following example:

(69) **Abanye babengenanxa noMlandeli, kodwa [besoyika ukumphikisa] kuba iza kuba ngathi abahambisani naye.**

Others didn't have problems with Mlandeli, but they were afraid to oppose him because it was going to be as if they were not in favour with him.

(Saule 1995:38)
In sentence (69) above, the meaning of the clause in brackets is a statement, which can be linguistically expressed by using a present participial verb with an infinitive clause. This clause can be taken as a request for action, i.e. the request is that other students should feel free to express their opinions. The reason for this interpretation is to be found in the context in which this request has been uttered, i.e. Macebo is persuading other prefects to discipline Mlandeli whenever there is a need.

The negative clause

The following negative clauses in the texts are interpreted as negative statements with the meaning of a request for action.

In (70), the verb in the clause is the copulative with kho in negative subjunctive after thi, the subject agreement affix is existential and the focus is on ulandelayo. In (71), the verb in the clause is the negative participial copulative with kho, the subject agreement affix is existential and the focus is on nendoda. The verb in the clause in (72) is the negative present participial. In (73) it is the negative of the compound tense with deficient verb fane followed by a subjunctive clause. Lastly, in (74), it is the negative copulative clause with kho, the subject agreement affix is existential and the focus is on ixesha lokuncokola:

(70) **Wayesithi ukuba ukhe wangena wasika ethubeni, [kungabikho ulandelayo]**
When he used to get an opportunity and enter in the gap nobody used to follow him.

(Saule 1995:43)

(71) **Eyona nto isisimanga kukuba [kungabikho nendoda le ivelayo].**
The worst thing is that there is not even a single man who appears.

(Ngewu 1997:11)
(72) **Wathi xha kancinci lo mfo bajongana, kungekho uthethayo**  
[engasuki endleleni, wada uMlandeli wathi cebu bucala]  
This man stopped for a while and they looked at each other, no one was speaking, he would not move aside, until Mlandeli moved aside.  

(Saule 1995:9)

(73) **Into eyayilibhida eli qela lakhe yeyokuba lo mfo**  
[wayengafane athethe ngaphandle kokuba uyathethiswa]  
What was confusing his group is that it was not easy for him to talk unless he was made to talk.  

(Saule 1995:23)

(74) **[Akusekho xesha lakuncokola] igazi lam selixhophoza**  
There's no time for talking my blood is already ticking!  

(Qangule 1974:51)

In (70) the request for action is that there should be nobody who follows Mlandeli when he had an opportunity to go through the gap. The context within which this request has been made is that the players of the first team at Sontaba are doing what Macebo told them to do as they don't support Mlandeli in the game.

In (71) the request for action is that there should be men as well. The context within which this request has been made is that Nozinto is surprised to find that they were the first ones to go to her house after her husband was shot.

The request for action of (72) is that they should both move aside so that the road can be clear. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli is a new arrival at Sontaba. Everybody is looking at him because they don't know him.

(73)'s request for action is that Mlandeli should talk. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli's group is confused by his character as they find it difficult to get more information from him.
In (74), the request for action is that Silumko, Namhla, and Lizo should act now. The context within which this request has been made is that Silumko warns both Lizo and Namhla that MaNdoba who had visited them, had brought something in the form of a snakeskin.

The V + NP clause

The following V + NP clauses in the texts are interpreted negative statements with the meaning of a request for action:

The verb in the clause is the perfect participial in (75) consecutive clause in (76) and subjunctive coordinated clause in (77):

(75) Bajika bonke bajonga kuye ngaphandle kukaMacebo owayehlalele phaya phambilana [engcwabe ubuso ezandleni]
They all turned and looked at him except Maceba who was sitting there in front with both hands covering his face.

(Saule 1995:19)

(76) UNokhwezi wayithatha njengendelo le nto yenziwa nguMlandeli, waziva efuthekile, wasondela kaninici, wayithi hluthu loo ncwadi.
Nokhwezi took Mlandeli’s behaviour as a sign of disrespect, she became angry, she came closer and confiscated the book.

(Saule 1995:23)

(77) Ndilapha nje namhlane [ndiphuthume uyise wezo nkedama]
I am here today taking a father to those orphans.

(Jordan 1940:34)

In (75) the request for action is that Macebo should also look at Mlandeli. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli has been given the opportunity to introduce himself.
The request for action of (76) is that Mlandeli should pay attention to what the leader is doing. The context within which this request has been made is that, Mlandeli instead of listening to what his leader is saying, is busy reading a book.

In (77) the request for action is that Mphuthumi is requesting Zwelinzima to return home. The context within which this request has been made is that Mphuthumi is telling Zwelinzima all that he needs to know concerning the kingdom of the Mpondomise.

The passive clause

The following passive clauses in the texts are interpreted with the meaning of a request for action:

The verb in the clause is the deficient verb suke with passive verb in (78) and in (79) it is the copulative clause with coordinated subjunctive clause:

(78) Yammangalisa into yokuba [kusuke kuthiwe cwaka ngento enkulu kangaka]

He was surprised that people kept quiet over such a big thing.

(Saule 1995:97)

(79) [Kukuthathwa ndiziswe emapoliseni ekuseni] ndibhujelwe ngokungathi ndim lo obulele umyeni wam.

It is to be taken to the policemen in the morning while I'm in bereavement as if I am the one who has killed my husband.

(Ngewu 1997:25)

In (78) the request for action is that something should be done. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli's room was torched and he was taken by police for questioning. But after this nothing was done.

In (79) the request for compliance is that Nozinto should be taken to the policemen. The context within which this request has been made is that Nozinto is angry with the police's actions.
The tense clause

The following tense clauses in the texts are interpreted as statement with the meaning of a request for action:

The verb in the clause is the future tense with *za* in (80) and perfect tense in (81) and (82):

(80) *Kwavuywa ke akufika kwakusaziwa ukuba [uza kumonwabisa uThembeka]*
They became happy when he arrived because they knew that he was going to entertain Thembeka.

(Jordan 1940:184)

(81) *Kucacile ukuba asizanga kuxoxa apha, [size kuvumbuluka amabibi asixabanisa kudala]*
It is obvious that we haven't come here to talk, we have come to look into things which caused a quarrel among us long ago.

(Qangule 1974:60)

(82) *Uyabona ke ukuba [uthule umfazana?]*
Do you see that the little woman is quiet?

(Qangule 1974:52)

In (80) the request for action is that Mphuthumi should entertain Thembeka. The context within which this request has been made is that Mphuthumi is responding to what Zwelinzima told him to do.

The request for action in (81) is that there should be an investigation. The context within which this request has been made is that Khulile is concerned that they have not discussed what they had set out to discuss.

in (82) the request for action is that Nambila should keep quiet. The context within which this request has been made is that Silumko has told them that MaNdaba doesn't want them to get married. He also said the person who is worried about this whole thing is Namhla.
The idiom clause

The following idiom clauses in the texts are interpreted with the meaning of a request for action:

(83) **Amanye ayesel' esithi [ayadlelwa yimpahla] emasimini ngenxa yalo nongqawuse.**
Some said their livestock was declining in numbers because of this mystery.

(Jordan 1940:98)

(84) **Umsebenzi omhle uyahlawulelwa**
A nice job is paid for.

(Qangule 1974:52)

In (83) the request for action is that the men are requesting to go home. The context within which this request has been made is that they are tired of waiting for Zwelinzima whom they do not know. Some don't even believe that he is still alive.

The request for action in (84) is that both Namhla and Lizo should pay Silumko. The context within which this request has been made is that Silumko is the witchdoctor who advised them what to do when he found something which was dropped by MaNdaba.

The negative clauses

The following negative clauses that have been found in one of the texts are interpreted as negative statements with the meaning of request for action:

The verb in the clause is the negative with soze with a negative subjunctive clause in (85), in (86) it is the compound tense in negative with deficient verb ze followed by a consecutive clause, in (87) it is the negative verb with an infinitive clause, and in (88) and (89) it is the negative with deficient verb zange:

(85) **Ukuba kubekho ubunzima [uMlandeli akasoze angavezi cebo]**
If there are difficulties Mlandeli cannot afford not to devise a plan.

(Saule 1995:47)
(86) Ukuba bekungenjalo [beningeze namyeka uMacebo aniphathe okwezijnana zakhe]
If it was not that you shouldn’t have allowed Macebo to treat you like his puppies.
(Saule 1995:77)

(87) Yada yonakala into akudinwa uNokhwezi kucengana noMbuyiselo ekwakucaca ukuba [akazimisele kwaphela ukuyinika omnye umntu indebe]
The thing went wrong when Nokhwezi became tired of begging Mbuyiselo when it was clear that he was not prepared to give the trophy over to the other person.
(Saule 1995:57)

(88) Kubo bonke abafundi ababekhe badlula apho esebenza, nkqu noMacebo ngokwakhe, [umntu angazange ambone nguNokhwezi]
Of all the students who used to go past the area where he was working, even Macebo himself, the person he never saw was Nokhwezi.
(Saule 1995:75)

(89) [uMacebo akazange enze zinzame zokuya kususa uNokhwezi kuMlandeli] ingekuba wayengesuswa
Macebo did not make any efforts to remove Nokhwezi from Mlandeli and it was not that she couldn't be removed.
(Saule 1995:81)

In (85) the request for action is that Mlandeli should devise a plan if there were any difficulties. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli has not yet arrived although he has been selected for the first team. Some students suggest that he should be dropped and his position be taken by somebody else. However Macebo refuses.
The request for action in (86) is that Nokhwezi and the other prefects must not allow Macebo to treat them like his puppies. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli blames Nokhwezi for allowing Macebo to do as he likes.

In (87) the request for action is that Mbuyiselo should give the trophy to the other person. The context within which this request has been made is that Sontaba has won a trophy when it was playing against Qelekequshe.

In (88) the request for action is that Nokhwezi should also go past the area where Mlandeli is working. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli is serving his sentence after he has been found guilty of doing something that might bring the school into disrepute.

The request for action in (89) is that Nokhwezi should go further away from Mlandeli. The context within which this request has been made is that Nokhwezi cannot hide her feelings when Mlandeli was nominated for the first prize in the whole school.

4.3.3.2 Question

Refer to paragraph 2.4 for a definition of a question. Consider the following example:

(90) Nto nje ndifun' ukuyiqonda yeyokuba le ndlu yobukhosi nimbizela kuyo lo mntwana ndandigqibele inenkunkuma nje, [niyitshayele na loo nkunkuma?]
The thing I want to know is about this house of the chieftainship in which you are naming this child - the last time it was dirty, did you sweep it?

(Jordan 1940:104)

In example (90) above, the clause in brackets is a question. This question can be linguistically expressed by using an idiom. This clause is also a request for action, i.e. the request is that the Mpondomise should remove all the obstacles before Zwelinzima assumes his duties as the king of the Mpondomise. The reason for this interpretation is to be found in the context in which this request has been uttered, i.e. the Mpondomise are at Gcinizibele's house and they have come to take Zwelinzima.
The deficient verb clause

The following deficient verb clauses that have been found in the texts are with the meaning of a request for action:

The verb in the clause is the deficient verb ze in future tense with ya in (91), and in (92) it is the deficient verb khe with consecutive clause followed by an Infinitive clause:

(91) [Uya kuze niyincome nini into xa intle?]
When are you going to praise something nice?
(Saule 1995:45)

(92) Ukhe wakhala nje ukwazisa abamelwana?
Did you cry so as to inform the neighbours?
(Ngewu 1997:8)

In (91) the request for action is that Macebo should give praise where it is due. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli had a very nice game when they were playing against Qelekequshe. Everybody was impressed by his performance except Macebo.

The request for compliance in (92) is that Nozinto should have cried so as to draw the attention of the neighbours. The context within which this request has been made is that Nozinga and her friends have been invited by Nozinto. They are surprised to find that she wanted to tell them that her husband has been shot.

The negative verb clauses

The following negative verb clauses in the texts are interpreted as negative statements with the meaning of request for action:

The verb in the clauses is the copulative with PP with na as head of an Infinitive clause as complement of na, the subject agreement affix is existential in (93), in (94) the verb in the clause is a negative of participial perfect tense. In (95) and (96), it is the negative present participial with kutheni:
In (93), the request for action is that Nokhwezi should make a plan to greet Mlandeli or Mbuyiselo. The context within which this request has been made is that Nokhwezi didn’t want to see Mlandeli when he was serving his punishment because she knew that he was wrongly accused.

The request for action in (94) is that Nozinto should have called the police immediately after her husband was shot. The context within which this request has been made is that Nconyiwe finds it hard to believe what Nozinto is telling them. She suspects that Nozinto has played a role in this attack.

In (95) the request for action is that Zodidi should sit down. The context within which this request has been made is that Zodidi’s husband is talking to Sipho. At the same time, he wants his wife to sit down.
(96)’s request for action is that Khomba requests Sipho to write down what he is telling him. The context within which this request has been made is that Khomba is telling Sipho why he is not in good relations with his neighbour, Nozinto.

**Nga + ba clause**

The following nga + ba clause that has been found in one of the texts is interpreted with the meaning of a request for action:

The verb in the clause is the applicative with ntoni:

(97) *Efikile apho [wabuza ukuba ngaba kuhlelelwe ntoni na ngoku], yaphuma nje imbizo.*
Upon arrival he asked why are they sitting there, when the gathering was dispersed long ago.

(Jordan 1940:191)

In sentence (97) above, the request for action is that the Mpondomise should go as there is no meeting. The context within which this request has been made is that the Mpondomise were gathered at a king’s place to discuss, among other things, the steps to be taken concerning Thembeka’s behaviour.

**V + Infinitive clause**

The following V + Inf. clause that has been found in one of the texts is interpreted with the meaning of a request for action:

The verb in the clause is a subjunctive with an Infinitive after ukuze:

(98) *[Kwathini ukuze nikhethe ukugada kwindawo enaziyo ukuba ayibi nabantu?]*
Why did you decide to watch in a place you know has no people?

(Saule 1995:88)
In (98) above, the request for action is that the security should not guard in a place where there are no people. The context within which this request has been made is that Mr Ngatha is surprised to find that the security guards were not present when Mlandeli's room was set alight.

4.3.3.3 Necessity

Refer to paragraph 2.5 for a definition of necessity. Consider the following example:

(99) [Kanti kufuneka uzamile nokuba kunzima]
You must try no matter how hard it is.
(Ngewu 1997:23)

In example (99) above, the clause in brackets can be taken as a request for necessity. This necessity can be linguistically expressed by using a perfect tense in subordinate clause after kufuneka. This clause in brackets is also a request for action, i.e. the request is that Nozinto should not cry. The reason for this interpretation is to be found in the context within which this request has been uttered, i.e. Phalisa and Nozinto are busy discussing what to do when people have come to share with them the news that Zamile is dead.

Within the following sentences the meaning of the clause in brackets is a necessity. This necessity can be expressed in various ways:

The subjunctive clause

The following subjunctive clauses that have been found in the texts are interpreted with the meaning of a request for action:

The verb in the clause is a subjunctive in subordinate clause:
(100) **[wamkhweba ukuba angene ngaphakathi]** evungama ngelithi uMlandeli akayotyuwa, ayizi kumnyibilikisa imvula.
He called him inside and he was complaining that Mlandeli is not a salt, he is not going to dissolve because of rain.

(Saule 1995:4)

(101) **Ngoko ke chief ingathi [kuza kufuneka usebenze ngamandla]**
Therefore, chief, it looks like you'll have to work hard.

(Saule 1995:36)

(102) **uMlandeli wayebawela ngaloo mzuzu [ukuba u "mam" akhe abe nento yokuthetha nokuba yintoni na,] kodwa wazithulela u- "mam" wabantu.**
Mlandeli wanted "mam" to say something no matter what is was, but the "mam" kept quiet.

(Saule 1995:70)

(103) **Le nto wayicinga kakhulu uDingindawo ngoku seleseMatyeba, wada ngokudideka [wangxamela ukuqesha imoto ibe kufuphi naye]**
Dingindawo thought deeply about this while he was still at Matyeba, until because of confusion he hurried to hire a car to be closer to him.

(Jordan 1940:97)

(104) **Kwachithakalwa ke, inkosi phofu yona isasele komkhulu kuba ixhwele layo lalisaxakekile litshutshuza, [liyisebenzela ukuba ibe nzima yakubidana nalo mfokazi]**
They dispersed, the king remained at a Great place because his traditional doctor was busy, making it difficult when he met his relative.

(Jordan 1940:93)
(105) **Wathi ke ngoko [wayinyamekela into yokuba unyana wakhe afunde]**
He tolerated the fact that his son should get educated.

(Jordan 1940:72)

(106) **... usuke uthi kwakufuneka nawe ngoku wenza eyakho inxaxheba, [wale, uthi wena akumazi] naloo Zanemvula?**
... you simply refuse when you must do your role, and say you don't even understand that, Zanemvula.

(Jordan 1940:38)

(107) **Emva kokudliwa yinja, umntwana waba nobulwelwe, wabhitya wangcungcutheka, kangangokuba amaphakathi acebise [ukuba asiwe kooSiyazi].**
After the child was bitten by the dog, he became lonely, lost weight and didn't become happy again, so much that the people advised that he should be taken to the traditional doctors.

(Jordan 1940:17)

(108) **Wayesel' enqabile komkhulu kuba yayingaphumelelanga [into awayeyizama yokuba uZwelinzima agwintwe engadanga ahlale esihlalweni]**
He was already afraid at a Great place because his efforts that Zwelinzima should be attacked before occupying his seat were not successful.

(Jordan 1940:141)

(109) **[Wacebisa ukuba uFather Williams [ayiqubule inkosi ukuza kwakhe komkhulu]**
He advised Father Williams to come unexpectedly to the king when he was going to the Great place.

(Jordan 1940:224)
(110) **UZamile ndandisoloko [ndimcenga ukuba alithathele kuye uxanduva lokuhlawula indlu]**

I've been pleading with Zamile to take on the responsibility of paying for the house.

*(Ngewu 1997:9)*

(111) **Ukuba iinjongo zam ibikukugalela amanzi olu phando [ngendingamkhuthazanga umphandi] [ukuba aqhube umsebenzi wakhe]**

If my aim was to stop this investigation, I shouldn't have encouraged the detective to proceed with his job.

*(Ngewu 1997:70)*

In (100), the request for action is that Mlandeli should come inside. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli is on his way to Sontaba where he is going to finish his secondary education. He is sitting at the back of his father's bakkie and it is raining.

In request for action in (101), is that Nokhwezi requests Maceba to work harder. The context within which this request has been made is that Maceba is worried by Mlandeli's presence at Sontaba. Everybody seems to be focussing on Mlandeli instead of focussing on him.

In (102) the request for action is that the wife of the warden should say something to Mlandeli. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli is at the warden's house.

In (103) the request for action is that the car should be closer to Dingindawo. The context within which this request has been made is that Dingindawo is worried that a group referred to as Mafelandawonye can use any means to bring Zwelinzima back home.

In (104) the request for action is that is should not be easy when Dingindawo meets Zwelinzima. The context within which this request has been made is that Dingindawo sees himself as the only king of the Mpondomise. He is not in favour of Zwelinzima's coming back to take his throne.
The request for action in (105) is that Dingindawo is requesting his son to be educated. The context within which this request has been made is that Dingindawo knows the value of education. He also knows the role that is played by education in one's life. That is why he wants his son to be educated.

In (106) the request for action is that the Bishop is requesting Zwelinzima to take up his responsibilities. The context within which this request has been made is that Zwelinzima had a meeting with the Bishop. The Bishop saw that Zwelinzima is not interested in becoming a king.

In (107) the request for action is that the people are requesting the child's parents to send him to the traditional healer. The context within which this request has been made is that Mphuthumi is telling Thembeka what was worrying him.

The request for action in (108) is that Zwelinzima should be killed before he assume his duties as the king of the Mpondomise. The context within which this request has been made is that Mphuthumi got this information from the letters he stole from Mphuthumi's suitcase.

The request for action in (109) is that Father Williams should come unexpectedly to the king. The context within which this request has been made is that Vukuzumbetbe is worried about Zwelinzima's behaviour ever since he was told to get married. He is trying to get people to hear his views.

In (110) the request for action is that Zamile should take the responsibility of paying for the house. The context within which this request has been made is that Nozinto is not telling the truth to Zodidi. Zodidi wants to know what they were talking about on the telephone.

In (111) the request for action is that the detective should do his job. The context within which this request has been made is that Nozinto is denying the fact that she tried to bribe the detective not to find her responsible for the death of her husband.

In (112) the request for action is that Nokhwezi should move away from Macebo. The context within which this request has been made is that Macebo is saying all the negative
things about Mlandeli. This makes Nokhwezi angry because she knows that there is no truth in what Macebo is saying.

The negative subjunctive

The following negative subjunctive that has been found in one of the texts is interpreted with the meaning of a request for action:

The verb in the clause is the negative subjunctive in subordinate clause:

(113) **Bendicebisa ukuba [ungangxami ngomsebenzi namhlanje]**  
My advice was that you don't need to hurry to work today.  
(Ngewu 1997:25)

In (113) above the request for action is that Nozinto should not go to work. The context within which this request has been made is that Nozinto is the only one who have more information about the death of her husband.

The deficient verb clause

The following deficient verb clause that has been found in one of the texts is interpreted with the meaning of a request for action:

The verb in the clause is the deficient verb **nge** with **khe** followed by a subjunctive clause:

(114) **[Akutsho [ukuthi [ngewukhe uye kwagqirha?]]**  
Don't you think that you should go to the doctor?

In (114) above the request for action is that Thembeka should go to the doctor. The context within which this request has been made is that Thembeka is sharing a room with Nomvuyo at the ladies' hostel. She has a tendency of screaming while she is asleep at night.
4.3.3.4 Request

Refer to paragraph 2.6 for a definition of a request. Consider the following example:

(115) Lahambisa lathi, uMacebo ebekhe wazama ukuwa - [yalela amaboys [ukuba angene emagumbini awo], kodwa ala kwaphela.

He went further and said, Macebo has tried to order the boys into their rooms, but they refused.

(Saule 1995:62)

In example (115) above, the clause in brackets is a request. This request can be linguistically expressed by using a subjunctive in a coordinated clause. The clause in brackets is also a request for action, i.e. the request is that the boys should go to their rooms. The reason for this interpretation is to be found in the context in which this request has been uttered, i.e. Mlandeli is surprised to find that the students have refused to do what Macebo was telling them to do.

Within the following sentences, the meaning of the clauses in brackets is a request. This request can be expressed in various ways.

The deficient verb clauses

The following deficient verb clauses that have been found in the texts are interpreted with the meaning of a request for action:

The verb in the clause is the deficient verb za in subjunctive followed by a subjunctive clause in (116), and in (117) it is the deficient verb za in hortative with negative subjunctive clause, the request is after thi:
(116) Ukuba nibone ukuhesha ngengubo, [zeniwele ngokukhawuleza kodwa ningangxoli, niye kuma ngakuloo mntu wobe ephethe eli hlahla].
If you've seen a waving by the blanket, you must cross immediately, but you must not make noise, you must go and stand near that person who will be holding this branch.

(Jordan 1940:113)

(117) Phambi kokuqala kogqatso, uMlandeli wayefumbathise uNokhwezi incwadana [awathi maze angayivuli de uqqatso ludlule].
Before the race started, Mlandeli gave Nokhwezi a booklet, which he said she should not open it until the race is over.

(Saule 1995:34)

In (116) the request for action is that Dinginawo is requesting his followers to cross upon the sight of a certain sign. The context within which this request has been made is that Dingndawo's followers have gathered at a Great place.

In (117) the request for action is that Mlandeli requests Nokhwezi not to open the booklet he gave her. The context within which this request has been made is that this is the big day as different houses of Sontaba are competing against each other.

The hortative clause

The following hortative clauses that have been found in one of the texts are interpreted with the meaning of request for action:

The verb in the clause is a hortative:

(118) Kwabhungwa kwabhungwa, [kwagqitywa ekubeni makavalwe onke amazibuko]
They discussed it and decided to close all the entrances.

(Jordan 1940:92)
(119) Waba ngayibonisa inkosi uMthunzima [ukuba mayihambe iye eMatyeba] yala, yathi ngaphandle kokuba ube nokulandwa umkhondo waba bantu ayizi kuyenza into yokumka komkhulu. Mthumzima tried all he could to persuade that king to go to Matyeba but the king refused, saying unless those people could be traced he won't leave a Great place.

(Jordan 1940:95)

(120) Ukuba baninzi abantu abangabaziyo [maze angene afake imbumbulu kubo], kuba "loo mfokazi" woba ngamnye wabo. If there are many people that we do not know, we must shoot them, because that person might be one of them.

(121) UThembeka andikhanga ndithethe konke naye oko ithe yenzeka le nto, ngaphandle kokumxelela [ukuba makakhwel' emotweni sihambe] I didn't tell Thembeka anything ever since this thing happened, except telling her that she should come to the car and we go.

(Jordan 1940:177)

(122) Wagqibela ngokuthi [mayithi ifika imini yokubekwa kwakhe abe selenalo ixhwele elimphathaphathayo] akukho nkosi ikhe ihlale nje. He concluded by saying he should be a traditional doctor for this inauguration, there is no king who can stay for the sake of staying.

(Jordan 1940:123)

(123) ... kwabonakala [ukuba uGcinizibele makaqeshe imoto yesibini] ... it became evident that Gcinizibele should hire the second car.

(Jordan 1940:107)
Dingindawo immediately entered the house, and said he should be followed by Jongilanga and this man who had just arrived.

(Jordan 1940:99)

In (118) the request for action is that all entrances should be closed. The context within which this request has been made is that the time has come for Zwelinzima to rule. Most Mpondomise are under the impression that Zwelinzima died long ago.

The request for action of (119) is that the king should leave the Great place and go to Matyeba. The context within which this request has been made is that this is after Mthunzimi has reported that Danisa is not at home.

(120)’s request for action is that the men should shoot all the people they are not familiar with. The context within which this request has been made is that this is done in opposition to Zwelinzima who is the king of the Mpondomise. The people only know Dingindawo as their king.

In (121) the request for action is that Thembeka should go away. The context within which this request has been made is that Zwelinzima tells his father-in-law about the events that led them to bring Thembeka home.

In (122) the request for action is that Ngxabane requests Zwelinzima to treat him with the traditional medicines. The context within which this request has been made is that Ngxabane saw that Dingindawo didn’t succeed in attacking Zwelinzima by weapons, the only means he is going to use is traditional medicine.

The request for action in (123) is that Gcinizibele should hire the second car. The context within which this request has been made is that the Mpondomise are now leaving Sheshegu with Zwelinzima. Gcinizibele is hiring this second car with the aims of hiding from the journalists.
In (124) the request for action is that Dingindawo is requesting Jongilanga and the other man to follow him. The context within which this request has been made is that this other man has brought news that he saw Damisa walking alone. He was panicking.

The negative subjunctive clause

The following negative subjunctive clause that has been found in one of the texts is interpreted with the meaning of a request for action:

(125) [Ningalibali kaloku ukuba mna ndiyaphangela ngomso]
You must not forget that I'm going to work tomorrow.
(Ngewu 1997:12)

In (125) the request for action is that Nozinga requests her friends not to spend much time with her. The context within which this request has been made is that they want to discuss at length what they have just seen at Nozinto's house.

4.3.3.5 Condition

Refer to paragraph 2.2 for a definition of condition. Consider the following example:

(126) Uyabona, [ukuba uPhalisa lo angancinwa] ininzi into anokuza nayo. Sisisele senyathi eso.
You see, if Phalisa can be searched, there's a lot that she can bring to light. She is deep.
(Ngewu 1997:13)

In example (126) above, the clause in brackets is a request. This request can be linguistically expressed by using the potential clause after ukuba. This clause in brackets is also a request for condition, i.e. the request is that Phalisa should be investigated. The context within which this request has been made is that Phalisa possesses a wealth of information about the events that led to the attack of Nozinto's husband.

Within the following sentences, the clauses in brackets are the requests for condition. This condition can be expressed in various ways:
The negative verb clause

The following negative verb clauses that have been found in the texts are interpreted with the meaning of a request for action.

The verb in the clause is the negative perfect participial in (127), in (128) it is the negative copulative clause with PP with na and Infinitive, the subject agreement affix is existential and the condition is after ukuba with possibility, and lastly in (129), it is the negative of the participial perfect tense and the condition is after xa:

(127) Ndiyanazi ukuba nifuna ukutshata, anisoze niwungcamle loo mtshato [ningenzanga nto ngale nyoka]
I know that you want to get married, but you won't taste that marriage if you haven't done something about this snake.
(Qangule 1974:51)

(128) [Ukuba akunakwenziwa umzekelo] ngoMlandeli lo ngawo lo mzuzu, soze kubekho mbeko kweli qela.
If an example cannot be made by Mlandeli right now, there won't be discipline in this team.
(Saule 1995:47)

(129) Phofu [xa engabanjwanga] ugcinelweni emapoliseni?
If she's not detained, why has she been kept at the police station?
(Ngewu 1997:31)

In (127) the request for action is that both Lizo and Namhla should do something about this snake. The context within which this request has been made is that Silumko is advising them what to do after he had found a snakeskin, which he said, was dropped by MaNdaba.
The request for action in (128) is that something should be done about Mlandeli. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli has failed to arrive in time although he has been selected to represent his school. Some students, particularly, Macebo, are furious about this and they want something to be done.

In (129) the request for action is that Nozinto should not be kept in the police station. She should be set free. The context within which this request has been made is that Phalisa is furious to find that Nozinto has just been kept at the police station.

The deficient verb clause

The following deficient verb clause that has been found in one of the texts is interpreted with the meaning of a request for action.

The verb in the clause is a deficient verb khe with past tense and the condition is after ukuba:

(130) Waqalisa kwangoko uMacebo ukuhamba eshumayela into yokuba [ukuba bakhe bamyeka uMlandeli wadlala kakuhle], izithuba zabo zisenkathazweni.
Macebo started here and there to go around saying if they leave Mlandeli to play well, their positions are in trouble.
(Saule 1995:43)

In (130) the request for action is that the other students shouldn't allow Mlandeli to play well. The context within which this request has been made is that Macebo is doing everything in his power to win the support of other students and to persuade them against Mlandeli.

The indicative verb

The following indicate verb with infinitive clause that has been found in one of the texts is interpreted with the meaning of a request for action.
The verb in the clause is the perfect tense indicative with infinitive clause after *ukuba*:

(131) *Uya kusiqqiba kudala esi sohlwayo [ukuba ulibele kukuthetha]*

You will take time to finish this sentence if you keep on talking.

(Saule 1995:76)

In (131) the request for action is that Mlandeli should stop talking. The context within which this request has been made is that the school authorities have punished Mlandeli for doing things that might bring the school into disrepute.

4.3.3.6 **Possibility**

Refer to paragraph 2.3 for a definition of possibility. Consider the following example:

(132) *Mlandeli mfo wam [ingathi mninzi umsebenzi oza kujongana nawo kule ndawo]*

Mlandeli my son, it looks like there is a lot of work that you’ll come across here.

(Saule 1995:13)

In example (132) above, the clause in brackets is a possibility. This possibility can be linguistically expressed by using the copulative clause after *ngathi*. This clause in brackets is also a request for action, i.e. Ncibane requests Mlandeli to work hard. The reason for this interpretation is to be found in the context in which this request has been uttered, i.e. Ncibane has accompanied his son to register at Sontaba.

Within the following sentences, the clauses in brackets show possibility. This possibility can be expressed in various ways:

**The copulative clause**

The following copulative clause that has been found in one of the texts is interpreted with the meaning of a request for action.
The verb in the clause is a copulative with a potential nga:

\[(133) \text{[Angaba yityhefu ukuba unokuyekwa], yiva kwakwindlela le} \]
\[
thetha ngayo, uzithembe ngokungathi liggwetha. \]

He can be a poison if he is left, listen to the way in which he speaks, he is as confident as if he is a lawyer.

\[(Saule 1995:72)\]

In (133) above, the request for action is that something should be done about Mlandeli. The context within which this request has been made is that the woman who is speaking on behalf of the parents is expressing her views about Mlandeli.

The negative of the Indicative

The following negatives of the Indicative that have been found in one of the texts are interpreted with the meaning of a request for action.

The verb in the clause is the negative of Indicative perfect tense after ngathi in (134) and in (135) it is after ngaba:

\[(134) \text{Umntu angenzakala ngolu hlobo abantu bahlale [ngathi} \]
\[
\text{akwenzekanga nto?] \}
\]

Can a person get injured in this way and yet people stay as if nothing has happened?

\[(Ngewu 1997:10)\]

\[(135) \text{Le nkundla ingaba ayiwenzanga umsebenzi wayo ukuba} \]
\[
\text{umangalelwa angabhungca kweli tyala.} \]

This court would have not done its job if the accused can win in this case.

\[(Ngewu 1997:83)\]

In (134) the request for action is that people should do something. The context within which this request has been made is that Nconyiwe has found that Zamile did not lie. She wants people to act quickly in order to save Zamile’s life.
The request for action in (135) is that the accused should be sentenced. The context within which this request has been made is that the prosecutor is giving his views about the whole issue surrounding Nozinto.

4.3.3.7 Exception

The Concise Oxford Dictionary (1990) defines exception as the act or an instance of excepting. Longman (1978) says exception means apart from. Consider the following sentence:

(136) Enye into eyayimxaka kukuba uMlandeli wayencokola naye wonke omnye umntu [ngaphandle kwabo ziprifekthu.]
The other thing that was confusing her was that Mlandeli was talking to everybody except to them, the prefects.
(Saule 1995:38)

In (136) above, the meaning of the clause in brackets is an exception, which can be linguistically expressed by using it after Phandle. This clause in brackets is also a request for action, i.e. the request is that Mlandeli should talk to the prefects. The reason for this interpretation is to be found in the context in which this request has been uttered, i.e. Mlandeli’s behaviour at Sontaba is attracting the attention of everybody from the teachers to the students. He also excels in everything from sports to academic activity.

4.3.3.8 Permission

The Concise Oxford Dictionary (1990) defines permission as authorization. Longman (1978) says permission is an agreement. Consider the following example:

(137) Indoda enento yokuthetha ke ngaloo nto [ingandilandela].
A man who has got something to say about that thing can follow me.
(Jordan 1940:190)
In example (137) above, the clause in brackets indicates permission. This permission can be linguistically expressed by using a potential with nga. This clause in brackets can also be taken as a request for action, i.e. Ngubengwe requests anyone who is suspicious to follow him. The context within which this request has been made is that the Mpondomise have gathered at the king’s place to discuss the things they need to do in order to address Thembeka’s behaviour. Instead of this, they are busy debating over who are the real Mpondomise.

4.3.3.9 Contract

The Concise Oxford Dictionary (1990) defines a contract as a written or spoken agreement between two or more parties, intended to be enforceable by law. Longman (1978) says a contract is a formal agreement, having the force of law, between two or more people or groups. Consider the following example:

(138) Ibisithi yakuza ngasemva ayingombe kukhuzwe [endaweni yokuba kuqhwatywe izandla]
When the ball was going to the back he used to hit it in such a way that they were too surprised to clap hands.

(Saule 1995:45)

In example (138) above, the clause in brackets is a contract, which can be linguistically expressed by using a subjunctive clause after ukuba. This clause in brackets is also a request for action, i.e. the request is that the audience should clap hands. The reason for this interpretation is to be found in the context in which this request has been uttered, i.e. Mlandeli is showing his skills in hitting the tennis ball. His school, Sontaba, is playing against the other school referred to as Qelekequshe.

4.3.3.10 Ability

Longman (1978) says an ability is a power and skill especially to do, think, make, and act. The Concise Oxford Dictionary (1990) says an ability is a capacity or power. Consider the following example:
In example (139) above, the clause in brackets is an ability. This ability can be linguistically expressed by using a verb with an infinitive clause. The clause in brackets is also a request for action, i.e. Mbuyiselo requests Macebo to say what he wants to say. The context within which this request has been made is that they are at Sontaba and are busy talking about Mlandeli.

4.3.3.11 The verb clause

The following verb clause that has been found in one of the texts is interpreted with the meaning of a request for action.

The verb in the clause is the verb with Infinitive clause:

(140) Wayesazi ukuba inoMlandeli phakathi, kodwa engakwazi nje [ukude amdibanise neyona ndawo ichanekileyo].
He knew that it was Mlandeli in between but he didn't know how to match him with the right thing.

(Saule 1995:43)

In (140) above, the request for action is that Macebo should be able to match Mlandeli with the right thing. The context within which this request has been made is that Macebo is worried that the changes that Mlandeli is bringing at Sontaba are going to bring the school into disrepute.

4.3.4 Information

Longman (1978) defines information as the knowledge in the form of facts. The Concise Oxford Dictionary (1990) says information is something told. For instance in the following sentence the meaning of the clause in brackets is a statement. This statement can be linguistically expressed by using a negative perfect indicative with deficient verb khe (khange):
(141) [Khange uzihluphe nakancinane ngokundixelela inyaniso]
You never bothered yourself by telling me the truth.

(Ngewu 1997:78)

In sentence (141) above, the request for information is that the lawyer requests Nozinto to tell him the truth. The context within which this request has been made is that the lawyer representing Nozinto is finding it hard to defend her as she didn't tell her the whole truth. The request for information appears in the following types of sentences within the four books:

4.3.4.1 Statement

Refer to paragraph 2.1 for a definition of statement. Consider the following example:

(142) [Kambe uMthunzini akazanga amxelele uMphuthumi ukuba uya komkhulu]
Mthunzini never told Mphuthumi that he is going to the Great place.

(Jordan 1940:83)

In example (142) above, the meaning of the clause in brackets is a statement, which can be linguistically expressed by using negative of perfect tense with deficient verb za (zange) followed by a subjunctive clause. This clause in brackets is also a request for information, i.e. the request is that Mthunzini should have told Mphuthumi that he is going to the Great place. The reason for this interpretation is to be found in the context in which this request has been uttered, i.e. Mthunzini stole the letters from Mphthumi's suitcase which contain confidential information about the kingdom of the Mpondomise.

Within the following sentences, the meaning of the clauses in brackets is a statement. This statement can be expressed in various ways:
The negative clause

The following negative clause that has been found in one of the texts is interpreted as negative statement with the meaning of a request for information.

The verb in the clause is a the negative Perfect Indicative with deficient verb za (zange):

(143) Waba uyavunywa kwaSontaba ngolo hlobo uMlandeli, naxa uNtanjana kwakubonakala ukuba unokungonwabi okuthile. [akazange athethe kodwa].
This is how Mlandeli was admitted at Sontaba, although it was clear that there was something that had made Ntanjana unhappy. But he never said what is was.

(Saule 1995:14)

In (143) above, the request for information is that Ntanjana should mention what made him unhappy. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli is finally admitted at Sontaba as one of the students.

The negative of the present tense

The following negatives of the present tense in the texts are interpreted as negative statements with the meaning of a request for information:

The verb in the clause are negative of the present tense Indicative in (144), in (145) it is negative present tense indicative with deficient verb khe followed by a subjunctive clause; in (146) and (157) it is negative of present tense participle; in (148), (149) and (150) it is negative of the present tense participle:

(144) UMlandeli okoko efikile [isibane segumbi lakhe akasazi ukuba sicinywa nini kuba yena khankatha ulala sisalunyekiwe.
Ever since Mlandeli arrived he never knew when the light of his room went off, because even as a warden he slept while it was still on.

(Saule 1997:26)
(145) Ndithule nje ndihlutshwa yinto yokuba [asikhe siwubambe umxholo].
I'm keeping quiet because I'm worried that we normally don't get the theme.

(Qangule 1974:11)

(146) Wamangaliswa yinto yokuba ahlale ixesha elide [engabuzwanga mvelaphi] ngokungathi iyaziwa into ayihambeleyo.
He was surprised that he stayed for a long time without being asked where he was coming from, as if they already knew.

(Jordan 1940:73)

(147) Kwezo ziwakuwa mnye umntu owayethe cwaka, ingumnumzana Rhadebe, [ingaziwa into ayicingayo]
In those masses there was only one person who was quiet, it was Mr. Rhadebe, nobody knew what he was thinking of.

(Saule 1995:32)

(148) UMacebo walala ngendlu iveki yonke [ingaziwa kakuhle into emphetheyo]
Macebo slept for the whole week and nobody knew what was bothering him.

(Saule 1995:33)

(149) Wayesithi akufika kule ndawo uMlandeli kubekho abafundi abafuna ukuvukwa yiminyele, bafumane bahlunguzelise iintloko bengasitsho isizathu.
When Mlandeli was talking about this thing some students used to get angry, they were shaking their heads and didn't mention the reason.

(Saule 1995:40)
Werna okomzuzwana [uMlandeli engathethi], noNokhwezi kungekho nto ibonisa ukuba uzingisele ukutsho nto.
Mlandeli stood for a while and he said nothing, and even from Nokhwezi there was nothing, which showed that she wanted to say something.

(Saule 1995:75)

In (144), the request for information is that Mr. Nqatha wants to know when the light of Mlandeli's room goes off. The context within which this request has been made is that there are many things that make Mr. Nqatha unhappy about Mlandeli's behaviour.

The request for information in (145) is that the speakers should get the theme. The context within which this request has been made is that Khulile is worried that on many occasions they don't get the gist of what they are talking about.

(146)'s request for information is that Mthunzini is requesting his people to ask him where he is coming from. The context within which this request has been made is that Mthunzini is bringing the news that Zwelinzima is still alive and he is the king of the Mpondomise.

In (147) the request for information is that Mr. Rhadebe should show what he is thinking of. The context within which this request has been made is that it is during the sports and students of Sontaba are going to compete against one another.

In (148) the request for information is that Macebo should mention what is bothering him. The context within which this request has been made is that Macebo is jealous of Mlandeli's progress. His main worry is that Mlandeli surpasses him in everything.

The request for information in (149) is that the students should mention the reason why they are shaking their heads. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli used to tell the students about their great leaders some of whom are at Robben Island.

In (150) the request for information is that both Mlandeli and Nokhwezi should have something to say. The context within which this request has been made is that Nokhwezi has not seen Mlandeli ever since he was ordered to serve the punishment.
The negative of consecutive

The following negatives of the consecutive coordinated clauses that have been found in the texts are interpreted as negative statement with the meaning of a request for information.

The verb in the clause is the negative of consecutive coordinated clause:

(151) **UMnumzana Nqatha wabonakala ukuba unento emhluphayo kodwa akathetha.**

It was clear that there was something worrying Mr. Nqatha but he didn’t speak.

(Saule 1995:26)

(152) **NakuNtanjana zaya kufika zishushu zinjalo, wahlala elindele umninizo, kodwa [akaze atsho ukuvela].**

Even Ntanjana received the news as well, he waited for their source, but the source never appeared.

(Saule 1995:85)

(153) **Isenzo sika Mnumzana Nqatha sammagalisa, kodwa ke [akathetha]**

Mr. Nqatha’s action surprised him, but he didn’t speak.

(Saule 1995:70)

In (151) the request is that Mr. Nqatha should mention what bothers him. The context within which this request has been made is that Mr. Nqatha was not himself when he told Mlandeli his message.

The request for action in (152) is that the source of the news should go to Mr. Ntanja. The context within which this request has been made is that Macebo ran away from the rugby practise because he feared that Mlandeli was going to attack him.
In (153) the request for action is that Mlandeli should speak because of Mr. Nqatha’s action. The context within which this request has been made is that Mr. Nqatha invited Mlandeli to his house and his wife prepared him something to eat.

**Copulative clause with kho**

The following copulative clauses with *kho* that have been found in the texts are interpreted as negative statements with the meaning of a request for information.

The verb in the clause is the negative indicative in copulative clause with *kho*, the subject agreement is existential in sentences (154) and (155). In (156) it is the negative present participle in copulative clause with *kho*, the subject agreement affix is existential. In (157) it is the negative copulative clause with *zanga* and *kho*, the subject agreement affix is existential. In (158) it is the negative compound tense with deficient verb *ye* in copulative clause with *kho* and the subject agreement affix is existential.

(154) **Kodwa ngoku wathi akumqwalasela wabona ukuba [akukho nto iyiyo anokuyifumana kulo mntu], kuba ngathi ingqondo yakhe imi.**

When he noted her he saw that he could get nothing from this person, because her mind was not functioning.

*(Jordan 1940:223)*

(155) **[Akukho mntu wakha wathi kum uyawudlala umbhoxo] nawe ungazange utsho.**

Nobody told it me you are playing rugby and you also didn’t say so.

*(Saule 1995:46)*

(156) **Kweli cala kwakungekho mpithizelo, [kungekho nanto ebonakalisa ukuba kuyabhaliswa]**

This side was not busy, there was not even a sign that shows that it is registration.

*(Saule 1995:9)*
(157) Akuzange kothuke mntu naxa zivalwayo ezo ngxoxo
[kungazange kubekho mntu unobuganga bokubuza isizathu sokuba zivalwe]
Nobody was surprised when those discussions were closed and also there was nobody who was brave enough to ask the reason for their closure.

(Saule 1995:60)

(158) Nomntu ke owayekhe abonwe ekhaphana naye uNokhwezi,
[kwakungekho aphuma nalo]
Even Nokwezi, who was seen in his company, never said a thing.

(Saule 1995:96)

In (154) the request for information is that Vukuzumbethe should get something from Thembeka. The context within which this request has been made is that Thembeka is at her in-laws. Her behaviour clearly shows that she is disturbed mentally.

The request for information in (155) is that Mlandeli should have said to Nokhwezi that he is also a rugby player. The context within which this request has been made is that Nokhwezi is talking to Mlandeli and she is very surprised that he is a rugby player.

In (156) the request for information is that there should be signs that show that it is registration. The context within which this request has been made is that it is during registration at Sontaba and students are busy registering. However there are also other areas that are not so busy even though it is during registration.

The request for information in (157) is that there should be somebody who asks the reason why discussions are closed. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli begun something like discussions where he was telling students about their history and also what happened to some of their leaders.

In (158) the request for information is that Nokhwezi should say something. The context within which this request has been made is that Nokhwezi is expected to say what Macebo says, but she gets nothing from Macebo.
The present tense clause

The following present tense clauses that have been found in the texts are interpreted with the meaning of a request for information.

The verb in the clause is the present tense Indicative with an infinitive clause:

(159) Ukuphuma kwabo aba bafazi [boyika ukumxelela esona sizathu uNobantu,] abanye bakhala ngokuxakeka kukuvuna iimbotyi, abanye bakhala ngokulinda iintaka emazimbeni.
The women were afraid to tell Nobantu the real reason for their withdrawal; some complained that they were busy ploughing the beans, some were complaining about watching birds in their plants.

(Jordan 1940:149)

(160) Wayesoloko eyilindile, ezama ukufumana into esengqondwenedi yayo, kuba nayo yayimxake njengoNobantu lo.
He was always waiting for him, trying to get what was on his mind, because he was confused by him, just like Nobantu.

(Jordan 1940:224)

(161) Yaphela apho le ncoko xa besiya kungena ezindaweni abahlala kuzo kubonakala ukuba uMbuyiselo [ininzi into asafuna ukuyithetha]
That is where this debate ended, when they were going to their rooms and it was clear that there is a lot that Mbuyiselo wanted to say.

(Saule 1995:75)

(162) Enye into wayewazi amadoda aza kuyicikozela le nto, [efuna ukunika wona ithuba]
Another thing he knew the men who were going to talk more on this, he wanted to give them an opportunity.

(Jordan 1940:198)
In (159) the request for information is that the women should tell Thembe the reasons for their withdrawal. The context within which this request has been made is that there is a certain law which people were totally opposed to it. Instead of mentioning it they simply withdrew from the union.

The request for information in (160) is that the king should tell Vukuzumbethe what he is thinking of. The context within which this request has been made is that Vukuzumbethe is worried because he sees that the king is deep in thought.

In (161) the request for information is that Mbuyiselo should say more. The context within which this request has been made is that Mbuyiselo is praising Mlandeli’s fame at Sontaba.

The request for information in (162) is that the men should express their opinion about the king. The context within which this request has been made is that there is going to be a gathering of the Mpondomise, which is going to be chaired by Dingindawo. Among the issues to be discussed is Thembe’s behaviour.

In (163) the request for information is that this old man should say something. The context within which this request has been made is that Ngxabane has visited the king’s place with the intention of seeing their child. There are certain things that make Ngxabane unhappy, but he doesn’t want to mention them.

The subjunctive clause

The following subjunctive clauses that have been found in the texts are interpreted with the meaning of request for information.
The verb in the clause is a compound tense with ye followed by an ukuba subjunctive clause in (164). In (165) it is a perfect tense participle with an ukuba subjunctive clause. Lastly in (166) it is a present tense indicative with an ukuba subjunctive clause:

(164) Eneneni wayethetha olu hlobo nje [wayefuna ophume entweni le ntombazana], ukuba iyafuna koko ayabi namsindo.
In reality he wanted to get the true colours of this lady, but she didn’t become angry.
(Saule 1995:76)

(165) Wamjonga uThembeka elindele [ukuba athethe enye into].
He looked at Thembeka expecting her to say something.
(Jordan 1940:15)

(166) Ufuna [ukuba uviwe ndim ndodwa]
He wants it to be heard by me only.
(Jordan 1940:11)

In (164) the request for information is that Nokhwezi should show her true colours. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli has expressed his feelings about the way he was punished.

The request for information in (165) is that Thembeka is requesting Mphuthumi to say more. The context within which this request has been made is that Thembeka notes that there is something that worries Mphuthumi. She would like Mphuthumi to share it with her.

In (166) the request for information is that no other person should hear the news except Dabula. The context within which this request has been made is that Dabula is telling Mphuthumi what to do when they are at Ngxabane’s house.

**Compound tense**

The following compound tenses that have been found in the texts are interpreted with the meaning of request for information.
The verb in the clause is the compound tense with ye with an indicative ukuba clause in (167). In (168) it is a compound tense with deficient verb ye in copulative clause with a negative infinitive clause:

(167) Lafumana lamkhohla uThembeka, kuba [wayebona ukuba ikho into esengqondwemi kaZwelinzima]
Thembeka didn't know what to do because she saw that there was something that Zwelinzima was thinking about.

(Jordan 1940:164)

(168) Into awayenexhala layo kakhulu [yayikukungazi ukuba iziphatha mandla zikholelwa kangakanani na kubuxoki buka-Macebo]
What worried him mostly was the fact that he didn't know how far the ruling council believed in Macebo's lies.

(Saule 1995:70)

In (167) the request for information is that Zwelinzima should say what he is thinking of. The context within which this request has been made is that Thembeka has briefed Zwelinzima about what happened while he was away. She, however, becomes surprised to find that Zwelinzima does not support her in what she is saying.

The request for information in (168) is that Mlandeli should know how far the ruling council believes Macebo's lies. The context within which this request has been made is that the judgement on Mlandeli is about to be passed and Macebo has managed to persuade the council to believe what he said.

The indicative ukuba

The following indicative ukuba clauses that have been found in the texts are interpreted with the meaning of a request for information.

The verb in the clause is negative present indicative with ka followed by an indicative ukuba clause in (169). In (170) it is the negative of the present tense of the relative clause
with an indicative ukuba clause. In (171), it is the negative of the perfect tense indicative with an ukuba indicative clause:

(169) [Awukandixeleli ukuba ngoobani la maxelegu] akuqabelise kule ngxaki yakh.
You haven’t yet told me who are the people who have taken you over from this problem of yours.

(Ngewu 1997:21)

(170) Wena Mbuyiselo [into ongaiqondiyo yeyokuba uMacebo unomona] kuba ndimdlula kwizinto ezininzi ezenza ukuba ndithandwe ngabafundi abaninzi.
What you don’t understand, Mbuyiselo, is that Macebo is jealous because I surpass him in many things, which make most students like me.

(Saule 1995:60)

(171) Nimdlel’ indlala ke noko lo mfana, bafondini, kuba [animxelelanga ukuba niyzifihla]
Gentlemen, you are accusing this man because you didn’t tell him that you are in hiding.

(Jordan 1940:105)

In (169) the request for information is that Nozinto should tell Phalisa the people who were doing this job for her. The context within which this request has been made is that Phalisa is not happy with the way people have done the job that Nozinto hired them for.

The request for information in (170) is that Mbuyiselo should know that Macebo is jealous of Mlandeli. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli tells Mbuyiselo the reason why he is not in good terms with Macebo.

In (171) the request for information is that the men should have said that they are in hiding. The context within which this request has been made is that it is after the Mpondomise article had appeared in the local newspaper. They are not aware that there is a journalist along the way.
The future tense clauses

The following future tense clauses that have been found in the texts are interpreted with the meaning of a request for information.

The verb in the clause is a future tense indicative in sentences (172) and (173). In (174) it is the future tense indicative with a condition clause. In (175) it is the future tense Indicative with deficient verb khe:

(172) **Ukuba akhaliphile [aza kuzixela], kuba into efunekayo ngoku yinyaniso noxolo.**
If they are brave they are going to report themselves, because what is needed now is truth and peace.

(Jordan 1940:215)

(173) **Wemka ke uDingindawo, [ethembise ukuba uza kubonana namadoda aviwayo], azibe ingqondo zawo ayiyeke inkosi izibonele umfazi.**
Dingindawo left, having promised that he was going to meet well-known people, use their views and leave the king to choose a wife for himself.

(Jordan 1940:130)

(174) **Inene [ndiya kulila ke mna] ukub' ufeketha ngam.**
I'll really cry if you're playing with me.

(Jordan 1940:121)

(175) **Ngale mini ke uMbuyiselo wayezimisele ukuba [usaha kukhe amombe lo mfo ade aphume egusheni].**
On this day Mbuyiselo was prepared to dig for this man until he came out.

(Saule 1995:59)
In (172) the request for information is that the men should tell whether they were present when a certain decision was reached. The context within which this request has been made is that the Mpondomise have gathered at the king's place with the intentions of stopping a war that is going on.

The request for information in (173) is that Dingindawo is requesting the men's views. The context within which this request has been made is that people are divided over who should be the king's wife. Some say he should use his own discretion, but others want him to follow his father's will and marry a girl from Bhaca.

In (174) the request for information is that Thembeka is requesting Mphuthumi to talk. The context within which this request has been made is that Mphuthumi has brought news to Thembeka, but he doesn't want to tell her.

In (175) the request for information is that Mlandeli should mention the real thing which is the cause of the quarrel between him and Macebo. The context within which this request has been made is that Mbuyiselo is not happy to see that Macebo and Mlandeli are not on good terms. He also knows that Macebo is doing everything in his power to overthrow Mlandeli.

The idiom

The following idioms that have been found in one of the texts are interpreted with the meaning of a request for information.

(176) Kanene [ingwe ndiyaphath' emsileni.] ndithethe ngama Mpondomise nje.
By the way I've taken the bull by the horns, when I've talked about the Mpondomise.

(Jordan 1940:8)

(177) [Uthikoloshe makaphume ezingconolweni]
The truth should be revealed.

(Jordan 1940:78)
In (176) the request for information is that Ngxobane should say more about the Mpondomise. The context within which this request has been made is that Mzamo has visitors at his house and Ngxobane came with the intention of seeing these visitors.

The request for information in (177) is that Mthunzini is requested by Dingindawo to speak directly and not to hide anything. The context within which this request has been made is that Mthunzini has been giving Dingindawo a hint of what he wants to tell him. Now Dingindawo is tired of this.

The V+ LOC clause

The following V+ LOC clause that has been found in one of the texts are interpreted with the meaning of a request for information.

The verb in the clause is the A- past tense:

(178) [UNtanjana wajonga kuMacebo] wasuka uMacebo wathi phuhlu amehlo, wahlala esitulweni ngokungathi uncanyathiselwe.
Ntanjana looked at Maceba and Macebo simply opened his eyes, sat in the chair as if he'd been pasted there.

(Saule 1995:69)

(179) [Amehlo onke ajonga kuMacebo] owayehleli exhase isilevu ngobhontsi.
All the eyes looked at Maceba who kept his mouth shut.

(Saule 1995:71)

In (178) the request for information is that Macebo should say something. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli has responded to the accusations in a way that demands a response from Macebo and his group.

The request for information in (179) is that Macebo should say something. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli wants anyone who has a proof that his actions have a negative influence.
The present tense clause

The following present tense clauses that have been found in the texts are interpreted with the meaning of a request for information.

The verb in the clause is the present tense indicative in (180) and (181). In (182) it is the present indicative copulative clause with kho and lastly in (183) it is the tense of participle:

(180) **Loo mfana wayebazi kakhle oodabula nooDanisa. Bathi ke akubabuza, [basinga eBhayi]**
This gentleman knew Dabula and Danisa very well. When he asked them they said they were going to Port Elizabeth.

(Jordan 1940:101)

(181) **Into eyamcacje yoeyokuba [apha kwaSontaba umntu italente yakhe uyimbela ngokwakhe]**
Mr. Rhadebe had a nice speech and he was showing the importance of exercise in sports.

(Saule 1995:22)

(182) **[Ukho lo wathinta umqala ngendlela yokutsala uhoyo]**
There is the one who coughed by means of drawing the attention.

(Saule 1995:17)

(183) **Umnumzana Rhadebe naye wathetha kamnandi [ibonisa ukubaluleka kwemidlalo.]**
Mr Rhadebe had a nice speech and he was showing the importance of exercise in sports.

(Saule 1995:22)

In (180) the request for information is that Danisa should mention where he is going to. The context within which this request has been made is that Danisa and Dabula are not telling the truth. They know exactly where they are going, but they don't want to tell this man.
The request for information in (181) is that at Sontaba a person shows his talent by himself. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli has learnt many things before they are taught to him. He has also discovered that one can gain a lot Sontaba.

In (182) the request for information is that people should look at her side. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli was walking and people instead of looking to the one who was coughing, looked at Mlandeli.

The request for information in (183) is that students should do some exercises. The context within which this request has been made is that the students of Sontaba are going to participate in sports. They are now addressed by various leaders including the teachers.

The coordinated clause

The following coordinated clauses that have been found in the texts are interpreted with the meaning of request for information.

The verb in the clause is in (184) the coordinated subjunctive clause with deficient verb de. In (185) it is the deficient verb suka in consecutive coordinated clause:

(184) **UMlandeli wema kwelokuba akayi ndawo [de kuvele isizathu isisiso], kwemiwa kwajongwa bona.**
Mlandeli stood by the fact that he was going nowhere until he was given the reason, the others stopped practising and looked at them.

(Saule 1995:84)

(185) **Waba ngancokola [wasuka lo mfo waphendula nje loo nto ibuzwayo]**
He tried to talk, but this guy only answered the question.

(Jordan 1940:56)
In (184) the request for information is that Mlandeli should be given a reason as to why he must change position. The context within which this request has been made is that the rugby players at Sontaba are practising and Mlandeli is asked to change his position by Macebo.

The request for information in (185) is that Mphuthumi is requesting Mthunzini for more information. The context within which this request has been made is that Mphuthumi does not know that Mthunzini did not succeed in his efforts to persuade Thembeka to fall in love with him.

4.3.4.2 Question

For a definition of question, refer to paragraph 2.4. Consider the following example:

(186) [Angathini uMnumzana Nqatha ukufakela owakhe umthetho kobekiweyo], kuba nguye lo wenze le nto?
Why does Mr. Nqatha impose his own law amongst the existing ones, because he is the one who is responsible for this thing?

(Saule 1995:16)

In example (186), the meaning of the clause in brackets is a question, which can be linguistically expressed by using a potential clause. This clause in brackets is also a request for information, i.e. the request is that Mr. Nqatha should not impose his own law. The reason for this interpretation is to be found in the context in which this request has been uttered, i.e. Mlandeli is shocked to find a certain written message in his room telling him that he has disobeyed the rules and that he is going to be punished.

Within the following sentences, the meaning of the clause in brackets is a question. This question can be expressed in various ways:

Present tense indicative

The following present tense indicatives that have been found in the texts are interpreted with the meaning of a request for information.
The verb in the clause is the present tense indicative:

(187) **Sikhuza utat' uWelisile nje ngokutyhwatyhwa [sithini ngoLizo umkhwenyana kaMfundisi?]**
We talk about Welisile's fright, what do we say about Lizo, the son-in-law of the reverend?

(Qangule 1974:36)

(188) **Le ncoko yafuna ukuqhawuka phakathi uMlandeli akubuza ukuba [uNokhwezi uyayazi na iRobben Island]**
This dialogue nearly broke when Mlandeli asked Nokhwezi if she knew Robben Island.

(Saule 1995:24)

(189) **Akubuzwa nguyise ukuba [uyishiya ngani na iKhululani] waphendula ngelithi ayivuthwanga**
When his father asked him the reason why he leaves Khululani, he said it has not matured.

(Saule 1995:2)

(190) **Watsho elandelisa ngelithi abakho matyaleni, uMlandeli [ubuza izinto ezikude kuye]**
He then said they are not in court, Mlandeli asks things that are far from him.

(Saule 1995:14)

In (187) the request for information is that the speakers should also say something about Lizo. The context within which this request has been made is that both Vathiswa and Nodabephi are busy discussing the events that were taking place during the funeral of Sidima and also about the people who were not relaxed.

The request for information in (188) is that whether Nokhwezi knows Robben Island. The context within which this request has been made is that Nokhwezi and Mlandeli are talking about everything. It is also from this dialogue that Nokhwezi got to know that Mlandeli knows everything in life.
In (189) the request for information is that of a reason why Mlandeli is leaving Khululani. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli is leaving Quntsu and he is going to Sontaba where he is going to finish his secondary education.

The request for information in (190) is that Mlandeli should not ask things that are far from Mr. Rhadebe. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli has been asking Mr. Rhadebe about certain things that are not satisfying him.

The future tense indicative

The following future tense indicatives that have been found in one of the texts are interpreted with the meaning of a request for information.

The verb in the clause is the future tense indicative:

(191) **Hayi yiyekele le nto. Nizibulala nje ngokuthetha, kuba nantsi ibhalliwe. Into ema niyicinge nina kukuba [niza kuthini na ngoku]**

Now leave this thing. You are just killing yourself by talking, because here it is written. The thing you must think of is what are you going to do now.

(Jordan 1940:105)

(192) **Ukuba ndiyadedelwa kweso sihlalo [ndiza kuqala ngelithini ukulawula?]**

If I am given this seat, how am I going to start governing?

(Jordan 1940:101)

(193) **UDabula wayede wayibuza ukuba icinga ukuba [iza kulamla njani na] yathi, "Hayi, Dlangamandla, khawuyeke"**

Dabula even asked him as to how he is going to govern and he said "No, Dlangamandal, leave it"

(Jordan 1940:218)
(194) Nobantu mntakwethu, andazi ukuba le nto ikuxakanisileyo [uya kuyixelela bani na ukuba uyifihlela mna.]
Nobantu, my cousin, I don't know why you hide your problem from me.

(Jordan 1940:171)

(195) Amakhwenkwana ayesel’ ejinga onke ebhatyini yakhe, ebuza ukuba [aza kuqeqeshwa ngubani na ngoku emdlalweni] emkile nje eLovedale.
The young boys were hanging over his jacket, asking him as to who is going to coach them in the games now that he’s gone from Lovedale.

(Jordan 1940:29)

In (191) the request for information is that Dabula is requesting the Mpondomise to devise a plan. The context within which this request has been made is that they were caught unaware by the journalist and the article appeared in the local newspaper.

The request for information in (192) is that Zwelinzima should be shown the way to govern as the king of the Mpondomise. The context within which this request has been made is that as the days for Zwelinzima to take his throne as the king of the Mpondomise comes close, he is worried and he does not know what to do.

In (193) the request for information is that the king should mention how he is going to govern. The context within which this request has been made is that the king has been taken by surprise by the death of Jongilanga. This has affected him.

In (194) the request for information is that Vukuzumbethe requests Nobantu to tell him what happened. The context within which this request has been made is that Nobantu is reluctant to tell Vukuzumbethe what happened. She thinks that if she tells him, she is going to be criticized.

The request for information in (195) is that the boys at Lovedale want to know who is going to be their coach. The context within which this request has been made is that it is during the time when Zwelinzima was leaving Lovedale for Fort Hare.
The compound tense

The following compound tense clauses that have been found in the texts are interpreted with the meaning of a request for information.

The verb in the clause is the compound tense with za in (196) and in (197) it is the compound tense with deficient verb ye:

(196) [Ubuza kuthetha ntoni], ungomnye wabantu abungunobangela waso nje?
What were you going to say, you are one of the people who originally said it.

(Saule 1995:77)

(197) Ukuba wawuphulaphule, [yayisithini intetho yam, eka Mnumzana Rhadebe isithini yona?]
If you were listening what was my speech about, and also what was Mr. Rhadebe's about?

(Saule 1995:27)

In (196) the request for information is that Nokhwezi should have said something. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli tells Nokhwezi that she is one of the people who caused him to serve the punishment.

The request for information in (197) is that Mlandeli should mention what he heard in the speeches of both Macebo and Mr. Rhadebe. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli has been called to the principal's office. The prefects and the principal are dissatisfied with his behaviour.

The negative verb clauses

The following negative verb clauses that have been found in the texts are interpreted as negative questions with the meaning of a request for information.
The verb in the clauses is the negative of the present indicative in (198), (199) and (200). In (201) and (202) it is the negative of the perfect tense indicative, and lastly, in (203) it is negative of the subjunctive after yini ukuba:

(198) uPhalisa akakaniphalazeli olu daba?
     Has Phalisa not told you about this matter?
     (Ngewu 1997:6)

(199) [Akuyazi into yokuba ikumkani yamaXhosa uMaqoma uJongumsobomvu wafela phaya elibanjwa?]
     Don't you know that the Xhosa king Maqoma Jongunmsobomvu died there a prisoner.
     (Saule 1995:25)

(200) Sis' Nobantu, Dlamini, utheth' ukuthi [akuyazi loo nyoka ukuba yintoni na kulo mzi wakho?]
     Aunt Nobantu, Dlamini, do you mean you don't understand the significance of that snake to your in-laws?
     (Jordan 1940:153)

(201) Uyazi ukuba akukho namnye okhe wakhangel' ukuba [usana lwam aludliwanga na yile nyoka]
     You know there's not even a single one who has checked if my child was not bitten by this snake.
     (Jordan 1940:171)

(202) [Akuzange uyifumane imbalelwano yam?]
     Did you not receive my correspondence?
     (Saule 1995:10)

(203) Yini ukuba uth ' uhlala nabantu [ungaxeli xa uziv' ubuhlungu?]
     You're staying with people, but you don't tell them when you are not feeling well?
     (Jordan 1940:65)
In (198) the request for information is that Phalisa should have told them about this matter. The context within which this request has been made is that Nozinto is talking to her friends in her house. She is surprised to find that Phalisa did not tell them what she has done.

The request for information in (199) is that whether Nokhwezi knows that the king of the Xhosa died at Robben Island. The context within which this request has been made is that Nokhwezi and Mlandeli are talking about everything. It is from the discussion that Nokhwezi got to know that Mlandeli knows everything in life.

In (201) the request for information is that Nozihlwele is requesting Nobantu to know the significance of the snake referred to as Majola. The context within which this request has been made is that Nobantu has shown signs of ignorance when the topic of Majola's snake was raised.

The request for information in (201) is that the people should have checked the damage caused by the snake to Nobantu's child. The context within which this request has been made is that Nobantu has killed a snake, which is well respected among the Mpondomise. This is going to have some consequences.

In (202) the request for information is that Mlandeli should have received Mr. Call's correspondence. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli is busy registering at Sontaba. This is the school where he wants to finish his secondary education.

In (203) the request for information is that Mthunzini should report if he is not feeling well. The context within which this request has been made is that Mphuthuni is sharing the house with Mthunzini. They are both teachers at Ngcobesi. Mthunzini is acting as if he is sick, yet there is something he wants to do.

**Khe Clause**

The following khe clause that has been found in one of the texts is interpreted as a question with the meaning of a request for information.
The verb in the clause is the deficient verb *khe* with participial clause, the subject agreement affix is existential:

(204) **Wabuza kuNobantu ukuba kutheni na uNomvuyo ethetha ngolu hlobo nje, [kukhe kwenzeka ntoni na ngoku ebeseNyandeni]**

He asked Nobantu why Nomvuyo speaks in this way, what has happened while he was at Nyandeni.

(Jordan 1940:163)

In (204) above the request for information is that Zwelinzima is requesting Nobantu to tell him what happened. The context within which this request has been made is that Zwelinzima gets this from the letter, which Nomvuyo wrote for them. He sensed that something must have taken place while he was at Nyandeni.

The verb clause

The following verb clauses that have been found in the texts are interpreted as questions with the meaning of a request for information.

The verb in the clause is the present participle in (205) and in (206) it is the present tense participle with an *ukuba* clause:

(205) **Yaba buhlungu kuye into yokuba anyanzeleke ukuba ayixokise [xa imbuza ngobomi bakhe], ibhala kwiincwadi zayo ezinkulu.**

It was hurting to him when he was forced to lie when he asked him about his life, writing in his books.

(Jordan 1940:27)

(206) **Kwathi ngoku sekuchithakalwa kwamana ukufika abebengekho [bebuza ukuba kuhle ntoni na]**

When people were dispersing, the others arrived and they asked what happened.

(Jordan 1940:170)
In (205) the request for information is that Zwelinzima should give his particulars, but instead of doing so he lied. The context within which this request has been made is that Zwelinzima has paid a visit to the ministry at Fort Hare with the intentions of seeing Thembeka.

The request for information in (206) is that people should mention what Nobantu has done. The context within which this request has been made is that Nobantu has killed a snake she had found near her child. This snake is regarded as one of the ancestors of the Mpondomise.

4.3.4.3 **Necessity**

Refer to paragraph 2.5 for a definition of necessity. Consider the following example:

(207) **Ukususela namhlanje [uze ucace ukuba ukweliphi na icala]**
As from today you must show which side you belong to.

(Saule 1995:36)

In the above sample, the clause in brackets is a necessity. This necessity can be linguistically expressed by using a subjunctive matrix clause with deficient verb *ze* followed by an *ukuba* clause. This clause in brackets is also a request for information, i.e. Macebo requests Nokhwezi to show whether she favours him or Mlandeli. The reason for this interpretation is to be found in the context in which this request has been uttered, i.e. it looks like Macebo’s attempts to persuade Nokhwezi against Mlandeli are failing.

4.3.4.4 **Exclamation**

The Concise Oxford Dictionary (1990) defines exclamation as the act or an instance of exclaiming. Longman (1978) says exclamation are the words that express a sudden strong feeling.

For instance in the following sentence, the meaning of the clause in brackets is an exclamation. This exclamation can be linguistically expressed by using the negative future tense indicated with an *ukuba* clause:
In sentence (208) above, the clause in brackets can be taken as a request for information, i.e. Mahimakhwe requests Silumko to say more about Sidima. The reason for this interpretation is to be found in the context in which this request has been uttered, i.e. Mahimakhwe does not want to believe that Sidima is still alive. She is under the impression that Sidima died long ago in Gauteng.

4.3.5 Meeting

The Concise Oxford Dictionary (1990) defines a meeting as an assembly of people, especially the members of a society, committee etc. for discussion or entertainment. Longman (1978) says a meeting is the coming together of two or more people by chance or arrangement. For instance in the following sentence the meaning of the clause in brackets is a statement. This statement can be linguistically expressed by using a present tense indicative clause:

(209) [Umnunzana Rhadebe uyakufuna eofisini yakhe ngentsimbi yesithandathu ngomso], into ethetha ukuthi uza kaphoswa sisidlo sakusasa.
Mr. Rhadebe wants to see you at his office tomorrow at six; that means you are going to miss breakfast.

(Saule 1995:26)

In sentence (209) above, the request for a meeting is that Mr. Rhadebe wants to see Mlandeli as early as possible the following day. The context within which this request has been made is that Mr. Rhadebe got a report about Mlandeli, which is not satisfying.

The request for a meeting appears in the following types of sentences within the four books:
4.3.5.1 Statement

Refer to paragraph 2.1 for a definition of a statement. Consider the following example:

(210) **UDabula uthe kanti uyalezwe lixhego lakwaNgxabane ekudala**

[lifu na ukudibana naye ngomcimbi omkhulu]

Dabula has been told by the old man from Ngxabane who has been longing to see him about this matter.

(Jordan 1940:18)

In example (210) above, the meaning of the clause in brackets is a statement, which can be linguistically expressed by using a present tense indicative clause with infinitive clause. This clause in brackets is also a request for meeting, i.e. Ngxabane is requesting to see Dabula with regard to the big matter. The reason for this interpretation is to be found in the context in which this request has been made, i.e. Dabula was told everything by Ngxabane concerning the kingdom of the Mpondomise. It is from these discussions where it was revealed that Zwelinzima is the real king of the Mpondomise.

Within the following sentences, the meaning of the clauses in brackets is a statement. This statement can be expressed in various ways:

**The verb clause**

The following verb clause that has been found in one of the texts is interpreted as with the meaning of a request for a meeting:

The verb in the clause is the present tense indicative clause with passive verb:

(211) **Mhla wabizwa nguMnumzana Nqatha uMlandeli, embuza le naley, nawaggqibela ngelithi emva kwemini ngaloo Lwesihlanu yena Mlandeli [uyafuneka e-ofisini kaNtanjana]**

When Mlandeli was called by Mr. Nqatha, he asked him this and that and then concluded by saying Mr. Ntanjana wanted to see him at his office.

(Saule 1995:65)
In (211) above, the request for a meeting is that Mlandeli should go to Mr. Ntanjana's office. The context within which this request has been made is that students are still thinking about the wonders Mlandeli did when they were playing against Qelekequshe.

**Passive verb**

The following passive verb clauses that have been found in the texts are interpreted with the meaning of a request for a meeting.

The verb in the clause is the present tense indicative clause with passive verb:

(212) **Kwakqonkqozwa emnyango, kanti yintwazanana eyayizokuthi [uyabizwa nguMatron]**

She heard a knock at the door, only to find out that it is a little girl who had come to say that Matron is calling her.

(Saule 1995:62)

(213) **Sis' Thembeka, [uyabizwa nguNkosazana]**

Aunt Thembeka, the lady is calling you.

(Jordan 1940:40)

(214) **Sis' Thembeka, [uyabizwa ngusis' Nomvuyo]**

Aunt Thembeka, you're being called by Aunt Nomvuyo.

(Jordan 1940:21)

(215) **Kwada kwathi xa lithi "ndithenge'kwafika isigidimi size kumxelela [ukuba uyabizwa yinkosi]**

In the afternoon a group of men came to tell him that a king was calling him.

(Jordan 1940:80)
(216) Ngosuku olulandelayo xa agqiba kuvalela ubumpahlana ababenabo weva ebizwa nguNcibane.
On the following night when he had just finished checking in the live-stock he heard Ncibane's call.

(Saule 1995: 106)

In (212) the request for a meeting is that the matron is requesting Nokwezi's presence. The context within which this request has been made is that Nokhwezi has been rejoicing with the trophies her school has won against Qelekequshe.

The request for a meeting in (213) is that Nomvuyo is requesting Thembeka's presence. The context within which this request has been made is that Nomvuyo sent a child to call Thembeka. They are at a school hostel.

(214)'s request for a meeting is that Nomvuyo is requesting Thembeka's presence. The context within which this request has been made is that Nomvuyo sent a child to call Thembeka. They are at a school hostel.

In (215) the request for a meeting is that Mthunzini is requested by the king to come. The context within which this request has been made is that the king has read and taken into consideration the information in the letters, which were brought by Mthunzini. In these letters it is stated that Zwelinzima is the king of the Mpondomise and is still alive.

The request for a meeting in (216) is that Ncibane is requesting Mlandeli's presence. The context within which this request has been made is that Ncibane received a certain phone call, which was inquiring about Mlandeli. This made him furious.

The perfect tense

The following perfect tense clauses that have been found in the texts are interpreted as statements with the meaning of a request for a meeting.

The verb in the clause is the perfect tense participial clause after kudala in (217). In (218) it is the perfect tense participial clause with deficient verb buya followed by a subjunctive clause:
(217) **Uthi utat 'uBhele khawulezani, kudala befikile abantu.**
Bhele says hurry up, it's long that people have been waiting.

(Qangule 1974:54)

(218) **Sathi siphuma isikolo wabe esiwa ephepheni embhalela emxelela ukuba uyahlupheka kuba [bengabuyanga babonane].**
He wrote after school telling her that he felt sorry that they didn’t see each other again.

(Jordan 1940:126)

In (217) the request for a meeting is that both Namhla and MaDlamini should be present. The context within which this request has been made is that the Bhele have gathered with the intentions of confronting Namhla about her behaviour and also about what she must do now that her husband is dead.

The request for a meeting in (218) is that both Zwelinzima and Thembeka should see each other again. The context within which this request has been made is that Zwelinzima visited Ngcolosi but he didn't get a chance to see Thembeka.

**The negative clause**

The following negative clause that has been found in one of the texts is interpreted as a negative statement with the meaning of a request for a meeting.

The verb in the clause is the deficient verb in negative perfect tense (zange) with a copulative clause with kho, the subject agreement affix is existential:

(219) **[Kodwa akuzanga kubekho namnye omhlangabezayo] nokhupha isandla ukuba ambulise.**
But there was not even a single one to meet her half way even to stretch the hand in order to greet her.

(Jordan 1940:223)

In (219) above the request for a meeting is that people should meet Thembeka half way and they should greet her. The context within which this request has been made is that
Thembeka has finally arrived at her in-laws. There is no excitement from the Mpondomise when she arrives.

**Passive verb**

The following passive verb clause that has been found in one of the texts is interpreted as a statement with the meaning of a request for a meeting.

The verb in the clause is the perfect tense in relative clause with passive verb:

(220) Le nto yamcacisela ukuba umcimbi awubizelweyo nokuba uluhlobo luni na, uza kusingathwa ngobusuku. 
This thing told him that what he's been called for, no matter what type is it, is going to be discussed at night.

(Jordan 1940:85)

In (220) above the request for a meeting is that Mthunzini should relax as it is going to take some time to discuss the purpose of his visit. The context within which this request has been made, is that Mlandeli wants to discuss with Dingindawo about what he has found in Mphuthumi's suitcase.

**The kho (with ku)**

The following kho clause that has been found in one of the texts is interpreted as a statement with the meaning of a request for a meeting.

The verb in the clause is a copulative clause with kho, the subject agreement affix is existential:

(221) Kusasa, cousin, uncede unik' abantwan' impahla eza kolulwa.  
[kufuneka siye ezantsi. kukhw' into] 
In the morning, cousin, you must please give ironing to the children. We must go South. There's something a foot.

(Jordan 1940:25)
In (221) above, the request for a meeting is that Thembeka is requesting to see Nomvuyo because she wants to tell her something. The context within which this request has been made is that they are at school and Nomvuyo notes that there is something that has taken place.

**The idiom**

The following idiom clause that has been found in one of the texts is interpreted as a statement with the meaning of a request for a meeting.

(222) **Nangoku wayevela kuhlinza impuku nengqonyela malunga naloo ndibano.**

Even now he was coming from a discussion with the principal about the meeting.

(Saule 1995:11)

In (222) above the request for a meeting is that Macebo should have a meeting with the principal. The context within which this request has been made is that Macebo as the head prefect is doing his duties. He is busy discussing about the things that affect the school.

### 4.3.5.2 Request

Refer to paragraph 2.6 for a definition of a request. Consider the following example:

(223) **[Nceda ufike apha kwam ngoku]**

[Please come to my house immediately]

(Ngewu 1997:1)

In example (223) above, the meaning of the clause in brackets is a request, which can be linguistically expressed by an imperative coordinated clause. This clause in brackets is also a request for a meeting, i.e. Nozinto is requesting Zodidi's presence. The reason for this interpretation is to be found in the context in which this request has been made, i.e. Nozinto wants to discuss a certain thing with Zodidi. She also feels that she can't talk it over the telephone.
4.3.5.3 Question

Refer to paragraph 2.4 for a definition of a question. Consider the following example:

(224) Kwancokolwa ke ixesha elide, kodwa zimana ukuphela iindaba kuthi nzwanga, kubonakala ukuba onke amadoda ngeleba afuna ukubuzana [ukuba abizelweni na yinkosi], kuba ayeqonda mhlophe ukuba elapha nje eze ngento enye.
They talked for a long time, but there were times where there was no news, it was clear that the men wanted to ask each other about what the king has called them for, because they knew that they were there for the same thing.

(Jordan 1940:85)

In the above example, the meaning of the clause in brackets is a question. This question can be linguistically expressed by using the perfect tense indicative with passive applicative verb. This clause in brackets is also a request for a meeting, i.e. the request is that the men should know the purpose of their gathering. The reason for this interpretation is to be found in the context in which this request has been made, i.e. the men have been called by the king to a Great place. He wants to share something with them. They are curious to know this thing.

Within the following sentence, the meaning of the clause in brackets is also a question:

The verb in the clause is the deficient verb be with perfect tense participial clause in passive applicative:

(225) Waqabuka xa selesithiwa chu ngengalo nguNomvuyo, ebuza ngokoyika ukuba [ube ebizelweni na ngumphathlakazi]
She only saw Nomvuyo pulling her by the arm, worried and asking her what did the matron call her for.

(Jordan 1940:40)

In (225) above, the request for a meeting is that Nomvuyo is requesting Thembeka for a reason for the matron’s call. The context within which this request has been made is that
they are at the ladies’ hostel. Thembeka is deep in thought after a meeting with the matron.

4.3.5.4 Necessity

Refer to paragraph 2.5 for a definition of necessity. Consider the following example:

(226) **Ukuba ufi ke nding ek ho [ungathandabuzi unyuke] ndobo sendiphezulu.**

If you didn’t find me on your arrival, you must not hesitate you must go, I will already be at home.

(Jordan 1940:28)

In example (226) above, the meaning of the clause in brackets is a necessity, which can be linguistically expressed by using a negative subjunctive clause with a coordinated subjunctive clause. This clause in brackets is also a request for a meeting, i.e. Zwelinzima is requested by Mphuthumi for a meeting. The reason for this interpretation is to be found in the context in which this request has been made, i.e. he got this message from a letter that Mphuthumi gave to Father Williams.

The following hortative clauses that have been found in the texts are interpreted with the meaning of a request for a meeting.

The verb in the clause is a hortative verb followed by a subjunctive clause in (227). In (228) it is hortative clause with deficient verb **khawuleza** followed by a subjunctive clause:

(227) **Yavuka kusasa yathi [makuxelewe uDingindawo abize imbizo yamaMpondomise omthonyama] afike ngosuku lwesithathu.**

He woke up early in the morning and told Dingindawo to call a meeting of the real Mpondomise to come on a third day.

(Jordan 1940:218)
In (227) the request for a meeting is that Dingindawo should call a meeting of the real Mpondomise. The context within which this request has been made is that the king is affected by the death of Jongilanga. He has a tendency of walking alone and doing some of the things alone.

The request for a meeting in (228) is that Vukuzumbethe requests the king to come immediately. The context within which this request has been made is that Vukuzumbethe wants to brief the king about what Nobantu has done. He doesn't want the king to hear this from any other person.

4.3.6 Patience

The Concise Oxford Dictionary (1990) defines patience as calm endurance of hardships, provocation, pain, delay, etc. Longman (1978) says patience is the ability to wait for something calmly for a long time. He goes further to say it is also the ability to control oneself when angered, especially at foolishness or slowness.

4.3.6.1 Statement

In the following sentence, the meaning of the clause in brackets is a statement. The statement can be linguistically expressed by using a present tense participial clause with Infinitive clause:

(229) UNobantu ke namhlanje ubuya xa uZwelinzima [engafuni kubabona konke abantu awayefudula ebathembile]
Nobantu is coming back just when Zwelinzima does not want to see all the people he used to trust.  

(Jordan 1940:224)
In sentence (229) above, the request for patience is that Zwelinzima does not want to see all the people he used to trust. The context within which this request has been made is that Nobantu has noticed a change in her husband's behaviour. Things are not what they used to be.

4.3.6.2 Necessity

Refer to paragraph 2.5 for a definition of necessity. Consider the following example:

(230) Loo maMpondomise omthonyama [makakhe alindele ukumenywa] xa afuna ukuza kwenzela imbizo apha Komkhulu.

Those real Mpondomise should wait to be invited when they want to hold a meeting here at a Great place.

(Jordan 1940:191)

In example (230) above, the meaning of the clause in brackets is necessity, which can be linguistically expressed by using a deficient verb khe in hortative clause. This clause in brackets is also a request for patience, i.e. the request is that the real Mpondomise should wait until they are invited. The reason for this interrelation is to be found in the context in which this request has been made, i.e. Zwelinzima is responding to Jongilanga who said they are going to have a meeting at a Great place.

Within the following sentences, the meaning of the clauses in brackets is a necessity. This necessity can be expressed in various ways:

The hortative clause

The hortative clause that has been found in one of the texts is interpreted with the meaning of a request for patience:

The verb in the clause is the deficient verb ze in hortative clause:
uDabula naye wathetha njengoVukuzumbethe, wayicebisa inkosi ukuba [maze iwuzolele lo mcimbi, inyamezele]
Dabula himself spoke like Vukuyumbetehe, advising the king to be calm on this matter.

(Jordan 1940:183)

In (231) above, the request for patience is that the king should be calm. The context within which this request has been made is that Dabula is advising the king what to do when they will be discussing with the Mpondomise the issue of Thembeka's behaviour.

The subjunctive clause

The following subjunctive clause that has been found in one of the texts is interpreted as a negative statement with the meaning of a request for patience.

The verb in the clause is the subordinate subjunctive clause:

(232) Kungcono [singangxami siziphose] hleze soyele sife.
It's better we not hurry and throw ourselves into it, maybe we'll sink and die.

(Qangule 1974:6)

In (232) above, the request for patience is that Namhla requests Lizo not to hurry with their plans before they make a blunder. The context within which this request has been made is that Lizo is in a hurry to discourage marriage plans of Namhla and Sidima. On the other hand, Namhla wants them to do things step by step.

4.3.6.3 Condition

Refer to paragraph 2.2 for a definition of condition. Consider the following example:

(233) Ukuba beninyazi nonk' apha [ndiqinisekile ngenididekile ngoku], phezu kwaloo myolelo.
If all of you here were aware, I'm certain you are going to be confused now with regards to that will.

(Jordan 1940:133)
In example (233) above, the meaning of the clause in brackets is a condition, which can be linguistically expressed by using a deficient verb *nge* in an indicative clause. This clause in brackets is also a request for patience, i.e. Danisa is requesting the gathering of the Mpondomise to give Zwelinzima a chance to marry Khalipha's girl. The reason for this interpretation is to be found in the context in which this request has been made, i.e. The Mpondomise are divided over who should be the king's wife - some want the king to marry a girl from Bhaca according to his late father's will. Others want him to marry the girl he likes.

Within the following sentences, the meaning of the clauses in brackets is a condition. This condition can be expressed in various ways:

**The deficient verb clause**

The following deficient verb clauses that have been found in the texts are interpreted as conditions with the meaning of a request for patience.

The verb in the clause is the deficient *nge* in an indicative clause in (234). In (235) it is the deficient verb *soloko* in an indicative clause:

(234) **Ukuba bekuthetha mna, inkosi [ngeyizeka loo ntombi]**  
If I was the one talking, the king should marry that girl.  

(Jordan 1940:133)

(235) **Ukuba [usoloko ukholisa bona], baya kukucwany'entloko ndiyakuxelela.**  
If you always keep on satisfying them, they will take advantage of that, I'm telling you.  

(Jordan 1940:129)

In (234) the request for patience is that Danisa is requesting the gathering of the Mpondomise to give Zwelinzima a chance to marry Khalipha's daughter. The context within which this request has been made is that the Mpondomise are divided over who should be the king's wife. Some Mpondomise want him to get married according to his father's will, others want him to use his own choice.
The request for patience in (235) is that Zwelinzima should not satisfy his people all the time. The context within which this request has been made is that the time has come for Zwelinzima to get married. Some Mpondomise are not in favour of his decision to marry Thembeka.

4.3.6.4 Question

Refer to paragraph 2.4 for a definition of question. Consider the following example:

(236) UKhalipha eyindod’ esaziwa nje phakathi kwamanye amadoda, beningoobani nina, ukuba [ningade nicekis' intombi yakhe]
Khalipha is a man and is well known among men, show who you are, to look down upon his daughter.

(Jordan 1940:138)

In (236) above, the meaning of the clause in brackets is a question, which can be linguistically expressed by using a deficient verb de in potential clause. This clause in brackets is also a request for patience, i.e. Ngubengwe is requesting the Mpondomise not to look down upon Khalipha's daughter. The reason for this interpretation is to be found in the context in which this request has been made, i.e. Ngubenjwe is persuading the gathering of the Mpondomise to allow the king to marry the girl he likes, and not follow his father's will.

Consider also the following example:

(237) Andazi ke ukuba umyolelo kaZanemvula [singade sizibulale ngokuphikisana na ngawo]
I don't know if we can go to the extent of killing one another because of Zanemvula's will.

(Jordan 1940:132)

In example (237) above, the clause in brackets is a question, which can be linguistically expressed by using a deficient verb de in potential clause. This clause in brackets is also a request for patience, i.e. Ngxobane is requesting Jongilanga that they should not oppose
each other in as far as Zanemvula's will is concerned. The context in which this request has been made is that Ngxabane is in favour of the idea that Zwelinzima should follow his late father's will and marry a girl from Bheca.

Within the following sentence, the meaning of the clause in brackets is also a question.

The following present indicative clause that has been found in one of the texts is interpreted as a question with the meaning of a request for patience.

The verb in the clause is the present indicative clause with applicative verb:

(238) [Sizihluphela ntoni] engekatshati nje uLizo?
Why do we bother ourselves when Lizo is not yet married?

(Qangule 1974:9)

In the above example the request for patience is that the Bhele people should not bother themselves because Lizo is not yet married. The context within which this request has been made is that Xohile, one of the Bhele at Danile's house, comes with a suggestion that they should not concern themselves much with what Lizo is doing because he is not married.

4.3.6.5 Possibility

Refer to paragraph 2.3 for a definition of possibility. Consider the following example:

(239) Mhlawumbi umntwani' enkosi ulibele ukuba kweli bali [kungabakho iindawo ezimuthmlisayo] angethandi ukuba zuchuku
ynyswe
Maybe the king has forgotten that in this story there may be things, that will disturb him, and he won't like them to be touched.

(Jordan 1940:77)

In example (239) above, the meaning of the clause in brackets is a possibility. This possibility can be linguistically expressed by using a copulative clause in potential with kho, the subject agreement affix is existential. This clause in brackets is also a request for
patience, i.e. Mthunzimi is requesting Dingindawo not to feel offended when he finds some scenes disturbing in what they are going to talk about. The context within which this request has been made is that Mthunzini has found some confidential information about the kingdom of the Mpondomise. He wants to share it with Dingindawo.

4.3.7 Permission


4.3.7.1 Possibility

In the following sentence the meaning of the clause in brackets is a possibility. This possibility can be linguistically expressed by using a negative present participial clause with *na* and infinitive.

(240) *Tata ingathi ungophuka umphefumlo wam xa [ndinokungavunyelwa ukuya kugalela umhlaba] engcwabeni likatata kaSandi.*

Daddy, I will be very disappointed if I am not allowed to go and pour the sand in the grave of Sandi's father.

(Ngewu 1997:49)

In sentence (240) above, the request for permission is that Nozinto should be allowed to go to the graveyard. The context within which this request has been made is that women among the Xhosa culture don't go to the graveyard when someone has died of an accident.

Consider also the following example:

(241) *[Akukwazi kaloku ukungena eofisini yengqonyela wena]*

You cannot enter the principal's office.

(Saule 1995:9)

In example (241) above, the meaning of the clause in brackets is a possibility, which can be linguistically expressed by using a negative clause with an infinitive. This clause in
brackets is also a request for permission i.e. the request is that Mlandeli should not enter the principal’s office. The reason for this interpretation is to be found in the context in which this request has been made, i.e. Mlandeli is a new arrival at Sontaba where he is going to finish his secondary education. He wants to speak to the principal about certain matters. However, Macebo refused him permission to do so.

Within the following sentences, the meaning of the clause in brackets is also a possibility.

The following potential clause that has been found in one of the texts is interpreted as a possibility with the meaning of request for permission.

The verb in the clause is the potential clause:

(242) [Singenza njalo] ukuba liyavuma igqwetha lommangalelw
We can do that if the lawyer representing the accused agrees.

(Ngewu 1997:75)

In (242) above, the request for permission is that they should get permission from the lawyer representing the accused. The context within which this request has been made is that the judge is responding to the prosecutor’s request. The prosecutor on the basis of evidence wanted to sum up the case.

4.3.7.2 Condition

Refer to paragraph 2.2 for a definition of condition. Consider the following example:

(243) Owen’ umsebenzi sewuyintoni na, xa inkosi [iza kuzifunel’ umfazi] nikho nje?
What is your role, if the king is going to be looking for a wife, while you are present?

(Jordan 1940:130)

In example (243) the meaning of the clause in brackets is a condition. This condition can be linguistically expressed by using a future tense indicative clause. This clause in brackets is also a request for permission, i.e. Ngxabane is requesting Dabula to look for a
wife on behalf of the king. The reason for this interpretation is to be found in the context in which this request has been made, i.e. Ngxabane is opposed to the idea that the king should look for a wife by himself.

With the following sentences, the meaning of the clauses in brackets is a condition. This condition can be expressed in various ways:

Negative clause

The following negative clause that has been found in one of the texts is interpreted as a negative condition with the meaning of a request for permission.

The verb in the clause is the perfect indicative clause with an infinitive:

(244) Ukuba ulindele ukumenywa encokweni [akusoze uncokole]
If you simply wait to be invited into a dialogue you won't converse.

(Saule 1995:38)

In (244) the request for permission is that Mbuyiselo requests Macebo not to wait until he is invited in a conversation. The context within which this request has been made is that Maceba is curious to know what is it that Mbuyiselo is talking about with Mlandeli.

The deficient verb clause

The following deficient verb clauses that have been found in the texts are interpreted as conditions with the meaning of a request for permission.

The verb in the clause is the deficient verb clause with nge in (245) and in (246) it is with khe:

(245) Ukuba ebefile [ngesingekho apha kule ndlu namhlane]; ngenilele nonke ezindlwini zenu.
If he were dead, we shouldn't have been in this house today; you would have been asleep in your houses. (Jordan 1940:87)
He was asked by Dingindawo if he had spoken to the girl about this thing, he lied saying "No", whereas at Ngcolosi and Ntshingo it was well known that he is in love with Nozihlwele.

(Jordan 1940:141)

In (145) the request for permission is that they should go home. The context within which this request has been made is that this is because of the work, which was done by Mthunzini. He risked his life to get the information about the Mpondomise.

The request for permission in (246) is that Dingindawo is requesting Mthunzini to mention whether he had already spoken to the girl. The context within which this request has been made is that Mthunzini wants to make use of Dingindawo to persuade Nozihlwele to marry him.

4.3.7.3 Necessity

Refer to paragraph 2.5 for a definition of necessity. Consider the following example:

She told her mother that she should be helped and lent a horse because she wanted to go to Ngcolosi to meet sister Monica whatever the case.

(Jordan 1940:119)

In example (247) above, the meaning of the clause in brackets is a necessity, which can be linguistically expressed by using a hortative clause. This clause in brackets is also a request for permission, i.e. Thembeka is requesting her mother to lend her a horse. The reason for this interpretation is to be found in the context in which this request has been
uttered, i.e. Thembeka never relaxed ever since she heard that Zwelinzima has been taken from Sheshegu.

The following subjunctive clauses that have been found in the texts are interpreted as necessities with the meaning of a request for permission.

The verb in the clause is the subjunctive clause:

(248) Kanti ke noko into enjalo ndingathi phambi kokuba ndiyenze [ndibe ndifumene imvume yenkosi yam,] uMntwan' omhle
Before I do something like that, I would like to get permission from my king.

(Jordan 1940:77)

(249) uZwelinzima wathi krwaqu kuVukuzumbethe [ukuba aphendule]
Zwelinzima looked at Vukuzumbethe to answer

(Jordan 1940:176)

In (248) the request for permission is that Mthunzini is requesting Dingindawo to give him permission to say something which affects them. The context within which this request has been made is that Mthunzini has found confidential information about the kingdom of Mpondomise. He wants to share this with Dingindawo.

The request for permission in (249) is that Vukuzumbethe should respond. The context within which this request has been made is that Zwelinzima feels that he is unable to respond to his mother-in-law as he does not know what to say. Besides which, they are in a hurry to go back to the Great place.

4.3.7.4 Request

Refer to paragraph 2.6 for a definition of a request. Consider the following example:
In the above example, the meaning of the clause in brackets is a request. This request can be linguistically expressed by using a negative clause in subjunctive clause. This clause in brackets is also a request for permission, i.e. Zwelinzima requests Dingindawo not to leave. The context within which this request has been made is that Zwelinzima and Vukuzumbethe have just arrived at a Great place after taking Thembeka home. They were worried about her safety after she had killed a snake referred to as Majola.

The following deficient verb clause that has been found in one of the texts is also interpreted with the meaning of a request for permission:

The verb in the clause is the deficient verb clause with se:

(251) [Sel'ungena noThembeka lo, nomntwana] unced'ukhe ubuye uze kuthi kuba asihlabanga.

Go through with Thembeka and a kid; you must please come back because we are not here to stay.

In sentence (251) above, the request for permission is that Zwelinzima requests Vukuzumbethe to enter with Thembeka and a kid to his in-laws. The context within which this request has been made is that Zwelinzima and Vukuzumbethe have brought Thembeka to her home. They are fearing for her safety after what she has done among the Mpondomise.
4.3.7.5 Statement

Refer to paragraph 2.1 for a definition of a statement. Consider the following example:

(252) Wamshiya ebukhweni uZwelinzima emthembise ukuba
[wobuya eze akufumana umtyhi]
He left Zwelinzima at his in-laws, promising him that he would come back when he heard something.

(Jordan 1940:184)

In example (252) above, the clause in brackets is a statement, which can be linguistically expressed by using a future tense with deficient verb buya. This clause in brackets is also a request for permission, i.e. the request is that Zwelinzima should go to the in-laws when he gets something. The context within which this request has been made is that Thembeka is at her home where she was left by Zwelinzima after she had killed Majola. She was not behaving according to the Mpondomise custom.

Within the following sentences, the meaning of the clause in brackets is a statement. This statement can be expressed in various ways:

The future tense clause

The following future tense clauses that have been found in the texts are interpreted as statements with the meaning of a request for permission.

The verb in the clause is the future tense indicative clause in (253). In (254) it is the subjunctive coordinated clause with future tense za with ku. In (255) it is the compound tense ye and future tense morpheme za with ku:

(253) Hayi ke kwalunga, kodwa babekho abaskrikrizayo ngelithi isi-Latini kunye nezifundo zezandla [uza kudibana nazo okokuqala]
No, it became all right, but there were those who were still complaining that he is going to do Latin and trade subjects for the first time.

(Saule 1995:14)

(254) Ugeziswa yinto yokuthi uthi ufika umsila [uzokuhlala nathi singamagqala]
What makes this tale silly is the fact that he comes and sits next to us whereas we are the experts.

(Saule 1995:17)

(255) Zathi zakukhalima iititshala ezicebisa ngokhetho lwezifundo ngalaa mini wayeye kudliwano - ndlebe [xa wayezokwenza isicelo] waxoxa kwema ngaye.
When the teachers who advise about the subject combinations complained on the day of the interview, when he was doing the application, he argued to his point.

(Saule 1995:13)

In (253) the request for permission is that Mlandeli should not be allowed to take extra subjects. The context within which this request has been made is that there is a debate at Sontaba over whether Mlandeli should be allowed to take extra subjects. Some teachers fear that this is going to increase his load.

The request for permission in (254) is that Mlandeli should not sit next to the experts. The context within which this request has been made is that the boys who have been at Sontaba long ago are trying to ill-treat Mlandeli who is the new arrival.

The (255) the request for permission is that Mlandeli requests the teachers to allow him to do the subjects as he wants. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli has registered for more subjects than those required at Sontaba. This is going to increase his workload.
The compound tense clause

The following compound tense clauses that have been found in one of the texts are interpreted as statements with the meaning of a request for permission.

The verb in the clause is a compound tense with deficient verb ye in (256). In (257) it is compound tense in relative clause:

(256) Oyena mntu [ayethe manga nguye ngulo mfana] ikakhulu, kuba amanye ayezizibonda namaphakathi azo.
    The person they were most surprised with was this young man, because others were just chiefs and their associates.
    (Jordan 1940:85)

(257) Bafika belindelwe eSheshegu kuba iBhishophu [yayise ilenzile idinga noGcinizebele]
    They were expected at Sheshegu upon their arrival, because the Bishop had already made an appointment with Gcinizebele.
    (Jordan 1940:45)

In (256) the request for permission is that this young man should go away from the gathering of the old men. The context within which this request has been made is that the men at Dingindawo's place gathered to be briefed by Mthunzini about what he had found in the letters, which he stole from Mphuthumi's suitcase.

The request for permission in (257) is that the Bishop requested Gcinizibele to see him. The context within which this request has been made is that the Bishop wants to tell Gxinizibele that Zwelinzima is the king of the Mpondomise.

The negative verb clauses

The following negative verb clauses that have been found in the texts are interpreted as negative statements with the meaning of a request for permission.
The verb in the clause is the negative infinitive clause in (258). In (259) it is the negative participial copulative clause with kho; the subject agreement affix is existential. In (260) it is the negative clause with idiom. Lastly in (271) it is a negative present indicative clause:

(258) Abanye abafundi bamangaliswa kakhulu [kukungathandi kwakhe unkuncokola kule hambo.]
Some students were very surprised to find that he didn't like to talk on this journey.

(Jordan 1940:14)

(259) Zahamba i intsuku [kungenkho mntu uthethayo ngale nto kuThembeka,] kodwa esiva xa kuthethwayo ngayo.
Days passed by and nobody was talking about this thing to Thembeka, although she could hear them talking about it amongst themselves.

(Jordan 1940:222)

(260) Nabethu oonyana xa bazibonel' abafazi [asizibeth'iinkomo singazibonelanga ngaweth' amehlo ukuba loo mfazi unjani na]
Even with our sons, when they've seen women for themselves we don't oppose them without having seen what type of a woman they bring forward.

(Jordan 1940:133)

(261) UDabula wema waba uma ezwini lokuthi [akayingeni konke konke into yokuba inkosi izekelwe intombi engayaziyo]
Dabula stood by the word that he was not in favour of the idea that a king should marry a girl he does not know.

(Jordan 1940:132)

In (258) the request for permission is that Mphuthumi is requested to talk. The context within which this request has been made is that it is after the December holidays and Mphuthumi is going back to Lovedale where he is going to finish his secondary education.
The request for permission in (259) is that somebody should talk about this thing to Thembeka. The context within which this request has been made is that there is news that Ngubengwe is dead. This is one of the things that has delayed Zwelinzima from taking Thembeka.

In (260) the request for permission is that Danisa is requesting the gathering of the Mpondomise to give Zwelinzima a chance to find a woman for himself. The context within which this request has been made is that some Mpondomise want Zwelinzima to find a woman for himself. Others want him to follow his father's will and marry a girl from Bheca.

The request for permission in (261) is that the king should not marry a girl he does not know. The context within which this request has been made is that other Mpondomise have agreed that Zwelinzima should marry the girl he likes and not go according to his late father's will.

The V+ NP clause

The following V+NP clauses that have been found in the texts are interpreted as statements with the meaning of a request for permission.

The verb in the clause is the indicative clause with deficient verb khawuleza in (262). In (263) it is the infinitive clause with infinitive complement.

(262) [Bakhawuleza bacela indlela] abakhwenyana, kuba kambe nokutya kwakungasangeni iixhala lokucinga ukuba azi kwenzekani na emva komkhulu.
The sons-in-law quickly asked to be released, because they couldn't eat well, being too worried about what was happening at a Great place.

(Jordan 1940:177)
(263) Umfundisi uZondi enoMvangeli uNongalaza babedla ngokutyholwa [ngokufuna ukubuyisela umva icana]
Reverend Zondi and Evangelist Nongalaza used to be accused of wanting to bring the church backwards.

(Saule 1995:42)

In (262) the request for permission is that both Vukuzumbethe and Zwelinzima want their father-in-law to allow them to go back home. The context within which this request has been made is that they are at Thembeka's home. They are here simply because they've brought Thembeka.

The request for permission in (263) is that both Reverend Zondi and Evangelist Nongalaza should allow the church to change with the changing times. The context within which this request has been made is that both Rev. Zondi and Evangelist Nongalaza want to do things the traditional way as they say that the new ways are against Christianity.

The copulative clause

The following copulative clause that has been found in one of the texts is interpreted as a statement with the meaning of a request for permission.

The verb in the clause is the copulative clause with kho: the subject agreement affix is existential:

(264) ... kukho iindawo ezingemnandi [endingethandi ukuzikhankanya ngaphandle kwemvume yenkosi yam]
...there are parts that are not nice, which I wouldn't like to mention without my king's permission.

(Jordan 1940:77)

In sentence (264) above, the request for permission is that Mthunzini is requesting Dingindawo to give him permission to mention those things, which are not nice. The context within which this request has been made is that Mthunzini is at Dingindawo's place and he has brought some confidential information about the kingdom of the Mpondomise.
The negative verb clause

The following negative verb clause that has been found in one of the texts is interpreted as a negative statement with the meaning of request for permission.

The verb in the clause is the future tense negative indicate clause:

(265) [Anisayi kuze nibone kundileka emfazini oqhelene kangaka namantombazana]
You won't see dignity in a woman who is so friendly with the Girls.

(Jordan 1940:156)

In (265) above, the request for permission is that Thembeka should not befriend unmarried girls. The context within which this request has been made is that Ngxobane is not happy with Thembeka's behaviour. She does not behave like a king's wife.

4.3.7.6 Question

Refer to paragraph 2.4 for a definition of a question. Consider the following example:

(266) Wathi elala wabe ezimisele ukuvuka aye eSulenkama kwindlu enkululu kaNgwanya, kuba inkosi yakhona wayeyazela kwaseLovedale, eyazi ukuba inengqondo, exakwe ukuba [kutheni na iyixhase le nto yokuba iibhokhwe zingatshatyahaliswa]
When he slept he was prepared to wake up the following day and go to Sulenkama at Nganya's Great place, because he knew the king of that area from Lovedale, he also knew that he was brilliant, he was confused by the fact that this king supported the idea that goats should not be destroyed.

(Jordan 1940:162)

In the above example the clause in brackets is a question. This question can be linguistically expressed by using the participial clause after kutheni. This clause in
brackets is also a request for support, i.e. the king from Sulenkama should not support the idea that the goats should be kept. The context within which this request has been made is that Zwelinzima is interested to know why this king from Sulenkama is of the opinion that goats should be kept.

4.3.8 Request for assistance

The Concise Oxford Dictionary (1990) defines assistance as being to take one’s stand by. Longman (1978) says assistance is the act of assisting or the help supplied. For instance in the following sentence the meaning of the clause in brackets is a necessity. This necessity can be linguistically expressed by using the subjunctive clause:

(267) Waphalisa uVukuzumbethe waya kufika, ezama ukumqhiwula [uNobantu angangeni emanzini ]
Vukuzumbethe rode all the way, trying to stop Nobantu from going to the water.

(Jordan 1940:321)

In sentence (267) above, the request for assistance is that Vukuzumbethe should stop Nobantu from throwing herself into the water. The context within which this request has been made is that Nobantu has reached a point where she can no longer take it. She has decided to take her life.

The request for assistance appears in the following types of sentences in the four books:

4.3.8.1 Necessity

Refer to paragraph 2.5 for a definition of necessity. Consider the following example:

(268) Ndabona ukuba [mandize apha kuwe sincedisane ekuthandazeleni umhlobo wam] osengozini embi kwezi ntsuku
I decided to come over to you so that we should help each other in praying for my friend who is in big trouble these days.

(Jordan 1940:120)
In example (268) above, the meaning of the clause in brackets is a necessity, which can be linguistically expressed by using a hortative clause with subjunctive clause. This clause in brackets is also a request for assistance, i.e. Thembeka is requesting sister Monica to help her in praying for her friend. The reason for this interpretation is to be found in the context in which this request has been made, i.e. Thembeka is worried about Zwelinzima who is going to be the king of the Mpondomise.

Within the following sentence, the meaning of the clause in brackets is a necessity. This necessity can be expressed in various ways:

**The subjunctive clause**

The following subjunctive clauses that have been found in the texts are interpreted as necessities with the meaning of a request for assistance.

The verb in the clause is the subjunctive coordinated clause in (269). In (270) it is the subjunctive clause:

(269) **Ndithi ndigcine ngengqondo [undilibale ngentliziyo]**  
I say keep me in your mind and forget me in your heart.  
(Qangule 1974:18)

(270) **uVukuzumbethe wayesoloko [ezizama ukuba amcebise ngale nto], kodwa kangangokumthanda kwakhuyise wayesuka abe neentloni**  
Vukuzumbethe always tried to show him this himself, but he used to be afraid because of how he liked his father.  
(Jordan 1940:196)

In (269) the request for assistance is that Namhla requests Sidima to forget about her. The context within which this request has been made is that Namhla is bitter after she had discovered that Sidima has been cheating on her.

The request for assistance in (270) is that Vukuzumbethe should advise Zwelinzima. The context within which this request has been made is that Vukuzumbethe knows the dangers...
Zwelinzima is putting himself in. He would like to help him but on the other hand he likes his father.

The negative clause

The following negative clause that has been found in one of the texts is interpreted as a negative necessity with the meaning of a request for assistance.

The verb in the clause is the negative hortative clause:

\[\textit{Kwagqitywa ekubeni la madoda makangandwetyiswa ngokuntanywa}\]

It was decided that these men should be left unaware by spying on them.

(Jordan 1940:90)

In (271) the request for assistance is that the men should not be made aware. The context within which this request has been made is that Mthunzini has been given the task of getting all the relevant information. He should bring it to Dingindawo.

4.3.8.2 Condition

Refer to paragraph 2.2 for a definition of a condition. Consider the following example:

\[\textit{Ukuba ubundikhaphile [ngowundincerely ekuqosheliseni ezinye izinto]}\]

If you were accompanying me, you should have helped me in covering some other things.

(Ngewu 1997:52)

In example (272) the meaning of the clause in brackets is a condition. This condition can be linguistically expressed by using a deficient verb clause with \textit{nge}. This clause in brackets is also a request for assistance, i.e. the request is that Phalisa should have helped Nozinto. The reason for this interpretation is to be found in the context within which
this utterance has been made, i.e. Phalisa is curious to know why Nozinto has taken so much time in East London.

The following negative verb clauses that have been found in the texts are also interpreted as conditions with the meaning of a request for assistance.

The verb in the clause is the future tense copulative clause (273). In (274) it is the negative present indicative clause:

(273) **La mazwi amtyhafisa uMlandeli, wazibuza ukuba uyise umfundisela ntoni na kanti [akazi kuba luncedo]**

These words discouraged Mlandeli, he asked himself what is it that his father is teaching him if he is not going to be of help.

(Saule 1995:105)

(274) **[Ukuba akuvelani nabo ngeenkolo zabo], ngokwenene yiva mna, uya kuxakana nabo**

If you don’t agree with them with regards to their tradition, really, listen to me, you will have problems with them.

(Jordan 1940:163)

In (273) the request for assistance is that Mlandeli should be of help. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli has been disappointed by his father when he was trying to advise him about the problem concerning his car.

The request for assistance in (274) is that the king from Sulenkana is requesting Zwelinzima to reach an agreement with the Mpondomise concerning their tradition. The context within which this request has been made is that Zwelinzima went to Sulenkama on a fact finding mission.

4.3.8.3 **Question**

Refer to paragraph 2.4 for a definition of question. Consider the following example:
In example (275) above, the meaning of the clause in brackets is a question. The question can be linguistically expressed by using a negative future tense. This clause in brackets is also a request for assistance, i.e. the request is that Lizo should take his wife. The reason for this interpretation is to be found in the context in which this request has been made, i.e. Vathiswa is surprised to hear from Nodabephi that Lizo is going to take his money instead of his wife. She finds this strange.

The following V+Inf. clause that has been found in one of the texts is also with the meaning of a request for assistance:

The verb in the clause is the perfect tense clause with infinitive:

(276) Khawume, mfazindini, [uqale nini ngoku ukusebenzela amapolisa?]
Wait, lady, when did you start working for the police?

(Ngewu 1997:9)

In (276) the request for assistance is that Ncoyiwe should not ask questions as if she is the police. The context within which this request has been made is that there are many things that do not satisfy Nconyiwe surrounding the attack of Nozinto's husband.

4.3.8.4 Statement

Refer to paragraph 2.1 for a definition of a statement. Consider the following example:

(277) Akubonakali bawomkhulu kwezethu iingxaki, akutshiwo na ngama Xhosa ukuba [inxanxheba ithenga enye?]
Grandfather, you are scarce in our problems, are Xhosas then not saying that an opportunity buys another?

(Qangule 1974:58)
In (277) the meaning of the clause in brackets is a statement. This statement has been expressed by using an idiom. This clause in brackets is also a request for assistance, i.e. Qebeyi requests Danile to attend to their problems. The reason for this interpretation is to be found in the context in which this request has been made, i.e. there is a gathering of the Bhele people at Danile’s house. They are going to discuss the fate of Namhla.

Within the following sentences, the meaning of the clauses in brackets is a statement. This statement can be expressed in various ways:

**The negative clause**

The following negative verb clause that has been found in one of the texts is interpreted as a negative statement with the meaning of a request for assistance:

The verb in the clause is the negative present tense clause:

(278) **[Kanti alaziwa elo gama apha]**  
That name is not known here.  
(Qangule 1974:25)

In (278) the request for assistance is that Zodwa should not use Duma’s name when referring to him. The context within which this request has been made is that both Zodwa and Duma are in Johannesburg with the intention of seeking greener pastures.

**The verb clauses**

The following verb clause that has been found in one of the texts is interpreted as a statement with the meaning of a request for assistance.

The verb in the clause is the present indicative clause:

(279) **Ewe ndidiniwe. Kanti intw’ emandla [ndozele kakubi]**  
Yes I am tired. The worst thing is that I want to sleep.  
(Jordan 1940:12)
In (279) the request for assistance is that Mphuthumi is requesting to sleep at Ngxobane's house. The context within which this request has been made is that Mphuthumi is going to act as if he is asleep when Ngxobane is going to be busy discussing some confidential matters with Dabula.

**The ideophone clause**

The following ideophone verb clause that has been found in one of the texts is interpreted as a negative statement with the meaning of a request for assistance.

The verb in the clause is the perfect participial clause:

(280) **UThembeka wawathetha la mazwi [emthe ntsho ebusweni u Mphuthumi]**

Thembeka spoke these words staring at Mphuthumi's face.

(Jordan 1940:15)

In (280) the request for assistance is that Thembeka is requesting Mphuthumi to share his problem with her. The context within which this request has been made is that, Thembeka, Mphuthumi and some other students are on their way back to school after the December holidays.

4.3.8.5 **Request**

Refer to paragraph 2.6 for a definition of a request. Consider the following example:

(281) **Bhuti [uncede wethu undigcinel' olu sana linguZwelinzima] lingalahleki**

Uncle, you must please keep for me this child Zwelinzima so that he doesn't get lost.

(Jordan 1940:177)

In (281) the meaning of a clause in brackets is a request. This request can be expressed by using a subjunctive coordinated clause. This clause in brackets is also a request for assistance, i.e. Thembeka requests Vukuzumbethe to look well after Zwelinzima. The
reason for this interpretation is to be found in the context in which this request has been made, i.e. Thembeka is at her home. She was brought by Zwelinzima and Vukuzumbethe after she had killed a snake which is well respected among the Mpondomise.

The following V+ NP clause that has been found in one of the texts is also interpreted as a request with the meaning of a request for assistance:

The verb in the clause is the present participial clause:

(282) [...] kumphela efuna indawo yokulala
... he only wanted a place to sleep.

(Jordan 1940:12)

In (282) the request for assistance is that Mphuthumi is requesting for a place to sleep. The context within which this request has been made is that Mphuthumi has been asked by Dabula to go and sleep at Ngxabane’s house. This is the house where Ngxabane is going to have some discussions with Dabula.

4.3.9 Request for attention

The Concise Oxford Dictionary (1990) defines attention as the act or faculty of applying one’s mind. Longman (1978) says attention is the act of fixing the mind on, especially by watching or listening. For instance in the following sentence, the meaning of the clause in brackets is a statement. This statement can be linguistically expressed by using a negative future clause:

(283) Ukuba urhanele ukuba uyasivela xa siwuxoxayo, [akasayi kubuya athethe]
If he suspects that you hear us when we discuss it, he won’t talk again.

(Jordan 1940:11)

In (283) the request for attention is that Dabula is requesting Mphuthumi to act as if he hears nothing. The context within which this request has been made is that Mphuthumi is
going to sleep in a room where Dabula and Ngxabane are going to have some discussions.

The request for attention appears in the following types of sentences in the four books:

4.3.9.1 Statement

Refer to paragraph 2.1 for a definition of statement. Consider the following example:

(284) Ke kaloku mna mntu unebhongo ngobuMpondomise iyandidla into yokuba kude kube ngokunje [ibali lethu alikabhalwa]
I, as the person who is proud of being a Mpondomise, am worried that until now nothing has been written about our history.

(Jordan 1940:76)

In (284) above, the meaning of the clause in brackets is a statement. This statement has been linguistically expressed by using a negative clause with ka. This clause in brackets is also a request for attention, i.e. Mthunzini is requesting Dingindawo to do something about the importance of the history of the Mpondomise. The reason for this interpretation is to be found in the context within which this request has been made, i.e. Mthunzini has visited Dingindawo in order to share with him something which affects the Mpondomise people as a whole.

The following negative verb clause is also interpreted as a negative statement with the meaning of a request for attention.

The verb in the clause is the negative clause with ka:

(285) Kucacile [ukuba anikandiva kakuhle] Ndiza kunigqog'iindlebe ke ngoku
It is obvious that you don't hear me correctly - I am going to clean your ears now.

(Jordan 1940:188)
In (285) the requests for attention is that Jongilanga is requesting the Mpondomise to listen to him carefully. The context within which this request has been made is that the Mpondomise have gathered at a king's place to discuss Thembeka's behaviour. Instead of discussing what they had come for, they are busy debating over who the real Mpondomise are.

4.3.9.2 Possibility

Refer to paragraph 2.3 for a definition of possibility. Consider the following example:

(286) Waysazi kananjalo ukuba umntu ogula siso [angaba yingozi ukuba akalunyukelwa].

He knew well that a person who has that sickness can be dangerous if people are not careful of him.

(Saule 1995:46)

In (286) the meaning of the clause in brackets is a possibility. This possibility can be linguistically expressed by using a copulative clause. This clause in brackets is also a request for attention, i.e. the request is that people should be careful of somebody who is jealous. The reason for this interpretation is to be found in the context in which this request has been made, i.e. Mlandeli is aware that Macebo has a sickness referred to as jealousy and he is playing safe.

4.3.10 Request for silence

The Concise Oxford Dictionary (1990) defines silence as the absence of sound. This view is also shared by Longman (1978) when he says silence is the absence of sound. He goes further and say it is stillness. For instance in the following sentence, the meaning of the clause in brackets is a statement. This statement can be linguistically expressed by using a negative copulative clause with kho:

(287) Ukuba kunjalo ke [akukho kufumana sizibulale ngokuthetha]

If it is like that then there is no need for us to kill ourselves by talking.

(Jordan 1940:137)
In (287) the request for silence is that Jongilanga is requesting the gathering of the Mpondomise not to engage themselves in too much talking. The context within which this request has been made is that Jongilanga wants the people to go to Bhaca and bring along the king's wife according to the will of the late Zanemvula.

The request for silence appears in the following types of sentences in the four books:

4.3.10.1  **Statement**

Refer to paragraph 2.1 for a definition of statement. Consider the following example:

(288)  

[Babenqandwa abafuna ukumthethisa kuba wayesuka athethe into ekude nento ebuzwayo]

Those who wanted to talk to her were stopped because she had a tendency of talking something, which was far from the one which was asked.

(Jordan 1940:228)

In example (288) above, the meaning of the clause in brackets is a statement. This statement can be linguistically expressed in a compound tense with ye. This clause in brackets is also a request for silence, i.e. the request is that the people should not talk to Nobantu. The reason for this interpretation is to be found in the context in which this request has been made, i.e. it is now obvious that Nobantu is disturbed mentally. Ever since she came back her behaviour has deteriorated.

4.3.10.2  **Question**

Refer to paragraph 2.4 for a definition of question. Consider the following example:

(289)  

[Akukhang' uxelele mntu] ngale nto?

Didn't you tell anyone about this thing?

(Jordan 1940:81)

In example (289) above, the meaning of the clause in brackets is a question. This question can be linguistically expressed by using a negative clause with khange. This
The following future tense verb clause is also interpreted as a question with the meaning of a request for silence:

The verb in the clause is the future tense clause:

(290) Utheth' olu hlobo nje, ukhwaza nokukhwaza, [uthi la madoda angasebuhlanti aza kuthini?]
You speak this way, shouting, what do you think these men near the kraal are going to say?

(Jordan 1940:154)

In (290) the request for silence is that Nozihlwele is requesting Nobantu not to speak loudly. The context within which this request has been made is that Nobantu feels strongly about this snake referred to as Majola. Shoe does not want it to be closer to her son.

4.3.10.3 Condition

Refer to paragraph 2.2 for a definition of a condition. Consider the following example:

(291) Noko bendingathanda loo nto, mfana wam, [ngaphandle kokuba ke unobuchule bokukwesa]
I would not like that thing, my son, unless you have the art of saying it the other way.

(Jordan 1940:78)

In (291) the clause in brackets is a condition. This condition is linguistically expressed by using the copulative clause with na. This clause in brackets is also a request for silence, i.e. Dingindawo is requesting Mthunzini not to mention the things that are disturbing unless he has an art of doing so. The context within which this request has been made is that
Mthunzini wants to mention what he has found and yet he is worried that some things might disturb Dingindawo.

4.3.10.4 Request

Refer to paragraph 2.6 for a definition of a request. Consider the following example:

(292) [Ungabi sayiphatha nakubani na] de ube uve ngam
Don't tell anyone until you hear from me (Jordan 1940:81)

In (292) the clause in brackets is a request which can be linguistically expressed by using the negative subjunctive clause. This clause in brackets is also a request for silence, i.e. Dingindawo is requesting Mthunzini not to reveal this to anyone. The context within which this request has been made is that this is the confidential information about the kingdom of the Mpondomise. It is also from this information that Dingindawo hears that Zwelinzima is the king of the Mpondomise.

4.3.11 Request for promise

The Concise Oxford Dictionary (1990) defines promise as an assurance that one will or will not undertake a certain action, behaviour etc. Longman (1978) says a promise is a statement, which someone wise has the right to believe and depend on, that one will or will not do something, give something etc. For instance in the following sentence the meaning of the clause in brackets is a statement. This statement can be linguistically expressed by using a negative future tense:

(293) Ukuba eli bandla lithembisa ukuba [aliyi kuphinda lenze kungcola], ndizimisele ukwenza nantoni na elithi mandiyenze.
If this gathering promises that they won't do dirty tricks again, I am prepared to do whatever they want me to do.

(Jordan 1940:218)

In (293) the request for a promise is that this gathering should promise not to do things behind the speaker's back. The context within which this request has been made is that the gathering of the Mpondomise want to know the things that the king is going to do to address their complaints.
4.3.12 Apology

The Concise Oxford Dictionary (1990) defines apology as a regretful acknowledgment of an offense or failure. Longman (1978) says an apology is a statement expressing sorrow for a fault, causing trouble or pain etc. For instance in the following sentence, the meaning of the clause in brackets is a statement. This statement can be linguistically expressed by using a subjunctive clause:

(294) Ndingaba ndinidelile ukuba ndingathi umfazi wam enonile wanihlaza, [ndilindele ukuba nide nindikhumbuze ukuze ndimcelele uxolo]
I will be looking down upon you when my wife has done a disgrace too you, then I wait for you to remind me that I should apologize on her behalf.

(Jordan 1940:201)

In (294) the request for apology is that the king apologizes to the Mpondomise on behalf of his wife. The context within which this request has been made is that the Mpondomise have gathered at the king's place with the intentions of voicing their grievances.

4.3.13 Confirmation

The Concise Oxford Dictionary (1990) defines confirmation as being to provide support for the truth or correctness of. Longman (1978) says confirmation is an act of confirming. For instance, in the following sentence the meaning of the clause in brackets is a question. This question can be linguistically expressed by using a copulative clause with kho:

(295) Andazi nokuba [kukhw'indawo endiyilibalayo na]. Unga selunce da, mfo kabawo.
I don't know if there is something I am forgetting. You can also help.

(Jordan 1940:176)

In (295) the request for confirmation is that Vukuzumbethe requests Zwelinzima to add if there is something he has left out in the explanation. The context within which this request
has been made is that Zwelinzima and Vukuzumbethetha have brought Thembeka home after she has killed a snake that is respected among the Mpondomise.

4.4 SUMMARY

The following twelve subcategories of requests have been found for Xhosa:

(i) Compliance

E.g. *Niza kuwukhumbul’umyolelo kaZanemvula kungekafi nam lo, ngoku nicinga ukuba sendilibunga*
You are going to remember Zanemvula's will before I die, even though you think that I'm too old to matter.

(Jordan 1940:155)

The request here is that the Mpondomise should follow Zanemvula's will.

(ii) Action

E.g. *Wandivelisela indlela yokusebenzisana nabanye, le wena ungenayo, usuke ufune ukusenza oonyana bakho neentombi zakho.*
He showed me the way of working with other people, this you don't have, instead you want to make us your sons and daughters.

(Saule 1995:37)

The request is that Macebo should not treat others as his children.

(iii) Information

E.g. *Khange uzihluphe nakancinane ngokundixelela inyaniso.*
You never bothered yourself by telling me the truth.

(Ngewu 1997:78)

The request here is that Nozipho should tell the truth.
(iv) Meeting

E.g. **UMnumzana Rhadebe uyakufuna eofisini yakhe ngentsimbi yesithandathu ngomso, into ethetha ukuthi uza kuphoswa sisidlo sakusasa.**
Mr Rhadebe wants to see you at his office tomorrow at six, that means you are going to miss the breakfast.

(Saule 1995:26)

The request here is that Mlandeli should see Mr Rhadebe as early as possible the following day.

(v) Patience

E.g. **UNobantu ke namhlange ubuya xa uZwelinzima engafuni kubabona konke abantu awayefudula ebathembile**
Nobantu is coming back just when Zwelinzima does not want to see all the people he used to trust.

(Jordan 1940:224)

The request here is that Zwelinzima does not want to see all the people he used to trust.

(vi) Permission

E.g. **Tata ingathi ungophuka umphefumlo wam xa ndinokungavunyelwa ukuya kugalela umhlaba encwabeni likatata kaSandi.**
Daddy, I will be very disappointed if I am not allowed to go and pour the sand in the grave of Sandi’s father.

(Ngewu 1997:49)

The request here is that Nozinto should be allowed to go to the graveyard.
(vii) Assistance

E.g. **Waphalisa uVukuzumbethe waya kufika, ezama ukumqhiwula uNobantu angangeni emanzini.**

Vukuzumbethe rode all the way, trying to stop Nobantu from going to the water.

(Jordan 1940:231)

The request here is that Vukuzumbethe should stop Nobantu from throwing herself into the water.

(viii) Attention

E.g. **Ukuba urhanele ukuba uyasivela xa siwuxoxayo, akasayi kubuya athethe.**

If he suspects that you hear with us when we discuss it, he won’t talk again.

(Jordan 1940:11)

The request is that Mphuthumi should act as if he hears nothing.

(ix) Silence

E.g. **Ukuba kunjalo ke akukho kufumana sizibulale ngokuthetha.**

If it is like that, then there is no need for us to kill ourselves by talking.

(Jordan 1940:137)

The request here is that the Mpondomise should not engage themselves in too much talking.

(x) Promise

E.g. **Ukuba eli bandla lithembisa ukuba aliyi kulhinda lenze kungcola, ndizimisele ukwenza nantoni na elithi mandiyenze.**

If this gathering promises that they won’t do dirty tricks again, I am prepared to do whatever they want met do do.

(Jordan 1940:218)
The request is that the gathering should promise not to do dirty tricks again.

(xi) Apology

E.g. Ndingaba ndinidelile ukuba ndingathi umfazi wam enonile wanihlaza, ndilindele ukuba nide nindikhumbuze ukuze ndimcelele uxolo. I will be looking down upon you when my wife has done a disgrace to you, then I will wait for you to remind me that I should apologise on her behalv.

(Jordan 1940:201)

The request is that the king should apologise to the Mpondomise on behalf of his wife.

(xii) Confirmation

E.g. Andazi nokuba kukhw’indawo endiyilibalayo na. Unga selunceda, mfo kabawo. I don't know if there is something I am forgetting. You can also help.

(Jordan 1940:176)

The request is that Zwelinzima should add if Vukuzumbethe leaves out something in the explanation.

It has been found that there are three distribution types of categories, which are the most frequent; not very regular and negligent. These can be grouped together as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOST FREQUENT</th>
<th>NOT VERY REGULAR</th>
<th>NEGLIGENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Compliance 24%</td>
<td>Permission 8,4%</td>
<td>Attention 1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information 26%</td>
<td>Meeting 7%</td>
<td>Promise 0,4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Action 25%</td>
<td>Assistance 4%</td>
<td>Apology 0,4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Patience 3%</td>
<td>Confirmation 0,4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Silence 2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Consideration will be given to the most frequent category because it has the high frequency of occurrence of the first three and the percentage of the other categories are not high.
The explanation for this high percentage of occurrence will be given by means of the politeness theory of Brown and Levinson.

(i) The concept of face

Thomas (1995) says face is best understood as every individual’s feeling of self-worth or self-image; this image can be damaged, maintained or enhanced through interaction with others. Face has two aspects: positive and negative. Positive face is when an individual wants to be liked and appreciated by others. Negative face, on the other hand, is when an individual wants to have a freedom to act as he chooses, and not to be put upon.

(ii) Face-threatening acts

According to Brown and Levinson, certain illocutionary acts are liable to damage or threaten another person’s face; these acts are referred to as face-threatening acts. An illocutionary act has a potential to damage the hearer’s positive face, or the hearer’s negative face. In order to reduce the possibility of damage to the hearer’s face or to the speaker’s own face, he or she may adopt certain strategies.

(iii) The superstrategies with attention to negative politeness

According to Brown and Levinson, the first decision to be made is whether to perform the face-threatening act or not. If the speaker does decide to perform the face-threatening act, there are four possibilities: three sets of “on record” superstrategies and these are perform the face-threatening act on-record without redressive action (bald on record); perform the face-threatening act on record using positive politeness; perform the face threatening act on-record using negative politeness and one set of off-record strategies.

Performing a face-threatening act with redress (negative politeness)

Negative politeness is oriented towards a hearer’s negative face, which appeals to the hearer’s desire not to be impeded or put upon, to be left free to act as he or she chooses. Negative politeness manifests itself in the use of conventional politeness markers, deference markers, minimizing imposition, etc.
The explanation with regard to the three most frequent subcategories

Compliance is the obedience to a request or a command. Action is the process of doing things with the intention of gaining a desired result. Information is something, which gives knowledge in the form of facts or news.

These three subcategories demand non-threatening strategies. For instance, compliance demands obedience, action demands doing things with the desired result and information demands knowledge from a person.

These three are thus face-threatening acts, which demand respect for the hearer’s antonymy. Such requests may then seriously threaten the hearer’s negative face. If no politeness strategy is attempted, these requests will be viewed as most threatening acts. That is why negative politeness has been used frequently with these three types of requests.

Pragmatic functions

The ten negative politeness strategies of Brown and Levinson do not apply to Xhosa because they have been developed for a Western language. In the place of these strategies, it has been found that negative politeness may be expressed in Xhosa through certain subcategories as above, but also through certain pragmatic functions by means of which negative politeness may be found to avert a face-threatening act.

As indicated in the text above, eleven such pragmatic functions may be used in negative politeness. They are:

(a) Statement

E.g. Xa kukho iziganeko ezinzima ezishukumisa isizwe, neendonga zendlu zineendlebe zokuva.
When there are great event affecting the nation, even the walls of the house can hear.

(Jordan 1940:91)
(b) **Condition**

E.g. **Ukuba ukhe wabonwa okanye kweviwa nje, kuphandle ngaye.**
If he can be seen or something can be heard about him, he is going to be expelled.  
(Saule 1995:33)

(c) **Possibility**

E.g. **Efele kwakhe nje xhego lam. Ingaba usathandabuza?**
My old chap, she died at her place, why are you still hesitant?  
(Qangule 1974:42)

(d) **Question**

E.g. **Wathinta umqala uNtanjana, wakrwela intloko wabuza ukuba iyaviwa na intetho kaMlandeli.**
Ntanjana coughed, scratched his head and asked if Mlandeli's speech was heard.  
(Saule 1995:67)

(e) **Necessity**

E.g. **Enye into kubantwana besikolo kukuthetha naxa umntu selequqanjelwa ngamazinyo, uze uwathunge ke owakho Bhelekazi.**
Another thing among school children is to speak even when a person's teeth are aching; you must sow yours, Bhelekazi.  
(Qangule 1974:14)

(f) **Request**

E.g. **Ukuba ufuna ukuya kudlala full back, yiya uyekane nam.**
If you want to go and play full back, go and stop pestering me.  
(Saule 1995:84)
(g) Exception

E.g. Enye into eyayimxaka kukuba uMlandeli wayencokola naye wonke omnye umntu ngaphandle kwabo ziprifekthi.
The other thing that was confusing her was that Mlandeli was talking to everybody except to them, the prefects.

(Saule 1958:38)

(h) Permission

E.g. Indoda enento yokuthetha ke ngaloo nto ingandilandela.
The man who has got something to say about that thing can follow me.

(Jordan 1940: 190)

(i) Contract

E.g. Ibisithi yakuza ngasemva ayingombe kukhuzwe endaweni yokuba kuqhwatywe izandla.
When the ball was coming to the back he used to hit it in such a way that they were too surprised to clap their hands.

(Saule 1995:45)

(j) Ability

E.g. Ufuna ukuthi ngoku ndiyakwazi ukufunda ingqondo yakho.
Do you want to say now I know how to read what you think?

(Saule 1995:21)

(k) Exclamation

E.g. Akuzi kundixelela ukuba uSidima usadla amazimba.
You won't tell me that Sidima is still alive.

(Qangule 1974:39)
The above mentioned pragmatic functions can be grouped within a table such as the following to indicate the percentage of their recurrence:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRAGMATIC FUNCTION</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Statement</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Question</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Necessity</td>
<td>13.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Request</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Condition</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Possibility</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Exception</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Permission</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Contract</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Ability</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Exclamation</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is clear from this table that the appearance of a statement is dominant in these pragmatic functions, i.e. it accounts for 49% of the total functions which have been used to avert a face-threatening act. A statement refers simply to something that is said, expressed or put into words. Such a written or spoken declaration has been extensively applied with negative politeness because this sort of declaration does not threaten the hearer: it is neutral in the sense that it leaves an option open to the hearer to respond to the request.

The other pragmatic functions do not have a high frequency. Only questions (15%) and necessity (13.2%) show any percentage, which is worth mentioning. In both these cases the expressions in questions and those with necessity are of the most polite ones in Xhosa, as has been indicated in the text above.

**Linguistic realization of requests**

The various subcategories of requests above as well as the pragmatic functions may be linguistically realized by a very wide array of possibilities. The following five subcategories have been clearly identified above:

1. **Inflection**
   1.1 **Tense**
      Present, Future, Perfect, A past tense, compound tense
1.2 Negation of various moods and tenses

1.3 Mood
Indicative, Situative, Subjunctive, Hortative, Potential, Imperative

2. Verb types
2.1 Copulative
2.2 Deficient verbs
2.3 Ideophones

3. Clause types
3.1 Matrix clauses
3.2 Subordinate clause with: subjunctive, situative, infinitive, complementizer ukuba
3.3 Co-ordination

4. Passive sentences

5. Idioms

The linguistic realizations of requests are also the most dominant ones among compliance, action and information, which are the most frequent subcategories of requests. One example from the text above will be given below of each of these five subcategories.

(a) Tense

Present tense
Andiqondi ukuba ngumsebenzi wale nkundla ukuzama ukungena kubugoci-goci bezimvo zommangalelwa.
I don't think it is the duty of this court to try and enter into details about the views of the accused.

(Ngewu 1997:71)

Future tense
Loo Mlandelana nimthembileyo uya kunifaka enyobanyobeni nikhole sekophulwe.
That little Mlandeli whom you trust will get you into trouble and you will notice too late.

(Saule 1995:39)
(b) **Idiom**

Xa kukho iziganeko ezishukumisa isizwe neendonga zendlu zineendlebe zokuva.
When there are great events affection the nation, even the walls of the house can hear.

(Jordan 1940:91)

(c) **Verb types**

**Deficient verb**

UMlandeli akazange amfihlele uNokhwezi ukuba isigwebo sakhe akasamkeli.
Mlandeli never hid it from Nokhwezi that he did not accept his punishment.

(Saule 1995:76)

(d) **Passive sentence**

Kutheni na wena wayinokoza kangaka le nto yokubanjwa kwam?
Why do you go about emphasizing the fact that I will be detained?

(Ngewu 1997:52)

(e) **Clause types**

**Co-ordinated clause**

Into exakayo ngaye kukuba ungacinga ukuba ungakuwe kodwa uthi usajonge leyo aphethuke.
What is confusing about her is that you think that she is on your side and while you are still looking at that, she turns.

(Ngewu 1997:22)
CHAPTER 5
POSITIVE POLITENESS AND REQUESTS

5.1 AIM

The aim of this section is to establish how the various strategies for positive politeness may be expressed in requests in Xhosa. For this purpose, the various strategies of Brown and Levinson (1978) will be considered.

5.2 STRATEGIES FOR POSITIVE POLITENESS

Brown and Levinson (1978) recognized the following fifteen strategies for positive politeness:

1. Notice, attend to H (his interests, wants, needs, goods)
2. Exaggerate (interest, approval, sympathy with H)
3. Intensify interest to H
4. Use in-group identity markers
5. Seek agreement
6. Avoid disagreement
7. Presuppose/raise/assert common ground
8. Joke
9. Assert or presuppose S’s knowledge of and concern for H’s wants
10. Offer, promise
11. Be optimistic
12. Include both S and H in the activity
13. Give (or ask for) reasons
14. Assume or assert reciprocity
15. Give gifts (goods, sympathy, understanding, co-operation).

In the case of Xhosa requests, not all the strategies were employed. Only the following strategies appeared in the four books: Exaggerate; intensify interest to the hearer; address forms; seek agreement; presupposition; be optimistic; include both the speaker and the hearer in the activity; give (or ask for) reasons.
The aim of this section is to establish a total number and percentage of requests with positive politeness in each book. It is also to establish across the four books a total number in each subcategory of requests with positive politeness.

In the four books, i.e. A.C. Jordan’s *Inqumbo yeminyanya* (book A); Z.S. Qangule’s *Amaza* (book B); N. Saule’s *Idinga* (book C); and L. Ngewu’s *Yeha mfaz’obulal’indoda* (book D), the following number of requests with positive politeness were found:

**TABLE 1:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There seems to be a difference in the number of requests in each of the above books, i.e. from 45% to 14% of the total. This discrepancy is due to the fact that these books differ in the number of pages: i.e. the Jordan’s book has 240 pages; Qangule’s 55 pages; Saule’s 125 pages and the book of Ngewu consist of 87 pages.

**TABLE 2: EXAGGERATE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of requests with the strategy to exaggerate is 1. One can for instance see that there is 1 request with to exaggerate in the book of Qangule, and the percentage then is:

\[
\frac{1}{1} \times \frac{100}{1} = 100\%
\]
In table 3, one can for instance see that there is 1 request to exaggerate in the book of Qangule. The total number of requests in all four books is 295, and the percentage then is:

$$\frac{1}{295} \times \frac{100}{1} = 0.34\%$$

The total number of requests with positive politeness in all four books is 295. Of this total, 1 is a request with exaggeration. The percentage for exaggeration with regard to the total number of requests is then:

$$\frac{1}{295} \times \frac{100}{1} = 0.34\%$$

### TABLE 4: INTENSIFY INTEREST TO H

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>66.67</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of requests with intensifying interest is 3. One can, for instance, see that there are 2 requests with intensifying interest in the book of Saule, and the percentage then is:

$$\frac{2}{3} \times \frac{100}{1} = 66.7\%$$

### TABLE 5: INTENSIFY INTEREST TO H IN EACH BOOK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.68</td>
<td>0.34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In table 5 one can see that there are 2 requests to intensify interest in the book of Saule. The total number of requests in all four books is 295, and the percentage then is:

\[
\frac{2}{295} \times \frac{100}{1} = 0.68\%
\]

The total number of requests with positive politeness in all four books is 295. Of this total, 3 are requests to intensify interest to the hearer. The percentage of intensifying interest to the hearer with regard to the total number of requests is then:

\[
\frac{3}{295} \times \frac{100}{1} = 1.02\%
\]

**TABLE 6: SEEK AGREEMENT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>43.9</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of requests with seeking agreement is 148. One can, for instance, see that there are 65 requests with seeking agreement in the book of AC Jordan, and the percentage then is:

\[
\frac{65}{148} \times \frac{100}{1} = 43.9\%
\]

**TABLE 7: SEEK AGREEMENT IN EACH BOOK**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>A</th>
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<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In table 7 one can, for instance, see that there are 65 requests to seek agreement in the book of AC Jordan. The total number of requests in all four books is 295, and the percentage then is:
\[
\frac{65}{295} \times \frac{100}{1} = 22\%
\]

The total number of requests with positive politeness in all four books is 295. Of this total, 148 are requests to seek agreement. The percentage of intensifying interest to the hearer with regard to the total number of requests is then:

\[
\frac{148}{295} \times \frac{100}{1} = 50.2\%
\]

**TABLE 8: ADDRESS FORMS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number</strong></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Percentage</strong></td>
<td>55.6</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of requests with address forms is 27. One can see that there are 15 requests above in the book of AC Jordan, and the percentage then is:

\[
\frac{15}{27} \times \frac{100}{1} = 55.6\%
\]

**TABLE 9: ADDRESS FORMS IN EACH BOOK**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number</strong></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Percentage</strong></td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>0.68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In table 9 one can, for instance, see that there are 15 requests with address forms in the book of AC Jordan. The total number of requests in all four books is 295, and the percentage then is:

\[
\frac{15}{295} \times \frac{100}{1} = 5.1\%
\]

The total number of requests with positive politeness in all four books is 295. Of this total, 27 are requests with address forms. The percentage of address forms to the hearer with regard to the total number of requests is then:
The total number of requests with presupposition is 17. One can, for instance, see that there are 9 requests with presupposition in the book of AC Jordan and the percentage then is:

\[
\frac{9}{17} \times \frac{100}{1} = 52.9\% 
\]

In table 11 one can see that there are 9 requests to intensify interest in the book of AC Jordan. The total number of requests in all four books is 295, and the percentage then is:

\[
\frac{9}{295} \times \frac{100}{1} = 3.1\% 
\]
TABLE 12: BE OPTIMISTIC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of requests with optimism is 1. One can, for instance, see that there is 1 request in the book of Qangule, and the percentage then is:

\[
\frac{1}{1} \times \frac{100}{1} = 100\%
\]

TABLE 13: BE OPTIMISTIC IN EACH BOOK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In table 13 one can see that there is only 1 request with optimism in the book of Qangule. The total number of requests in all four books is 295, and the percentage then is:

\[
\frac{1}{295} \times \frac{100}{1} = 0.34\%
\]

The total number of requests with positive politeness in all four books is 295. Of this total, 1 is a request to be optimistic. The percentage to be optimistic with regard to the total number of requests is then:

\[
\frac{1}{295} \times \frac{100}{1} = 0.34\%
\]

TABLE 14: INCLUDE BOTH S AND H IN THE ACTIVITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
\frac{20}{100} \times 100 = 20\%
\]

\[
\frac{60}{100} \times 100 = 60\%
\]
The total number of requests for including both the speaker and the hearer in the activity is 10. One can see that there are 2 requests for including both the speaker and the hearer in the activity in the book of AC Jordan, and the percentage then is:

\[ \frac{2}{10} \times \frac{100}{1} = 20\% \]

**TABLE 15: INCLUDE BOTH S AND H IN THE ACTIVITY IN EACH BOOK**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number</strong></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Percentage</strong></td>
<td>0.67</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In table 15 one can see that there are 2 requests for including both the speaker and the hearer in the activity in the book of AC Jordan. The total number of requests in all four books is 295, and the percentage then is:

\[ \frac{2}{295} \times \frac{100}{1} = 0.67\% \]

The total number of requests with positive politeness in all four books is 295. Of this total, 10 are requests for including both the speaker and the hearer in the activity. The percentage for including both the speaker and the hearer in the activity with regard to the total number of requests is then:

\[ \frac{10}{295} \times \frac{100}{1} = 3.4\% \]

**TABLE 16: GIVE (OR ASK FOR ) REASONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th><strong>Total</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number</strong></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Percentage</strong></td>
<td>47.7</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of requests with giving (or asking for) reasons is 88. One can see that there are 42 requests with giving (or asking for) reasons in the book of AC Jordan and the percentage then is:
TABLE 17: GIVE (OR ASK FOR) REASONS IN EACH BOOK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In table 17 one can see that there are 42 requests for giving (or asking for) reasons in the book of AC Jordan. The total number of requests in all four books is 295, and the percentage then is:

\[
\frac{42}{295} \times \frac{100}{1} = 14.2\%
\]

The total number of requests with positive politeness in all four books is 295. Of this total, 88 are requests for giving (or asking for) reasons. The percentage of giving (or asking for) reasons with regard to the total number of requests is then:

\[
\frac{88}{295} \times \frac{100}{1} = 29.8\%
\]

5.3 REQUESTS

As indicated above in paragraph 2, the various strategies, which have been recognized there, will now be dealt with in detail. Within each strategy the request will be classified according to the linguistic context in which it appears as well as the specific author which used this request. As in the case of negative politeness, the extra-linguistic context of each request will also be given.

5.3.1 Seek agreement

In claiming common ground between the speaker and the hearer, Brown and Levinson (1978), also show some common point of view, opinion, attitude, knowledge or empathy by
specifically seeking some form of agreement with the hearer. Such an agreement may, 
*inter alia*, be attained by the use of safe topics or by means of repetition.

5.3.1.1 **Qangule**

Qangule (1974) tried various ways to establish some common ground between the 
speaker and the hearer in seeking agreement between them.

**Commands**

In the first place he used commands addressed to the hearer to allow the hearer to 
proceed to formulate a request. In this way he wanted to establish a common way of 
agreement between the speaker and the hearer:

1. **[Cela \(^1\) [ayithumele ku\(^2\) imali yomsesane]**

   Ask him to send you money to buy the ring  

   In the above sentence, clause (1) is the agreement clause and clause (2) contains the 
request. This sentence has a command with the verb *cela* (request) as an expression for 
seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Namhla should ask Sidima to send 
her money in order to buy the ring. The context within which this request has been made 
is that Lizo wants to do everything possible to oppose Namhla and Sidima’s marriage 
plans. Sentence 2 with the verb *tsho*, which has the deficient verb *kha*, can be used in 
the same way with the verb *cela* above.

2. **Khanitsho ke nina madoda aseleyo. Besize kwenza ntoni apha?**

   You gentlemen that are left here, just say it: What have we 
   come to do here?  

   Sentence 3, has a command with the verb *makukhululwe* (must be released). This is a 
passive verb with expletive agreement *ku*: The agreement is to be sought from the whole 
gathering, that is why *ku* has been used and no agent of the passive verb appears. This 
command is an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that the 
gathering of the Bhele people should release Namhla to Lizo’s second wife. The context 
within which this request has been made is that Danile has found Namhla with Lizo and he 
is furious because Namhla is in a process of getting married.
3. Makukhululwe uNamhla abe ngumfazi omncinci walo mfana
Namhla must be set free to be this young man’s wife. (p. 8)

Statements
In the second place Qangule (1974) tried to give some advice to the hearer before formulating the request with the aim of finding some common ground of agreement in this advice. The clause within which this advice appears, is a declarative clause:

4. [Ndikucebisa \(^1\) [ukuba ndithi ndibuya \(^2\) ube sowuthuthile namanyala akho kulo mzi kabawo]
I advise you that by the time I come back to have packed your belongings and moved away from my father's house. (p. 23)

Sentence 4, contains a declarative clause with the verb cebisa (advise) as an expression for the hearer about the request, i.e. that Zodwa should pack her belongings and go. The context within which this request has been made is that both Zodwa and Lizo have reached a point where they can no longer tolerate each other.

In sentence 5, the verb qonda (understand) appears and in sentence 6 the verb xela (tell) has been used. These verbs function in the same way as the verb cebisa (advice) in (4) above, i.e. the request will follow within an ukuba clause.

5. [Uyaqonda \(^1\) nje [ukuba ilanga \(^2\) kufuneka liphume sendiphekile?]
Do you understand that I must finish cooking before the sunrise?
(p. 22)

6. [Ndibaxelele \(^1\) [ukuba kufuneka \(^2\) bagoduke, bafike ekhaya ngobusuku.]
I told them that they must go home, and they must arrive home late.
(p. 40)

In sentence 5, the request is that Zodwa should be allowed to cook as early as possible. The context within which this request has been made is that Lizo is voicing his dissatisfaction with Zodwa’s character. He opposes everything that Zodwa is doing.
In sentence 6, the request is that both Sidima and Zodwa should go home. The context within which this request has been made is that Silumko, the detective, is telling his wife what he said to both Sidima and Zodwa.

The declarative sentence within which agreement is being sought may have the verb cela where both the speaker and hearer are identified:

7. Sifike emangcwabeni ngacesha lokugaleleka kwamagqobhoka [siwacele \(^1\) [ukuba \(^2\) anike abaphantsi imbeko yabo]
   We arrive at the graveyard at the time when the literates arrive and we ask them to respect the fallen ones. (p. 78)

In sentence 7, above, clause (1) is an agreement and clause (2) contains the request, i.e. that the literates should respect the ancestors. The context within which this request has been made is that the Bhele people are divided between the literates and illiterates. The illiterates are busy discussing their plans.

Lastly, the agreement, which is being sought, may be expressed by a noun phrase with icebo (advice) as below. This phrase is introduced by the verb thi with the speaker ndi. The hearer is identified within an address from as zinkosi. The request follows this noun phrase within a copulative clause with an infinitive as a complement:

8. [Mna zinkosi ndithi \(^1\) icebo [kukucingisisa \(^2\) nzulu sifumane icebo]
   My chiefs, I say the plan is to think deeply until we get a plan. (p. 64)

In sentence 8, clause (1) is an agreement and clause (2) contains a request, i.e. that the gathering should think deep and come up with a plan. The context within which this request has been made is that Namhla has told the gathering of the Bhele people that she objects strongly to their request and she left them.
5.3.1.2 Jordan

Declarative sentences
Within Jordan’s book (1940), the strategy of seeking agreement will firstly be looked at within a declarative sentence, i.e. a sentence that makes a statement or that has the form of a statement. Agreement between a speaker and hearer is then sought within a matrix clause. The request will then appear after this agreement has been sought.

Object of a matrix clause
The speaker seeks agreement with a specific hearer. This hearer appears as the object of a matrix clause:

9. \[\text{NP}_1 \ [V \ \text{NP}_2]\]

In (9) above, \text{NP}_1 is the subject and \text{NP}_2 is the object of the clause, e.g.

10. \[\text{Abantwana}_1 \ [\text{bacela unina}_2]\]

The request then follows within a complementizer clause with \text{ukuba} as head. This subordinate clause appears after the matrix clause in (9) above:

11. a \[\text{NP} \ [V \text{NP} \ [\text{CP}]]\]
11. b \text{Abantwana} \ [\text{bacela unina} \ [\text{ukuba athethe noyise}]

Agreement between the speaker and hearer may be sought by various means. In the sentences below, the focus will be on the specific verb in the matrix clause in (9) above by which agreement is being sought:

\(\ast\) cela (ask):

12. \text{Wabhalela ekhaya ke uMthunzini, } [\text{ecela}^1 \text{unina} \ [\text{ukuba athethe noyise aye kumcelela uThembeka kubazali bakhe}]
Mthunzini wrote a letter home, asking his mother to talk to his dad about going to ask Thembeka from her parents. (p. 25)
In sentence 12, clause (1) is the agreement clause and clause (2) contains the request. This sentence also has a declarative clause with the verb cela (ask) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Mthunzini’s mother should talk to her husband. The context within which this request has been made is that Mthunzini desperately wants to get married to Thembeka. He loves her so much, but unfortunately she is in love with Zwelinziwa.

13. **Wathi evuka ngolwesihlanu [wabe esiya kucela ¹ iBhishophu ukuba ithethe nomphathikazi emzana ngetelefoni axelele uThembeka] ukuba [maze amlindele ukuthambeka ² kwelanga ngentsimbi yesithathu]**

When he woke up on Friday he went to the Bishop and asked him to request the matron at the ladies’ hostel to tell Thembeka that she should wait for him at three o’clock in the afternoon. (p. 39)

In sentence 13, (clause 1) is the agreement clause and clause (2) contains the request. This sentence also has a declarative clause with the verb cela (ask) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that the Bishop should do Zwelinzima a favour as he is requesting for a meeting with Thembeka. The context within which this request has been made is that there is something which worries Zwelinzima and he would like to share it with Thembeka.

14. **Kweli phetshana wayebhalele uDingindawo [emcela ¹ [ukuba axelele ibandla [ukuba yena ² uzibonele intombi kaKhalipha]]**

In this small paper he had written to Dingindawo asking him to tell the gathering that he has already seen Khalipha’s daughter for himself. (p. 131)

Clause (1) in sentence 14 is the agreement clause and clause (2) contains the request. This sentence also has a declarative clause with the verb cela (ask) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Dingindawo should tell the gathering that he has already seen a girl from Khalipha. The context within which this request has been made is that some Mpondomise want Zwelinzima to follow his father’s will by marrying a girl from Bhaca.
15. Ayesithi mhla ahluleleneyo [acele yena ¹ noMphuthumi [ukuba baphathe ² umdlalo wabo]
   When they had divided themselves, they used to ask him and Mphuthumi to handle their game. (p.29)

In sentence 15, clause (1) is the agreement clause and clause (2) contains the request. This sentence also has a declarative clause with the verb cela (ask) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Zwelinzima and Mphuthumi should be in charge of the boy's game. The context within which this request has been made is that Zwelinzima is leaving Lovedale to pursue his education at a tertiary institution. The boys at Lovedale are now worried about who is going to take charge of them in sports.

16. UDingindawo wayesel' [emcelile uZwelinzima ¹ [ukuba ayeke sigcinwe ² nguye isihlalo kuba nguye oza kukwazi ukuphatha le mpi yembola]
   Dingindawo had already asked from Zwelinzima to be the chairperson because he is the only one who knew how to handle this group of illiterates. (p. 198)

In sentence 16, clause (1) is the agreement clause and clause (2) contains the request. This sentence also has a declarative clause with the verb cela (ask) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Zwelinzima should give Dingindawo a permission to chair the meeting. The context within which this request has been made is that there is going to be a meeting of the Mpondomise where Thembeka's behaviour is going to be discussed.

*yaleza* (tell):

17. *[siyaleza ¹ utitshala uMthunzini [ukuba angaphosisi ² ngolwesihlanu, aye Komkhulu]*
   ...telling the teacher Mthunzini that he should not forget on Friday, he must go to the Great place. (p. 83)

In sentence 17, clause (1) is the agreement clause and clause (2) contains the request. This sentence also has a declarative clause with the verb *yaleza* (tell) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Mthunzini should go to the king’s place on Friday. The context within which this request has been made is that the king’s
men are giving this message to Mthunzini. He is going to work close with the king in dealing with the issues surrounding the kingdom of the Mpondomise.

18. **Yamyaleza ¹ ke [ukuba angakhe ² asivumele isilingo esinjalo simoyise]**
   He told him that he should not allow such a bad thing to defeat him.

(p. 48)

In sentence 18, clause (1) is the agreement clause and clause (2) contains the request. This sentence also has a declarative clause with the verb *yaleza* (tell) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Gcinizibele is requested by the Bishop not to allow certain things to overrule him. The context within which this request has been made is that the Bishop is at Gcinizibele’s place and he has heard that Gcinizibele is reluctant to release Zwelinzima.

19. **Inkosi [yayaleza ¹ isibonda sekuJeca [ukuba sibambe ² ezo zigwinta, sizigcine ide ibuye noNongqayi]**
   The king ordered a chief from Jenca to arrest those attackers and keep them until he came back with Nongqayi.

(p. 211)

In sentence 19 clause (1) is the agreement clause and clause (2) contains the request. This sentence also has a declarative clause with the verb *yaleza* (tell) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that the chief from Jenca should keep the convicts. The context within which this request has been made is that Ngubengwe has been attacked and the king is unable to look into this matter immediately as he has a commitment.

★ **yalela** (tell):

20. **Usister Monica wamphathisa incwadi eya kunina [emyalela ¹ [ukuba azame ngazo ² zonke iindlela ukonwabisa uThembeka]**
   Sister Monica gave her a letter to her mom telling her to try by all means to make Thembeka happy.

(p. 120)

In sentence 20, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains the request. This sentence also has a declarative clause with the verb *yalela* (tell) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Thembeka’s mother should do everything in her power to entertain her at all times. The context within which this request
has been made is that Sister Monica has discussed with Thembeka things that make her worried, and they have devised ways and means to overcome this.

21. [Yawayalela ¹ [ukuba angaze ayixelele ² mntu into yalo mntwana ngaphandle kokuba lide libe lifikile ixesha lokuba aze kuphatha]
   He told them never to tell anybody about the matter of this child, except when the time is right for him to govern. (p. 18)

In sentence 21, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains the request. This sentence also has a declarative clause with the verb yalela (tell) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that the men should never talk to anybody about the issue of the child. The context within which this request has been made is that Mphuthumi is telling Thembeka about the kingdom of the Mpondomise.

❖ thuma (send):

22. Wathuma ¹ enye ukuba [isondeze ² ihashe lakhe ilibophe]
   He sent the other one to bring his horse closer and to tether it. (p. 69)

In sentence 22, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains the request. This sentence also has a declarative clause with the verb thuma (send) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that the boy should bring Mthunzini’s horse closer. The context within which this request has been made is that Mthunzini has stolen Mphuthumi’s correspondence. He wants to show it to Dingindawo. This correspondence contains confidential information about the kingdom of the Mpondomise.

❖ thumela (send):

23. [Kodwa wathumela ¹ isigidimi kuzzo zonke iinkosana zakhe] ukuba nokuba kuhleni na, nokuba akuhlanga nto, [mayihlangane² yonke eyakhe komkhulu ngobo busuku]
   He sent messages to all his young chiefs that whether something happened or not, they should all meet at a Great place on that specific day. (p. 109)
In sentence 23, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains the request. This sentence also has a declarative clause with the verb *thumela* (send) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that all Dingindawo’s followers should meet at a Great place. The context within which this request has been made is that Dingindawo is worried that something strange is going to happen.

24. UDabula [wayethumele] kwangoVukuzumbethe lowo, [emisa usuku aya kuza ngalo enkosini]

Dabula sent Vukuzumbethe, making an appointment for his visit to the king.

(p. 224)

In sentence 24, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains the request. This sentence also has a declarative clause with the verb *thumela* (send) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Vukuzumbethe should make an appointment with the king. The context within which this request has been made is that Dabula wants to know from the king what his main aims concerning the marriage are.

**cenga** (plead):

25. Kusasa ngengomso xa inkosi ilungiselela, ukuhamba, uNobantu wayithi nca, [eyecenga ukuba phambi kokuba ihambe incede ifunde incwadi emnandi abayibhalelwe nguNomvuyo]

On the morning of the following day when the king was preparing to go, Nobantu went to him, pleading that he should please read a nice letter, which Nomvuyo wrote to them.

(p. 162)

In sentence 25, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains the request. This sentence also has a declarative clause with the verb *cenga* (plead) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Zwelinzima should read a letter from Nomvuyo. The context within which this request has been made is that Nomvuyo is Nobantu’s best friend and she had paid them a visit.
In sentence 26, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains the request. This sentence also has a declarative clause with the verb khupha (send) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Dabula should arrive at the king's place. The context within which this request has been made is that the intentions of the king are to tell Dabula what happened, only to find out that Dabula was on his way to the king and he already knows about this.

In sentence 27, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains the request. This sentence also has a declarative clause with the verb nyula (elect) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Mphuthumini should represent the teachers. The context within which this request has been made is that preparations to crown Zwelinzima as the king of the Mpondomise are at an advanced stage.

In sentence 28, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains the request. This sentence also has a declarative clause with the verb kuxelela (tell) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Dabula should notify the king and his people that Dabula has already been notified by the king itself.
Dingindawo stopped when he saw this thing, he sent Jongilanga and his subordinate to go and tell Dabula that the chief wanted to talk with him, but he was unable to do so because there was a delay.  (p. 113)

In sentence 28, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains the request. This sentence also has a declarative clause with the verb xelela (tell) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that the king should have a meeting with Dingindindawo. The context within which this request has been made is that Dingindindawo sees that his plans did not succeed.

29.  Wathi uphuma umthandazo wabe esithi ngqo esiya kwBhishophu [eyixelela ukuba [unengxakikazi enkulu angathanda ukuncedwa yiBhishophu leyo ngayo]

After the prayers he went straight to the Bishop, telling him that he'd got a very big problem with which he would like the Bishop to help him.

(p. 37)

In sentence 29, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains the request. This sentence also has a declarative clause with the verb xelela (tell) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Zwelinzima is requesting a meeting with the Bishop. The context within which this request has been made is that it is after the evening service at Fort Hare and Zwelinzima would like to discuss certain issues with the Bishop.

The matrix clause has no object
The speaker seeks agreement with a person or persons, but this person is not immediately mentioned. The matrix clause within which this agreement is being sought will then appear with no object:

30(a)  [NP [V]]
30(b)  [Indoda [iyacela]]

The request will then follow in an ukuba-clause:
The verbs in the matrix clause above, are identified as follows:

1. **cela** (ask):

2. **[Wacela]** [ukuba inkosi ityetyiselwe, ive esona sikhalo ukuba yintoni na] He asked them to elaborate for the king, so that he hears what is their main complaint. (p. 199)

In sentence 32, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains the request. This sentence also has a declarative clause with the verb **cela** (ask) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that the Mpondomise should elaborate for the king their main complaint. The context within which this request has been made is that there is a gathering of the Mpondomise at a Great place. It is chaired by Dingindawo.

3. **Yamana ukubonakala kwintlanganiso zomanyano Iweetitshala inkosi, yada kwakuba mzuzu [yacela ukuba ivunyelwe] [ibe lilungu]**

The king also attended the teacher’s union meetings, until such time that he asked to be admitted as a member. (p. 146)

In sentence 33, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains the request. This sentence also has a declarative clause with the verb **cela** (ask) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that the king should be permitted by the teacher’s union to be a member. The context within which this request has been made is that the king is doing everything in his power to uplift the standard of his people.

4. **[Ekuggiabeleni inkosi yenza isicelo sokuba uMphuthumi axelele usister Monica], [aze yena Mphuthumi athi ngalo lonke ixesha anomtyhi aye eMjika, azame ukonwabisa uThembeka]**

Eventually the king made a request that Mphuthumi should tell sister Monica, and he must go to Mjika at all times when he has a break, and must try to entertain Thembeka.
In sentence 34, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains the request. This sentence also has a declarative clause with the verb *cela* (ask) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Mphuthumi should tell sister Monica and that he should try and entertain Thembeka. The context within which this request has been made is that Zwelinzima wrote a letter to Mphuthumi telling him what happened and also what he must do.

35. **Akufika emishini wathi ngqo waya e St Mary’s [wacela ¹ [ukubonana ² nosister omkhulu uMonica]**
Upon arrival at the mission she went straight to St. Mary’s and asked to see a chief matron, Monica. (p. 119)

In sentence 35, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains the request. This sentence also has a declarative clause with the verb *cela* (ask) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Thembeka is requesting to see the matron. The context within which this request has been made is that Thembeka wants to share her ideas with Sister Monica at Ngcolosi. There is something that is worrying her.

36. **[Ndicel ¹ [ukuba uMntwan enkosi ² akhe aphendule]**
I ask the son of the king to respond. (p.200)

In sentence 36, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains the request. This sentence also has a declarative clause with the verb *cela* (ask) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that the king should respond. The context within which this request has been made is that the Mpondomise have gathered at a Great place to express their grievances; they are dissatisfied with the way the king is ruling. Dingindawo chairs this meeting.

* yalezisa (tell):

37. **Wee thwasu, wavela emnyango, wabiza enye yeenduna, [wayalezisa¹ [ukuba ikhe² imke notishala lo, imfunele into etyiwayo koonina]**
He appeared at the door, called one of the men, told him to go along with the teacher and arrange for him something to eat from his mothers. (p. 80)
In sentence 37, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains the request. This sentence also has a declarative clause with the verb yaleza (tell) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that one of the men should organize something to eat for Mthunzini. The context within which this request has been made is that it is after Dingindawo has read the information which is in the letters which were brought by Mthunzini.

zama (try):

38. **Inkosi yabiza iqumrhu lamadoda, uJongilanga, noMabhozo, noDanisa, noDabula noyisekazi uDingindawo, [izama] [ukuba kubahungwe indlela yokulwa eli sikizi]**
   The king called a council of men, Jongilanga and Mabhozo, and Danisa and Dabula and his uncle Dingindawo, trying to discuss ways to fight this crisis.
   
   (p. 213)

In sentence 38, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains the request. This sentence also has a declarative verb zama (try) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that this tragedy should be dealt with. The context within which this request has been made is that there is a commotion at Ngcolosi after the death of Ngubengwe.

buza (ask):

39. **Yakuba yenziwe le ngxelo inkosi yabiza uJongilanga, baphuma bathetha, wabuya yedwa uJongilanga, [wabuza] [ukuba akukho belungu na kulaa mpi]**
   After the report was made, the king called Jongilanga, they went out and talked. Jongilanga came back alone and asked if there were any whites in that group from Mbokothwana.
   
   (p. 113)

In sentence 39, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains the request. This sentence also has a declarative verb buza (ask) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that of wanting to know whether there are any
white people at Mbokothwana. The context within which this request has been made is
that Jongilanga is talking to a gathering of Dingindawo’s followers at a Great place.

![thi (say):]

40. [Niza kuva \(^1\) ke nani] [akuthetha ukuba ndinyanisile xa ndithi \(^2\) akafang’
  uNtakana]
You are going to hear that I am speaking the truth when I say Ntakana is not
  dead. (p. 87)

In sentence 40, clause (2) is an agreement clause and clause (1) contains the request.
This sentence also has a declarative verb thi (say) as an expression for seeking
agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that the Mpondomise should listen. The context
within which this request has been made is that the Mpondomise have gathered at a Great
place to listen to what Dingindawo is going to tell them.

![nqwenela (wish):]

41. Sathi ukuba siphume isikolo ngentlazane [waya kutitshalakazi
  wamxelela ukuba unqwenela \(^1\)] [ukuza kumbona \(^2\) ukuphuma kwesikolo
  samva, angamenzela na ithuba elihle lokudibana naye]
He went to the teacher during the short break, told her that he wished to see
her after school, could she make time to see him. (p. 53)

In sentence 41, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains the request.
This sentence also has a declarative verb nqwenela (wish) as an expression for seeking
agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Mthunzini is requesting a meeting with
Thembeka. The context within which this request has been made is that Mthunzini is
interested in falling in love with Thembeka. He is under the impression that everything will
be all right.
We think that as you are still waiting, you must have something to eat.

(p. 85)

In sentence 42, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains the request. This sentence also has a declarative verb cinga (think) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that the men should have something to eat. The context within which this request has been made is that the men from Mpondomise have gathered at a Great place to discuss issues surrounding the kingdom of the Mpondomise.

Wife, I think that I should request something to eat on your behalf.

(p. 223)

In sentence 43, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains the request. This sentence also has a declarative verb cinga (think) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Vukuzumbethe should get Nobantu something to eat. The context within which this request has been made is that Thembeka is back at her in-laws. Her behaviour shows that there is something that has happened to her.

General statement
Agreement between speaker and hearer within a matrix clause may also be sought where the declarative sentence only indicates a general statement:

Women are crying.

The request will then follow such a general statement:

Women are crying, hold her!
The following sentences give an indication of such generalized statements with a request following it:

46. [Ke ukuza kuthetha ³ kwawo ngale nto [maze ² uthambe, uthambe, uthambe]]
   (When they've come to talk about this thing you must be soft, and soft, and soft.)

   In sentence 46, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request, i.e. that Zwelinzima should be calm when the issue concerning his wife's behaviour is to be discussed. The context within which this request has been made is that Vukuzumbethe is advising Zwelinzima what to do when the Mpondomise are discussing steps to be taken concerning his wife's behaviour.

47. Mhlawumbi siya kubona [sesihambe kakhulu ¹] [ukuba asihambi ² ngeyona ndlela iyiyo]
   Maybe we will notice when we have traveled too far if we don't go the right way.

   In sentence 47, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request, i.e. that Zwelinzima requests Thembeka to follow the right way. The context within which this request has been made is that Thembeka has briefed Zwelinzima about what happened when he was away. She is, however, surprised to find that Zwelinzima does not support her in what she is saying.

48. [Yada ke ngoko yavakalelwa, [yaya ¹ kuhlala ecaleni kwakhe], [yambuza ukuba kutheni ² na ngathi akonwabanga nje]]
   He then had feelings, he went to sit next to him, he asked him why he is unhappy.

   In sentence 48, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request, i.e. that Mphuthumi should mention what makes him unhappy. The context within which this request has been made is that Thembeka notes that there is something that worries Mphuthumi. They are on their way back to school after the December holidays.
49. [Lwathi lwakufika \(^1\) ucingo] oluthi makakhe \(^2\) ahlale], waluphosa phaya, engadanile, engavuyi, engazazi ukuba unantoni na.

When she received a telegram which told her to stay, she threw it away; she was neither disappointed nor happy, she didn't know what was wrong with her. (p. 222)

In sentence 49, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request, i.e. that Thembeka must stay at home for a short while. The context within which this request has been made is that Thembeka is waiting for her husband. She is longing to go back to her in-laws.

50. [Abanye abafazi babethwele \(^1\) izandla entloko bekhala, yho-oo! Kazi soba yini na!] [ncedani \(^2\) mbambeni zinkosi]

Other women were holding their hands to their heads, screaming, yho-oo what's going to happen to us! Please hold her. (p. 170)

In sentence 50, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request, i.e. that Nobantu should be stopped from what she is doing. The context within which this request has been made is that Nobantu is beating a snake she had found neer her child. This is something she is not supposed to do.

Locative phrase within a matrix clause

The hearer with whom agreement is being sought may appear within a locative phrase:

51(a) \([\text{NP} \quad [V \quad \text{NP}_{\text{Loc}}]]\)

52(b) \([\text{Umntwana} \quad [\text{uhambele} \quad [\text{kunina}]]\)

The request will then follow after the matrix clause above. The following sentences give an indication of such locative phrases with a request following it:

53. UMphuthumi uthi [uhambele \(^1\) kuwe, [waye uthi \(^2\) akanakumka engakubonanga]

Mphuthumi says he is visiting you, and he says that he will not leave without seeing you. (p. 22)
In sentence 53, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a statement with the locative with hambele (visiting) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Mphuthumi is requesting to see Thembeka. The context within which this request has been made is that Mphuthumi visits Thembeka at school with the intention of sharing ideas.

54. Ngokufutshane weva weva uBhishophu [wangqinisisa 1 emfaneni [Hayi wavuma 2 uZwelinzima]
   In short, the bishop listened and listened and then he made certain that the young man, Zwelinzima, agreed with what was happening. (p. 46)

In sentence 54, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a statement with the locative emfaneni (to the young man) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that the Bishop should get clarity. The context within which this request has been made is that they are at Gcinizibele's place and the Bishop has come to tell him that he should set Zwelinzima free because he is the king of the Mpondomise.

55. Yabuya inkosi eNyandeni, [yahlokomisa emzini 1 [ukuba kwiveki elandelayo 2 ngoLwesithathu kuya kubakho imbizo komkhulu] (The king came back from Nyandeni, he shocked those at home by saying that the following week on Wednesday there was going to be a meeting at a Great place) (p. 161)

In sentence 55, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a statement with the locative emzini as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that the people should come to the gathering. The context within which this request has been made is that Zwelinzima has brought some new strategies from Nyandeni which are going to improve the quality of life.

56. Ke kaloku [sendinyuka nengalo kuwe1, [ukuba siwusingathe 2 sobabini] I am taking you further, so that we both tackle this matter. (p. 81)

In sentence 56, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a statement with the locative kuwe (to you) as an expression for
seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Mthunzini should cooperate with Dingindawo. The context within which this request has been made is that Mthunzini has brought confidential information about the kingdom of the Mpondomise. Dingindawo sees Mthunzini as the one who can work with him in tackling issues around this problem.

**Prepositional phrase in matrix clause**
The hearer with whom agreement is sought may appear in a prepositional phrase with na as head:

57.  [NP [V na – NP]]

58.  Uz' uthi ke xa sewuvene [nale mpi' yembola, [uyibonise le mposiso' iyenzileyo yokuthuka amaMfengu, abizwe amaMfengwe kucelu uxolo]

You must, when you are in good terms with the illiterates, show them the mistake they've made by swearing at the Fingoes; the Fingoes should be called and an apology should be expressed to them. (p. 195)

In sentence 58, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request, i.e. that Zwelinzima should call the Mpondomise and show them the mistakes they've made. The context within which this request has been made is that the Mpondomise have expelled the Fingoes from their meeting because they said they are not the real Mpondomise.

**Passive verb**
The declarative sentence within which agreement is being sought may have a passive verb. Jordan uses three such clauses with passive verbs. In the first clause the speaker is identified within a copulative clause:

59.  [Umntwana [wacelwa ngunina]]

In the clause above the hearer is umntwana (child) and the speaker is unina (mother). The request will then follow after this clause above:
60. **[Wacelwa 1 ke uThembeka ngumka Ngubengwe [ukuba eze kuququzelela 2 amadoda embizo kwakhe])**

Thembeka was asked by Ngubengwe's wife to come and work in preparation for men from the Great place. (p. 135)

In sentence 60, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request, i.e. that Thembeka should assist Ngubengwe's wife. The context within which this request has been made is that the Mpondimise are at Ngubengwe's house with the intention of seeing Thembeka.

61. **Ndifumene umyalezo ovela kuBhishophu kwanokholeji, esithi [ucelwe nguZwelinzima ukuba andixelele 1 ndikuxelele' ukuba [uza kukutyelela 2 emalanga, maze uncede umgemki.]**

I got a message from the Bishop at Fort Hare: He said he has been asked by Zwelinzima to tell me that I should tell you that he is going to visit you in the afternoon, you must please not leave. (p. 40)

In sentence 61, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request, i.e. that Zwelinzima wants to see Thembeka. The context within which this request has been made is that the matron made Thembeka curious, but when she saw that she was worried, she told her that she'd been asked by the Bishop to wait for Zwelinzima.

In the second clause with a passive predicate, the speaker is not identified, only the hearer:

62. **Umntwana [wayecelwa]**

The request will then follow after this clause:

63. **Kule ncwadi [wayecelwa 1 umntwana womhlekazi ukuba [amkele loo nqwelo, akhwele kuyo, 2 akhaphe uyise xa ajikelezayo esiya ezintlanganizweni zemanyano naxa aya eBhungeni eMthatha]**

In this letter a king's son was asked to accept that car, to board it, to accompany his dad when he was going to the union meetings, and when he was going to the council meetings at Umtata. (p. 152)
In sentence 63, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request, i.e. that Thembeka's son should accompany his dad when he goes to the union meetings. The context within which this request has been made is that the union of the teachers bought a car as one of the gifts to Thembeka.

64. Ke kaloku uMthunzjini [wayethenjiswe ʰ ukubuya aphulaphulwe [nguDingindawo malunga ʰ nesicelo sakutshata noNozihlwele] Mthunzini was promised that he would be attended by Dingindawo with regard to his request of marrying Nozihlwele. (p. 141)

In sentence 64, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a passive predicate wayethenjiswe (was promised) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Dingindawo should give Mthunzini a permission to marry Nozihlwele. The context within which this request has been made is that this is after Mthunzini's efforts to persuade Thembeka to fall in love with him did not succeed.

65. Kodwa inkosi [yacelwa ʰ ukuba ibekho ʰ kwiquumrhu elilawulayo] But the king was asked to be in the executive. (p. 145)

In sentence 65, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a passive predicate yacelwa (was asked) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that the king should be in the executive of the agricultural union. The context within which this request has been made is that the king is making progress among the Mpondomise by improving their standard of living.

66. [Sayalezwa ʰ ukuba impendulo ʰ sisesiya nayo komkhulu] They were asked to send a response to a Great place. (p. 112)

In sentence 66, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a passive predicate sayalezwa (were promised) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that they should bring an answer to the Great place. The context within which this request has been made is that the people at the Tsitsa bridge are asked by Dingindawo to look for the car, which carried the
Mpondomise. This car contains Zwelinzima who is going to take his throne from Dingindawo as the king of the Mpondomise.

67. **Onke la madoda ayevingce amazibuko kwezi nkalo [ayeyalezwe ¹ [ukuba aze azame ² ukuba kungabikho kulwa]**

All these men who were closing the entrances were told not to try to fight.

(p. 96)

In sentence 67, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a passive predicate *ayeyalezwe* (were told) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that the men should not fight. The context within which this request has been made is that these men are waiting for the arrival of Zwelinzima, who is the real king of the Mpondomise.

68. **UMthunzini yena [wayalezwa ¹ [ukuba alinde ² uXhalisa wase Mjika]**

Mthunzini was told to wait for Xhalisa of Mjika.

(p. 93)

In sentence 68, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a passive predicate *wayalezwa* (was told) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Mthunzini should wait for Xhalisa. The context within which this request has been made is that all these actions are attempts to oppose Zwelinzima's coming back to his place of birth. What makes matters worse is that he is coming to rule as the king of the Mpondomise.

69. **Inkosi [yacelwa ¹ [ukuba inikele ² amabhaso]**

The king was asked to hand over prizes.

(p. 128)

In sentence 69, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a passive predicate *yacelwa* (was asked) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that the king should hand over the prizes. The context within which this request has been made is that Zwelinzima has paid a visit to Thembeka's school. Even then he finds it hard to have time to speak to Thembeka.

In the third clause with a passive predicate, the hearer is put in a focus position after subject inversion has taken place. In such a case, the subject will be an empty pro which is coincided with an expletive subject agreement *ku:*
The hearer above is amadoda (men) and the speaker is not mentioned. The request will then follow after this clause:

71. [Kwathunyelwa isigidimi kwimpi ekufuphi nebhulorho yaseTsitsa kubizuswa ngemoto]
People were sent to ask about a car for a group of people near the Tsitsa bridge. (p. 112)

In sentence 71, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a passive predicate kwathunyelwa (were sent) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. about a certain car. The context within which this request has been made is that this is the car of the Mpondomise and Zwelinzima is inside this car.

72. [Kwakhutshwa amadoda kwa oko kwibandla likaJongilanga eMatyeba ukuba owawo umsebenzi ibe kukulinda wonke uloliwe ondulukayo eMthatha]
Men were taken immediately from Jongilanga's group at Matyeba that their task is to wait for every train that departing at Umtata. (p. 93)

In sentence 72, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a passive predicate kwakhutshwa (were taken) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that the men should wait for the train at Umtata. The context within which this request has been made is that they want to stop Zwelinzima from going to Sheshegu.

73. Kwakukhova ukufungwa [kwanyulwa la [ukuba aye eSheshegu: uDabula, uNgubengwe uThembani, uDlelaphandle, uDanisa uFuncuza.]
When they finished witnessing the following were elected to go to Sheshegu: Dabula, Ngubengwe, Thembani, Dlelaphandle, Danisa, Funcuza. (p.89)

In sentence 73 clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a passive predicate kwanyulwa (were elected) as an expression for...
seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that some men should go to Sheshegu. The context within which this request has been made is that every effort is being made to stop Zwelinzima from going to Sheshegu.

74. Kwachithakalwa ke [kugqitywe ekubeni \(^1\) kumenywe imbizo yawo onke amaMpondomise akuTsolo], [kuqwalaselwe \(^2\) lo mcimbi, kubonwe into enokwenziwa ukuba kuxoliswa iminyanya]
They dispersed having reached a decision that they should invite all the Mpondomise from Tsolo, so that they take note of this matter and see what to do in order to apologize to the ancestors.

In sentence 74, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a passive predicate *kugqitywe* (having decided) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that another meeting should be held and that steps should be taken to apologize to the ancestors. The context within which this request has been made is that the Mpondomise have gathered at the king’s place and are discussing Thembeka’s behaviour.

**Possibility**
The clause, within which agreement is being sought, may have a potential predicate with the morpheme *nga*. Such a clause will express the possibility of agreement between speaker and hearer. The request will then follow within a complementizer clause *ukuba* as head:

75. Mna ngokubona kwam oko bendilapho, [ndinganicebisa \(^1\) [ukuba ningawaqweqwedisi \(^2\)]]
The way I see it since I was there, I would advise you not to pressurize them.

In sentence 71, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a predicate *ndinganicebisa* (I can advise you) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. the request that both Thembeka and Zwelinzima should rule gently. The context within which this request has been made is that Nomvuyo has visited Thembeka and she was impressed their style of governing.
76. **[Ndingavuya \(^1\) [ukuba uza \(^2\) kutya nathi aph’ekhaya]**

I can be happy if you are going to have a meal with us here at home.

(p. 28)

In sentence 76, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a predicate **ndingavuya** (I can be happy) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Zwelinzima should join Father Williams during the meal time. The context within which this request has been made is that Zwelinzima has visited Lovedale with the intentions of seeing Thembeka.

**Necessity**

In the last place, the clause within which agreement is being sought may express the necessity of agreement between speaker and hearer. Such a necessity may be expressed by a clause with a hortative predicate or a subjunctive predicate. The request will then follow such a clause:

**Hortative clause:**

77. **Ngokufutshane, Mntwan’ omhle, [mandicele \(^1\) imvume [yokuba ndikuqhalele \(^2\) izinto endizifumene kutshanje malunga naloo ntsomi yoMntwan’ oMhl’ uZwelinzima].**

In short, my Lord, let me ask your permission to talk to you about the things I’ve found recently with regard to the story of the king Zwelinzima.

(p. 79)

In sentence 77, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request, i.e. that Dingindawo should give Mthunzini the permission to mention the latest news about Zwelinzima. The context within which this request has been made is that Mthunzini has found in Mphuthumi’s suitcase the letters that talk about the kingdom of the Mpondomise.

78. **Kodwa yena [makancede \(^1\) ahlale eMjika [azame \(^2\) ukonwaba ngako konke anakho kude kuphele yonke le nto]**

But she must please stay at Mjika and should try her best to enjoy herself until this thing goes away.

(p. 182)
In sentence 78, clause (1) is a request and clause (2) contains an agreement clause. The request is that Thembeka should stay at Mjika. The context within which this request has been made is that there has been a gathering of the Mpondomise and they were discussing the steps they need to take concerning Thembeka. In the first meeting they didn’t reach a decision and, as a result, they are going to discuss this at a next meeting. This worries Zwelinzima.

79. Hayi, mfondini, [masipheze \(^1\) ukuba sintyuntya sibulelana. Bubufazi loo nto [Masicinge \(^2\) ngengomso]

No man let us stop elaborating over thanking one another. That is womanish. Let us think about the future. (p. 180)

In sentence 79, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request, i.e. that both Vukuzumbethe and Zwelinzima should think about the future. The context within which this request is made is that it is after Vukuzumbethe has helped Zwelinzima by transporting Thembeka back home.

80. Ukubuya kwakhe waya kumamBhele, wambizela bucala wamxelela ukuba [makacenge \(^1\) uZwelinzima, [aye kubulisa \(^2\) abantu]

On his return he went to MamBhele, called her aside, told her to kindly ask Zwelinzima to go and greet the people. (p. 103)

In sentence 79, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request, i.e. that MamBhele should tell Zwelinzima to come and greet the people. The context within which this request is made is that the Mpondomise are at Gcinizibele’s place and they have come to take Zwelinzima.

81. Kwabonakala ke ukuba inkosi [mayincedisane\(^1\) noJongilanga waseMatyeba, noMabhozo wase Xabane [bavingce\(^2\) onke amazibuko oMthatha]

It became clear that the king should work alongside Jongilanga of Matyeba and Mabhozo of Xabane and that they should close all the entrances to Umtata. (p. 93)
In sentence 81, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request, i.e. that the king should work closely with his informants. The context within which this request is made is that they are closing all the entrances to Umtata. They think that Zwelinzima might use these entrances when he comes.

82. **Siyabona ke ukuba [masikhe \(^1\) sinishiye [niyithethe \(^2\) nedwa le nto]**

We see that we must leave you so that you discuss this thing alone.

(p. 190)

In sentence 82, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request, i.e. that the Mpondomise should discuss matters by themselves. The context within which this request is made is that the Mpondomise have gathered at a king's place to discuss the things they need to do with regards to Thembeka's behaviour.

*The subjunctive clause*

83. **... ndifun' ukuba uMhlekazi [athembise \(^1\) [ukuba wothi akugqiba \(^2\) ukuzifunda andinike ndimke nazo...]]**

... I want the king to promise that he will give them to me when he has finished reading them so that I'll take them back ... (p. 79)

In sentence 83, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request, i.e. that Mthunzini is requesting the letters back. The context within which this request has been made is that Mthunzini has brought Dingindawo the letters that contain confidential information about the kingdom of the Mpondomise.

84. **Khanithethe \(^1\) le nто yale nkwakhwa kakuhle, [ndiyive \(^2\)] uthi kwathini na?**

   Explain this thing of the snake so that I hear it clearly. What happened?

   (p. 154)

In sentence 84, clause (1) contains a request and clause (2) is an agreement clause. The request is that both Nobantu and Nozihlwlele should talk more about the issue of the snake referred to as Majola. The context within which this request is made is that there has been a big debate between Nobantu and Nozihlwlele about the significance of this.
85. Selusiya ngoku, [uthethe¹ nentombazana, nivane, [uthumele² abantu abadala ke]
        Go now, speak to the girl and reach an agreement, then you send the older people.  (p. 141)

In sentence 85, clause (2) is an agreement clause and clause (1) contains a request, i.e. that Mthunzini should go and propose to Nozilihwele. The context within which this request has been made is that Mthunzini wanted Dingindawo to be his middle-man between him and Nozilihwele.

86. [Uze uncede¹ ungaphosisi ngomso (ngecawa) ukujika kwelanga [uze² kundibona]
        You must please not make a mistake tomorrow (on Sunday) in the afternoon, you must see me.  (p. 28)

In sentence 86, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request, i.e. that Mphuthunizi should have a meeting with Zwelinzima. The context within which this request has been made is that Zwelinzima got this message from a letter which was given to him by Father Williams whilst visiting Lovedale.

5.3.1.3 Ngewu

Declarative sentence
In the book of Ngewu (1997), the strategy of seeking agreement will firstly be looked at within a declarative sentence, i.e. a sentence which makes a statement or which has the form of a statement. Agreement between a speaker and hearer is then sought within a matrix clause. The request will then appear after this agreement has been sought.

The speaker seeks agreement with a specific hearer. This hearer appears as the object of a matrix clause:

87. [NP₁ [V NP₂]]

In the above NP₁ is the subject and NP₂ is the object of a clause, e.g.
The request then follows within a complementizer clause with ukuba as head. This subordinate clause appears after the matrix clause in (1) above:

89. (a) [NP [V NP [CP]]]
89. (b) [Usipho wacela ubaw’uNxumalo [ukuba anagayithethi le nto]]

Agreement between the speaker and hearer may be sought by various means. In the sentences below, the focus will be on the specific verb in the matrix clause in (1) above by which agreement is being sought:

▶ cela (ask):

90. [Ndiyakucela ¹ ke baw’uNxumalo [ungakhe uyiphathe ² nakubani na into yokuba besikhe sabonana ngalo ncimbi]]
   I ask you, Mr Nxumalo, not to tell anyone that we had seen each other about this matter. (p. 36)

In sentence 90, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb cela (ask) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Mr Nxumalo should not tell anyone that he had spoken to Sipho. The context within which this request has been made is that Mr Nxumalo gave Sipho all the necessary information about what he saw on the night when Nozinto’s husband was attacked.

91. [Undicelile ¹ [ukuba ndifike ² kwakhe ngokukhawaleza ndize noNconyiwe, uPhalisa noNozinga]]
   She asked me to come to her house immediately with Nconyiwe, Phalisa and Nozinga. (p. 38)

In sentence 91, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb cela (ask) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Zodidi should arrive at Nozinto’s house together with her
friends. The context within which this request has been made is that Zodidi is telling Sipho what happened on the night when Zamile was attacked.

92. **[Ndicela ¹ ke nawe [ungakhe ² uyivelise into yokuba sikhe sobonana]**

   I ask you not to tell anyone that we've had some discussions.  

   (p. 40)

In sentence 92, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb *cela* (ask) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Zodidi should not tell anybody that she had met Sipho. The context within which this request has been made is that Sipho is doing everything in his power to get more information about what happened on the night when Zamile was attacked.

93. **[Sicela ¹ ke ngoko umama uChaneka lo [akhe ² asikhaphe]**

   We therefore ask Mrs Chaneka to accompany us.  

   (p. 24)

In sentence 93, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb *cela* (ask) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Mrs Chaneka should accompany the policemen. The context within which this request has been made is that the policemen are at Nozinto's house investigating the death of Zamile. They want to take Nozinto for further questioning.

94. **[Ndicela ¹ [undixelele ngokuzeleyo ukuba kwenzeke ntoni emzini wenu ngobusuku bayizolo]**

   I want you to tell me in full what happened in your house yesterday.  

   (p. 26)

In sentence 94, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb *cela* (ask) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Nozinto should tell Sipho in detail what happened in their house the previous night. The context within which this request has been made is that Nozinto is at the police station and Sipho is questioning her about the events that led to the death of her husband.

95. **[Ndicela ¹ [undilinde ² ndide ndigqibe ukuthetha]**

   I ask you to wait for me until I finished talking.  

   (p. 25)
In sentence 95, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb cela (ask) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Nozinto should give Sipho a chance to finish talking. The context within which this request has been made is that Sipho is the policeman who is responsible for investigating the death of Zamile.

96. **[Ndicela ¹ [undincede ² ke ngeendawo ahlala kuzo nawo]**  
I ask you to help me about their addresses. (p. 27)

In sentence 96, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb cela (ask) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Nozinto should furnish Sipho with information about the addresses of her friends. The context within which this request has been made is that Sipho is asking Nozinto in detail about the death of her husband. They are at the police station.

97. **[Ndiza kucela ¹ [ukuba niphatelwe ² into ephungwayo apha]**  
I am going to organize you something to drink. (p. 50)

In sentence 97, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb cela (ask) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Nozinto’s in-laws should have something to drink. The context within which this request has been made is that her in-laws have visited Nozinto. They have come to bury Zamile.

✧ qonda (know):

98. **[Ndicela ukuqonda ¹ [ukuba ² obu bungqina undinike bona ungabumela na kwinkundla yamatyala?]**  
I want to know whether you can be able to stand as a witness in court concerning the information you gave me? (p. 37)

In sentence 98, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb qonda (know) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Khomba should stand as a witness. The
context within which this request has been made is that Sipho is doing everything in his power to get more information about the people who attacked Nozinto’s husband. Now he is talking to Khomba, who is Nozinto’s neighbour.

♀ Funu (want):

99. [Ndifuna\(^1\) kuqala [ubone\(^2\) ilokhwe yomngcwabo endiyithungelwe ngusis Nongxamile]
   I want you to first have a look at the funeral dress which Nongxamile sewed for me.

In sentence (99), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb funa (want) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Phalisa should have a look at the dress Nozinto is going to wear during the funeral. The context within which this request has been made is that both Phalisa and Nozinto are discussing the way forward after the death of Nozinto’s husband.

♀ Cinga (think)

100. [Ndicinga\(^1\) [ukuba xa nihamba mshiyeni apha uPhalisa andilindise\(^2\) kuba andiqondi ukuba utata kaSandi uza kuphila.
   I think that when you go, you must leave Phalisa here to wait with me because I don’t think that Sandi’s dad is going to survive.

In sentence (100), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb cinga (think) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Nozinto’s friends should leave Phalisa. The context within which this request has been made is that Nozinto had invited her friends to her house in order to inform them that her husband has been attacked.

101. Kusekuseni noko ngoku. [Ndicinga\(^1\) [ukuba\(^2\) masigodukeni]
   It’s early in the morning now. I think that we should go home.

(p.10)
In sentence (101) clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb cinga (think) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Nconiyiwe and her friends should go home. The context within which this request has been made is that all these friends were called by Nozinto and they have gathered at her house. She was informing them about what happened to her husband.

102. **Zodidi, [ndicinga]\textsuperscript{1} [ukuba unqaqali]\textsuperscript{2} usigoduse**

Zodidi, I think that you should not start by taking us home.

(p.11)

In sentence (102), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb cinga (think) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Zodidi should not take her friends home. The context within which this request has been made is that they want to discuss at length about what they've seen at Nozinto’s house.

❖ **azisa** (inform):

103. **Ndifuna nje [ukunazisa]\textsuperscript{1} [ukuba umntu orhanelwayo]\textsuperscript{2} ukuba nguye lo wenze eli hlazo libuhlungu lisihlanganise apha ukhona kule ndlu].**

I just want to let you know that a person who is suspected as having done this bad thing is present in this house.

In sentence (103), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb azisa (inform) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that the people should know that the suspect is among them. The context within which this request has been made is that the policeman is addressing the mourners during the funeral service of Zamile. He is also updating them about the progress they have made.

❖ **Qesha** (hire):

104. **Kwathi kanti sihleli nje lo mfazi [uqeshe]\textsuperscript{1} ootsotsi [bokuya kubulala]\textsuperscript{2} indoda yakhe]**
Only to find out that as we were sitting this woman has hired thugs to go and kill her husband. (p.3)

In sentence (104), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb qesha (hire) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that the thugs should go and kill Nozinto’s husband. The context within which this request has been made is that Nozinto’s friends are on their way to her house. They are busy discussing some of the things she has been doing in the past.

_Necessity_

The clause within which agreement is being sought may express the necessity of agreement between speaker and hearer. Such a necessity may be expressed by a verb with an infinitive. The request then follows such a clause:

105. [Sifanele¹ ukuziphulaphula izimvo ezinokubungqinisisa ngokubungqinisisa obu bungqina].

We are supposed to listen to the views that are going to reveal the truth further. (p.71)

In sentence (105), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a necessity verb fanele (supposed) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that the court should listen to the details about the views of the accused. The context within which this request has been made is that the judge is giving a warning to the lawyer at the trial of Nozinto who is being accused of playing a big role in the death of her husband.

_Possibility_

The clause within which agreement is being sought may also express the possibility of an agreement between a speaker and hearer. Such a possibility may be expressed by a copulative clause with a prepositional phrase with na and an Infinitive clause. The request then follows such a clause:

106. Nawe ke [xa unokuva¹ into ethethekayo ngabahlaseli bakaMnumzana uChaneka [uncede² undazise]
Even you, if you can hear something about the attackers of Mr. Chaneka you must please inform me. (p. 32)

In sentence (106), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. The request is that Phalisa should inform Sipho if there is something she heard about the attackers of Mr. Chaneka. The context within which this request has been made is that Sipho is doing everything in his power to get more information about the attackers of Mr. Chaneka.

**Question**

The clause within which agreement is being sought may also express the question whether agreement between speaker and hearer should be sought. The request will then follow such a clause:

107. **Andazi ke [nokuba undivile] na [kodwa uncede ungandenzi]**

I don’t know whether you’ve heard me, but you must please not expose me. (p. 7)

In sentence (107), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. The request is that the police should not expose Nconyiwe as a source of information. The context within which this request has been made is that Nconyiwe has phoned the police and told them about what happened at Nozinto’s house.

Such a question may be expressed by using the copulative verb with the prepositional phrase with **na** as head.

108. **Mhlekazi ohloniphekileyo, [ndinesicelo] [sokuba ummangalelwa lo angabikho phantsi kogcino lwamapolisa] kuba akukho mntu unetyala ade abe ufunyenwe enetyala yinkundla.**

Your honour, I have a request that the accused should not be kept in custody, because no one is guilty until proven guilty by the court. (p. 72)

In sentence (108), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence has a NP with **isicelo** as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Nozinto should not be kept in custody. The context within
which this request has been made is that Nozinto is kept in custody because she is accused of having played a part in the death of her husband.

Command
The strategy of seeking agreement in Ngewu’s book will also be looked at within a command sentence, i.e. a sentence which give formal order or which has the authority. Ngewu (1997) used commands addressed to the hearer to allow the hearer to proceed to formulate a request. He did this with the intentions of establishing a common way of agreement between the speaker and the hearer.

- **thatha** (take):

109. **Nceda [thatha¹ loo moto yakho [ugqithe² phaya kuNconiwe nakuNozinga]**

Please take that car of yours and go via Nconiwe and Nozinga.

(p. 2)

In sentence (109), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a command verb **thatha** (take) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Zodidi should take her car and go to Nozinto accompanied by her friends Nconiwe and Nozinga. The context within which this request has been made is that Nozinto wants her close friends to come to her house immediately. There is something she would like to share with them.

- **yeka** (leave)

110. **Indawo yokuqala, [myekeni² umfi kuloo ndawo afele kuyo [de kufike² amapolisa]**

In the first place, leave the deceased where he has died until the police arrive.

(p. 8)

In sentence (110), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause 92) contains a request. This sentence also has a command verb **yeka** (leave) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Nconiwe should not do anything without
the police. The context within which this request has been made is that Nconyiwe has phoned the police to report that Zamile has been shot by unknown gunmen at his house.

**cela (ask):**

111. [Khawudibane noPhalisa kaloku, Phelose, umcele\(^1\) andithungele\(^2\) enye ilokhwe emnyama]
   Phelose, go and meet Phalisa and ask her to sow another black dress for me. (P.65)

In sentence (111), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a command verb cela (ask) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Phalisa should sow another black dress for Nozinto. The context within which this request has been made is that Nozinto is behind the bars and she is accused for having played a part in the death of her husband.

**naba (elaborate):**

112. [Khawunabe\(^1\) utyatyadule uxelele le nkundla [ukuba kwenzeka nto ngobusuku\(^2\) bentlekele]
   Just elaborate and tell this court about what happened on that day of the tragic accident. (p.66)

In sentence (112), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a command verb naba (elaborate) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Nozinto should tell the court what happened on the day when her husband was attacked. The context within which this request has been made is that Nozinto is in court giving her side of the story about the events that led to the death of her husband.

5.3.1.4 **Saule**

*Declarative sentence*

In the book of Saule (1995) the strategy of seeking agreement will firstly be looked at within a declarative sentence, i.e. a sentence which makes a statement or which has the
form of a statement. Agreement between a speaker and hearer is then sought within a matrix clause. The request will then appear after this agreement has been sought.

**Object of matrix clause with an ukuba clause**

The speaker seeks agreement with a specific hearer. This hearer appears as the object of a matrix clause:

113. \[[\text{NP}_1 [V \text{NP}_2]]\]

In (1) above \text{NP}_1 is the subject and \text{NP}_2 is the object of a clause, e.g.

114. \[[\text{UMLandeli} [\text{wanqanda uNokhwezi}]]\]

The request then follows within a complementizer clause with \text{ukuba} as head. This subordinate clause appears after the matrix clause in (113) above.

115. \[[\text{NP} [V \text{NP} [\text{CP}]]\]

\[(b) \text{ [UMLandeli wamnqanda [uNokhwezi [ukuba angabi saqhubela phambili ethetha ngolo hlobo]]] (p.78)}\]

Agreement between speaker and hearer may be sought by various means. In the sentences below, the focus will be on the specific verb in the matrix clause in (113) above by which agreement is being sought:

- nqanda (stop)

116. \[[\text{UMLandeli} \text{wamnqanda}^1 \text{uNokhwezi} [\text{ukuba angabi}^2 \text{saqhubela phambili ethetha ngolo hlobo}]]\]

Mlandeli stopped Nokhwezi from talking in that way.

(p.78)

In sentence (116), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb nqanda (stop) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Nokhwezi should not talk the way she is
talking. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli wants Nokhwezi to stop what she is doing because he knows that it was not her fault.

**cebisa** (advise):

117. *Yayidla ngokumkhathaza ke le nto uMnumzana Cala khangangento yokuba ngenye imini wada wamkrwecela ecaleni uMacebo ngelokuzama [ukumcebisa¹ [ukuba ilizwi² elithambileyo linamandla ngaphezu kwelingxolayo]*

This thing used to worry Mr. Cala so much that one day he took Macebo aside trying to advise him a soft voice is more powerful than a hard one.

(p.85)

In sentence (117), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb *cebisa* (advise) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Macebo should not speak with a hard voice to the other students. The context within which this request has been made is that Macebo has a tendency of shouting at the other students for no apparent reason so much that the others avoid being where he is.

118. *Emva kwethuba elivisayo inqwelo izidlikidla izamisa udaka, [wacebisa¹ uMlandeli [ukuba aphume² akhe atyhilize]*

After some time when the car was trying to get out of the mud, he advised Mlandeli to get out and push it.

(p.4)

In sentence (118), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb *cebisa* (advise) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Mlandeli should push the car in such a way that it gets out of the clay. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli was on his way to Sontaba to finish his secondary education when his father's car got stuck in the mud.
119. **Ndiyabona ukuba kuza kufuneka [ndikucele\(^1\) [undifundise\(^2\) ngenye imini, ndizokukwazi ukudlala nawe]**

I see that one day I must ask you to come and teach me so that I can play with you. (p.98)

In sentence (119), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb *cela* (ask) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Mlandeli should teach Macebo the tennis game. The context within which this request has been made is that Macebo is watching the way Mlandeli teaches Nokhwezi the skills of playing tennis.

120. **Ndifuna [ukuzicela\(^1\) uxolo [ukuba ndibe ngomnye woonobangela bokukuthoba igama nesidima]**

I want to express my apologies for being one of the causes of lowering your name and dignity. (p.78)

In sentence (120), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb *cela* (ask) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Mlandeli should forgive Nokhwezi. The context within which this request has been made is that Nokhwezi finds herself guilty of being involved in the discussions about Mlandeli's behaviour.

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121. **Apha ecaleni uMlandeli wayemelwe nguMbuyiselo owayemana ukumkrweca [emkhumbuza\(^1\) [ukuba\(^2\) angakhe alinge ahambe engathathanga zi-adresi kwezinjeya ukuba ntle iintombi]**

Next to Mlandeli there was Mbuyiselo who used to scratch Mlandeli, reminding him that he should not leave without having taken the address of those beautiful girls. (p.57)

In sentence (121), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb *khumbuza* (remind) as an expression for...
seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Mlandeli should take the address of the beautiful ladies. The context within which this request has been made is that there has been a prize-giving after the match between Sontaba and Qelekequesh. Mlandeli has been nominated as the man of the match.

V + NP

122. Hayi ndibuza nje, [into endiyaziyo\(^1\) mna] kuyafuneka [ukuba abadlali babe nenxaxheba\(^2\) nokuba incinane kangakanani na ekunyulweni kwekhepteni]

No, I'm just asking, what I know is that players should have a role in the election of a captain, no matter how small that role is)  

(p.85)

In sentence (122), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb azi without an object as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that the players should play a role when a captain is elected. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli is surprised to find that the other players never took part when Macebo was elected as the captain.

Cela (ask):

123. Watsho esithi [ucela intsebenziswano\(^1\) engenagxeke [kwaye imiyalelo yakhe\(^2\) mayithotyelwe]

She said she is asking for cooperation and that her orders must be obeyed.  

(p.23)

In sentence (123), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb cela (ask) with an object as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that the students should cooperate with Nokhwezi and obey her orders. The context within which this request has been made is that Nokhwezi is one of the leaders of the houses at Sontaba. They are preparing to participate in the sports activities.
124. Eziggqibe kuqala ukuphonononga amaphepha beziye [zibabize\(^1\) [abo bafundi\(^2\) zibafanayo, kuboniswane]

Those who had finished earlier marking the scripts used to call the students to whom they wanted to show their mistakes.

(p. 101)

In sentence (124), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb *biza* (call) with an object as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that the teachers should guide the students. The context within which this request has been made is that Sontaba is one of the schools where everything is taken seriously. The students do not go home immediately after the exams.

125. Laa nto yenzeka phaya ebaleni [sendiyilibele\(^1\) mna, [nawe ke maze uyilibale\(^2\)].

I've already forgotten the thing that happened at the sports field, you too must forget it.

(p.24)

In sentence (125), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb *libala* (forget) with an object as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Mlandeli should forget what happened at the sports field. The context within which this request has been made is that Nokhwezi did everything in her power to persuade Mlandeli to pay attention to what she was doing.

126. Kwakuthiwa [makayeke ukudlalisa\(^1\), [wavalal\(^2\) owakhe umlomo]

When he was told to stop playing, he closed his mouth.

(p.23)
In sentence (126), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb yeeka (stop) with an object as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Mlandeli should engage in some serious business. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli's group want more information from him so that they can appoint him to a specific event in preparation for the houses.

\[ V + \text{ukuba} \]

\[ Azi \ (\text{know}) : \]

\begin{equation}
127. \text{Wazincama waya kuNtanjana ngeliya kuqonda nokufuna [ukwazi}^1 \ [\text{ukuba isesimeni}^2 \text{ na into yokuba ohlwayelwe ilize ngokokucinga kwakhe]}
\end{equation}

He went to Ntanjana with the intentions of wanting to know whether it is right to be punished for something which is minor. (p.83)

In sentence (127), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb azi (know) with an ukuba-clause as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Mlandeli wants to know whether it is right to be punished for an insignificant thing. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli is totally dissatisfied with the other types of punishments that he receives as he feels that they are worthless.

\[ yalela \ (\text{inform}) : \]

\begin{equation}
128. \text{Kwakungabikho mpendulo [wayalela}^1 \ [\text{ukuba ayokubizwa}^2])
\end{equation}

When there was no reply he asked that he must be called. (p. 88)

In sentence (128), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb yalela (inform) with an ukuba-clause as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Macebo should be called. The context within which this request has been made is that Mr. Nqatha wants the
students to call the head prefect, Macebo, to lead the investigation because Mlandeli’s room has been torched.

❖ cebisa (advise):

129. Mna [ndicebisa¹ [ukuba umfana lo makasinikwe² isohlwayo, nokuba sincinci kangakanani]  
I advise that this young gentleman should be given a punishment no matter how small it is.  

(p. 73)

In sentence (129), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb cebisa (advise) with an ukuba-clause as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Mlandeli should be punished. The context within which this request has been made is that the Reverend is expressing his views to the committee with regards to Mlandeli’s behaviour.

❖ vakalisa (express):

130. Wathetha ngokukhalipha ke umfo omkhulu [wavakalisa¹ [ukuba makudlulelwe² kumgca olandelayo]  
He spoke bravely and also advised that they must go on to the next item.  

(p. 68)

In sentence (130), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb vakalisa (express) with an ukuba-clause as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that the meeting should proceed to the next item. The context within which this request has been made is that Mr Rhadebe is in big trouble. He doesn’t want to appear as if he favours Mlandeli because by so doing he will be indirectly saying that his prefects are lying.

❖ thanda (like):

131. Wayengumntu [othanda¹ [ukuba imithetho² ilandelwe ngendlela ethandwe nguye]
He was the type of a person who wants the rules to be followed the way he likes. (p.38)

In sentence (131), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb thanda (like) with an ukuba-clause as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that the rules should be followed according to Macebo’s wishes. The context within which this request has been made is that Nokhwezi is not happy with the way Macebo is ruling as the head prefect.

❖ thandaza (pray):

132. Yazi ntangam [bendithandazela\(^1\) [ukuba ube\(^2\) kule yam indlu]
You know, my friend, I was praying that you would belong to my house. (p. 25)

In sentence (132), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb thandaza (pray) with an ukuba-clause as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Mlandeli should be in Mbuyiselo’s house. The context within which this request has been made is that the students at Sontaba have been divided into different houses in preparation for sports activities.

Locative phrase

The hearer with whom agreement is being sought may appear within a locative phrase:

133 (a) [NP [V NP\(_{Loc}\)]]
134 (b) [Utitshala [wathetha [embokweni]]]

The request will then follows after the matrix clause above. The following sentence give an indication of such a locative phrase with a request following it:

135. Wathetha kwakanye ngelizwi elingathi [lithetha\(^1\) embokweni, [Makungene babe\(^2\) babini], watsho amehlo ewagibisele kuMlandeli owayemi engagungqi.
He spoke once with the voice that was like the one coming from the loud speaker: “The next two should enter”. He said that with looking straight at Mlandeli, who was standing still. (p.8)

In sentence (135), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb thetha (speak) with a locative as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Mlandeli should enter. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli is a new arrival at Sontaba. It is during the registration period at the beginning of the year.

Prepositional Phrase

The hearer with whom agreement is being sought may appear in a prepositional phrase:

136. [NP; [V [P [NP2]]]]

In (136) above, NP1 is the subject and NP2 is the object of a preposition:

137 (a) [uMlandeli [wacela ukubuza kuMacebo]]

The request then follows within a complementizer clause with ukuba as head. This subordinate clause appears after the matrix clause in (24) above:

138(a) [NP [V PP [CP]]]

138(b) UMLandeli [wacela ukubuza1 kuMacebo nempi yakhe [ukuba bakhe bazifunda2 na iincwadi zakhe]

Agreement between speaker and hearer may be sought by various means. In the sentences below, the focus will be on the specific verb in the matrix clause in (136) above by means of which agreement is being sought:
\textit{ cela (ask): } \\
\textbf{139.} \textit{Waba ngathi akavanga nto uMlandeli [wacela\textsuperscript{1} ukubuza kuMacebo nrempi yakhe [ukuba bebelikhe\textsuperscript{2} bazifunda na iincwadi zakhe le nto besithi azikho mthethweni] } \\
\textit{It was as if he didn’t hear anything. Mlandeli requested to ask Macebo and his team if they had read his books when they say literature of his is banned. (p. 69)}

In sentence (139), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. The request is that Macebo should mention whether he has read Mlandeli’s books. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli is being accused of doing something, which might bring the school into disrepute.

\textit{ aneliseka (satisfied): } \\
\textbf{140.} \textit{Wayivala ingxoxo ngelithi [wanelisekile\textsuperscript{1} ziingxoxo zawo omabini amacala, [uMlandeli maze\textsuperscript{2} azokumamela isigwebo sakhe ngoMvulo.] } \\
\textit{He concluded the discussion by saying he is satisfied with the discussion of both parties, Mlandeli must come and listen to his sentence on Monday. (p. 72)}

In sentence (140), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. The request is that Mlandeli should come and listen to his sentence. The context within which this request has been made is that there is a complaint from the prefects about Mlandeli’s behaviour.

\textit{ gqibelisa (conclude): } \\
\textbf{141.} \textit{Umlizi [wagqibelisa\textsuperscript{1} ngelithi [uMlandeli kuza\textsuperscript{2} kufuneka ahambe ngomoya ukuya kuzimas aitheko lonikezelo matikiti] } \\
\textit{The bursar concluded by saying that Mlandeli must travel by plane to attend at prize giving ceremony. (p. 81)}
In sentence (141), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb *gqibelisa* (conclude) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Mlandeli should travel by an airplane. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli has been nominated as the best student at Sontaba and he is also being awarded a prize.

- **nuka** (smell):

  142. Kuza [kunuka¹ mna kwesi sikolo [Uze uyazi² loo nto, uhambe uyokuxelela abaninzi wakugqiba]
      I am going to lead in this school. You must know that, and then you must go and tell the others. 
      (p. 21)

In sentence (142), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has the verb *nuka* (smell) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Mbuyiselo should go and tell others that Maceba is going to lead the school. The context within which this request has been made is that they are at school at Sontaba. Maceba's fear is that Mbuyiselo’s friend, Mlandeli, might overtake him.

V + Infinitive
The verb may be followed by an infinitive clause:

  143. Wathetha uNtanjana esithi [akafuni² kude ayokufikelela kuloo nto], kodwa wathi engekagqibi [wacela ukuthetha uMacebo], wamvumela
      Ntanjana spoke and said he didn’t want to reach that stage, but before he finished, he asked to speak to Macebo and Macebo agreed.

In sentence (143), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. The request is that Macebo should be given a permission to speak. The context within which this request has been made is that Macebo is under pressure to prove the truth of his accusations against Mlandeli.
nqwenela (wish):

144. [Wayenqwenela¹[ukukhe amazi² lo mntu] kucaca ukuba ikho into amzonda yona

He wished to see this person whom it was clear that he had a grudge against him.  

(p. 83)

In sentence (144), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb nqwenela (wish) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Mlandeli wants to see the person who has a grudge against him. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli is dissatisfied over the fact that he keeps on serving a punishment on Saturdays.

cela (ask):

145. UNokhwezi wakhawuleza [wacela¹ ukukhatshwa, [wavumela phezulu² uMbuyiselo

Nokhwezi immediately asked to be accompanied and Mbuyiselo agreed. 

(p. 57)

In sentence (145), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb cela (ask) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Nokhwezi should be accompanied. The context within which this request has been made is that it is after the prize-giving ceremony when Sontaba was playing against Qelekequshe. Everybody was talking about Mlandeli as he was the man of the match.

tsho (say):

146. Yatyibela yatyondyotha inkokheli yakuQelekequshe ichukusha umba wemvisiswa no eyasekwa ngaphambili phakathi kwezi zikolo zibini, [isitsho¹ ukuthi [elo konco malibe² ngumzekelo wonxibelelwano kwisizwe siphela]

The leader of Qelekequshe spoke at length touching on the aspect of cooperation which was formed long ago between these two schools, he also
said that this aspect should be an example of communication in the whole nation.  

(p. 54)

In sentence (146) clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb *tsho* (say) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that both Sontaba and Qelekequshe should set a good example of communication to the whole nation. The context within which this request has been made is that it is during the prize-giving ceremony where Sontaba was playing against Qelekequshe.

**Copulative Clause**

The hearer with whom agreement is being sought may appear within a copulative clause:

147. *Xa indlu yakhe iSilimela iziqeqesha yonke [wayeba khona¹ [alandele² yonke into ekuthiwa mayenziwe] naxa ngamanye amaxesha wayengakholiseki bubugangxa babaqeqeshi babo*

He used to be present when his whole house, Silimela, was exercising and he followed everything they were told to do although at times he was not satisfied with their coaches.  

(p.26)

In sentence (147), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a copulative verb *ba* (be) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Mlandeli should do what he is told to do. The context within which this request has been made is that the houses are doing exercises in preparation for sports activities.

148. *[Sinaye ke nonomtsha¹ apha phakathi kwethu, yiza mfondini uzoekuzichaza² ngokwakho]*

We also have the new arrival here among us; man, come and describe yourself.  

(p. 19)

In sentence (148), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has the copulative with *na* as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Mlandeli should come and introduce himself. The context
within which this request has been made is that Mbuyiselo is at the same class with Mlandeli. He is standing in front of the class and there is no teacher.

*The verb thi + CP*

The verb *thi* may be followed by a CP:

149. *Kwezi sithuba [uNtanjana wathi\(^1\) [makuchithakalwe\(^2\) ze kubuywe ngosuku olulandelayo ngentsimbi yesixhene ngokuhlwa]*

At this time Ntanjana said they must go and return the following day at seven o'clock in the evening. (p. 69)

In sentence (149), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb *thi* (say) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that the meeting should disperse. The context within which this request has been made is that the meeting is discussing the fate of Mlandeli who is accused of doing things, that might bring the school into disrepute.

150. *[Ekuhambeni kwethuba uthe\(^1\) [uMacebo makatshinthe\(^2\) uMlandeli ayokudlala phaya ngasemva abe yi full back]*

After a while, Macebo said Mlandeli should change position and play at the back as a full back. (p. 84)

In sentence (150), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb *thi* (say) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Mlandeli should play at the back as a full back. The context within which this request has been made is that both Mlandeli and Macebo are practising rugby at the school grounds and they are also playing on the opposite sides.

151. *Kwesi sithuba [kwangenelela uMlandeli\(^1\) ngelithi] [makancediswe\(^2\) agutyule igumbi lakhe]*

In this event Mlandeli said he must be helped to clean his room. (p. 88)
In sentence (151), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb thi (say) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Mlandeli should be helped to clean his room. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli’s room has been torched and that nobody was seen to be responsible for this.

152. Bafika uNokhwezi elapho neqela lamantombazana nezinye iiprifekthi, exhaph’ amagwebu exambulisana noMacebo [owayemi evalile esithi\(^1\)][akukho mntu uphumayo\(^2\) ngelo sango kungakhange kubekho mvume]

They found Nokhwezi there with a group of girls and other prefects, she was busy arguing with Macebo who was closing the gate saying nobody should go out without the permission. (p. 102)

In sentence (152), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb thi (say) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that the students should have permission before they go out of the school premises. The context within which this request has been made is that there is a bus accident, which happened next to the school. The students want to go and help.

153. Inkosikazi yekhankatha [yathi\(^1\) [angakhululeka\(^2\)]]

The wife of the warden said he can go. (p. 69)

In sentence (153), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb thi (say) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Mlandeli should go. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli has been called by a warden to his house.

154. Ekhitshini nguNkosikazi Nqatha omamkele ngokumthi ngqi ngesitya somvubo [esithi\(^1\) [makaxhase\(^2\)]

In the kitchen Mrs. Nqatha gave him a dish of African salad and said he should eat. (p. 69)
In sentence (154), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a declarative verb thi (say) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Mlandeli should eat a dish of African salad.

The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli has been called by Mr. Nqatha at his house. Now Mrs. Nqatha offers him something to eat.

Passive Verb

The declarative sentence within which agreement is being sought may have a passive verb. Saule disguises such clauses with passive verbs. In the first clause, the speaker is not identified, only the hearer:

155. [Uncibane [waxelelwa]

The request will then follow after this clause:

156. Emva kokuba echazile [uNcibane waxelelwa] [ukuba kubhaliswa kulaa mnyango uluhlaza ungaphesheya] phaya

After Ncibane had explained, he was told that registration is done on that green door on the other side. (p. 6)

In sentence (156), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. The request is that Ncibane should go and register on the other side. The context within which this request has been made is that Ncibane is at Sontaba with the intention of registering his son, Mlandeli.

157. Waya kufika eJongumsobomvu [elindelwe nguMnunzana Nqatha, [wambizela endlwini yakhe]

When he arrived at Jongumsobomvu Mr. Nqatha had waited for him and he called him to his house. (p. 69)

In sentence (157), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. The request is that Mlandeli should go to Mr. Nqatha’s house. The context within which this request has been made is that the principal, together with the members of the governing council have been listening to the prefects who were voicing their complaints about Mlandeli’s behaviour.
158. NgoMqqibelo olandelayo, emva kwesidlo sasemini, igama likaMlandeli laba lelokuqala [kwabo bebizelwa\(^1\) [ukuza\(^2\) kusebenzela izohlwayo zabo] On the following Saturday, after lunch, Mlandeli’s name was the first one in the list of offenders to be called and serve their punishment. (p. 26)

In sentence (158), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. The request is that Mlandeli should go and serve his punishment. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli is punished for his bad behaviour.

159. Ngesidlo sangokuhlwa [kwaziswe\(^1\) [ukuba uyafunwa\(^2\) likhankatha] At supper it was announced that the warden wanted to see him. (p. 26)

In sentence (159), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. The request is that Mlandeli should go to the warden. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli is a new arrival at Sontaba and at times he does things in a totally different manner.

160. [Kubuzwe\(^1\) kuMlandeli [ukuba ulunga\(^2\) kwezaphi na yena izinto] wasuka wazibiza zonke ngokutyhafa okukhulu ngaphandle kwemigama emide Mlandeli was asked which events are right for him and he mentioned all of them except the long distance ones. (p. 23)

In sentence (160), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. The request is that Mlandeli should mention the events he fits in. The context within which this request has been made is that the students at Sontaba are busy preparing for the sports day.

In the second clause, the speaker is identified:

161. Athi [ecengwa\(^1\) nguMlandeli [ukuba ze baye\(^2\) kolula imizimba emva kwemini], atshikile angafuni nokuthetha When Mlandeli was pleading with her to go and do some exercises in the afternoon, she used not to talk. (p. 100)
In sentence (161), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. The request is that Nokhwezi should accompany Mlandeli and do some exercises. The context within which this request has been made is that Nokhwezi is the only one who listens and does what Mlandeli is telling her to do.

162. \[\text{Phambi kokuba kuhanjwe}^1, [uMlandeli wakha walifumana ithuba lokungxengxeza}^2 \text{ kuNokhwezi] ngokuzithoba okukhulu}\]
Before they left, Mlandeli got an opportunity to express his apologies to Nokhwezi with great respect. (p. 23)

In sentence (162), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. The request is that Nokhwezi should forgive Mlandeli. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli feels guilty about his behaviour. He was not paying attention to what his leader was doing.

In the third clause, neither the speaker nor the hearer is mentioned:

163. \text{Kwaphunywa apho kanye ngexesha lekhefu lasemini emaqanda sekuthiwe xhonxosholo ngumzi uphela, [kuthiwe}^1 \text{ nta iindlebe [kufunwa iindaba}^2 \text{ zokhuphiswano-vavanyo]}\]
They went out there during lunch time and everybody was curious; they wanted the news of the test competition. (p. 81)

In sentence (163), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. The request is that test results should be mentioned. The context within which this request has been made is that the students of Sontaba are writing a test and there was a prize for the best student.

164. \text{Yaba nkulu ingxoxo [kwada kwaggitywa}^1 \text{ kwinto [yokuba makuyiwe}^2 \text{ ebaleni ngenye injikalanga] banikwe amathuba okuzibonakalisa ngexesha ekwakudla ngokuqeqeshwa impi ngalo.}\]
There was a big debate until a decision was reached that one afternoon they must go to the sports field and be given the opportunity to prove themselves during the exercise session. (p. 43)
In sentence (164), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. The request is that both Mlandeli and Macebo should be given an opportunity to prove themselves. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli was not selected to represent the first team at school.

*Necessity*

The clause within which agreement is being sought may express the necessity of agreement between speaker and hearer. The request will then follow such a clause:

165. **[Masilinde\(^1\) de afike uMlandeli, [sibone\(^2\) ngoko ukuba masithini na]**

   Let us wait until Mlandeli arrives and then we will see what to do thereafter.

   (p.47)

In sentence (165), clause (2) is an agreement clause and clause (1) contains a request. This sentence also has necessity with the subjunctive (sibone) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that they should wait until Mlandeli arrives. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli has failed to arrive on time although he has been selected to represent his school in a rugby match. Some students, particularly Macebo, are furious about this and they want certain measures to be taken.

166. **[Into ozuyenze\(^1\) Themba njengokuba usikramhafu nje, [ibhola uyiphose\(^2\) nanjani na]**

   What you must do, Themba, as you are the scrum half, you must throw the ball in whatever way.

   (p. 43)

In sentence (166), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has necessity in the subjunctive as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Themba should throw the ball in whatever way. The context within which this request has been made is that Macebo is doing everything in his power to make life difficult for Mlandeli. Mlandeli has been selected to play in the first team but Macebo doesn’t want him to shine.

167. **Yonke enye into neencwadi zakho [nezemithetho yesi sikolo omaze uyifundisise\(^1\), [uya kuyifumana\(^2\) kunobhala**
All the other things including your books and the ones that have the constitution for this school which you must read, you will get from the secretary. (p. 10)

In sentence (167), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has necessity in the subjunctive as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Mlandeli should fetch his other things from the secretary. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli is registering at Sontaba with the intentions of finishing his secondary education.

168. **Into ekufuneka [uyenzile\(^1\) wena [kukufunda\(^2\) uphumelele imatriki yakho]**

What you need to do is to study and pass your matric.

In sentence (168), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has necessity after *kufuneka* as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Mlandeli should study in order to pass his matric. The context within which this request has been made is that Nokhwezi tells Mlandeli not to bother himself by most of the things that he sees happening at Sontaba.

169. **Wathi kwikhankatha [makayekwe\(^1\) amaboy [avume\(^2\) iingoma zawo]**

(He told the warden to leave the boys singing their songs)

In sentence (169), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has necessity in the hortative as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that the boys should be left to sing their songs. The context within which this request has been made is that the boys are singing under the influence of Macebo and they are moving towards the direction of Mlandeli's hostel.

**Command**

The strategy of seeking agreement in Saule's book will also be looked at within a command sentence, i.e. a sentence which gives a formal order or which has authority. Saule (1995) uses commands addressed to the hearer to allow the hearer to proceed to formulate a request. He does this with the intention of establishing a common place of agreement between the speaker and the hearer.
170. **[Khangelani]** apha **[asiyondawo]** yokuthetha upoqo le niyeva?
   Look here, this is not a place to discuss politics, do you hear?
   
   (p. 18)

In sentence (170), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a command with *khangelana* (look) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that the students should not talk politics. The context within which this request has been made is that the students have been concerning Mlandeli over certain issues about Sontaba.

**Condition**

In the book of Saule (1995) the strategy for seeking agreement will also be looked at within a condition sentence, i.e. a sentence which has a fulfillment on which something else depends. Saule (1995) uses conditions addressed to the hearer to allow the hearer to proceed to formulate a request. He does this with the intention of establishing a common place of agreement between the speaker and the hearer.

171. **[Uza kuyihlawula]** ke **[phambi kokuba uphume]** ngala mnyango
   You are going to pay it before you go out through that door.
   
   (p. 10)

In sentence (171), clause (2) is an agreement clause and clause (1) contains a request. This sentence also has a condition clause with *phambi* as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Mlandeli should pay the registration fee. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli is at Sontaba with the aims of furthering his education. Here he is busy talking to the principal during registration.

172. **[Wathi makanxibe]** bahambe bayokubaleka **[ukuba]** ufuna ukusinda kwiniinzipho exikrwempayo zikaMacebo
   He told him to dress up so that they should go jogging if he wants to survive Macebo's scratching nails.
   
   (p. 34)

In sentence (172), clause (2) is an agreement clause and clause (1) contains a request. This sentence has a condition clause with *ukuba* an expression for seeking agreement in
formulating the request, i.e. that Mbuyiselo should wake up and get dressed. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli has found Mbuyiselo to be heavily drunk and he fears that this might have negative consequences.

173. **Nditheha ukuthi [ukuba ufuna⁠¹ ukuzibandakanya kuloo nto sukuba siyincokola [ungasuka ungene⁠² ungalindi kumenywa]**

I mean to say if you want to be involved in what we are discussing, you just need to participate and not wait to be invited. (p. 38)

In sentence (173), clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a condition clause with **ukuba** as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Macebo should participate in a conversation. The context within which this request has been made is that Macebo is interested to know what Mbuyiselo and Mlandeli are always talking about.

5.3.2 **Give (or ask for) reasons**

In conveying that both the speaker and the hearer are cooperators, Brown and Levinson (1978) also allow for some reciprocity by specifically giving or asking for reasons.

5.3.2.1 **The reason is contained in a statement**

In the following sentences, the reason is contained in a statement:

**Ngewu**

174. **[Khanishiyeye nje apha kancinci, [ndikhe ndikrobe⁠² kulaa ndlu mhlawumbi kungakho nto ndiyivusayo]**

Just wait here for a while, I just want to have a look into that house maybe I can get something. (p. 24)

In sentence (174), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) has a statement, which refers to the reason for the request. The request is that the other police should wait because a senior policeman wants to go and check for clues. The context within which this request
has been made is that it is after Zamile has been attacked and the police here just arrived at his house.

175. Abangasemleveni ke bathi [uPhalisa lo walukuhla\textsuperscript{1} lo mtshakazana [ukuba adlise\textsuperscript{2} uManxiwa]

Those with news say Phalisa persuaded this bride to poison Manxiwa.

(p. 15)

In the above sentence (175), clause (1) contains a statement within which a reason is implied and clause (2) contains a request. The request is that this bride should poison Manxiwa because Phalisa persuaded her to do so. The context within which this request has been made is that Phalisa’s friends are talking about the role she played in the death of her husband.

Saule

176. [Waba sengxakini uNtanjana [kuba\textsuperscript{1} abafundi, awayengomnye wabo uMlandeli, babanga] ukusekwa\textsuperscript{2} kombutho weedrama ZesiXhosa.]

Ntanjana was in trouble because the students, of whom Mlandeli was one, demanded the forming of a Xhosa drama society.

(p.42)

In sentence (176), clause (1) has a statement after kuba which refers to the reason for the request and clause (2) is a request. The request is that a Xhosa drama society should be formed and now Ntanjana is in trouble because he has to make the decision. The context within which this request has been made is that at Sontaba Xhosa is one of those subjects, that is looked down upon. Mlandeli’s arrival made everybody to be interested in it.

177. [Waphule umthetho\textsuperscript{1}, [ngoko ke uza kohlwayelwa ukuvuka uyokuhlamba, lingekafiki ixesha loko]

You have broken the rule, therefore you are going to be punished for waking up and washing before time.

(p.15)

In sentence (177), clause (1) contains a statement within which a reason is implied and clause (2) contains a request. The request is that Mlandeli should wash only when the
right time comes because it is an offense to do so before time. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli is surprised to find that even waking up and doing your things early is against the rules.

178. [Abafundi basesichengeni¹ sokugxothwa ngokwaphula umthetho [uMlandeli makangayi² kubo].

The students risk the danger of being expelled for breaking the law. Mlandeli must not go to them. (p. 61)

In sentence (178), clause (1) contains a statement within which a reason is implied and clause (2) contains a request. The request is that Mlandeli should not go to the students, because they risk the danger of being expelled. The context within which this request has been made is that the students at Sontaba are singing some freedom songs and they are going to the side of Mlandeli's hostel.

179. [Kwathi kanti uNtanjana¹ umqaphele], wambuza [ukuba unento afuna ukuyithetha² na] phambi kokuba kuggithwe kumgca ongezantsi, wathi yena ewe.

Ntanjana had noted him, he asked him if he has something to say before they move to the next item, he said yes. (p. 67)

In sentence (179), clause (1) contains a statement within which a reason is implied and clause (2) contains a request. The request is that Mlandeli should say something because he's been noted by Ntanjana that he wants to speak. The context within which this request has been made is that the principal and prefects are busy discussing Mlandeli's behaviour at school.

180. [Amagama abaphumeleleyo anikelwa¹ kuMvangeli uNongalaza [ukuba awabize², yaphakama ngevesi yawo into enkulu.]

The names of those who have passed were given to Evangelist Nongalaza to announce them, he stood up singing a verse. (p. 79)

In sentence (180), clause (1) contains a statement within which a reason is implied and clause (2) contains a request. The request is that Evangelist Nongalaza should read the names of those who have passed because he has been assigned this duty. The context
within which this request has been made is that there has been a trial exam at Sontaba and those who have done well were going to receive the bursaries to further their education.

181. [UMlandeli wayengenjalo¹. [Ezinye izinto wayezingena ngokusuka acengwe²].
Mlandeli was not like that. He used to enter into other activities when he was asked to do so. (p. 95)

In sentence (181), clause (1) contains a statement within which a reason is implied and clause (2) contains a request. The request is that Mlandeli should become a member of other active groups because he doesn’t like to be forward. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli’s character is compared to Macebo.

182. [Masihambe¹ Mlandeli mfo wam, [inde le² ndlela inyuk’apha kwaye neli zulu uyalibona lingabuyisa kungekudala]
Mlandeli, my son, let us go, this road is too long and you can also see that this weather is bad as it can rain at any time. (p. 1)

In sentence (182), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) contains a statement within which a reason is sought. The request is that Mlandeli should go along with Ncibane because the weather is bad. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli is going to Sontaba where he is going to further his education.

183. [tata masijike¹ ngoku, [andinakuya esikolweni ndinje]
Daddy, let us go back now, I cannot go to school looking like this. (p. 5)

In sentence (183), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) contains a statement within which a reason is implied. The request is that Ncibane should go back home with Mlandeli because Mlandeli is not satisfied with the state in which he finds himself. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli has been busy pushing his dad’s car, which got stuck in the mud. He is not appearing at his new school in such a state.
184. **Omnye umzali wathi** [uMlandeli makakhe\(^1\) acacise kule ndawo yokuba [kusithiwa izenso\(^2\) zakhe ziphembelala kupoqo.] Another parent said Mlandeli must clarify the point when it is said that his actions have a political influence. (p. 71)

In sentence (184), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) contains a statement within which a reason is implied. The request is that Mlandeli should clarify a certain point because it is rumored that his actions have a political influence. The context within which this request has been made is that it is during the disciplinary hearing of Mlandeli at Sontaba. Mlandeli is being accused of doing something that might bring the school into disrepute.

**Qangule**

185. **[Kwasoloko kusenzeka ingxushungxushu\(^1\) kulo mzi ukhe nje akabikho uCirha [Ncedani shiyani\(^2\) amasango]**

There’s always a commotion taking place in this house once Cirha is not in. Please leave the premises. (p. 59)

In sentence (185), clause (1) contains a statement within which a reason is implied and clause (2) is a request. The request is that MaDlamini Vathiswa and Nodabephi should leave MaNdaba’s house because they are causing a commotion. The context within which this request has been made is that there has been an exchange of words between these three women until MaNdaba intervened.

186. **[Wayengafuni ukutshata\(^2\) nomfi lo mntwana, [kwasebenza\(^1\) isiko. Malisebenze ke nangoku]**

This child didn’t want to marry the deceased, but a custom decreed it. It must continue even now. (p. 68)

In sentence (186), clause (1) contains a statement within which a reason is implied and clause (2) contains a request. The request is that Namhla should marry her dead husband’s brother because this is a tradition. The context within which this request has been made is that the Bhele people want Namhla to follow the tradition by getting married to her husband’s brother.
187. [Ngoku ke ndininikela\(^2\) kwabakuni [ukuze banithwese\(^1\) ngamava obomi]
   Now I am handling you over to your people so that they equip you for life’s experiences.  
   (p.12)

In sentence (187), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) contains a statement within which a reason is implied. The request is that Namhla’s people should take her because they must equip her with life’s experiences. The context within which this request has been made is that it is at Danile’s house during the marriage ceremony of Namhla and Sidima. The Reverend Zazile is conducting the service.

188. [Ungaxhali\(^1\), [soze ndixelele\(^2\) bani]
   Don’t worry, I won’t tell anyone/  
   (p.45)

In sentence (188), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) contains a statement within which a reason is implied. The request is that Lizo should not worry because Silumko is not going to tell any one. The context within which this request has been made is that Silumko wants to know from Lizo whether he is the one who killed Sidima.

189. [Kufuneka nithethe\(^1\) nomfi uSidima, [nguye obangela lo mlo].
   You must speak to the late Sidima, he’s the sole cause this thing.  
   (p.75)

In sentence (189), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) contains a statement within which a reason is implied. The request is that both Ngxelelo and Mandaba should speak to the late Sidima because he is the one who has caused this. The context within which this request has been made is that Silumko is busy with his investigation into the death of Sidima.

Jordan

190. [Akanakho ukuwuthwala\(^1\) lo msebenzi awenzayo [ngaphandle kokuba afunelwe\(^2\) iinyawo]
   He is unable to do the work he is currently doing unless something mobile is organised for him.  
   (p. 147)
In sentence (190), clause (1) contains a statement within which a reason is implied and clause (2) contains a request. The request is that the king should be mobile so that he can do his work properly. The context within which this request has been made is that some members of the union have decided to buy a car for the king.

191. [Nilapha nje nibizwe nguMntwan\(^1\) eNkosi, enibizela umcimbikazi omkhulu esiya kuthi [sithand' ukuba nibek' iindlebe xa\(^2\) awuchazayo, khon' ukuze nibe nakho ukuwuqwalasela].

You are here and you've been called by the king, he's calling you for a big affair. We would like you to listen when he's talking about it, so that you will be able to take note of it. (p. 86)

In sentence (191), clause (1) contains a statement within which a reason is implied and clause (2) contains a request. The request is that the Mpondomise should listen carefully when Dingindawo will be addressing them because he wants them to take note of certain things. The context within which this request has been made is that the Mpondomise have gathered at a Great place.

192. [Abazanga bayive inkosi\(^1\) ukufika kwayo, kangangokuba [uMthunzimi wagqiba\(^2\) kwelokuba inkosi ibeisoloko ikhaphithi ethwembelise].

They didn't hear the arrival of the king, so Mthunzini decided that the king should always be present. (p. 86)

In sentence (192), clause (1) contains a statement within which a reason is implied and clause (2) contains a request. The request is that the king should always be present because he was not heard on his arrival. The context within which this request has been made is that the Mpondomise have gathered at a Great place. They have been called by the king to discuss the issues that affect the Mpondomise.

193. [Mandikukhule mfan'am\(^1\) ugoduke: [kuhlwile\(^2\)]

My son, let me release you to go home: it's late. (p. 81)

In sentence (193), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) contains a statement within which a reason is implied. The request is that Mthunzini should go home because it is late. The context within which this request has been made is that Mthunzini has brought Dingindawo
letters he had stolen from Mphuthumi's suitcase. These letters contain confidential information about the kingdom of the Mpondomise.

194. **Hayi nditsho kuba [athe masiwathumele¹ amahashe [aya emdlalweni² eMthatha].**

No, I say so because they said we should send them horses; they are going to the sports at Umtata. (p. 74)

In sentence (194), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) contains a statement within which a reason is implied. The request is that the boys should bring them horses because they are going to the sports at Umtata. The context within which this request has been made is that this man is surprised to find Mthunzini here because he is supposed to be at the sportsfield at Umtata.

195. **[Ndisetyezelwe¹ nguDabula [ukuba ndibekho² xa bathetha lo mcimbi neli xhego, phofu ndizilalise]**

I've been told by Dabula that I should be present when they are talking about this matter, but I must act as if I'm asleep. (p. 18)

In sentence (195), clause (1) contains a statement within which a reason is implied and clause (2) contains a request. The request is that Mphuthumi should be present when Dabula will be discussing this matter because it is a confidential one. The context within which this request has been made is that Mphuthumi is telling Thembeka what has been worrying him all along.

196. **Sisamkhalela¹ uma wethu. [Sincede, mhlekazi, usizele² naye. Siziinkedama].**

We are still crying for our mother. Help us, sir, to bring her here for us, we are orphans. (p. 202)

In sentence (196), clause (1) contains a statement within which a reason is implied and clause (2) contains a request. The request is that the king should bring the Mpondomise their mother because they are still crying for her. The context within which this request has been made is that the Mpondomise have gathered at a Great place with the intention of expressing their grievances. They are dissatisfied with the way the king is ruling.
197. [Mna ke andimazi apho\(^1\) akhona. [Ningamphuthuma\(^2\) ke ukuba niyamazi].
I don't know where she is. You can go and take her if you know her.
   (p. 218)

In sentence (197), clause (1) contains a statement within which a reason is implied and clause (2) contains a request. The request is that the Mpondomise should bring their mother along if they know where she is, because the king does not know where she is. The context within which this request has been made is that the Mpondomise are addressing the king about their complaints. They are unhappy with the way the king is ruling.

198. Ukhalipha wacetyiswa ngamawabo [ukuba makayale\(^1\) inkosi xa kubonakalayo nje [ukuba umntwana\(^2\) wakhe akafunwa sisizwe]
   Khalipha was advised by his fellow people to refuse the king's offer when it became clear that the nation did not want her. (p. 140)

In sentence (198), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) contains a statement within which a reason is implied. The request is that Khalipha should refuse the king's offer because the nation does not want his daughter. The context within which this request has been made is that Khalipha has noted that the Mpondomise are divided over this. Some want the king to marry according to his late father's will, a girl from Bhaca.

199. Ugqirha uthe [makalaliswe\(^1\), angaphind' anganbil' athethe, [mhlawumbi udinwe\(^2\) kukukhwela lo mgama ungaka ukusuka eMjika]
   The doctor said she should be allowed to rest, and should not be made to speak, because she might be tired from the long journey from Mjika. (p. 119)

In sentence (199), clause (1) contains three requests and clause (2) contains a statement within which a reason is implied. The request is that Thembeka should be allowed to rest and not made to speak. The context within which this request has been made is that Thembeka has gone to sister Monica with the aim of getting advice.
200. Ngobu busuku bolwesithathu kuthe emva kokuncokokola ixesha elide, kanye xa uGcinizebele nomamBhele bacinga ukuya kulala, [uDabula wecela\(^1\) indlela, [exela ukuba noko kudala\(^2\) bemka ekhaya].
On Wednesday night after a long discussion, when Gcinizebele and mamBhele were thinking of going to sleep, Dabula wanted to leave, telling them that it's long that they've been away from home. (p.105)

In sentence (200), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) contains a statement within which a reason is implied. The request is that Dabula should be given a permission to go home because he has been away from home for a long time. The context within which this request has been made is that Dabula together with the Mpondomise, are at Sheshegu with the intention of talking to Zwelinzima.

201. [Ungakhe undixolele\(^1\) ke okwangoku? [Noko ndixakekile\(^2\)].
Can you excuse me for the time being? I am busy.

In sentence (201), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) contains a statement within which a reason is implied. The request is that Thembeka should be excused because she is busy. The context within which this request has been made is that Mthunzini wanted to see Thembeka. They are at a school at Ngcolosi.

202. [Zenincede\(^1\) ke nisivuyise sonke [thina sinegugu\(^2\) ngani].
You must please make us all happy, we are proud of you.
(p. 51)

In sentence (202), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) contains a statement within which a reason is implied. The request is that both Thembeka and Mphuthumi should set a good example because the Bishop and the people of Ngcolosi are proud of them. The context within which this request has been made is that Thembeka and Mphuthumi are being welcomed as the new teachers at Ngcolosi. The speaker is Father Williams.

203. [Singancedwa sikhululelw\(^1\) uDlamini lowo na bethuni? [Siy’ emzin\(^2\) akhe].
Can we be helped by being given Dlamini? We are going to his house.
(p.175)
In sentence (203), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) contains a statement within which a reason is implied. The request is that Vukuzumbethe should be given a permission to go with Nobantu because he is going to her house. The context within which this request has been made is that they are doing everything in their power to remove Nobantu from the Mpondomise. They don't want her to face the wrath of the older people.

5.3.2.2 The reason appears after kuba

In the following sentences, the reason is contained in a clause after kuba:

Jordan

204. Wena ke uza kuya kulala phaya ndigekafiki mna [Ufike nje uzilalise\(^1\) kwa oko, [kuba uNgxabane uyawoyika\(^2\) lo mcimbi]

You are going to sleep there before I arrive. Upon my arrival you must pretend to be asleep because Ngxobane is afraid of this matter.

(p.11)

In sentence (204), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) has a statement after kuba which refers to the reason for the request. The request is that Mphuthumi should go and sleep before the time in to a room where Dabula and Ngxobane are going to have a discussion, and he must pretend to be fast asleep because Ngxobane is afraid of anyone hearing about this matter. The context within which this request has been made is that there is a secret that Ngxobane wants to share with Dabula. He doesn't want anybody else to know it.

205. [Kodwa mna ndifuna\(^1\) uwuvile, [kuba ngentwana asel' endithele thsuphe\(^2\) yona, ndiyaqonda ukuba uya kuba luncedo olukhulu kuwo.] Maze uzirhonise ke kodwa ubaze iindlebe

But I want you to hear it, because from the little he has told me, I think you will play a major role. You must pretend to be asleep, but you must listen.

(p. 12)

In sentence (205), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) has a statement after kuba which refers to the reason for the request. The request is that Mphuthumi should listen carefully
when Dabula will be discussing some confidential information because he thinks that Mphuthumi will benefit a lot. The context within which this request has been made is that Dabula and Mphuthumi are talking about Ngxobane and the role that Mphuthumi should play.

206. [UMphuthumi ke wayengazanga\(^1\) ayeke ukuthabatha amacebo kuThembe\(kubawewayemqonde\(^2\) kwaseLovedale ukuba unobuchopho bendoda].

Mphuthumi never stopped taking Thembe\(k\)'s advice because he knew from Lovedale that she's got a man's brain. (p.61)

In sentence (206), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) has a statement after kuba which refers to the reason for the request. The request is that Thembe\(k\) should advise Mphuthumi because she has constructive advice. The context within which this request has been made is that Thembe\(k\)'s brilliance makes Mphuthumi to go to her every time he wants to do something.

207. [Uze uyambathe ngobuhomba\(^1\) ke, mfo wan [kuba ingubo yobukhosi\(^2\) ayifani nezinye iingubo]

You must wrap yourself gently with it my son, because the blanket of Chieftainship is not like the other blankets. (p. 106)

In sentence (207), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) has a statement after kuba which refers to the reason for the request. The request is that Zwelinzima should look well after his people because as a chief he is going to be different from other people. The context within which this request has been made is that Zwelinzima is leaving Sheshegu for Ngcolosi. He is going to assume his duties as the king of the Mpondomise.

208. Umanyano lwagqiba, ekubenikwibhunga elilandelayo [uRhulumente anqandwe\(^1\) angawunyanzelisi loo mthetho [kuba akukaviswana\(^2\) ngawo]

The union decided that in the next meeting of the council the government should be prevented from enforcing that law because an agreement has not been reached concerning it. (p. 148)
In sentence (208), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) has a statement after *kuba* which refers to the reason for the request. The request is that the government should not enforce a certain law because no agreement has been reached about it. The context within which this request has been made is that the people are worried that certain changes are enforced without proper consultation.

209.  


He can be glad if they are not afraid to criticize him for what he is saying, because they are experienced more than him.  

(p.145)

In sentence (209), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) has a statement after *kuba* which refers to the reason for the request. The request is that the old Mpondomise men should not hesitate to criticize Zwelinzima where necessary because they are more experienced than him. The context within which this request has been made is that the king Zwelinzima is in the executive union, which he has just formed. Some Mpondomise in this union admire his brilliance.

210.  


Because she liked cricket while she was still at school, she encouraged girls – particularly lady teachers – to become members.  

(p.146)

In sentence (210), clause (2) is a request and clause (1) has a statement after *kuba*, which refers to the reason for the request, and clause (2) is a request. The request is that women should become members of the cricket club because Thembeka liked this sport while she was still at school. The context within which this request has been made is that Thembeka, as the wife of the king, is improving the quality of life of women.

Saule

211.  

I hear you, Macebo, but DiLizo needs somebody to help him more, especially there in the line up because he plays in the scrum.  

In sentence (211), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) has a statement after *kuba* which refers to the reason for the request. The request is that there should be somebody to help DiLizo in the line up because he plays in the scrum. The context within which this request has been made is that Macebo wants Mr. Cala to drop Mlandeli from the team as he has not arrived for practice. However, Mr. Cala is reluctant to do what Macebo says.

**Ngewu**

212. [*Masilwamkele olu luvo\(^1\) lukamolokazana, [kuba imini yomngcwabo kaZam, unyana wamazibulo, kufuneka ibe yintuthuzelo\(^2\) apha kumaNtsundu]*  
Let us accept the daughter-in-law’s view because the day of Zam’s funeral, my first born, must be a consoling one here to Mantsundu.  

In sentence (212), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) has a statement after *kuba* which refers to the reason for the request. The request is that they should accept Nozinto’s view because the day of Zamile’s burial should be a consoling one to her. The context within which this request has been made is that Nozinto wants to slaughter some sheep during the funeral of her husband. This is against the tradition because Zamile died in an accident.

213. [*Masimyeko\(^1\) uMpungeni [kuba akukho nto aza kusenzela yona]*  
Let us leave Mpungeni because there’s nothing he is going to do for us.  

In sentence (213), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) has a statement after *kuba* which refers to the reason for the request. The request is that Phalisa and Nozinto should leave Mpungeni because he is going to do nothing for them. The context within which this request has been made is that both Phalisa and Nozinto are busy with the funeral plans. They wanted Mpungeni to be the one conducting the service for Zamile.
214. [Sicela ukusiwa\(^1\) kuZamile [kuba sizimisele ukuqalisa uphando]

We ask to be sent to Zamile because we are prepared to start with the investigation. (p.24)

In sentence (214), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) has a statement after kuba which refers to the reason for the request. The request is that the police should be sent to the place where Zamile is because they want to start with the investigation. The context within which this request has been made is that the police are at Nozinto’s house and they have come to investigate the death of Zamile.

215. [Kufuneka ungangxami\(^1\) ngelokhwe kaNongxamile [kuba elaa dada lakho usenokulibona\(^2\)lidamfuza ukubuyela ekhaya emva konyango]

You must not hurry about Nongxamile’s dress because you can see that duck of yours coming home after treatment. (p. 20)

In sentence (215), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) contains a statement within which a reason is implied. The request is that Nongxamile should not be in a hurry about Nongxamile’s dress because Zamile might come back home after treatment. The context within which this request has been made is that Phalisa is worried that Zamile might not die and he might be back, therefore they should not be in a hurry with funeral preparations.

216. [Bafazi masohlukaneni\(^1\) [kuba kusile\(^2\) apha phandle]

Ladies, let us leave one another because it is already sunrise here outside. (p. 19)

In sentence (216), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) contains a statement within which a reason is implied. The request is that Nconyiwe’s friends should stop talking about Nozinto’s affairs because they don’t see the same way. The context within which this request has been made is that Phalisa has become angry when they talk negatively about Nozinto.

217. [Mamelani ndinixelele\(^1\) [kuba ndiyabona\(^2\) ukuba animazi uNozinto

Listen so that I can tell you, because I can see that you don’t know Nozinto. (p. 3)
In sentence (217), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) has a statement after *kuba* which refers to the reason for the request. The request is that Phalisa’s friends should listen to her because she sees that they do not know Nozinto as she does. The context within which this request has been made is that Phalisa is telling her friends about Nozinto’s past history.

5.3.2.3 The reason appears in a NP

In the following sentences the reason is inside the noun phrase:

*Jordan*

218. [Le mbali’yenyoka [yabangela ukuba amadodana afune² ukwazi ubunyani bale yakwaMajola inyoka, inkwakhwa]

This story about the snake resulted in young men wanting to know the truth about the snake from Majola. (p. 9)

In sentence (218), the NP in (1) contains the reason for the request and clause (2) is a request. The request is that the young men want to know the truth about the snake from Majola, because this has been caused by the story surrounding it. The context within which this request has been made is that Mzamo has visitors at his house and Ngxabane is telling these visitors about the history of the Mpondomise.

219. Wafika ekhaya kukho [inwadi evela¹ kwaNokholeji], [umbizela kwintlanganiso ye² Governing Council].

When he arrived at home he found a letter from the Fort Hare University, which was inviting him to the meeting of the Governing Council. (p. 163)

In sentence (219), NP (1) contains the reason for the request and clause (2) is a request. The request in the form of an invitation awaiting him when he arrived home, is that Zwelinzima should attend a meeting at Fort Hare University. The context within which this request has been made is that Zwelinzima is at home after visiting Sulenkama.
220. **Besesithe yayi [luvuyo phakathi\(^1\) kwesiqaba] [kuba inkosi ide\(^2\) yavuma ukuzeka]**

We have already said that there was joy amongst the illiterates because the king has agreed to get married.

(p. 224)

In sentence (220), NP (1) contains the reason for the request and clause (2) is a request. The request is that the king should get married so that his people should be happy. The context within which this request has been made is that Zwelinzima is about to get married according to his father’s will and also from the pressure he gets from the Mpondomise.

221. **Yasuka yaba [yingxaki\(^1\) le] ngoku, [kwafuneka oomFundisi\(^1\) benqandile]**

This became a problem now; the reverend and others had to intervene.

(p. 91)

In sentence (45221), NP (1) contains the reason for the request and clause (2) is a request. The request is that the reverend and others should intervene because this became a problem. The context within which this request has been made is that the students at Sontaba are blocking the way for a police van, which has Mlandeli in it. They argue that he has been wrongly accused.

222. **[Abafundi mabavulwe\(^1\) ingqondo [ngolwazi\(^2\) olubafaneleyo]**

The students’ minds should be enlightened by the knowledge they deserve.

(p. 71)

In sentence (222), NP (1) is a request and NP (2) contains the reason for the request. The request is that the student’s minds should be enlightened because there is a knowledge that is right for them. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli is responding to one of the questions during his disciplinary hearing.

223. **Ngalo mhla ke, yayi [lisiko\(^1\) lesikolo] [ukuba\(^2\) wonke umntu anxibe itreksuti yesikolo]**

On this day, it was the school’s tradition that everybody should wear a school tracksuit.

(p. 22)
In sentence (223), NP (1) contains the reason for the request and clause (2) is a request. The request is that everybody should wear a school's tracksuit because it is a school's tradition. The context within which this request has been made is that the students at Sontaba are busy preparing for sports activities.

224. [Makuyokulaw1 madoda, [yicawa ngomso2, ziitest ngoMvulo] Let us go to sleep, gentlemen, tomorrow it's Sunday and on Monday we are writing tests. (p. 62)

In sentence (224), clause (1) is a request and NP (2) contains the reason for the request. The request is that the gentlemen should go and sleep because on the following day is Sunday and they will be busy writing tests on Monday. The context within which this request has been made is that the boys at Sontaba are singing and are later joined by Mlandeli.

225. [Leli qaqobana nelalityhudisela1 kwinto yokuba [kutshintshwe inkokheli le ye2 Silimela uNokhwezi kafakwe yena] It is this group which was forcing that the leader of Silimela, Nokhwezi, should be changed and that he should be the leader. (p. 30)

In sentence (225), NP (1) contains the reason for the request and clause (2) is a request. The request is that Nokhwezi should be changed as the leader of Silimela. This has been orchestrated by a certain small group. The context within which this request has been made is that there are young boys at Silimela who like Mlandeli so much that they believe in everything that he is doing. They even want him to be their leader.

226. Bachithakala ngentsimbi yesithoba [selethiwe nca1nguMbuyiselo [ngemibuzo angayiqondiyo kumsebenzi wabo wasekhaya wePhysics2]. They left at nine o'clock and Mbuyiselo was already asking him certain questions he didn't understand in their Physics homework. (p. 26)

In sentence (226), clause (1) is a request and NP (2) contains the reason for the request. The request is that Mlandeli should help Mbuyiselo because there is something he does not understand in their physics homework. The context within which this request has been made is that Mbuyiselo is busy telling Mlandeli the things that he heard about him.
227.  [Ungakhanyeli\textsuperscript{1}, [alikho ihlebo\textsuperscript{2} apha emhlabeni]]

Don't deny it, there is no secret here on earth. (p. 23)

In sentence (227), clause (1) is a request and NP (2) contains the reason for the request. The request is that Lizo should not deny knowledge of the ring because there is no secret about it. The context within which this request has been made is that Zodwa is telling Lizo that she knows that he bought a golden ring for Namhla.

228.  [Yeka ukuzihlupha\textsuperscript{1}mama, [yintlalo yomzali wanamhla ukungahlonelwa ngumntwana emzala]]

Stop worrying yourself, mother, todays parents are not respected by their kids. (p.56)

In sentence (228), clause (1) is a request and NP (2) contains the reason for the request. The request is that MaDlamini should not worry herself about Namhla's behavior because children do not respect parents today. The context within which this request has been made is that MaDlamini is very cross with the way Namhla is responding to her. However, Vathiswa consoles her.

229.  [Xola wena bawomkhulu, ungabisaphendula,\textsuperscript{1} ]lisiko legosa ukufakwa\textsuperscript{2} izilandu]

Don't feel sad, grandfather, don't even respond, it is the tradition of the officer to be accused. (p. 58)

In sentence (229), clause (1) is a request and NP (2) contains the reason for the request. The request is that Danile should not respond because it is the tradition of the officer to be accused. The context within which this request has been made is that Danile has been told by Qebeyi that he is not attending to their problems, but when he has a problem he is quick to go to them for help.
In the following sentences, the reason is expressed within a phrase with the noun into as head:

**Saule**

230. UMlandeli wayengenantanga. [Yinto leyo eyamanzela\(^1\)udumo, [zadananaza iingcingo neencwadi ezimmemela\(^2\)kumathekho amakhulu ogqatso lweembaleki kulo lonke eli limiweyo]

Mlandeli didn’t have an opponent. This is what made him famous, he received telephone calls and invitations to attend athletic parties all over the country. (p. 38)

In sentence (230), the reason for the request appears as a complement of the noun into and clause (2) is a request. The request is that Mlandeli should attend the athletics party because he is famous. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli’s talents made him famous so much that everybody became interested in him.

231. [Yonke into ndiyiggibile\(^1\) Ncibane, [singatsho\(^2\)siyile ngoku]

I’ve finished everything, Ncibane, we can go now. (p. 1)

In sentence (231), the reason for the request appears as a complement of the noun into and clause (2) is a request. The request is that Mlandeli and his father should go because his father has finished packing everything. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli is going to Sontaba where he is going to finish his secondary education.

**Jordan**

232. [Andikholwa ukuba ulindele\(^1\) ukuba ndiphendule ngoku. [Le nto ndingathanda\(^2\)ukukhe ndiyeye kuyetyisa]

I don’t think that you expect me to answer now. I would like to go and think deeply about this thing. (p. 334)

In sentence (232), clause (1) is a request and in clause (2) the reason for the request appears as a complement of the noun into. The request is that Mphuthumi should give
Zwelinzima more time because he wants to go and think deeply about this thing. The context within which this request has been made is that Mphuthumi has told Zwelinzima to go and govern as he is the king of the Mpondomise.

233. [Yiyo ke le nto mnaⁿdithi] [okona kuqina kwethu makube kweli cala² laseMthatha]

That is why I am saying we must be strong on the Umtata side.

(p. 93)

In sentence (233), the reason for the request appears as a complement of the noun into and clause (2) is a request. The request is that they should be on the Umtata side because it is where they must be stronger. The context within which this request has been made is that this is the side which Dingindawo and his people think might be used by Zwelinzima when he goes to the Mpondomise land.

234. [Uncede ungamoθusi¹ ma [Aku kho nt w¹ ingako noko]

You must please not shock mom. There’s nothing that big.

(p. 176)

In sentence (234), clause (1) is a request and in clause (2) the reason for the request appears as a complement of the noun into. The request is that Vukuzumbethe should not shock his mother-in-law because what is happening is not a big deal. The context within which this request has been made is that Vukuzumbethe and Zwelinzima have bought Thembeka home to stay for a shorter period. They want to defend what he has done in her absence.

Qangule

235. [Aku kho nto iqqiba¹ bayekwe² abafana bashiyane ngezigalo]

There’s nothing more than leaving the young men to compete among themselves.

(p. 9)

In sentence (235), the reason for the request appears as a complement of the noun into and clause (2) is a request. The request is that the young men should be left to compete among themselves because there is nothing, which could be better than that. The context
within which this request has been made is that Xolile suggests to the gathering of Bhele at Damile’s house that the young men should be left to use their brilliance in order to win Namhla.

5.3.2.5 The reason is a future event

In the following sentences, the reason will be future event.

*Jordan*

236. [Mus’ ukundifihlela][1] [ndiza kukunce]a[2] ukuba ndinakho]

Don’t hide something from me, I am going to help you if I can.

(p. 58)

In sentence (236), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) refers to the reason for the request, which will be future event. The request is that Mthunzini should tell Father Williams what is worrying him because he is going to help him if he can. The context within which this request has been made is that Mthunzini is worried because his proposal to fall in love with Thembeka didn’t succeed.

237. [Wase, uzukhe unyuke][1], [siya kudlal]a[2] uhadi esikolweni ngentsimbi yesine

Wase, you must come so that we can play the piano at school at four o’clock.

(p. 54)

In sentence (237), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) refers to the reason for the request, which will be a future event. The request is that Mphuthumi should go to Thembeka because they are going to play a piano at school. The context within which this request has been made is that both Thembeka and Mphuthumi are at Ngcolosi and they are close friends.

238. [Bathi makagqithe aye][1] kuxela enkosini, [mhlawumbi yona iya kuba nento][2] eyibonayo kwezi zimbo zikaDanisa]

They told him to go and report to the king, who might see something in Damisa’s actions.

(p. 99)
In sentence (238), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) refers to the reason for the request, which will be a future event. The request is that Damisa should be reported to the king because he might see something in Damisa's actions. The context within which this request has been made is that Damisa is among the team that is bringing Zwelinzima back as the king of the Mpondomise.

239. [Hayi, khawuye kulala\(^1\), Dlamini. [Ndiya kukuxelele\(^2\) eQonce ngomso]

No, go and sleep, Dlamini. I am going to tell you tomorrow at King William's Town.

(p. 15)

In sentence (239), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) refers to the reason for the request which will be a future event. The request is that Thembeka should go and sleep because Mphuthumi is going to tell her tomorrow at King William's Town. The context within which this request has been made is that Mphuthumi has given Thembeka a hint of what he would like to share with her.

240. [Hayi, khawuyeke\(^1\), cousie. [Ndobuya ndikuxelele\(^2\)]

No, leave it, cousin. I will tell you later on.

(p. 22)

In sentence (240), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) refers to a reason which will be given in the future. The request is that Nomvuyo should leave it because Thembeka is going to tell her later on. The context within which this request has been made is that Nomvuyo is suspicious that something must have happened and it concerns Mphuthumi, Zwelinzima and Thembeka. She is curious to know what is it.

241. [Siza kude\(^1\)siyiloze, [masipheze\(^2\)]

Let us stop before we miss the point.

(p. 200)

In sentence (241), clause (1) refers to the reason for the request which will be a future event and clause (2) contains a request. The request is that the Mpondomise should stop talking because they will miss the point. The context within which this request has been made is that the Mpondomise have gathered at the king's place to express their grievances. They have voiced their complaint and this meeting is chaired by Dingindawo.
242. Niyalibona eli hlahla? [Liza kuma\(^1\)kula nkalo ijongene nani phesheya komlambo] [Zenilijonge\(^2\) kakhule]

You see this branch? It is going to stand there on that place facing you – on the other side of the river, you must watch it carefully.  

(p. 113)

In sentence (242), clause (1) refers to the reason for the request which will be a future event and clause (2) contains a request. The request is that Dingindawo’s followers should watch carefully a certain branch because it is going to stand in a place facing them. The context within which this request has been made is that Dingindawo and his followers have gathered at a Great place to discuss, among other things, the ways in which they can stop Zwelinzima from coming over to rule.

Qangule

243. [Ungakhwazi\(^1\), [uya kunukelwa\(^2\) lityala]

Don’t speak loud, you will be accused.  

(p. 38)

In sentence (243), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) refers to the reason for the request, which will be a future event. The request is that Vathiswa should not speak loudly because she will be accused. The context within which this request has been made is that Vathiswa is worried because she is certain that Lizo is the one who killed Sidima.

244. [Ungakhwazi kaloku\(^1\) Limakhwe, [uza kungcolisa\(^2\) umsebenzi wam]

Don’t say this to anyone, Limakhwe, you are going to affect my job.  

(p. 39)

In sentence (244), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) refers to the reason for the request, which will be a future event. The request is that MaLimakhwe should not tell this to anyone because it is going to affect Silumko’s job. The context within which this request has been made is that MaLimakhwe is surprised to hear from her husband that Sidima is still alive.

245. [Ungangxoli wena\(^1\), [uza kundenzela\(^2\) intloko ebuhlungu]

You don’t make noise, you are going to cause me headache.  

(p. 26)
In sentence (245), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) refers to the reason for the request which will be a future event. The request is that Zodwa should not make noise because she is going to cause Lizo a headache. The context within which this request has been made is that Lizo is holding Zodwa and Duma hostage after he found them unexpectedly in Gauteng.

Ngewu

246. [Tyhini mfazindini! qhuba¹ kakuhle, [uza kusenzakalisa²]]
   Lady! Drive carefully, you are going to hurt us. (p. 3)

In sentence (246), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) refers to the reason for the request, which will be a future event. The request is that Zodidi should drive careful because she is going to hurt the others. The context within which this request has been made is that they are on their way to Nozinto’s house. They are busy discussing what is it that Nozinto wants them for.

5.3.2.6 The complement of nga is an Infinitive clause

In the following two sentences the reason is expressed in an infinitive clause after nga. These requests only appear in Jordan’s book:

Jordan

247. Uyise walo mfana wayemcele [ngokumthemba¹] [ukuba amkhusele² umntwana wakhe]
   A father of this gentleman trusted him when he asked him to look well after his child. (p. 46)

In sentence (247), clause (2) is a request and clause (1) contains a reason for the request within the infinitive clause after nga. The request is that Gcinzibele should look well after Zwelinzima because he is trusted by Zwelinzima’s father. The context within which this request has been made is that Gcinzibele has become so close to Zwelinzima that he finds it hard to be separated with him. The time now has come for Zwelinzima to go and rule in the Mpondomise.
248. [AmaFela-ndawonye ngokucinga \(^1\) ukuba ayarhanelwa] abona ukuba uFuncuza [makangahambi \(^2\) ukuya eSheshegu, makabe \(^2\) kufuphi nekomkhulu]

A group called Felandawonye, on thinking that they are being suspected, decided that Funcuza should not go to Sheshegu, he should be closer to the Great place.

(p.94)

In sentence (248), clause (1) is an infinitive clause after nga which refers to the reason for the request, and clause (2) contains a request. The request is that Funcuza should not go to Sheshegu because a group called Fela ndawonye think that they are suspected. The context within which this request has been made is that the amaFelandawonye are not in favour of Zwelinzima becoming the king of the Mpondomise. They are blocking every effort that is done in preparation for his return.

5.3.2.7 The interrogative ni

In the following sentences the reason is expressed with a phrase or clause with the interrogative ni.

Jordan

249. [Khaningen' endlwini \(^1\) kaloku, Jola. [Yini ukuba \(^2\) nise nisima phandle?]]

Come inside the house, Jola. Why do you have to wait outside?

(p. 176)

In sentence (249), clause (2) contains a reason for the request, which appears after ni and clause (1) is a request. The request is that Zwelinzima should come inside because there is no need for them to wait outside. The context within which this request has been made is that Zwelinzima and Vukuzumbethe are in a hurry. They have just come to bring Thembeka and they want to go back to the Mpondomise.

250. Wathi egqiba leyo, wabe ebuza kuThembeka ukuba [kukuthini \(^1\) na le nto alulibazise ngeendaba phandle undwendwe], endaweni yoku- [ngenisa \(^2\) endlwini alwenzele iti yamanzi ashushu]
When she finished that, she asked why she delays the visitor outside with the news, instead of telling him to come in and making him a cup of tea. (p. 121)

In sentence (250), clause (2) is a request and clause (1) contains a reason for the request which appears after ni. The request is that Thembeka should make tea for Mphuthumi because there is no need for him to be delayed outside. The context within which this request has been made is that Thembeka's mother sees that Thembeka has been talking to Mphuthumi outside the house instead of bringing him in. This worries her.

251. Kakade, mfondini, [kungani¹ ukuba ube akukayi] [kumbulis² umfazi?] Why haven’t you gone to greet your wife? (p. 225)

In sentence (251), clause (1) contains a reason for the request which appears after ni and clause (2) is a request. The request is that Zwelinzima should go and greet Thembeka because she is his wife. The context within which this request has been made is that there is a change in both Zwelinzima and Nobantu’s behaviour. Things are not going well at the king’s place since Nobantu arrived.

Ngewu

252. Kodwa Phalisa, mhlobo wam, [kutheni ungasiphatheli¹ laa mfundisi wamwisayo nje] [ibe nguye² lo uqhuba le nkozo kaZamile?] But Phalisa, my friend, why don’t you bring us that reverend you once had an affair with so that he conducts Zamile’s service? (p. 46)

In sentence (252), clause (1) contains a reason for the request, which appears after ni and clause (2) contains a request. The request is that the reverend should conduct service because he was Phalisa’s boyfriend. The context within which this request has been made is that both Phalisa and Nozinto are discussing the way forward after the death of Zamile.

Saule

253. [Kutheni ungandibuzi¹ nje], [ukuba ngubani na olu ndwendwe lwam?] Why don’t you ask me who this visitor of mine is? (p. 86)
In sentence (253), clause (1) contains a reason for the request which appears after ni and clause (2) contains a request. The request is that Nokhwezi should be asked about her visitor because she sees that Mlandeli is not doing so. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli wanted to go with Nokhwezi to watch a film but she refused stating that she is going to have a visitor.

5.3.2.8 With ngenxa

In the following sentences, the reason is expressed in a phrase after ngenxa and this reason only appears in two sentences of Saule’s book.

254. [Singaqabuki sesibulalisa’umntwana wabantu] [ngenxa yomntu omnye oneengxaki²zakhe]
   We should not end up assisting in the death of this child because of one person who has his own problems. (p. 73)

In sentence (254), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) contains the reason for the request which appears after ngenxa. The request is that they should not end up assisting in the death of Mlandeli because of a certain person who has his own problems. The context within which this request has been made is that the one father who is in the committee is expressing his views about this whole debate concerning Mlandeli.

255. [Ngenxa yefuthe neempembelelo awayenazo uMlandeli kwabanye, [wada wanyanzeleka² uNokhwezi ukuba amsondeze kuye]
   Because of Mlandeli’s influence to the others, Nokhwezi was forced to bring him closer to her. (p. 31)

In sentence (255), clause (1) gives the reason for the request which is to be found after ngenxa and clause (2) contains a request. The request is that Mlandeli should be closer to Nokhwezi because he is influential to others. The context within which this request has been made is that it is because of the good works that Mlandeli is doing at Sontaba.
5.3.2.9 **Condition**

The reason for the request may appear within a conditional clause:

*Jordan*

256. **Ukuba uhambe ngokomnqweno kayihlo,** [uye¹ kukhonza isizwe sakowenu] [wenze laa nto uyiho wayekuhlangulel' ukuba ubuye² uze kuyenza xa selefile yena]

If you go according to your father’s wish and worship your nation, you do what your father saved you to do after he died. (p.39)

In sentence (256), clause (1) is a request and the reason for this request appears in a condition clause in (2) after *ukuba* (if). The request is that Zwelinzima should take up his responsibilities because this is what his father wanted him to do. The reason here is in the condition clause after *ukuba*. The context within which this request has been made is that Zwelinzima had a meeting with the bishop. In this meeting it became clear that Zwelinzima is not interested in becoming the king of the Mpondomise.

257. **[Okwangoku sifun’ ukuba¹sondliwe [njengabantwana²bokuzalwa balo mzi]]**

For the time being we want to be fed like the children born in this house.  

(p. 202)

In sentence (257), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) contains a reason for the request which appears after *njenga*. The request is that the Mpondomise want to be fed because they want the king to regard them as his children. The reason here is within the condition clause after *njenga*. The context within which this request has been made is that the Mpondomise have gathered at a Great place with the intentions of voicing out their grievances. They are dissatisfied with the way the king is ruling.

258. **[Major, yini kodwa¹ ubungezi noZululiyazongoma nje, [ngekumnandi² kungakanje ukuba ebekho?]]**

Major, why didn’t you come along with Zululiyazongoma, it would have been nice if he was present.  

(p. 230)
In sentence (258), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) contains a reason for the request which appears in a conditional clause with the deficient verb nge. The reason is that Zwelinzima should have brought along Zululiyazongoma because it was going to be nice if he were present. The request here is within the condition clause after the deficient verb nge. The context within which this request has been made is that Zwelinzima and Thembeka are staying in different places.

Qangule

259. [Uze uthi uyikhabela¹ kude le nto,] [ube usazi ukuba waphula² isiko].
You must know when you throw this ring away, that you are breaking the tradition. (p. 61)

In sentence (259), clause (2) is a request and clause (1) is a reason which appears in a conditional clause after the verb thi. The request is that Namhla should be aware of custom and should not break the tradition. The reason is within the condition clause after the verb thi. The context within which this request has been made is that the Bhele have gathered at Danile's house. Their aim is to convince Namhla to get married to one of her late husband's brothers.

Ngewu

260. [Njengokuba ushiyeka¹ aje wena [sikuphathele² izinto zokutshintsha ekuseni?]]
As you are remaining behind must we bring you some clothes to change into in the morning? (p. 11)

In sentence (260), clause (1) contains a reason for the request which appears as a conditional clause after njengokuba and clause (2) is a request. The request is that Phalisa should allow Zodidi to bring along her clothes because she is remaining behind. The reason here is within the condition clause with njengokuba. The context within which this request has been made is that they are at Nozinto's house. Nozinto invited them, as her best friends, in order to tell them that her husband has been shot.
261. [Xa uZamile emfulathele¹ umfazi wakhe, [mvumeleni² uNozinto aye apho anokufamena khona uhoyo]
   If Zamile is ignoring his wife, allow Nozinto to go where she will be taken care of. (p. 5)

In sentence (261), clause (1) is a reason for the request in a conditional clause after xa and clause (2) contains a request. The request is that Nozinto should be allowed to go where she will find happiness because her husband is ignoring her. The context within which this request has been made is that Phalisa is doing everything in her power to defend Nozinto's actions.

5.3.3 Presupposition

In claiming common ground between the speaker and the hearer, Brown and Levinson (1978) also allow some common point of view, opinion, attitude, knowledge or empathy by specifically presupposing, raising or asserting common ground. Such a presupposition may, inter alia, be attained by the use of gossip, point of view operations or by means of manipulation.

5.3.3.1 Jordan

262. [UGcinizibele wancokola kwada¹ kwahlwa], ebuza undoba zelizwe awalishiya² esengumntwana
   Gcinizibele talked until late, asking news about the country he left when was still very young (p. 102)

In sentence (262), clause (1) contains a statement within which presupposition is implied and clause (2) is a request. The request is that Gcinizibele wants to know about the country he left as a child. He assumes that nothing is known about that country and that is why they talked until late. The context within which this request has been made is that Gcinizibele is talking to the men who have come to take Zwelinzima because they want him to assume his duties as the king of the Mpondomise.
263. Le nto ndize ngayo, Nkosi, [nawe uya kuyiqonda] [ndakuyithetha\(^1\)] [ukuba ayindilingene\(^2\)]

The king I came here for, my Lord, you will understand it when I've said it that it is not for me to say who he is. (p. 79)

In sentence (263), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) contains a statement within which a presupposition is implied. The request is that Mthunzini should tell something to Dingindawo. He assumes that Dingindawo will understand it already and that is why he feels that it is not for him to say it out. The context within which this request has been made is that Mthunzini wants to share with Dingindawo some confidential information about the kingdom of Mpondomise. He is worried that some of the things are going to disturb Dingindawo.

264. [Kutheni titshala\(^1\)], [akuyang' endlalwen\(^2\) eMthatha?]

(Why teacher, did you not go to the sports at Umtata?)

In sentence (264), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) contains a statement within which a presupposition is implied. The request is that Mthunzini should tell Dingindawo the reason. Dingindawo assumes that Mphuthumi is at the sports events, that is why he asks him why he did not go to the sports at Umtata. The context within which this request has been made is that Dingindawo is surprised to be visited by Mthunzini.

265. [Ndicinga ukuba [icebo wolifumana\(^1\) phaya kuyihlokazi uGcinizibele] [Kanti nelaa xego\(^2\) leBhishophu nihlala nalo phaya ndiqinisekile linakho ukuwalathis' indlela kule nto]

I think that you'll get an advice from that uncle of yours, Gcinizibele, and also that old Bishop who stays with you there, I am certain he is going to show you the way in this thing. (p. 35)

In sentence (265), clause (1) contains a statement within which a presupposition is implied and clause (2) is a request. The request is that Zwelinzima should get clarity from his uncle and also from the Bishop. Mphuthumi assumes that both Gcinizibele and the Bishop have a wealth of information and experience, that is why he thinks that Zwelinzima should go to them for advice. The context within which this request has been made is that Zwelinzima does not want to believe all that Mphuthumi has told him.
266. [Khawutsho\(^1\) Jola. Ucing\(^1\)] ukuba\(^2\) [la madoda\(^2\) aza kwenzani ngomso?]  
Tell me, Jola, what do you think these men are going to do tomorrow?  
(p. 180)

In sentence (266), clause (2) is a request and clause (1) contains a statement within which a presupposition is implied. Zwelinzima requests the aim of the men. He assumes that Vukuzumbethe might have heard something and that is why he asks him what he thinks. The context within which this request has been made is that there is going to be a gathering of the Mpondomise at a Great place. Among the issues to be discussed is the behaviour of Thembeka and the steps to be taken.

267. [Ke mna ndinicebisa\(^1\)] ukuba [nizibonakalise ukuba\(^2\) isiko lakwaNgwanya lilapha kuni]  
I advise you to show that you know the Ngwanya's tradition.  
(p. 198)

In sentence (267), clause (1) contains a statement within which a presupposition is implied and clause (2) is a request. The request is that the Mpondomise should show that they know their tradition. Dingindawo assumes that nothing is known about the Ngwanya tradition and that is why he advises the Mpondomise to show that they know it. The context within which this request has been made is that the Mpondomise have gathered at the king's place with the intention of discussing the steps they need to take concerning Thembeka's behaviour. This meeting is chaired by Dingindawo.

268. [Uyaqonda kakuhle\(^1\)] ukuba [ngomso\(^2\) amawethu aya kundilobolela kwaBhaca?]  
Do you clearly understand that tomorrow my fellow people are going to pay lobola for me at Bhaca?  
(p. 227)

In sentence (268), clause (1) contains a statement within which a presupposition is implied and clause (2) is a request. The request is that Vukuzumbethe should know that the Mpondomise are going to Bhaca to make lobola arrangements. Zwelinzima assumes that Vukuzumbethe does not know this and that is why he wants him to know it. The context
within which this request has been made is that this is a dialogue between Vukuzumbethe and Zwelinzima. Vukuzumbethe wants Zwelinzima to show interest in his wife.

269. \textit{[Ukufik' oku kwenkosi$^1$] [kufuneka igoduse$^2$ le ntombazana yasekoloni igeza kakhulu]}

Upon the arrival of the king he must send back home this silly girl from the Cape. (p. 157)

In sentence (269), clause (1) contains a statement within which a presupposition is implied and clause (2) is a request. The request is that the king does not know what is going on and that is why he wants him to send the girl home upon his arrival. The context within which this request has been made is that most Mpondomise are dissatisfied with Thembeka's behaviour. She does not behave like the wife of the king.

270. \textit{[Sifuna inkosi isizele$^1$ noma wethu] [esombonelwa$^2$ ngumfi inkosi uZanemvula]}

We want the king to bring to us our mother whom the late king Zanemoula saw for us. (p. 218)

In sentence (270), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) contains a statement within which a presupposition is implied. The request is that Zwelinzima should bring to the Mpondomise their real mother. They assume that Thembeka is not their real mother that is why they want the one whom the late king Zanemvula saw for them. The context within which this request has been made is that the Mpondomise have gathered to express their grievances at a Great place. They seem to be unhappy with the way the king is ruling.

5.3.3.2 Qangule

271. \textit{[Uze ungasiphoxi$^1$, [uze ube yile nto$^2$ uyiyo]}

You must not disappoint us; you must be what you are. (p. 14)

In sentence (271), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) contains a statement within which a presupposition is implied. The request is that Namhla should not disappoint Vuyisile and the others. Vuyisile assumes that her behaviour might change due to unforeseen circumstances, that is why he wants Namhla to be what she is. The context within which
this request has been made is that Namhla is getting married to Sidima. This is the big
day as parents are advising them about life's experiences.

272. [Maze uyiphathe\(^1\) inkosikazi yakho [ngokupathisana\(^2\) nayo.]

You must treat your wife properly by cooperating with her. 

In sentence (272), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) contains a statement within which
a presupposition is implied. The request is that Sidima should treat his wife well. Ngxelelo
assumes that Sidima is going to do what most men are doing outside that is why he wants
him to cooperate with his wife. The context within which this request has been made is
that it is during the marriage of Namhla and Sidima at Damile's house.

5.3.3.3 Saule

273. [Utata uthi, mna ndiza\(^1\) kufundela ubugqwetha] [ukuze ndikhulule\(^2\) abantu]

My father says, I am going to study law so that I can liberate people.

In sentence (273), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) contains a statement within which
a presupposition is implied. The request is that Mlandeli should study law. His father is
under the assumption that there are very few lawyers and that is why he wants his child to
study law. The context within which this request has been made is that the children are
talking among themselves about their future careers.

274. [Kwabo babohlwaywe naye\(^1\)yaba nguye yedwa ekuthiwa] [makaye kucanda\(^2\) iinkuni]

Among those who were punished, he was the only one who was told to go
and chop.

In sentence (274), clause (1) contains a statement within which a presupposition is implied
and clause (2) is a request. The request is that Mlandeli should go and chop wood. He is
perceived as the one who has a great influence and that is why he was told to chop wood
alone. The context within which this request has been made is that Mlandeli is being
punished for bad behaviour.
275. [Mayiyekwe madoda¹,] khe ijongwe ukuba iza² kuqhuba njani na kwezi nyanga zintathu zokuqala zonyaka]

   Gentleman, let us leave him, and look at how he is going to progress in the first three months of the year.  

(p. 14)

In sentence (275), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) contains a statement within which a presupposition is implied. The request is that Mlandeli should be given a chance. Mr. Rhadebe assumes that the other teachers don't know Mlandeli's performance and that is why he asked them to look at how he is going to progress in the first three months of the year. The context within which this request has been made is that at Sontaba teachers were debating over whether they should allow Mlandeli to take extra subjects.

276. Nokuba siphume nini na isigwebo [uza kuzichucha¹ zonke iiprifekthi zakhe ave uluvo lwazo] [ukuze azokuzazi iintshaba² zakhe]

   No matter when the judgement comes, he is going to go to the prefects one by one to hear their views so that he knows his enemies.  

(p. 70)

In sentence (276), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) contains a statement within which a presupposition is implied. The request is that Mlandeli should get the views of his prefects. There are some prefects who are plotting something against him and that is why he wants to know his enemies. The context within which this request has been made is that the prefects have accused Mlandeli of doing something, which might bring the school into disrepute.

5.3.3.4 Ngewu

277. [Ndicela uqhube¹ ][ukwenzela ukuba² ndingagwetywa kungekho mntu undimeleyo.]

   I ask you to proceed so that I don't get sentenced without being represented  

(p. 78)

In sentence (277), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) contains a statement within which a presupposition is implied. The request is that the lawyer should continue to defend Nozinto. Nozinto assumes that nobody wants to hear her side of the story and that is why
she wants somebody to represent her. The context within which this request has been made is that Nozinto's lawyer is tired of this whole thing because she has not been told the truth. She wants to stop defending her. However, Nozinto persuades her to carry on.

278. [Nceda undiphathele ingubo\(^1\) kwelaa gumbi ndilala kulo] [khon' ukuze ufiike lo\(^2\) mphanga ndiwulindele]  
Please bring me a blanket from my bedroom so that I can get ready for the news. (p. 23)

In sentence (278), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) contains a statement within which a presupposition is implied. The request is that Phalisa should bring Nozinto a blanket from the bedroom. She assumes that most people will come to console her and that is why she wants to be ready for the news. The context within which this request has been made is that both Nozinto and Phalisa are busy discussing the way forward after the death of Nozinto's husband.

5.3.4 Address form

The address is the most complex part and the one that allows for more variation. In claiming common ground between speaker and hearer, Brown and Levinson (1978) claim the in-group membership with the hearer by making use of the in-group identity markers. Such in-group identity markers may also be attained by the use of code switching or by means of jargon and slang.

Among the Xhosas, starting with the family, there is what is referred to as the hierarchical structure. The top part of the hierarchy consists of the older members of the family, for example, the parents. The bottom part consists of children. There is a difference in the form of address of the two groups. For instance, when children addressing the elders, they use the generic title and the name title, as in the following sentences:

Jordan

279. [Bhuti Mphuthumi\(^1\),] [kutheni\(^2\),] Masiyi?  
Uncle Mphuthumi, what happened, Masiyi? (p. 15)
In sentence (279), the vocative in (1) contains an address form and clause (2) is a request. The request is that Mphuthumi should tell Thembeka what happened. Thembeka uses the address forms “Bhuti Mphuthumi” and “Mashiyi” in a polite way because Mphuthumi is older than her and also it is a sign of respect. The context within which this request has been made is that Thembeka sees that there is something that worries Mphuthumi and she would like to know it.

Ngewu

280. [Mama uFulela\(^1\)] [khawuncede undazise\(^2\) into eyenzekileyo ngobusuku bangoLwesihlanu]]
Mrs. Fulela, just inform me about what happened on Friday night.

(p. 38)

In sentence (280), (1) contains an address form and clause (2) is a request. The request is that Zodidi should tell Sipho about what happened on Friday night. Sipho is a policeman on duty and he uses a formal form of address when talking to Zodidi. The context within which this request has been made is that Sipho is at Zodidi’s house and he wants her to give him her own version of what happened when Nozinto’s husband was attacked.

281. [Khawuthi xha\(^1\) kuloo ndawo] [baw' uNxumalo\(^2\)]
Just stop there for a while, Mr. Nxumalo.

(p. 34)

In sentence (281), clause (1) is a request and number (2) contains an address form. The request is that Mr. Nxumalo should stop for a while. Sipho is polite in using this address form because Mr. Nxumalo is older than him. It also shows that he respects Mr. Nxumalo. The context within which this request has been made is that Mr. Nxumalo is telling Sipho in detail what happened on the night when Nozinto’s husband was attacked.

Qangule

282. [Sincede\(^1\) kaloku] [tata\(^2\)]]
Help us, father.

(p. 51)
In sentence (282), clause (1) is a request and (2) is an address form. The request is that Silumko should help both Namhla and Lizo. Namhla uses this form of address because Silumko is older than her and it is a sign of respect. The context within which this request has been made is that Silumko has warned them about the dangers they might encounter if they ignore what Mandaba has done to their house.

The horizontal part of the hierarchical structure consists of people of equal status, for example, friends, husbands and wives, students, ladies and gentlemen, etc. It is interesting to note that women, when talking with their husbands, do not call them by their real names. They call them by their clan names, nicknames, or certain generic titles as in the following sentences:

Ngewu

283. **Kodwa [yise kaZamile¹], [kufuneka umbuze²lo mntwana] ngezi bhotile zotywala zigcwele apha**
   But ,Zamile’s father, you must ask this child about these bottles of alcohol that are here. (p. 51)

In sentence (283), (1) contains an address form and clause (2) is a request. The request is that Lolwana should ask Nozinto about the bottles of alcohol that they have found. Lolwana’s wife uses this form of address because it is a sign of respect and also among the Xhosa culture women are not allowed to call their husbands by their real names. The context within which this request has been made is that Zamile’s parents have found many things that make them feel disappointed. They also begin to suspect that things were not going well between Zamile and Nozinto.

Qangule

284. **[Sondela¹ etafileni] [Tshawe²]**
   Come closer to the table, Tshawe. (p. 44)

In sentence (284), clause (1) is a request and (2) is an address form. The request is that Tshawe should come closer to the table. MaLinakhwe uses a clan name when calling her husband because it is a sign of respect. The context within which this request has been
made is that both Tshawe and MaLinakhwe are busy discussing ways and means in which
they can make Lizo explain what happened when he killed Sidima and Zodwa.

285. [Ungaxhali] [Tshawe] Don't worry, Tshawe. (p. 41)

In sentence (285) clause (1) is a request and number (2) is an address form. The request
is that Tshawe should not worry. MaLimakhwe uses a clan name when addressing her
husband because she respects him. The context within which this request has been made
is that both Tshawe and MaLimakhwe are discussing ways in which they can make Lizo
explain in detail about what happened when he killed Sidima and Zodwa.

Jordan

286. [Yid’uphum eyasheni] [Jola] Say what you want to say, Jola. (p. 187)

In sentence (286), clause (1) is a request and number (2) is an address form. The request
is that Jongilanga should speak clearly. Mabhozo uses a clan name when addressing
Jongilanga because sometimes people of equal status use clan names instead of real
names when talking to one another. The context within which this request has been made
is that the Mpondomise have gathered at the king's place with the intentions of discussing
the steps they need to take concerning Thembeka.

287. [Nced’ undixelele], [Mashiyi] Please tell me, Mashiyi. (p. 15)

In sentence (287), clause (1) is a request and number (2) is an address form. The request
is that Mphuthumi should tell Thembeka what happened. Thembeka is polite when
addressing Mphuthumi because she uses a clan name and he is older than her. The
context within which this request has been made is that Mphuthumi’s behaviour makes
Thembeka suspicious. They are friends studying at the same school.

288. [Khawuse undixelel’ injongo yakho ke], [bawokazi] Tell me your purpose, cousin. (p.194)
In sentence (288), clause (1) is a request and number (2) is an address form. The request is that Dingindawo should tell Zwelinzima his purpose. Zwelinzima uses this form of address because he is polite and it is the form that is used by close relatives when calling one another. The context within which this request has been made is that Zwelinzima wants to know from Dingindawo the reason why he didn't talk.

289. **[Masise sisiya khona ke], [sibali²]**

   Let us then go there, my in-law.  

   (p. 238)

In sentence (289), clause (1) is a request and number (2) is an address form. The request is that both Zwelinzima and Mphuthumi should go to where Nomvuyo is. Zwelinzima uses this form of address because he is a friend of Mphuthumi. It is on rare occasions that friends call each other by names. They use the form of address like the one used by Zwelinzima or they use nicknames. The context within which this request has been made is that Zwelinzima has been visited by Mphuthumi and they are talking about the good old days.

290. **Hayi, [Mphuthumi nceda, Mashiyi¹] yeka loo nto]**

   No, Mphuthumi please, Mashiyi, stop that thing.  

   (p. 34)

In sentence (290), clause (1) contains an address form and clause (2) is a request. The request is that Mphuthumi should stop what he is saying. Zwelinzima uses this form of address because he wants to be polite to Mphuthumi. They are also of equal age. The context within which this request has been made is that Mphuthumi is telling Zwelinzima to go and continue from where his late father stopped.

291. **[Khawuphulaphule¹] [mntwan' asekaya²]**

   Listen, my fellow sister.  

   (p. 17)

In sentence (291), clause (1) is a request and number (2) is an address form. The request is that Thembeka should listen to what Mphuthumi is telling her. Mphuthumi is polite in using this address form because he is older than Thembeka and he wants all her attention. The context within which this request has been made is that Thembeka does not want to believe what she is hearing from Mphuthumi.
Qangule

292. [Nilibele\(^1\) [mawethu\(^2\)] ukuba lo mfana akaliwa yintombi waliwa nini]
   You have forgotten, my fellow people, that this young man is not opposed by
   the girl, he is opposed by you. (p. 8)

In sentence (292), clause (1) is a request and number (2) is an address form. The request
is that the Bhele people should not forget that they are the ones opposing Lizo. Zola is
polite when he is addressing his fellow people. The context within which this request has
been made is that the Bhele people have gathered at Danile’s house and they are busy
discussing Namhla’s fate.

Saule

293. Indawo yokuqala [manene\(^1\)] [masingaboyiki]
   In the first place, gentlemen, let us not be afraid of them. (p. 51)

In sentence (293), clause (1) contains an address form and clause (2) is a request. The
request is that they should not be afraid of the first team of Qelekequshe. Mlandeli uses
this address form when referring to his teammates in a formal way because he wants them
to be united. The context within which this request has been made is that the first team of
Sontaba, where Mlandeli is a student, is playing against Qelekequshe. Mlandeli enters as
a substitute and he is still in good form.

Sometimes people in the horizontal part of the hierarchical structure tend not to be formal
or polite when addressing one another. The reason being that one wants the action to be
carried out irrespective of saving face, as in the following example:

Jordan

294. Khawutsho, [mfondini\(^1\)], [yintoni?\(^2\) kuhleni?]]
   Tell, man, what is it? What happened? (p. 34)

In sentence (294) (1) is an address form and clause (2) is a request. The request is that
Mthunzini should go to the white doctors. Mphuthumi uses this form of address because
they are colleagues and also they are of equal status and age. The context within which this request has been made is that Mthunzini has not been feeling well. Instead of going to the doctor he intends going to the traditional healers.

295. [Mawethu\textsuperscript{1},] [kufuneka\textsuperscript{2} sincedis' inkosi]]
   People, we must help the king. (p. 215)

In sentence (295), (1) is an address form and clause (2) is a request. The request is that the Mpondomise should cooperate with the king. Jongilanga uses this form of address when talking to people because they are of equal status. The context within which this request has been made is that the Mpondomise have gathered at a king's place with the intention of stopping the war that is going on.

296. [Hayi, singafumani\textsuperscript{1} siziphoxe], [bafondini\textsuperscript{2}]
   No, we should not end up disappointing ourselves, men. (p. 110)

In sentence (296), clause (1) is a request and number (2) is an address form. The request is that Dingindawo's followers should not disappoint themselves. One of Dingindawo's followers uses this form of address when talking to the people. The context within which this request has been made is that Zwelinzima arriving by train at Umtata. Dingindawo's followers, who were asked to watch him, are not certain whether they see him or not.

297. [Ngewutsho nakum\textsuperscript{1} ndakukhapha ke [mfondini\textsuperscript{2}]]
   You should have said to me so that I accompany you, man. (p. 65)

In sentence (297), clause (1) is a request and number (2) is an address form. The request is that Mthunzini should have asked Mphuthumi to accompany him to the doctor. Mphuthumi addresses Mthunzini in this way because they are colleagues and are of equal status. The context within which this request has been made is that Mthunzini is not feeling well and he has not told Mphuthumi. Mphuthumi finds this strange.
You, the literates, have been ruling for so long; just leave into us when it comes to cultural affairs.

In sentence (298), (1) is an address form and clause (2) is a request. The request is that the literates should give the illiterates a chance to express themselves when it comes to cultural affairs. Mphurhu is not polite in using this form of address when talking to the literates. The context within which this request has been made is that the Bhele have gathered at Zamile's house. There seems to be a division that is going on as the literates see themselves as being better than the illiterates.

Just make me a cup of tea

In sentence (299), clause (1) is a request and number (2) is an address form. The request is that Namhla should make a cup of tea for Lizo. Lizo uses this form of address because he is having a love affair with Namhla. The context within which this request has been made is that Lizo has paid a visit to Namhla and they are busy discussing their future plans.

Just be cool, Namhla.

In sentence (300), clause (1) is a request and number (2) is an address form. The request is that Namhla should be calm. Sidima uses this form of address because they are lovers. The context within which this request has been made is that Namhla is very angry with Sidima because she has discovered that he has been cheating on her.

Just tell the other news, mate.

In sentence (301), clause (1) is a request and number (2) is an address form. The request is that Nodabephi should give more news. Vathiswa uses this form of address when
talking to Nodabephi because they are friends. The context within which this request has
been made is that they are discussing the events that were taking place during the funeral
of Sidima.

Finally, in the top part of the hierarchical structure, the older members of the family, when
addressing the young ones tend to use certain address forms, for example, clan name,
"son", "my child", etc. as in the following sentences:

*Jordan*

302. ***[Khawuze]***¹ ***kusela ke], [Mashiyi]²]***

Come and have a drink, Mashiyi. (p. 5)

In sentence (302), clause (1) is a request and number (2) is an address form. The request
is that Mphuthumi should come and have a drink. Mzamo uses this form of address when
talking to Mphuthumi because he wants to make him feel acceptable. The context within
which this request has been made is that Mphuthumi is the only child who is going along
with Dabula. They are on their way to Lugageni where there is going to be a meeting of
the kings beyond the Kei River. Along the way they stop at Mzamo's place.

303. ***[Xelela la madoda]¹ [mfanam]²], ngale misebenzi ingcolileyo isetyenzwa
ngooDabula nooNgxabane***

Tell these men, my son, about these dirty jobs that are done by Dabula and
Ngxobane. (p. 87)

In sentence (303), clause (1) is a request and number (2) is an address form. The request
is that Mthunzini should tell the gathering of the Mpondomise about what he had found at
Mphuthumi's suitcase. Dingindawo uses this form of address to Mphuthumi because
Mphuthumi is young enough to be his son. The context within which this request has been
made is that the Mpondomise have gathered at a Great place to be addressed by
Dingindawo. Instead of addressing them, Dingindawo refers them to Mthunzini.

304. ***[Yiza ngapha]¹ ke], [nyana]²]***

Come this side, son.
In sentence (304), clause (1) is a request and number (2) is an address form. The request is that Zwelinzima should come to the matron's side. The matron uses this form of address because Zwelinzima is young. The context within which this request has been made is that Zwelinzima is at Lovedale with the intentions of visiting Thembeka.

305. **[Biz' uThembeka]**
Call Thembeka, my child.  
(p. 42)

In sentence (305), clause (1) is a request and number (2) is an address form. The request is that the child should call Thembeka. The matron uses this form of address to refer to any child at school. The context within which this request has been made is that Zwelinzima is at school and he would like to see Thembeka.

_Qangule_

306. **[Khawutsho [nyana] unjani?]**
Just say it, son, how is she?  
(p. 43)

In sentence (306), clause (1) contains an address form and clause (2) is a request. The request is that Lizo should tell more about Namhla. Silumko uses this form of address because he wants Lizo to feel free and talk. The context within which this request has been made is that both Silumko and MaLinakhwe are investigating Lizo with the intentions of getting to know what happened to Sidima and Zodwa.

5.3.5 **Intensify interest**

In claiming common ground between speaker and hearer, Brown and Levinson (1978) also convey that the action is admirable and interesting by specifically intensifying the interest to the hearer. Such an interest may, _inter alia_, be attained by the use of vivid present, tag questions, directly quoted speech and by means of exaggerating facts.

5.3.5.1 **Ngewu**

307. **[Hayi nyhani] [masiye kuzonelisa kuqala]**
No really, let us first go and satisfy ourselves.  
(p. 10)
In sentence (307), the expression in (1) intensifies interest and clause (2) denotes a request. The request expressed by the speaker is that they should go and satisfy themselves. The interest is intensified by the word nyhani. Nyhani is the interjection, which refers to the truth of the utterance. The aim of the speaker is to focus the interest of the hearer on the request that follows by indicating that what he aims to request will be truthful, i.e. the hearer may accept the words of the speaker as the truth. The context within which this request has been made is that Phalisa is talking to her friends at Nozinto’s house. They want to prove that Nozinto’s husband has been shot dead.

5.3.5.2 Saule

308. **Kunjalo nje Macebo [ungaze uphinde\(^1\) uzokundijikeleza ngochuku mna, [uyandiva?\(^2\)]**

Macebo, you must never again come and talk about petty things to me, do you hear me? (p. 39)

In sentence (308), clause (1) denotes a request and clause (2) intensifies interest. The request is that Macebo should never discuss some petty things with Mbuyiselo again. The interest is intensified by the verb uyandiva. Uyandiva is a declarative verb and it is in the indicative mood. This verb intensifies that the hearer has indeed been given attention. The context within which this request has been made is that Macebo has been boring Mbuyiselo about smaller things in Mlandeli’s progress. Now Mbuyiselo is tired of this whole thing.

309. **[Khangel\(^1\) apha Mbuyiselo, [misa ingqondo\(^2\) mfondini]**

Look here, Mbuyiselo, use your brains, man. (p. 56)

In sentence (309), clause (1) intensifies interest and clause (2) denotes a request. The request is that Mbuyiselo should use his brains. The interest is intensified by the verb Khangel’ apha. This verb intensifies that the hearer has indeed been given attention. The context within which this request has been made is that Mbuyiselo is under the impression that Mlandeli is having a love affair with Nokhwezi. He was talking to Mlandeli but when he saw Nokhwezi he left, giving them time to be by themselves.
5.3.6 Include both speaker and hearer in the activity

In conveying that both the speaker and the hearer are cooperators, Brown and Levinson (1978), also allow some flexibility: If H wants < H has X > then S wants < H has X >, if S wants < S has X > then H wants < H has X >, by specifically including both the speaker and the hearer in the activity.

5.3.6.1 Ngewu

310. Masahlukane nento yokucinga ukuba indoda inelungelo lokwenza nantoni na kuba iyindoda
Let us stop a thought that a man has a right to do as he pleases just because he is a man. (p. 59)

Sentence (310), is a request, that includes both the speaker and the hearer. The request is that Phalisa (the speaker) and her friends should stop giving men superior status. It is expressed in the form of the verb masahlukane, which is a hortative. The speaker uses the first person plural subjectival agreement -si- (we), in order to be polite thus creating the effect that he includes himself and the hearer in making the request. The context within which this request has been made is that Phalisa is doing everything in her power to defend Nozinto. She is talking to her friends and they are on their way to Nozinto’s house.

311. Nozinto, masingahlali phantsi, masikhawuleze siye edolphini, sizame igqwetha.
Nozinto, let us not sit down, let us quickly go to town and organize a lawyer. (p. 52)

Sentence (311), is a request, that includes both the speaker and the hearer. Phalisa is speaking to Nozinto. The request is that both Nozinto and Phalisa should do something. It is expressed in the form of the verb masingahlali, which is a hortative. The speaker uses the first person plural subjectival agreement -si-, to be polite and thus creating the effect that she includes herself and the hearer in making the request. The context within which this request has been made is that Phalisa is worried that Nozinto might be detained for having played a part in the death of her husband.
5.3.6.2 Qangule

312. **Masilungise sihambe**
Let us prepare and go. (p. 28)

Sentence (312), is a request, that includes both the speaker and the hearer. Sidima is speaking to Zodwa. The request is that both Zodwa and Sidima should prepare and go. It is expressed in the form of the verb *masilungise*, which is a hortative. The speaker uses the first person plural subjectival agreement –si- (we), to be polite and thus creating the effect that he includes himself and the hearer in making the request. The context within which this request has been made is that Sidima arrives and finds Zodwa unexpectedly. Everything is upside down because Lizo has killed another lady with the same name as Zodwa.

313. **Makhe siphulaphule bantu bakowethu**
Let us listen, my fellow people. (p. 30)

Sentence (313), is a request, that includes both the speaker and the hearer in the activity. The request is that the people should listen. It is expressed in the form of a hortative verb *makhe siphulaphule*. The speaker uses the first person plural subjectival agreement –si- (we), so as to be polite and thus creating the effect that he includes himself and the hearer in making the request. The context within which this request has been made is that Phathumzi is addressing the people at the funeral of Sidima. Most people here are under the impression that Sidima died in Gauteng together with Zodwa.

314. **Masiqaphele oku MaCirha nani maBhele.**
Let us note this you Cirha’s and Bhele’s. (p. 33)

Sentence (314), is a request, that includes both the speaker and the hearer. Gobinamba is speaking to the gathering. The request is that both the Cirha’s and Bhele’s should take note of what Gobinamba is going to say. It is expressed in the form of the verb *masiqaphele*, which is a hortative. The speaker uses the first person plural subjectival agreement –si- (we), to be polite and thus creating the effect that he includes himself and the hearer in making the request. The context within which this request has been made is that Gobinamba is addressing the mourners during the funeral service of Sidima.
315. **Hayi weltu, masiyilahle leyo**  
No man, let us drop that.  
(p. 35)

Sentence (315), is a request, that includes both the speaker and the hearer. The request is that both Vathiswa and Nodabephi drop what they are taking about. It is expressed in the form of a hortative verb masiyilahle. The speaker uses the first person plural subjectival agreement –si- (we), to be polite and thus creating the effect that he includes himself and the hearer in making the request. The context within which this request has been made is that they are discussing the quarrel between the literates and illiterates in the gathering of the Bhele at Damile’s house.

316. **Masiyichithachithe imisinga**  
Let us destroy the obstacles.  
(p. 49)

Sentence (316), is a request, that includes both the speaker and the hearer. The request is that both Namhla and Lizo should destroy their obstacles. It is expressed in the form of a hortative verb masiyichithachithe. The speaker uses the first person plural subjectival agreement –si- (we), to be polite and thus creating the effect that he includes himself and the hearer in making the request. The context within which this request has been made is that there seems to be too many people who are concerned and some of them are jealous of what is happening between Lizo and Namhla.

317. **Khanisixelele igama lalo mfana**  
Just tell us the name of this gentleman.  
(p. 59)

Sentence (317), is a request, that includes both the speaker and the hearer. Sabatha is speaking to the gathering. The request is that the gathering should tell Sabatha and the others the name of the gentleman they are talking about. It is expressed in the form of the subjunctive with the auxiliary verb Khanisixelele. The speaker uses the first person plural subjectival agreement –si- (we), to be polite and thus creating the effect that he includes himself and the hearer in making the request. The context within which this request has been made is that the Bhele have gathered at Damile’s place to hear his complaint. Damile wants them to talk to his daughter who is in love with Lizo.
5.3.6.3 Jordan

318. **Major, mfondini, khawusicofel' uhadi oluya khesikhwaze**

   Major, man, kindly play a tune on the piano for us so that we can sing.

   (p. 110)

Sentence (318), is a request, that includes both the speaker and the hearer. The request is that Zwelinzima should play them a tune on the piano. It is expressed in the form of a subjunctive with the deficient verb *khawusicofele*. The speaker uses the first person plural subjectival agreement –*si*- (we), to be polite and thus creating the effect that he includes himself and the hearer in making the request. The context within which this request has been made is that they are at school and have nothing to do.

319. **Khawukhuphe kaloku sibone**

   Take them out so that we see.

   (p. 79)

Sentence (319), is a request, that includes both the speaker and the hearer. The request is that Mthunzini should expose the letters. It is expressed in the form of the subjunctive with the verb *sibone*. The speaker uses the first person plural subjectival agreement –*si*- (we), to be polite and thus creating the effect that he includes himself and the hearer in making the request. The context within which this request has been made is that Mthunzini has brought to Dingindawo the letters, which he has stolen from Mphuthumi. These letters contain the confidential information about the kingdom of the Mpondomise.

5.3.7 Exaggerate

In claiming common ground between the speaker and the hearer, Brown and Levinson (1978) also convey that the action is admirable, interesting by specifically exaggerating interest, approval or sympathy with the hearer.

Qangule

320. **[Kufuneka uphande\textsuperscript{1}] [kude kuvele\textsuperscript{2} nobungekaziphandi]**

   You must investigate so much that even the ones you didn’t investigate become exposed.

   (p. 41)
In sentence (320), clause (1) is a request and clause (2) contains an exaggeration of interest. The request is that Silumko should investigate in such a way that even the ones he didn't investigate should come by themselves. The context within which this request has been made is that both Silumko and Mahimakhwe are discussing ways in which they can get from Lizo a detail of what took place when Zodwa and Sidima were killed.

5.3.8 Optimism

In conveying that both the speaker and the hearer are cooperators, Brown and Levinson (1978) also allow some reflexivity: If H wants \( h \text{ has } X \) then S wants \( H \text{ has } X \), if S wants \( S \text{ has } X \) then H wants \( H \text{ has } X \), by specifically being optimistic.

Qangule

321. **Sewusiza nalowo ukudlulayo**

Bring along the one who overtakes you. (p. 4)

In sentence (321), there is both optimism and a request. The request is that Namhla should bring along the one who is a threat. The deficient verb se has been used to emphasize the optimism that she will bring the one. The context within which this request has been made is that Lizo is doing everything in his power to show that he loves Namhla.

5.3.9 Summary

It has been found that the concept of "face" is central to the theory of politeness. Thomas (1995) says within politeness theory "face" is understood as every individual's feeling of self-worth or self image; this image can be damaged, maintained or enhanced through interaction with others. Face has two aspects, namely: "positive" and "negative".

According to Brown and Levinson, positive politeness is directed to the addressee's positive face, his perennial desire that his wants should be thought of as desirable. Redress consists in partially satisfying that desire by communicating that one's own wants are in some respects similar to the addressee's wants. Positive politeness is not necessarily redressive of the particular face want infringed by the face-threatening act, the
sphere of redress is widened to the appreciation of the alter's wants in general or to the expression of similarity between ego's and alter's wants.

Brown and Levinson list fifteen positive politeness strategies. In the case of the four Xhosa books, which were analyzed, only eight strategies for positive politeness were found.

It has also been found that the total number of requests with positive politeness in the four Xhosa books is 295.

The strategies can be grouped into two sub-groups depending on the percentages as shown in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A: MOST REGULAR</th>
<th>B: NEGLIGIBLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seek agreement</td>
<td>Intensify interest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50.2%</td>
<td>1.02%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Give (or ask for) reasons</td>
<td>Be optimistic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.8%</td>
<td>0.34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Address forms</td>
<td>Exaggerate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.2%</td>
<td>0.34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presupposition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Include both S and H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Looking at the above table, it is clear that the most frequent categories of positive politeness are the ones in block A, namely: Seek agreement (50.2%); Give (or ask for) reasons (29.8%); Address forms (9.2%); Presupposition (5.8%) and Include both S and H in the activity (3.4%). The other categories of positive politeness, i.e. those in block B are negligible because they consists of one or less than one percent. These are Intensify interest (10.2%); be optimistic (0.34%) and Exaggerate (0.34%).

Seek agreement

The purpose of this strategy is to seek agreement between a speaker and a hearer by establishing some common ground between them. In the treatment of this strategy, two clauses have each time been identified: the one clause is an agreement seeking clause and the other clause is the request. The agreement seeking clause has been expressed in the following way in Xhosa:
1. Statements with verbs in a matrix clause such as cela (ask); cebisa (advise); qonda (understand); xelela (tell); yaleza (inform); yalela (inform); thumela (send); cenga (plead); khupha (take out); nyula (elect); zama (try); buza (ask); nqwenela (wish); thi (say); cinga (think):

Ayesithi mhla ahluleleneyo acele yena\(^1\) noMphuthumi [ukuba\(^2\) baphathe umdlalo wabo.]
When they had divided themselves, they used to ask him and Mphuthumi to handle their game.

(Jordan, 1940:29)

In the above sentence, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) is the request. This sentence also has the declarative clause with the verb cela (ask) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. the request is that Zwelinzima and Mphuthumi should be in charge of the boy's game.

2. General statement e.g.

Mhlawumbi siya kubona [sesihambe\(^1\) kakhulu][ukuba\(^2\) asihambi ngeyona ndlela iyiyo.]
Maybe we will notice when we have traveled too far if we don't go the right way.

(Jordan, 1940:164)

In the above sentence, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request, i.e. the request is that Zwelinzima requests Thembeka to follow the right way.

3. Locative phrase within a matrix clause, e.g.

Ngokufutshane weva weva iBhishophu [wangqinisisa\(^1\) emfaneni [Hayi wavuma\(^2\) uZwelinzima]]
In short, the bishop listened and listened and he made certain to the young man, Zwelinzima agreed.

In the above sentence, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) is a request. This sentence also has a statement with the locative emfaneni (to the young man) as an
expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. the request is that the Bishop should get clarity.

4. Prepositional phrase in matrix clause, e.g.

Uz'uthi ke xa sewuve ne [nale mpi ¹ yembola.][uyibonise ² le mposiso iyenzileyo yokuthuka amaMfengu, abizwe amaMfengu kucelwe uxolo]
You must, when you are on good terms with the illiterates, show them the mistakes they've made by swearing at the Fingoes, the Fingoes should be called and an apology should be expressed to them.

(Jordan, 1940:195)

In the above sentence, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) is a request, i.e. that is Zwelinzima should call the Mpondomise and show them the mistakes they have made.

5. Passive verb e.g.:

Kodwa inkosi [yacelwa¹ [ukuba² ibekho kwiqumrhu elilawulayo]
But the king was asked to be in the executive.

(Jordan, 1940:145)

In the above sentence, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) is a request. This sentence also has a passive verb yacelwa (was asked) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that the king should be in the executive of the agricultural union.

6. Necessity e.g.:

Kodwa yena [makancede ¹ ahlale eMjika][azame ² ukonwaba ngako konke anakho kude kuphele yonke le nto]
But she must please remain at Mjika and try to be happy by all means until this whole thing goes away.

(Jordan, 1940:182)
In the above sentence, clause (1) is a request and clause (2) contains an agreement clause. The request is that Thembeka should stay at Mjika.

7. Possibility e.g.:

\[
\text{[Ndingavuya}^1\text{][ukuba uza}^2\text{ kutya nathi aph'ekhaya]}
\]

I will be happy if you are going to have a meal with use here at home.

(Jordan, 1940:28)

In the above sentence, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. This sentence also has a predicate \text{ndingavuya} (I can be happy) as an expression for seeking agreement in formulating the request, i.e. that Zwelinzima should join Father Williams for the meal.

8. Question e.g.:

\[
\text{Andazi ke [nokuba}^1\text{ undivile na [kodwa uncede}^2\text{ ungandenzi]}
\]

I don't know whether you've heard me, but you must please not expose me.

(Ngewu, 1997:7)

In the above sentence, clause (1) is an agreement clause and clause (2) contains a request. The request is that the police should not expose Nconyiwe as a source of information.

Give or ask for reasons

The purpose of this strategy is to give or ask for reasons between the speaker and the hearer. In the treatment of this strategy, two clauses have been identified: the one clause is the one that gives or asks for reasons and the other clause is a request. The give or ask for reasons clause has been expressed in the following way in Xhosa:
1. The reason appears in a statement, e.g.:

[Waphule umthetho\textsuperscript{1}][ngoko ke uza kohlwayelwa\textsuperscript{2} ukuvuka uyokuhlamba, lingekafiki ixesha loko]
You have broken the rule, therefore you are going to be punished for waking up and washing before time.

(Saule, 1995:15)

In the above sentence, clause (1) contains a statement within which a reason is implied and clause (2) contains a request. The request is that Mlandeli should wash when the right time comes because it is an offense to do so before time.

2. The reason appears after kuba e.g.:

Umanyano lwaggiba ekubeni kwibhunga elilandelayo [uRhulumente anqandwe angawunyanzelisi\textsuperscript{1} loo mthetho [kuba\textsuperscript{2} akukavisiswana ngawo]
The union decided that in the next meeting of the council the government should be prevented from enforcing that law because an agreement had not been reached concerning it.

(Jordan, 1940:148)

In the above sentence, clause (1) is a request and clause (2) has a statement after kuba which refers to the reason for the request. The request is that the government should not enforce a certain law because no agreement has been reached about it.

3. The reason appears in NP, e.g.:

Wafika ekhaya kukho [incwadi evela kwaNokholeji\textsuperscript{1}] [imbizela\textsuperscript{2} kwintlanganiso yeGoverning Council]
When he arrived at home he found a letter from Fort Hare University, which was inviting him to the meeting of the Governing Council.

(Jordan, 1940:163)
In the above sentence, NP (1) contains the reason for the request and clause (2) is a request. The request is that Zwelinzima should attend a meeting at Fort Hare University because he has been invited.

4. The reason appears after into, e.g.:

[Yiyo ke le nto\textsuperscript{1} mna ndithi] [okona kuqina kwethu\textsuperscript{2} makube kweli cala laseMthatha]
That is why I am saying we must be strong on the Umtata side.  
(Jordan, 1940:93)

In the above sentence, the reason for the request appears as a complement of the noun into and clause (2) is a request. The request is that they should be on the Umtata side, because this is where they must be stronger.

5. The reason is a future event, e.g.:

[Tyhini mfazindini! Qhuba\textsuperscript{1} kakuhle] [uza kusenzakalis\textsuperscript{2}a]
Lady! Drive carefully, you are going to hurt us.  
(Ngewu, 1997:3)

In the above sentence, clause (1) is a request and clause (2) refers to the reason for the request, which will be a future event. The request is that Zodidi should drive carefully because she is gong to hurt the others.

6. The reason is expressed in an infinitive clause after nga, e.g.:

Uyise walo mfana wayemcele [ngokumthemb\textsuperscript{1a}] [ukuba\textsuperscript{2} amkhulisele umntwana wakhe]
A father of this gentleman trusted him when he asked him to look well after his child.  
(Jordan, 1940:46)

In the above sentence, clause (2) is a request and clause (1) contains a reason for the request within the infinitive clause nga. The request is that Gcinizibele should look well after Zwelinzima because he is trusted by Zwelinzima’s father.
7. The reason is expressed with ni, e.g.:

[Khaningen’endlwini kaloku Jola] [Yini ukuba nisale nisima phandle?]
Come inside the house, Jola. Why do you have to wait outside?

(Jordan, 1940:176)

In the above sentence, clause (2) contains a reason for the request, which appears after ni and clause (1) is a request. The request is that Zwelinzima should come inside because there is not reason for him to wait outside.

8. The reason is expressed after ngenxa, e.g.:

[Singaqabuki sesibulalisa umntwana wabantu] [ngenxa yomntu omnye oneengxaki zakhe]
We should not end up assisting in the death of this child because of one person who has his own problems.

(Saule, 1995:73)

In the above sentence, clause (1) is a request and clause (2) contains the reason for the request, which appears after ngenxa. The request is that they should not end up assisting in the death of Sindile because of a certain person who has his own problems.

9. The reason is expressed in a conditional clause, e.g.:

[Xa uZamile emfulathele umfazi wakhe] [mvumeleni uNozinto aye apho anokufumana khona uhoyo]
If Zamile is ignoring his wife, allow Nozinto to go where she will be taken care of.

(Ngewu, 1997:5)

In the above sentence, clause (1) is a reason for the request in a conditional clause after xa and clause (2) contains a request. The request is that Nozinto should be allowed to go to where she will find happiness because her husband is ignoring her.
Presupposition

The purpose of this strategy is to claim common ground between the speaker and the hearer by establishing presupposition between them. In the treatment of this strategy, two clauses have each time been identified: The one clause is a statement clause and the other clause is a request. The presupposition clause has been expressed in the following way in Xhosa:

Statement, e.g.:

\[UGcinizibele wancokola kwada^1 kwahlwa,] ebuza^2 iindaba zelizwe awalishiya esengumntwana\]

Gcinizibele talked until late, asking news about the country he left as a child.

(Jordan, 1940:92)

In the above sentence, clause (1) contains a statement within which a presupposition is implied and clause (2) is a request. The request is that Gcinizibele wants to know about the country he left as a child.

Address form

The purpose of this strategy is to claim common ground between the speaker and the hearer by using some specific forms of address. In the treatment of this strategy, two clauses have each time been identified: the one clause contains an address form and the other clause is a request. The address forms are the following:

1. Terms for kinship, e.g.:


But Zamile’s father you must ask this child about these bottles of alcohol that are here.

(Ngewu, 1997:51)
In the above sentence, (1) is an address form and clause (2) is a request. The request is that Lolwana should ask Nozinto about the bottles of alcohol that they have found.

2. Terms for respect, e.g.:

[Ungaxhali\textsuperscript{1}][Tshawe\textsuperscript{2}]

Don't worry, Tshawe.

(Qangule, 1974:41)

In the above sentence, clause (1) is a request and (2) is an address form. The request is that Tshawe should not worry. MaLinakhwe uses a clan name when addressing her husband because she respects him.

3. Terms between friends, e.g.:

[Khawutsho\textsuperscript{1}, mfondini [yintoni? Kuhleni?]\textsuperscript{2}]

Tell, man, hat is it? What happened?

(Jordan, 1940:34)

In the above sentence, clause (1) contains an address form and clause (2) is a request. The request is that Mthunzini should go to the white doctors. Mphuthumi use form of address because they are colleagues and also they are of equal status and age.

Intensify interest

The purpose of this strategy is to claim common ground between the speaker and the hearer by intensifying interest. In the treatment of this strategy two clauses have each time been identified: The one clause is the one that intensifies interest and the other one is a request. The clause that intensifies interest has been expressed in the following ways in Xhosa:

1. Tag questions, e.g.:

Kunjalo nje Macebo [ungaze uphinde\textsuperscript{1} uzokundijikeleza ngochuku mna]. [uyandiva?\textsuperscript{2}]
Macebo, you must never again come and talk about petty things with me, do you hear me?

(Saule, 1995:107)

In the above sentence, clause (1) denotes a request and clause (2) intensifies interest. The request is that Macebo should never discuss some petty things with Mbuyiselo again.

2. Interjection, e.g.:

[Hayi nyhani', [masiye kuzonel'ia kuqala]
No really, let us first go and satisfy ourselves.

(Ngewu, 1997:10)

In the above sentence, the expression in clause (1) intensifies interest and clause (2) denotes a request. The request expressed by the speaker is that they should go and satisfy themselves.

3. With khangel'apha, e.g.:

Khangel'apha Mbuyiselo, [misa ingqondo mfondini.]
Look here, Mbuyiselo, use your brains man.

(Saule, 1995:56)

In the above sentence, clause (1) intensifies interest and clause (2) denotes a request. The request is that Mbuyiselo should use his brains.

Include both speaker and hearer

The purpose of this strategy is to include both the speaker and hearer in the activity by ensuring that they are cooperators. In the treatment of this strategy, one clause has each time been identified. This clause is a request, as in the following sentence:

Masiqaphle oku maCirha nani maBhele
Let us note this, you Cirha's and Bhele's.

(Qangule, 1995:33)
The above sentence is a request, which includes both the speaker and the hearer. The request is that both the Cirha’s and Bhele’s should take note of what Gobinamba is going to say.

**Exaggerate**

The purpose of this strategy is to claim a common ground between the speaker and the hearer by exaggerating interest. In the treatment of this strategy two clauses have each time been identified. The first clause is a request and the second one is the clause that exaggerates interest, as in the following example:

\[
\text{[Kufuneka}^1 \text{ uphande] [kude kuvelo}^2 \text{ nobungekaziphandi]}
\]

You must investigate in such a way that even the ones you didn’t investigate become exposed.

(Qangule, 1974:41)

In the above sentence, clause (1) is a request and clause (2) is an exaggeration of interest. The request is that Silumko should investigate in such a way that even the ones he didn’t investigate should come to light by themselves.

**Optimism**

The purpose of this strategy is to show that both the speaker and the hearer are cooperators by being optimistic. In the treatment of this strategy one clause has been identified, as in the following example:

\[
\text{Sewusiza nalowo ukudlulayo}
\]

Bring along the one who overtakes you.

(Qangule, 1974:4)

In the above sentence, there is both optimism and a request. The request is that Namhla should bring along the one who is a threat.
It has been found that only five strategies are frequently used in Xhosa and these are:

- Seek agreement 50.2%
- Give (or ask for) reasons 29.8%
- Address forms 9.2%
- Presupposition 5.8%
- Include speaker and hearer 3.4%

The explanation for the high frequency of these strategies above is to be found within positive politeness. Positive politeness forms emphasize closeness between speaker and hearer and it can be seen as a solidarity strategy. A person's positive face is the need to be accepted or liked by other people, to be treated as a member of the same group and to show that others share her wants. Thus, a face saving act, which is concerned with the person's positive face, will show solidarity and emphasize that they want the same thing and that they have a common goal.

The strategy with the highest frequency in Xhosa is the one where agreement is sought between a speaker and a hearer. It is clear that such an agreement will build solidarity between the speaker and the hearer and the hearer will then be positively inclined to the implied threat in the request. If they can reach some form of agreement before a request is made, it is a sure sign that the request must be treated fairly.

The strategy in which reasons were asked or given has the second highest frequency of the requests with positive politeness. A request is a face-threatening act and thus in Xhosa one of the ways to soften this threat is by giving a reason at the same time as the request is made. This strategy will immediately have the consequence that the hearer will feel the speaker positively regards him, i.e. there has been established some solidarity between them because a reason has been given for the request. Such a reason is usually regarded as effective to avert the threat in the request.

The strategy with the third highest frequency of recurrence in Xhosa is related to in-group identity markers with certain specific address forms. The more familiar address forms such as wethu, ntanga, mfondini, mhlobo immediately create an environment of familiarity between speaker and hearer which then allow a face-threatening act such as a request to be received in a more favourable light.
The strategy with the fourth highest frequency of recurrence is presupposition, which is something the speaker assumes to be the case prior to making a request. In this way a possible threat may be averted if a request follows.

The last strategy with some frequency in Xhosa is the use of the inclusion of the speaker and hearer in the request, usually by means of the agreement morphemes of the first person plural with, *inter alia*, *si*.

The other strategies, like: Intensify interest (1.02%); Be optimistic (0.34%) and Exaggerate (0.34%) have such a low frequency that no explanation can be gleaned from them.
CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSION

The purpose of this chapter is to summarize the findings of the research conducted in the previous chapters. The study concentrated on the politeness theory and requests in Xhosa.

With regard to Speech Acts

A first attempt has been to deal with the speech acts in Xhosa. Austin (1960:52) refers to the speech act as an utterance and the total situation in which the utterance is issued. In contrast Yule (1966) defines a speech act as an action that is performed by producing an utterance. He divides this action into three acts, which are locution, illocution and perlocution.

The form which is taken by Searle's (1969) hypothesis is that speaking a language is performing speech acts, acts such as making statements, giving comments, asking questions, making promises and so on, and more abstractly, acts such as referring and predicating. His reason for concentrating on the study of speech acts is that not all linguistic communication involves linguistic acts.

The speech acts performed in the utterance of a sentence are in general functions of the meaning of a sentence. The meaning of a sentence does not in all cases uniquely determine what speech act is performed in a given utterance of that sentence, for a speaker may mean more than what he actually says. But it is always in principle possible for him to say exactly what he means. Therefore, it is always in principle possible for every speech act one performs or could perform to be uniquely determined by a given sentence. Given the assumptions that the speaker is speaking literally and that the context is appropriate for these reasons, a study of the meaning of sentences is not in principle district from the study of speech acts. The study of the meanings of sentences and the study of speech acts are not two independent studies, but one study from two different points of view. This is so because every meaningful sentence in virtue of its meaning can be used to perform a speech act and every possible speech act can in principle be given an exact formulation in a sentence or sentences.
Searle (1969) also discusses the principle of expressibility which states that whatever can be meant can be said. It is possible to misconstrue this principle in ways which would render it false. Often we may mean more than what we actually say. The hypothesis of Searle’s work is that speaking a language is engaging in a rule-governed form of behaviour.

Searle uses reference as a speech act and attempts to clarify partially the notion of referring. The utterance of a referring expression characteristically serves to pick out or identify a particular object apart from other objects. Concerning propositions, Searle (1969) says that whenever two illocutionary acts contain that same reference and predication provided that the meaning of the referring expression is the same, the same proposition is expressed. He also says that illocutionary acts are characteristically performed in the utterance of sounds or the making of marks.

Searle says in our analysis of illocutionary acts, we must capture both the intentional and the conventional aspects and especially the relationship between them. In his presentations of the conditions, he considers the case of a sincere promise. His reason for doing so is that it is fairly formal and well formulated. It also has more than local interest and many of the lessons to be learned from it are of general application.

In order to give an analysis of the illocutionary act of promising, Searle (1969) asks what conditions are necessary and sufficient for the act of promising to have been successfully and non-defectively performed in the utterance of a given sentence. He then answers this question by stating these conditions as a set of propositions such that the conjunction of the members of the set entails the proposition that a speaker made a successful and non-defectively performed act in the utterance of a given sentence.

Searle (1975) develops a reasoned classification of illocutionary acts into certain basic categories. This takes into account Austin’s classification of illocutionary acts into his five basic categories of verdictive, expositive, exercitive, behabitive and commissive.

Searle then makes a distinction between illocutionary verbs and illocutionary acts. Illocutions are part of language as opposed to particular languages. Illocutionary verbs are always part of a particular language. Differences in illocutionary verbs are a good guide,
but by no means a sure guide, to differences in illocutionary acts. Searle (1975) has found
twelve significant dimensions of variation in which illocutionary acts differ.

Austin (1962) advances his five categories more as a basis for discussion than as a set of
established results. The first thing to notice about these results is that they are not
classifications of illocutionary acts, but of English illocutionary verbs. Austin seems to
assume that a classification of different verbs is a classification of kinds of illocutionary
acts, that any two non-synonymous verbs must mark illocutionary acts. There are six
related difficulties with Austin's taxonomy.

**With regard to requests**

A request is an illocutionary act whereby a speaker conveys to a hearer that he/she wants
the requestee to perform an act, which is for the benefit of the speaker. The act may be a
request for non-verbal goods and services, i.e. a request for an object, an action of some
kind of service, etc, or it can be a request for verbal goods and services, i.e. a request for
information.

When the requester wants somebody to do him/her a favour, this is generally at the cost of
the requestee. The requester imposes on the requestee in some way when demanding
goods or services.

As an impositive act, the request is per definition a face-threatening act. The speaker who
makes a request attempts to exercise power or direct control over the intentional
behaviour of the hearer and, in doing so, threatens the requestee's negative face by
indicating that he/she does not intend to refrain from impeding the requestee's freedom of
action.

In a request, the act to be performed is solely in the interest of the speaker and, normally,
at the cost of the hearer. The features "benefit to speaker", "cost to hearer" are, in
principle, decisive when distinguishing requests from other acts in which the speaker tries
to exert his/her influence over the hearer. In contrast, a suggestion is defined as being
beneficial to both speaker and hearer, and if the act to be performed is exclusively for the
benefit of the hearer, it is an instance of giving advice or instruction, or a warning.
The essential condition that characterizes a request in a communication situation is that
the utterance addressed by the speaker or the hearer "counts as an attempt to get H to do
A" (Searle, 1969:66). There are several ways in which a locution can be assigned the
illocutionary force of a request. These are:

(a) **Mood**

The theory of speech acts is based on the assumption that an utterance is composed of a
proposition and a modality. Mood is not the only way of deriving the illocutionary force of
an utterance. Mood and speech act modality are to some extent independent.

(b) **Performative verbs**

The speaker can convey a request simply by using a performative verb, which explicitly
signals the illocutionary force.

(c) **Felicity conditions**

According to Searle (1969), the force of an utterance derives from a set of necessary and
sufficient conditions relating to the particular act. These conditions relate, on the one
hand, to the beliefs and attitudes of speaker and hearer and, on the other, to their mutual
understanding of the use of linguistic devices for communication. Searle points to the
relative status of speaker and hearer as being a decisive condition for the felicitous
performance of a request. Lack of authority is likely to invalidate orders, and if the speaker
asked the hearer to perform an act, which is clearly his/her own responsibility, the speech
act is likely to be defective.

(d) **Requests with no explicit requestive illocutionary force**

There are utterances which meet the essential condition of requests, i.e. they count as "an
attempt on the part of S to get H to do A" (Searle, 1969:66), but which nevertheless omit
mention of the desired act and avoid mentioning the hearer as the intended agent.
Request strategies

In the following, four major categories or request strategies, involving eight sub-strategies are outlined and exemplified. The categories build on previous research, in particular, on the theories of Austin (1962) and Searle (1969; 1976) as reformulated by Brown and Levinson (1978; 1987), House-Kasper (1981) and Blum-Kulka-Olshtain (1984), substantiated by their findings in that study.

Indirect requests - Category 1

Hints - Strategy 1

A speaker who does not want to state his/her impositive intent explicitly has resort to hinting strategies. By making a statement, for example describing an undesired state of affairs, or by asking a question, the requester can imply to his/her listener what he/she wants done. The requester can leave out the desired action altogether (mild hint), or his/her wish can be partially mentioned (strong hint).

Conventionally indirect requests

Hearer oriented conditions - Category II

Requests that are "hearer-oriented" convey that the hearer is in a position of control to decide whether or not to comply with the request. For this reason, "hearer-oriented" requests are generally more polite than requests formulated on "speaker-based" conditions.

By questioning one of these pre-conditions, the requester politely conveys that he/she does not take compliance for granted and simultaneously lowers the risk of losing face him/herself.

Speaker-based conditions - Categories III

Only if a speaker wishes an act to be performed, does the utterance count as a sincere request. A requester can choose to focus on speaker-based conditions, rather than querying hearer-oriented conditions, thereby making his/her own desires the focal point of
the interaction. By placing the speaker's interests above the hearer's, the request becomes more direct in its demand. The speaker's statement of his/her intent may be expressed politely as a wish or more bluntly as a demand.

**Direct requests - Category IV**

A requester who wants to make explicit the illocutionary point of his utterance may use a performative statement, thereby issuing an order. If the requester chooses a model verb expressing obligation or necessity, the utterance is also an order, although presented in a weaker form.

Chapter 3 dealt with an overview of politeness theory. The research established that Brown and Levinson (1978) portray people as rational agents who attempt to maintain face. They separate face into two wants: the desire to have one's personality and possessions approved by significant others (positive face), and the desire to maintain autonomy and be unimpeded by others (negative face).

Brown and Levinson also make three key assumptions about the ways in which actions threaten face. First, many actions are intrinsic "face-threatening acts" (FTAs); that is, "by their very nature they run contrary to the face wants of the addressee and the speaker" (Brown and Levinson, 1978:70). A second assumption of politeness theory is that the classes of speech acts threaten only one type of face at a time. Brown and Levinson (1978:70) "make a distinction between acts that threaten negative face and those that threaten positive face". A third assumption of politeness theory is that face-threats arise from individual speech acts, and can be understood without analyzing larger discourse units.

Face is something that is emotionally invested. It can be lost, maintained or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction. In general, people cooperate in maintaining face in interaction, such cooperation being based on the mutual vulnerability of face. That is, everyone's face depends on everyone else's being maintained, and since people can be expected to defend their faces if threatened, and in defending their own to threaten other's faces, it is in general in every participant's best interest to maintain each other's face.
It has also been found that there are five strategies for performing a face-threatening act. These are: bald on record; positive politeness; negative politeness; off-record and non-performance of the face-threatening act.

Doing an act baldly, without redress, involves doing it in the most direct, clear, unambiguous and concise way possible. Normally a face-threatening act will be done in this way if the speaker does not fear retribution from the addressee, for example in circumstances where (a) both the speaker and the hearer tacitly agree that the relevance of the face demands may be suspended in the interests of urgency or efficiency; (b) where the danger to the hearer’s face is very small, as in offers, requests or suggestions that are clearly in the hearer’s interest and do not require great sacrifices; and (c) where the speaker is vastly superior in power to the hearer, or can enlist audience support to destroy the hearer’s face without losing his own.

Positive politeness is oriented toward the positive face of the hearer, the positive self-image that he claims for himself. Positive politeness is approach-based; it "anoints" the face of the addressee by indicating that in some respects, the speaker wants the hearer’s wants. The potential face-threat of an act is minimized in this case by the assurance that in general the speaker shares at least some of the hearer’s wants.

Negative politeness, on the other hand, is oriented mainly toward partially satisfying the hearer’s negative face, his basic want to maintain claims to territory and of self-determination. Negative politeness, thus, is essentially avoidance-based, and realizations of negative politeness strategies consist in assurances that the speaker recognizes and respects the addressee’s negative face wants and will not interfere with the addressee’s freedom of action. Hence, negative politeness is characterized by self-effacement, formality and restraint, with attention to very restricted aspects of the hearer’s self-image, centering on his want to be unimpeded.

When an actor goes off-record in doing an action, there is more than one unambiguously attributable intention so that the actor cannot be held to have committed himself to one particular intent. Linguistic realizations of off-record strategies include metaphor and irony, rhetorical questions, understatement, tautologies, all kinds of hints as to what a speaker wants or means to communicate, without doing so directly, so that the meaning is to some degree negotiable.
The final strategy of Brown and Levinson, i.e. "Do not perform a face-threatening act" appears to be self-explanatory. There are times when something is potentially so face-threatening that you do not say it.

Although Brown and Levinson offer one account of how messages become face-threatening, several aspects of this account are problematic. An issue has been taken with their assumption that:

(a) Speech acts threaten only one type of face,
(b) face threats can be understood by analyzing individual acts in isolation, and
(c) all face-threats are intrinsic.

It has been found that directives simultaneously can threaten both face wants. Because of this, two issues will force us to move beyond Brown and Levinson's (1978) analysis. First, how is the relationship between directives and positive face best characterized? Unlike the target's desire for autonomy, the constitutive rules underlying directives do not seem to create intrinsic threats to the desire for approval. Rather than being intrinsic face-threatening acts for positive face, directives seem to have the potential to threaten approval under specific circumstances.

A second issue concerns the "range" of positive face threats, which might emerge from directives. This second issue relates to differences in the dimensionality of the two face wants. Negative face is a unidimensional concept since it pertains to "very restricted aspects of a hearer's self-image, centering on his want to be unimpeded" (Brown and Levinson, 1978:70). In contrast, positive face is a multidimensional concept, since it pertains to a range of personality characteristics, actions, and possessions, which an individual hopes significant others will appreciate.

The aforementioned problems with politeness theory stem from how it applies speech act theory to classify face-threatening acts. Although Brown and Levinson (1987; Levinson, 1983) now claim that the speech act theory framework may need to be abandoned, it has been found that this provides a partial answer to the question of when do actions threaten face.
Symbolic interactionists emphasize that situations are not predefined, rather each participant must make sense of "what is going on". Compliance-gaining situations, for example, may contain ambiguity about whether a target should feel obligated to perform a requested action. Given such ambiguity, each participant projects a "definition of the situation", which signals his/her current expectations about appropriate roles, goals and actions.

Requests to perform a variety of obligated actions, can threaten a target's positive face. People are expected to be attentive to others' needs, thus, request for assistance may be heard as criticisms when the target should have foreseen a need for action. People are also expected to fulfill their formal commitments, thus appeal for compliance with unfulfilled obligations such as broken promises or group regulations should threaten the target's positive face.

Because Brown and Levinson (1978) fail to distinguish potential from intrinsic face-threats, politeness theory has little to say about the range of positive face-threats, which potentially could arise from a directive. Part of what makes particular face-threats "likely" or "relevant" are the specific roles that people enact during an interaction. Teachers, negotiators and lovers desire to be seen as possessing different qualities and hence may lose face for different reasons.

Brown and Levinson recognize ten strategies for negative politeness which are: be conventionally indirect; question or hedge; be pessimistic; minimize the imposition Rx; give deference; apologize; impersonalized S and H; state the face-threatening act as a general rule; nominalize; go on record as incurring a debt, or as indebting H.

These strategies are not clear in Xhosa. A different approach to negative politeness has been adopted, i.e. a classification of the types of requests which need negative politeness.

A total number of 251 of requests with negative politeness were found in the four books which have been analyzed.

According to the type of request with negative politeness, twelve subcategories were found, i.e.: compliance; action; information; meeting; patience; permission; assistance; attention; silence; promise; apology; confirmation.
These various types of requests have a variable distribution. Three types of categories were recognized of the following sorts: most frequent; not very regular and negligible.

The three types of requests with the highest frequency can be explained in this way in Xhosa: compliance is the obedience to a request or a command. Action is the process of doing things with the intention of gaining a desired result. Information is something which gives knowledge in the form of facts or news.

These three categories demand non-threatening strategies: compliance demands obedience; action demands doing things with the desired result; and information demands knowledge from a person. These are thus face-threatening acts, which demand respect for the hearer's autonomy. Such requests may then seriously threaten the hearer's negative face. If no politeness strategy is attempted, these requests will be viewed as highly threatening acts. That is why negative politeness has been used frequently with these three types of requests.

In Xhosa the 12 types of requests as indicated above need several pragmatic functions by means of which negative politeness may be found to avert a face-threatening act, i.e. the ten negative politeness of Brown and Levinson do not apply to Xhosa because they have been developed for a Western language. It has been found that in the place of these strategies negative politeness may be expressed in Xhosa not only through certain subcategories as above, but also through certain pragmatic functions by means of which negative politeness may be found to avert a face-threatening act.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRAGMATIC FUNCTION</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Statement</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Question</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Necessity</td>
<td>13.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Request</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Condition</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Possibility</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Exception</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Permission</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Contract</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Ability</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Exclamation</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is clear from this table that the appearance of a statement is dominant in these pragmatic functions, i.e. it accounts for 49% of the functions which have been used to avert a face-threatening act. A statement refers simply to something that is said, expressed or put into words. Such a written or spoken declaration has been extensively applied in negative politeness because this sort of declaration does not threaten the hearer: it is neutral in the sense that it leaves an option open to the hearer to respond to the request.

The other pragmatic functions do not have a high frequency. Only questions (15%) and necessity (13.2%) show any percentage, which is worth mentioning. In both these cases the expressions in questions and those with necessity are of the most polite ones in Xhosa, as has been indicated in the text above.

The requests with negative politeness may be realized linguistically by a very wide array of possibilities:

1. **Inflection**
   1.1 Tense: Present, Future, Perfect, A-past tense, compound tense.
   1.2 Negation of various moods and tenses
   1.3 Mood: Indicative, Situative, Subjunctive, Hortative, Potential, Imperative.

2. **Verb types**
   2.1 Copulative
   2.2 Deficient verbs
   2.3 Ideophones

3. **Clause types**
   3.1 Matrix clauses
   3.2 Subordinate clause with: subjunctive, situative, infinitive, complementizer ukuba
   3.3 Coordination

4. **Passive sentences**

5. **Idioms**
Brown and Levinson (1978) recognize 15 strategies for positive politeness: notice; attend to H; exaggerate; intensify interest to H; address forms; seek agreement; avoid disagreement; presupposition; joke; assert or presuppose S's knowledge of and concern for H's wants; offer; promise; be optimistic; include both S and H in the activity; five (or ask for) reasons; assume or assert reciprocity; give gifts.

Within the four books which were analyzed with regard to positive politeness, the following strategies from Brown and Levinson's list above have been found: exaggerate; intensify interest to the hearer; address forms; seek agreement; presupposition; for optimistic; include both the speaker and the hearer in the activity; give (or ask for) reasons.

The total number of requests with positive politeness in the four books is 295. These requests have been divided into subcategories according to the strategies for positive politeness as above. The table below will indicate the strategies for positive politeness as well as the percentage of each strategy from the total number of requests:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STRATEGIES FOR POSITIVE POLITENESS</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Seek agreement</td>
<td>50.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Give or ask for reasons</td>
<td>29.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Address forms</td>
<td>9.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Presupposition</td>
<td>5.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Include both S and H</td>
<td>3.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Intensify interest</td>
<td>1.02%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Be optimistic</td>
<td>0.34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Exaggerate</td>
<td>0.34%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These strategies appear in the following ways in Xhosa:

**Seek agreement**

The purpose of this strategy is to seek agreement between a speaker and a hearer by establishing some common ground between them. In the treatment of this strategy, two clauses have each time identified: the one clause is the agreement seeking and the other clause is a request. This agreement seeking clause has been expressed in a number of ways in Xhosa:
(a) Statements with verbs in a matrix clause.
(b) General statements.
(c) Locative phrase within a matrix clause.
(d) Prepositional phrase in a matrix clause.
(e) Passive verb.
(f) Necessity.
(g) Possibility
(h) Question

Give or ask for reasons

The purpose of this strategy is to give or ask for reasons between the speaker and the hearer. In the treatment of this strategy, two clauses have each time been identified: the one clause is the one that gives or asks for reasons and the other clause is a request. The give or ask for reasons clause has been expressed in the following ways in Xhosa:

(a) The reason appears in a statement.
(b) The reason appears after kuba.
(c) The reason appears after NP.
(d) The reason appears after into.
(e) The reason is a future event.
(f) The reason is expressed in an infinitive clause after nga.
(g) The reason is expressed with ni.
(h) The reason is expressed after ngenxa.
(i) The reason is expressed in a conditional clause.

Presupposition

The purpose of this strategy is to claim common ground between the speaker and the hearer by establishing presupposition between them. In the treatment of this strategy, two clauses have each time been identified: the one clause is a statement clause and the other clause is a request.
Address form

The purpose of this strategy is to claim common ground between the speaker and the hearer by using some specific forms of address. In the treatment of this strategy, two clauses have each time been identified: the one clause contains an address form and the other clause is a request. The address forms are the following:

(a) Terms of kinship.
(b) Terms for respect.
(c) Terms between friends.

Intensify interest

The purpose of this strategy is to claim common ground between the speaker and the hearer by intensifying interest. In the treatment of this strategy, two clauses have each time been identified: the one clause is the one that intensifies interest and the other one is a request. The clause that intensifies interest has been expressed in the following ways in Xhosa:

(a) Tag questions.
(b) Interjection
(c) With khangel'apha.

Exaggerate

The purpose of this strategy is to claim common ground between the speaker and the hearer by exaggerating interest. In the treatment of this strategy, two clauses have each time been identified: the first clause is a request and the second one is the clause that exaggerates interest.

Optimism

The purpose of this strategy is to show that both the speaker and the hearer are cooperators by being optimistic. There is only one clause that has been identified in the treatment of this strategy.
Five strategies have a certain frequency of appearance but only two have a high frequency:

- Seek agreement: 50.2%
- Give or ask for reasons: 29.8%
- Address forms: 9.2%
- Presupposition: 5.8%
- Include speaker and hearer: 3.4%

The explanation for the high frequency of these strategies above is to be found within positive politeness. Positive politeness forms emphasize closeness between speaker and hearer, so this form can be seen as a solidarity strategy. A person's positive face is the need to be accepted or liked by other people, to be treated as a member of the same group and to show that her wants are shared by others. Thus, a face-saving act, which is concerned with the person's positive face, will show solidarity and emphasize that speaker and hearer want the same thing and that they have a common goal.

The strategy with the highest frequency in Xhosa is the one where agreement is sought between a speaker and a hearer. It is clear that such an agreement will build solidarity between the speaker and the hearer, and the hearer will then be positively inclined to the implied threat in the request. If they can reach some form of agreement before a request is made, it is a sure sign that a request must be treated fairly.

The strategy in which reasons were asked or given has the second highest frequency of requests with positive politeness. A request is a face-threatening act and thus in Xhosa one of the ways to soften this threat is by giving a reason at the same time as the request is made. This strategy will immediately have the consequence that the hearer will feel he is positively regarded by the speaker, i.e. there has been established some solidarity between them because a reason has been given for the request. Such a reason is usually regarded as effective to avert the threat in the request.

The strategy with the third highest frequency of recurrence in Xhosa is related to in-group identity markers with certain specific address forms. The more familiar address forms such as *wethu, ntanga, mfondini, mhlobo* immediately create an environment of
familiarity between speaker and hearer which then allow a face-threatening act such as a request to be received in a more favourable light.

The strategy with the fourth highest frequency of recurrence is presupposition, which is something the speaker assumes to be the case prior to making a request. In this way, a possible threat may be averted if a request follows.

The last strategy with some frequency in Xhosa is the use of the inclusion of the speaker and hearer in the request, usually by means of the agreement morphemes of the first person plural with, inter alia, si.

The other strategies like: Intensify interest 1.02%; be optimistic 0.34%; and exaggerate 0.34% have such a low frequency that no explanation can be gleaned from them.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


