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Winning Friends and Influencing People Abroad: Using Native Speakers' Communicative Strategies

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When communicating within our native environment, we subconsciously make use of a variety of communicative techniques which we have learned as a result of years of personal observation and various socialization processes. However, when we enter an environment which is foreign to us, we generally do not have the luxury of spending years to acquire the communicative strategies which native speakers possess and practice. In order to acquire these skills rapidly, we need to be made aware of the strategies which underlie "appropriate behavior," practicing them consciously until they are internalized.

In this article we will examine certain strategies involved in the construction of conversation and social relationships: greetings, addressing strangers, establishing an address form relationship and, when deemed appropriate, renegotiating that relationship. In doing so, we will touch on several issues commonly considered in the vast literature dealing with language in society: politeness, address forms, negotiation of relationships, public image, greetings, and rituals. Obviously, no single article could possibly address adequately all of these broad research areas nor present all of the strategies which foreigners "should" learn. The strategies presented here have been singled out for their importance and immediate utility in establishing a personal or professional relationship in a foreign culture.

This article is based on research conducted in Portugal[1] and addresses potential individual readers who may find themselves in a cross-cultural situation.   References abound to actions which foreigners are encouraged to make or admonished from making.   This approach is not intended to distance the academic reader; hopefully, teaching professionals will find many of these strategies applicable to the language(s) or culture(s) they teach, and other investigators will be inspired to conduct complementary research on communicative strategies employed in other societies.   Finally, the term "strategies" is used throughout; my rationale for using this single term is analogous to that of Brown and Levinson in their presentation of politeness strategies:

> We continue to use the word "strategy", despite its connotations of conscious deliberation, because we can think of no other word that will imply a rational element while covering both (a) innovative plans of action, which may still be (but need not be) unconscious, and (b) routines--that is, previously constructed plans whose original rational origin is still preserved in their construction. (1987:85)

1.0   The Portuguese address form system

Readers unfamiliar with Portuguese will benefit from a brief presentation of the its address form system; the following schema simplifies a multitude of address form options into seven basic levels.   The task of assigning levels to forms is not completely straightforward, and two aspects require immediate clarification.   The first is the designation of **você** as Level 3 and **[você]** as Level 4.   **Você** is the third-person singular subject pronoun, which need not be verbalized.   Therefore, **você** represents the inclusion of the subject pronoun, while **[você]** is the representation of the third-person singular form of the verb without the corresponding pronoun **você**.   **[Você]** is referred to as both the "**Zero Form**" (for there is no pronoun) and as the "**Avoidance Tactic**," this latter when used as a particular strategy to avoid ascribing a particular status to the hearer.   The problem in classifying these two forms is due to the fact that many speakers consider **você** offensive and so avoid it altogether, behaving as if it had no relation to **[você]**, while others use the forms interchangeably.[2]

In Level 6, the social titles **senhora dona + FN** and **dona + FN** (which, with **senhora + FN,** conventionally distinguish the social class of the hearer), have been combined with the educational and professional titles in a single category "**TITLE**." This grouping is convenient, as the structure of the forms is the same, although the titles themselves are different. Within Level 6 educational titles (along with the social) have been assigned to Level 6a and the professional titles to Level 6b, because if a hearer has both titles (e.g., the educational title **doutora** and the professional title **directora**), we accord her greater status if we use her professional title, according to conventional notions of protocol.

The above reference to "conventional notions" brings us to another issue which is germane to any discussion of address forms: the notion of conventionalized vs. negotiated usage. Research has shown that these are two different scales evaluating appropriateness of behavior (cf. Scotton 1983 and Oliveira Medeiros 1985 and 1993). Conventionalized usage is evaluated by society as a whole, while negotiated usage is evaluated by the speakers, and behavior is judged as being marked or unmarked on either scale.[3] Over time people construct, or negotiate, a relationship with each other which involves certain rights and obligations. The indications of formality and intimacy in the schema represent only **unmarked conventionalized norms**. Since people can, and do, negotiate address form patterns which outsiders consider unusual (Oliveira Medeiros 1985:167), we can not automatically assume that speakers who exchange "formal" forms have a relationship which is "less intimate" than people who exchange **tu**. Even within the scope of unmarked conventional usage differences exist in the assignment of forms to a particular category (and particularly so in denoting certain forms as "neutral"). For that reason, dotted lines are used to separate the areas of these so-called neutral forms. [See next page.]

When confronted with an address form system as complicated as this one, foreigners may be tempted to choose either a neutral form or "the most polite form" and assume that it will always be "a safe bet."   Neither strategy, however, would be entirely satisfactory, as will become evident.
Rather, the foreigner should plan on listening intently to the forms which native speakers use in similar situations.[4]

Armed with a basic understanding of the Portuguese address form system, we are now in a position to examine specific strategies which facilitate communication between strangers or acquaintances, and those

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which help turn acquaintances into friends.   We will first examine greetings,
the beginning point of all communication.

Simplified Schema

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2.0   Greetings

We can divide social relationships into a scale of four distinct tiers:

TIER 1:   Complete strangers.

TIER 2:   Acquaintances--the speakers may (or may not) know each other's name; they do not interact socially.

TIER 3:   Friends and associates with whom one interacts socially only in domains outside the home.

TIER 4:   Friends and associates with whom one interacts socially in domains both inside and outside the home.

Greeting behavior differs at each tier, as do the social "obligations" of the speaker. The word "obligation" is used for two reasons: first, people refer to social obligations; and second, the necessity of maintaining a positive public image is so ingrained in the local culture that social mores are genuinely perceived and treated as obligations by the members of the community.

Exchanges between strangers (Tier 1) differ in urban and rural areas in Portugal, although there are certain similarities. In rural areas, the outsider has an obligation to greet everyone she passes on the street; although it is never considered impolite to greet strangers, in the city she is only obliged to greet passers-by that she recognizes (Tiers 2 and above). In both locales the greeting of strangers is obligatory when entering a store, office, waiting room or other gathering of people. Further, while people are "obliged" to greet others in these situations, so too are those already in the store or office "obliged" to answer. Most people softly mumble a response to a generalized greeting. The general rule, applicable to both urban and rural settings, is that the person entering the scene last has the responsibility for initiating the greeting (whether it is an outsider entering a town or a client entering a store).

Greetings at this first tier acknowledge the sharing of space and time--
the very loosest bond between speakers, and so a minimal greeting (e.g.,
"Good morning") is sufficient:

There is flexibility in using these terms because they are not tied to a
specific hour (as "morning" and "afternoon" are in English). Between the
hours of noon and 2:00 p.m., one hears mixed greetings of "Good morning"
and "Good afternoon," because the switch to "Good afternoon" assumes the
consumption of lunch. After approximately 1:30 p.m., people who say
"Good morning" often add that they have not yet had lunch, as though to
explain or apologize for their unusual greeting behavior. In the case of
Boa(s) tarde(s), its usage is tied to the setting of the sun, so during the
summer months one hears this greeting until quite late in the evening.

Tier 2 relationships are those between people who may know each
other's name but do not interact socially. Examples of social relationships
within the urban setting include acquaintances one passes on the street,
clerks in stores or banks that one sees frequently, and co-workers with
whom the speaker interacts only superficially. The generalized greetings
for Tier 2 are at the top of the following page.

The hearer is obliged to greet the speaker but need not respond to the
"optional question", even if asked. Asking "How's life?" implies and reflects
some connection between the speaker and the hearer, albeit tenuous. In

addition, such questions imply that the degree of socio-emotional distance is not too great to preclude the questioning of the hearer with regard to her emotional state.   Thus,   only with great difficulty   can one imagine hearing

"Good morning, Madame President.   How've you been?" (**Bom dia, Senhora Presidente, Passou bem?**) used with the President of the Country. The rationale is that if one knows the President well enough to inquire as to her emotional well-being, a more intimate address form will be used.   If the context is identified as **[+Protocol]** and dictates use of **Senhora Presidente**, then such protocol and rules of co-occurrence (cf. Ervin-Tripp 1972) also "prohibit" speakers from asking personal questions.[5]

     Although use of a question inquiring as to the health of the other is optional, when speakers greet using an address form, they expect to receive more than the minimal greeting in return.   A 72-year-old merchant recounted the story of his interaction with an acquaintance.   Despite middle-class origins, the other man was a member of a "chic group" who did not deign to acknowledge greetings from those he felt were beneath him. My informant would greet him by name: **Bom dia, senhor + LN**.   The other would respond with the minimal greeting **Bom dia**.   This went on for twenty years.   One day the merchant decided he was tired of being snubbed so he decided to stop greeting the other altogether; he describes his next encounter with the man:

> There was a violent reaction.   He grumbled to me: "Naturally you wanted me to address you as **Excelência**" ("Excellency").   He also told others I was a terrible person.   One day he decided to ask me why I stopped greeting him.   I replied: "For twenty years I

addressed you as **senhor + LN** but you [**o senhor**] never addressed
me by name."   The other said: "I didn't mean anything by it."

This personal narrative brings to light three important social facts: first,
people are aware of how they are addressed; second, informants sometimes
let a situation fester over a long period of time and then react in an abrupt
manner; and third, failure to greet someone is considered an abrupt
departure from the norm.   These should all be concerns of foreigners, who
must learn to pay as much attention to these issues as native speakers do.

　　　Within large hierarchies (the university, government offices, large
businesses, etc.), highly stylized greeting rituals are heard between speakers
who interact at Tier 2.   Usage is governed by the relative status of the two
speakers as determined by their relative position in the hierarchy:

Use of the question **Como está?** is considered appropriate only in greetings
exchanged by speakers of little or no rank differential because co-occurrence
restrictions of the type described above do not apply.   Therefore, speakers
of both ranks may inquire as to the health of the other.   There exists a
mechanism for diminishing the apparent rank differential between two
speakers, generally initiated by the person who has greater status[6]; the
speaker makes use of an address form which reflects a shared characteristic,
such as "colleague" (**colega**) or "neighbor" (**vizinho(-a)**).   Use of these forms
removes the co-occurrence restrictions against engaging in the exchange of
some personal information and can aid in building solidarity between
people of different rank or status.

At Tiers 3 and 4 address form relationships have been negotiated and so greeting behavior is not stylized, as is the case of the lower two tiers. Despite the greater flexibility which people have in choosing address forms and greeting strategies within a negotiated relationship, the basic rules of etiquette still apply. Thus, the greeting strategies mentioned above can be summarized as follows:

GREETING   STRATEGIES

Strategy 1:   When entering a room (in an office, bank, store, etc.), greet those who are there using the minimal greeting which is appropriate for the time of day.

Strategy 2:   When passing friends or acquaintances on the street, greet them using either the minimal greeting or by initiating a short conversation (asking after the other's well-being and that of her family).

Strategy 3:   To minimize the verbal manifestation of status differential, choose a neutral form which may, optionally, reflect some shared social characteristic (e.g., "colleague" (**colega**), "neighbor" (**vizinho(-a)**)).

3.0   Strategies for determining appropriate address forms with strangers

In order to communicate well in a foreign environment, one must be careful in selecting the appropriate address form to use in each circumstance. As foreigners may, on any particular day, meet dozens of people with whom they "should" exchange some sort of greeting, they need to be prepared for the variety of situations they will encounter.   In Portugal the procedures for ascertaining appropriate address for strangers differ according to the context in which the initial contact takes place. Discussed here are three such contexts in which the speakers meet for the first time: a) within the professional environment; b) within the social environment, through mutual friends; and c) within the social situation without the benefit of mutual friends. In this section the professional and social contexts are contrasted

and then followed by a discussion of the importance of manner of dress in first-time encounters occurring outside the realm of a professional contact or through a third party in the social arena.

In the professional arena, addressing a man merely by **senhor** when he also has an educational, professional, or religious title is not considered as "polite" (or appropriate) as using his "correct" title. Business undertaken in these circumstances is not as effective, since people are distracted by inappropriate behavior and speakers are judged on their linguistic expertise. Because of this fact, a speaker must discover enough information about the other, either prior to speaking to her the first time or within the first couple of minutes of the initial conversation, in order to use appropriate address and thereby maintain a positive public image. People usually depend upon a receptionist, secretary, or colleague (their own or a colleague of the stranger) to supply them with the information needed for them to make an appropriate choice. They often ask questions with the specific purpose of gaining this important information, usually indirectly with such questions as "Does he/she have a college degree?" or "What is his/her position in the organization?" Since most ranks presume a particular educational background and/or include a professional title, careful questioning of third parties can supply the appropriate information needed to address the stranger without losing face by asking directly. Those who ignore these procedures run the risk of addressing the stranger inappropriately, being considered rude, and losing face.[7]

In the social arena, people usually meet strangers through a mutual friend or acquaintance who supplies enough information about the two strangers so that an initial address form choice may be made: any of the levels of address forms may be used; however, in general the most common forms are **FN** or **LN** only or **TITLE + NAME** (**FN** or **LN**). However, even **tu** (whose conventional interpretation is the least formal) can be heard between strangers meeting for the first time, but usually only in situations where all three of the following conditions are met: a) **tu** is reciprocal between the mutual friend and each of the other two speakers; b) all three speakers are of a similar age; and c) the speakers are younger than about thirty-five years old.

In situations where two strangers meet for the first time without the benefit of mutual friends or a professional supra-structure, manner of dress is a crucial factor in the selection of address forms, if the stranger could

potentially be a member of a variety of social categories.   In other words, if the speaker is not independently aware of the hearer's status, she uses manner of dress as an important guideline in the selection of an appropriate form to use.   In fact, for most people, their social standing in the community is directly responsible for the way they dress in public.   They absorb the category of "dress" into their public identity.   One woman, who had spent four months in the United States and had observed American standards of dress, stated that she would like to "**be able to**" dress more casually in Évora but people would gossip about her, wondering: "Why is she trying to be <u>less</u> than she is?" or "What <u>else</u> is she spending her money on (if not clothes)?"[8]   On the other hand, just as one should not "dress down," dressing better than others of similar social standing also provokes comment.   An informant recounted the story of a cleaning lady who used to dress "above her station."   People would talk about her, making such comments as: "Who does she think she is?"   An unwritten social rule, then, is that people should dress according to their social and professional level.   Failure to do so is considered unfair play because the projected public image is false and induces strangers to act inappropriately.[9]   Foreigners should be aware that their public image will be a composite of each of their appearances in public.

The procedures discussed here can be summarized into the following three strategies:

STRATEGIES FOR DETERMINING A STRANGER'S STATUS

Strategy 1:   Rely on a third party or other outside source to provide the appropriate information regarding the educational background and/or social class of the stranger.

Situation 1:   The third party is present and introduces the two strangers.

Situation 2:   The third party is not present at the meeting between the strangers but provides information "behind the scene."

Situation 3:   Access to information regarding the stranger's title(s) is through written media (e.g., a business card or stationery letterhead).[10]

Strategy 2:   Observe how others address him/her and choose as an initial form one from the highest level category heard.

Strategy 3:   In the absence of other information, use manner of dress as a guideline in addressing the stranger.

As a final word on these strategies, foreigners should also be aware, if they find themselves in the position of having to introduce two strangers, that they should provide enough social and/or professional information about the two, so that the parties involved can address each other appropriately (while the foreigner-turned-ethnographer takes note!).

4.0   Strategies for negotiating and renegotiating an address form relationship

As people realize that they will have frequent contact with each other, they come to negotiate an address form relationship which may, or may not, involve a departure from conventionalized norms.   The negotiation process serves a useful purpose for the two speakers; it establishes an address form pattern which is satisfying to them, at least initially, and liberates them from having to think of their relative position (age, status, degree of intimacy, etc.) each time they speak.   Later, as the relationship changes further, they may choose to engage in renegotiation strategies.

4.1   Negotiation strategies

Negotiating address forms is one way that people signal the creation of a social and/or professional relationship.   The negotiation process involves the selection of the address forms which the two speakers will normally

employ with each other; the forms they choose will be the unmarked negotiated forms (cf. Oliveira Medeiros 1985 or 1993 for a more complete explanation of this term).   When the negotiated forms are different from the ones previously used, they are generally of a lower-numbered level (which is closer to **tu** and may be **tu** itself); one exception, however, might be a change from the **Avoidance Tactic** to a form which is of a higher-numbered level.

Of course, the negotiation process does not necessarily imply a change in the address form the two speakers have used thus far in their interactions with each other. Sometimes the acquaintances have mutually decided to maintain their distance[11] or have initially chosen a form which they consider "sufficiently intimate" for their relationship. Sample strategies negotiation include:

NEGOTIATION   STRATEGIES

Strategy 1:   Find out (either directly or indirectly) how the hearer likes being addressed or by what form the hearer is generally known.

Strategy 2:   Use the **Zero Form/Avoidance Tactic** (**[você]**) while listening carefully to discover what form(s) the other uses, and then note the reaction.

Strategy 3:   Use own criteria for choosing the address form, irrespective of the form the other uses.

4.2   Renegotiation Strategies

The task of selecting an appropriate address form is rarely, if ever, "complete," and informants cite three principal reasons for renegotiating a relationship: a desire to recognize greater intimacy, a confirmation of greater trust in the other, and the greater "ease of communication" in using forms which are "less formal."   This "ease" is readily understandable; a glance at the schema indicates that the forms which are conventionally

considered "more formal" have more elements and so take longer to pronounce than those which are "more intimate."

The amount of time which must elapse in a relationship before the speakers engage in renegotiation varies greatly, and some speakers never renegotiate the relationship.   Others do so several times, and may eventually address each other by **tu** (sometimes as a result of a single renegotiation).   However, not all relationships become reciprocal, nor do all involve use of **tu.**

Foreigners must be alert to the mechanisms which are used to try to signal a change in the relationship.   The prudent foreigner will probably allow others to initiate these strategies, but she should be prepared to recognize them; she may even decide to employ one or another in an effort to determine whether a closer relationship is being constructed.   The renegotiation strategies here are presented as examples of strategies which native Portuguese speakers use to recognize and/or effect change in their relationship:

STRATEGIES FOR RENEGOTIATING AN ADDRESS FORM RELATIONSHIP

Strategy 1:   Suggest use of the new form.   For example:

> Shall we stop this "**você**" bit?
> Wouldn't it be easier if we address each other by **tu**?
> I think we could address each other by **tu**, don't you?

Strategy 2:   Ask to use the new form.   For example, "Do you mind if I address you by **tu**?"

Strategy 3:   Ask how the other likes (or prefers) to be addressed. This is a strategy of renegotiation when the speaker is hoping that the hearer will respond by saying that a form signifying greater intimacy may be used.

Strategy 4:   Invite the other to use a new form.   For example, "(If you like,) [Y]ou may address me by **tu**."

Strategy 5:   Clue verbally the change to a new form.   For example, "I'm going to begin addressing you by **tu**."   This gives the hearer an opportunity to object.

Strategy 6:   Initiate use of the new form without prior cluing. Some people say that after initiating the new form they listen carefully for clues as to how the other speaker views this new usage and reacts to it. Others use the form without checking for a reaction. Some teenagers and university students say they automatically address people of the same age by **tu**.

Strategy 7:   Take a humorous approach in trying to "force" use of **tu** or some other form signally greater intimacy.   The following was suggested by a female informant: "If you don't address me by **tu**, I'll never speak to you again."

Strategy 8:   Spontaneous and subconscious use of the new form (probably due to a subconscious feeling of rapport).

Attempts to renegotiate an address form relationship are not always successful, principally for one of two reasons: a) the desire of the hearer to maintain the affective distance between them; or b) timidity on the part of one of the speakers.   One speaker may desire to maintain her distance from the other.   Informants mentioned that sometimes relationships, even between "equals," remain non-reciprocal **tu**/[**-tu**] [12] because the speaker using **tu** continues to ignore the other's desire to maintain distance.   Most people choose one of three strategies to when confronted with such a situation.   These strategies are presented in order of increasing abruptness:

STRATEGIES FOR MAINTAINING ONE'S DISTANCE

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Strategy 1:   Begin using a form of a higher-numbered level than the one normally used.   Either begin with a form which represents a difference of one or two levels, or, alternatively, use **Vossa Excelência**.   Otherwise, greet only minimally.

Strategy 2:   Avoid making eye contact with the other person.

Strategy 3:   Give a direct reprimand to the other, requesting a discontinuance of the offending form.

Timidity is another important obstacle to renegotiation.   This is often a factor in relationships between people whose difference in terms of education, professional position, age, or social class is great.   The person with lower status who feels inferior may be too timid to accept the other's suggestion for reciprocal **tu** or **FN**.   When such a suggestion is made, the response is often "**Ai, não sou capaz**" ("Oh, I can't").[7]   Some speakers give this response when they feel a lack of rapport with the other person and feel the other is trying to "rush" them into a closer relationship.   The "pushy" person is referred to as "bold" or "insolent" (**atrevido(-a)**).   If a foreigner receives a response like this, she should retreat to the form previously used.

5.0   Temporary shifts in address form patterns

Nearly all informants said that once they address someone by **tu** they "never change."   Observers can quickly verify that this statement can not be accepted at face value.   One advantage of the concept of negotiation is that through it we can demonstrate how speakers can manipulate the address form system, temporarily using an alternative address form, without changing the basic structure of the address form relationship.
Foreigners who pay close attention to the address forms used to address themselves and those around them will soon notice these temporary shifts.   They need to be aware of the factors which will trigger a change in address form usage so that they will be able to shift in tandem with others with whom they interact.   There are many types of situations which may

trigger a temporary shift in form: joking, recognizing another's change in status (e.g., temporary use of a new educational or professional title), following current fads, and showing solidarity, to name but a few. Adequate coverage of each of these situations and the types of shifts which may occur would be too lengthy to include here.   However, we will look at two of the most common circumstances which trigger a temporary change to a different address form: the presence of others and anger.

5.1   The presence of others

The presence of others does not always serve as a catalyst for address form switching, although when it does trigger a shift in form, it is often for reasons of protocol. Situations of this type include official gatherings of a military, religious, or judicial nature.   Two types of situations are presented here for which the presence of outsiders sets off a temporary switch from reciprocal **tu** to a non-reciprocal **tu**/[-**tu**] or to reciprocal [-**tu**]/[-**tu**] forms in the presence of others.   The first type of switching occurs when the speaker's positive public image is in question.   Switching of this type apparently only occurs when there is a disparity in the social position or rank of the two speakers. In this situation, the person of lower standing temporarily suspends use of **tu**. Speakers are often unable (or perhaps unwilling) to verbalize the reason governing the switch; a reasonable hypothesis is that they fear that the outsider will not correctly interpret use of **tu** as   **[+Intimacy]**   or   **[+Trust]**, but rather as **[-Protocol]** or **[-Respect]**. Alternatively, they may feel that the outsider would be critical of the close relationship existing between the two speakers due to the disparity in social class and/or rank.

The types of relationships revealed to be affected by this type of switching involved a priest, a superior at work, a public official, and a military officer--in other words, the people who are most likely to be found in **[+Protocol]** situations.   A personal narrative by an informant reveals his behavior and the reasons behind it: he states that there are three or four priests whom he addresses as **tu** due to his long-time close friendship with each of them:

In the presence of people I don't know, I address [each of] the priests as **senhor padre**...not so much for me or for them, but because of

what other people think that it should be--but why should they [the third parties] think that my addressing them [the priests] by **tu** shows a lack of respect?

The second switching phenomenon occurs in the presence of others who are not strangers. Here switching is a device used to disguise the fact that a **tu**-relationship exists between the two speakers. One particular case involves a secretary, her boss, and one of my informants. The informant has a reciprocal **tu**-relationship with both the secretary and her boss, but he does not want her boss to know of the **tu**-relationship with the secretary. When all three are conversing, the informant addresses the secretary by her first name (**FN**). The secretary switches to **senhor + TITLE**. The informant cites his egalitarian view of society as an explanation for his behavior: he chooses to avoid using **tu** with people of lower rank in the presence of outsiders who might misinterpret his use of **tu** as being the **tu** of a "superior" to an "inferior." He knows he has disambiguated the perception of the situation by outsiders; he has maintained a positive public image through this switching procedure because the non-reciprocal address fits the conventional pattern of usage between university faculty and staff. Thus, the informant is not mistaken for an advocate of social differentiation. This conventionalized non-reciprocal pattern is shown on the next page.

Interesting to note here, in passing, is a dramatic change which has occurred within the past decade. Three forms exist for differentiating women socially: **senhora + FN**, **dona + FN**, and **senhora dona + FN**. Conventional norms of politeness dictated that upper-class women were

addressed as **senhora dona + FN**; middle-class women were addressed as **dona + FN**; and lower-class women were addressed as **senhora + FN**. Within the university environment this was manifest in the following way: female clerical workers were addressed as **dona + FN**, while the female cleaning staff received **senhora + FN**. The last ten years has brought about a convergence to more generalized use of **dona + FN**, the form employed with all female staff, when a title beyond **FN** is given. I specifically use the word "convergence" here because during the same decade, use of **senhora dona + FN** has declined, also in favor of **dona + FN**.

5.2   Anger

Anger can also trigger the temporary change to a new form, and the first two strategies presented above as "**Strategies for Maintaining One's Distance**" are essentially the same as those employed when one is angry. With regard to the first strategy, involving a change to a new form, people use the same technique, but the form they choose is not always in the same direction.   More specifically, whereas people trying to block intimacy progressively use forms of a higher-numbered level (in the direction towards **Vossa Excelência**), people who are angry may shift in either direction.   For instance, if the speakers normally exchange mutual **tu**, one may suddenly shift to **você**, **senhor(a) + TITLE**, or **Vossa Excelência**, while people who habitually address each other as **senhor(a) + TITLE** may suddenly shift to **FN** or **LN** (without **TITLE**) or even **tu**.

The second strategy refers to avoiding contact with the offender. Indeed, when a person is angry with another yet is still desirous of maintaining a positive public image, she must avoid eye contact with that person; if she "cannot see" the person, she is therefore not obliged to greet him.   People may even cross the street in order to avoid passing those they do not wish to greet or employ other strategies to "avoid seeing" a person.

6.0   Conclusion

This article has focused on several aspects of the communicative process which are crucial for effective communication yet are addressed

scantily (if at all) in textbooks or books of etiquette.   This lack of coverage may be due to two reasons.   First, since so many communicative strategies are inter-related, great difficulty exists in defining appropriate discrete categories and in ascribing particular strategies to each--a problem common to ethnography in general.   Regarding greetings, in particular, there may also be a feeling on the part of native speakers that these strategies are too obvious to merit the space and time required to commit them to paper.   In point of fact, greeting strategies, which are so ingrained in native speakers, are not very obvious to outsiders: the encounters are too brief and the number of them one must observe in order to discover certain patterns too great for uninitiated foreigners to immediately know how to communicate appropriately in the variety of situations they will confront.

Regarding address forms, foreigners need to have a sophisticated understanding of what constitutes an appropriate "first" form to use, as well as the strategies for negotiation and renegotiation which are at work. Otherwise, they may miss important opportunities to cement relationships. Conversely, whether or not they deem it important to maintain their distance from others, they need to understand the mechanisms for doing so and be sensitive to others' use of these strategies.

We must remember that strategies for negotiating and renegotiating address form relationships are actually strategies for negotiating and renegotiating the social relationships of the speakers.   Thus, when foreigners use strategies which native speakers employ, they diminish the distance between the two cultures and improve their prospects for establishing professional and social relationships which are long-lasting and comfortable for both parties.

Notes

1. The information presented here is based on ethnographic research conducted in Évora, Portugal (1982-83 and since 1991).
2. The same is not true of the plural **vocês**, which has greater acceptability.
3. See Hymes 1975 for an introduction to the concept of markedness as a concept within the field of sociolinguistics.
4. This is not as easy as it sounds, for the foreigner needs to be a discerning listener and learn to distinguish conventionalized usage from negotiated usage.
5. One of the "advantages" of a negotiated relationship is that these standard rules of co-occurrence need not apply. Thus, a person may be addressed by her professional title and then asked "What's new?" When this occurs, it is generally a result of the professional title being used in humor and then the question being asked seriously.
6. See Oliveira Medeiros (1985) for a more complete treatment of this mechanism, as well as the opportunities which those of lower status have to implement this strategy (and the possible consequences of doing so).
7. This phenomenon is undergoing change, and direct inquiries can more often be heard, e.g.: "Is she a **doutora**?"; "How does she like to be addressed?"
8. The issue of "What <u>else</u> is she spending her money on (if not clothes)?" brings to mind the larger issue: maintenance of a positive public identity or image is achieved by fulfilling the expectations of others.
9. This is another area which has seen changes in the last decade. In 1983 married women would generally not wear pants outside the home, let alone jeans. In fact, women would dress up even to shop at the open-air market, whose floor was littered with fruit and vegetable scraps. Today men and women are more frequently seen in public wearing casual clothes; still, the overwhelming majority of women continue to wear skirts when leaving the house.
10. Readers who have professional reasons for coming to Portugal will be interested to learn of two practices relating to business cards: first, when giving a business card personally, people often draw a line **over their last name(s) and title** at a right-slanting angle in order to personalize the exchange and diminish the affective distance implied by

the use of titles. When leaving a card at a business or home at a time that the intended receiver is not there, one bends forward a corner of the card (usually the top left) to show that the card was left personally. As a subnote, young professionals not completely familiar with these established rules of etiquette often bend down the corners of their cards before handing them over personally.

11. What distinguishes this type of negotiated relationship from a non-negotiated relationship is the cognitive processing involved (cf. Oliveira Medeiros 1985:130-135).

12. The schema of address forms indicates a division between forms using the second-person singular form of the verb vs. the third person singular form. Conversationally, people sometimes refer to addressing people by **tu** or **você**, choosing the pronoun **você** to represent all of the levels which take the third person singular form of the verb! I find this unsatisfactory, since the levels distinguished cover a wide range of social situations and overt use of **você** is not universally accepted. Therefore, I have chosen **[-tu]** to serve as a global reference to these forms.

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	SIMPLIFIED SCHEMA OF THE PORTUGUESE ADDRESS FORM SYSTEM	
Level	**Address Form(s)**	**Conventionalized Unmarked Interpretation**
1	TU (This pronoun is used with the 2nd person singular form of the verb.)	[-Formal] and [+Intimate]
	Without exception, the following forms require the 3rd person singular form of the verb.	
2	**FN, LN, NICKNAME, or KINSHIP TITLE**	*Neutral* or Tendencies towards [-Formal] and [+Intimate]
3	**VOCÊ** The degree of "politeness" attributed to use of **você** varies greatly (age, region), and many people are offended by it; foreigners should not initiate **você** but may reciprocate.	---
4	**"AVOIDANCE TACTIC" / [VOCÊ]** (This is the 3rd person singular form of the verb *without* a pronoun and without any other form to signal the relationship.)	*Neutral*

5	**SENHOR(A)**
	
	Forms used with women:
	                    senhora [+ FN]
	
	Forms used with men:
	                    senhor [+ FN or LN]
		Neutral
		or
		Tendencies towards [+Formal], [-Intimate] or [+Protocol]

6	**"TITLE"**	
6a 6b	**EDUCATIONAL OR SOCIAL TITLES** (e.g., **doutor(-a)**) **PROFESSIONAL TITLES** (e.g., **presidente, director(-a)**) Forms used with women: **[senhora +] TITLE [+FN]** **[senhora +] dona + FN (= social title)** **Forms used with men:** **[senhor +] TITLE [+ FN or LN]**	[+Formal] and [-Intimate] or [+Protocol]
7	**VOSSA EXCELÊNCIA**	[+Protocol]

TIER 1 - MINIMAL GREETINGS	
During the morning and until lunch.	**Bom dia** **Bons dias** (if addressing more than one person)
After lunch until sundown.	**Boa tarde** **Boas tardes** (if addressing more than one person)
After sundown.	**Boa noite** **Boas noites** (if addressing more than one person)

GENERALIZED TIER 2 GREETINGS		
Obligatory Greeting	**Address Form**	**Optional Questions**
Bom dia / Bons dias, **Boa(s) tarde(s),** **Boa(s) noite(s),**	**Address Form** (chosen from the list of conventionalized forms) While use of an **Address Form** is not obligatory, it is strongly recommended.	[**Passou bem**?] [**Como tem passado**?] [**Está bem disposto(-a)**?] (Loosely, "How's life?" or How've you been?)
Example: **Boa tarde,**	**dona Cristina.**	**Está bem disposta?**

TYLIZED TIER 2 GREETINGS	
ank Differential Between Speakers	**Ritualized Greeting**
reat rank differential	-- **Bom dia, + AF**. (Hello.) [**AF**=address form]
ttle rank differential	Upon making eye contact, the speakers say <u>simultaneously</u>: -- **Bom dia, como está?** (Hello, how are you?)
me rank	Both parties say <u>simultaneously</u>: -- **Bom dia, como está? Muito bem, obrigado(-a).** (Hello, how are you? Fine, thanks.)

CONVENTIONALIZED NON-RECIPROCAL USAGE BETWEEN FACULTY AND STAFF	
Speaker A (lesser rank)	**Speaker B (greater rank)**
Female: Receives **FN** or **Dona + FN**	Female: Receives **TITLE** or **TITLE + FN**
Male: Receives **FN** or **Senhor + FN** or **Senhor + LN**	Male: Receives **TITLE** or **TITLE + FN** or **TITLE + LN**

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[1] The information presented here is based on ethnographic research conducted in Évora, Portugal (1982-83 and since 1991).

[2] The same is not true of the plural **vocês**, which has greater acceptability.

[3] See Hymes 1975 for an introduction to the concept of markedness as a concept within the field of sociolinguistics.

[4] This is not as easy as it sounds, for the foreigner needs to be a discerning listener and learn to distinguish conventionalized usage from negotiated usage.

[5] One of the "advantages" of a negotiated relationship is that these standard rules of co-occurrence need not apply.   Thus, a person may be addressed by her professional title and then asked "What's new?"   When this occurs, it is generally a result of the professional title being used in humor and then the question being asked seriously.

[6] See Oliveira Medeiros (1985) for a more complete treatment of this mechanism, as well as the opportunities which those of lower status have to implement this strategy (and the possible consequences of doing so).

[7] This phenomenon is undergoing change, and direct inquiries can more often be heard, e.g.:   "Is she a **doutora**?"; "How does she like to be addressed?"

[8] The issue of **"What <u>else</u> is she spending her money on (if not clothes)?"** brings to mind the larger issue: maintenance of a positive public identity or image is achieved by fulfilling the expectations of others.

[9] This is another area which has seen changes in the last decade.   In 1983 married women would generally not wear pants outside the home, let alone jeans.   In fact, women would dress up even to shop at the open-air market, whose floor was littered with fruit and vegetable scraps.   Today men and women are more frequently seen in public wearing casual clothes, but the overwhelming majority of women continue to wear skirts when leaving the house.

[10] Readers who have professional reasons for coming to Portugal will be interested to learn of two practices relating to business cards: first, when giving a business card personally, people often draw a line from the upper right to the lower left, **over their last name(s)**, in order to signal to the receiver of the card that the relationship is viewed as being less formal than indicated by the last name and title(s) which appear on the card.   When

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leaving a card at a business or home at a time that the intended receiver is not there, one bends forward a corner of the card (usually the top left) to show that the card was left personally.   As a subnote, young professionals who not completely familiar with these established rules of etiquette often bend down the corners of their cards before handing them over personally.

[11] What distinguishes this type of negotiated relationship from a non-negotiated relationship is the cognitive processing involved (cf. Medeiros 1985:130-135).

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