A Comparative Study of Nominal Forms of Address in French and English Service Encounters

Abstract

This paper investigates nominal forms of address in French and English service encounters. The study considers the different pragmatic functions they play in interaction examining their relational and organisational properties, combining a politeness theoretic framework and a conversation analytic one. Nominal forms of address play an important part in the management of the interpersonal relationship between customer and shopkeeper. As attention-getting devices, they can be used to delineate different phases of the interaction. Although they frequently have the same function in both linguacultures, they index different positions within the social order.

*Keyword*s: vocatives, politeness, interpersonal relationship, routinisation, cooperation, respect, consideration, requests, reciprocity.

Introduction

Using a corpus of recordings of French and British service encounters, this chapter will look at the *nominal forms of address* (henceforth NFAs) used by the participants (*madame* and *monsieur*, and *messieurs-dames* for the French sites, *sir* and *madam* as well as less frequent forms such *mate* and *love* for the English sites; first names and surnames are sometimes used when the participants know each other). The most frequent forms encountered in both languages (*sir/madam*; *madame/monsieur*) share morphological similarities, in fact, the English forms are derived from the French and share a common origin. This empirical study

will try to shed light on the differences of usage observed and how NFAs are used in interaction, stressing the need for analysing these forms in context. The study will consider whether the main NFAs encountered, which share many formal similarities, have different pragmatic functions in each language and will assess the extent to which they are comparable.

NFAs are, to a large extent, interpersonally motivated: forms such as *madame/monsieur, sir/madam* can, for instance, be used to signal respect of one's interlocutor and often appear in greetings (*good morning madam*/*bonjour monsieur*) and leave-taking sequences (i.e. the more interpersonally oriented sequences of talk that appear in service encounters). However, they can also be used for transactional purposes (by designating the addressee, the requester can make a request more explicit). In order to identify the pragmatic functions they play in service encounters (henceforth SEs), the study will adopt an interactional approach that combines Conversation Analysis and Gricean pragmatics, and which owes a large methodological and conceptual debt to Kerbrat-Orecchioni's work on face-to-face interaction (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 2005).

The chapter will begin by giving a rapid overview of the general properties of NFAs and the repertoire of forms available in both French and English (section 1) before discussing the specificities of service encounters and introducing the methodology and data (section 2). The data will be analysed in section 3, and the findings will be analysed in the final section of the chapter (section 4) which will summarise the role played by NFAs in service encounters. This particular section of the paper will also deal with pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic issues and will consider whether the differences observed point towards different cultural norms.

1. What are NFAs: definition, functions and values

1. 1 NFAs

Nominal forms of address or *vocatives*[1] are part of the wider category of *terms of address* that also comprises pronominal forms. Following Brown and Gilman's 1960 seminal article, a myriad of studies have focused on pronominal forms with fewer focusing on *nominal forms or address* (NFAs). [2] Terms of address are items used to designate one's interlocutor(s). As well as having a deictic function, designating the "second person" or addressee, terms of address also have a *relational value* (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1992:15). By naming the addressee, the speaker shows how s/he frames the interpersonal relationship, the NFA acting as a label; the 'label' (*monsieur*/*madame*; *mate,* etc.) framing the relationship between speaker and addressee as close or distant, egalitarian or hierarchical, formal or informal, etc. Terms of address in general, and NFAs in particular, are therefore a very important resource in terms of managing interpersonal relationships.

In certain situations, when it is particularly important for the participants in an interaction to manage the interpersonal relationship carefully, or when the speaker is performing an act that is particularly threatening, NFAs play a key role. For instance, when asking a stranger for directions in the street, using a form such as *sir* or *monsieur* (or *madam*/*madame*) is a way of making the request less threatening (e.g. *excuse me madam, could you tell me where I can find x*), the NFA acting as an anti-threat since it conveys a sense of respect for the addressee. In Brown and Levinson's politeness model, which has frequently been described as one of

[1] As the term "vocative" was initially associated with inflected languages to describe an inflectional process that is not optional, the term "nominal form of address" seemed a more appropriate choice.

[2] According to Leech (1999:107), they are "a surprisingly neglected aspect of English grammar", and "underexplored" according to Levinson (1983).

the most influential politeness frameworks, this would constitute a negative-politeness strategy. By paying his/her dues to the addressee (*excuse me, sir*), the speaker shows that s/he is well intentioned towards the latter, upholding the vertical dimension of the interpersonal relationship (i.e. the status and power dimension) by showing them respect and consideration. By the same token, using an item such as *mate* in a similar utterance (e.g. *Excuse me mate, could you tell me where I can find x*) would constitute a positive-politeness strategy. By presupposing a certain familiarity with the addressee and claiming in-group solidarity, the speaker reduces the social distance between himself/herself and the addressee. Whilst the negative-politeness strategy calls on the vertical dimension, the positive-politeness strategy calls on the horizontal dimension of the interpersonal relationship (i.e. solidarity and social distance).[3] Whether an interactant adopts a positive or negative-politeness strategy, the NFA is, in both cases, an effective way of softening the face-threatening nature of the act performed (i.e. requesting something of a stranger). Obviously, the type of strategy selected is highly dependent on the speaker's assessment of his/her own place in the social order, and on the place s/he assigns his/her interlocutor in that same social order. The selection process therefore depends largely on the norms and conventions that operate in that particular social and cultural context. It is also highly dependent on the repertoire of forms available.

Leech notes that the most frequent NFA in English is the first name (Leech 2014), whilst Perret (1968) stresses that proper names (i.e. first name, surnames or patronyms) constitute the archetypal category of "vocatives", as they are best suited for identifying an individual and differentiating that person from the other members of a group. For obvious reasons, the use of a proper name is not always possible, as it requires the speaker to know the name of the addressee in question. When a speaker does not know the addressee's name, forms such

[3] The importance of the horizontal and vertical dimensions in language usage in general, and for the choice of address form in particular, was first noted by Brown and Gilman (1960) in their seminal article on pronominal *T/V* selection.

as *madame* or *monsieur* in French, or *madam* and *sir* in English, come in as obvious substitutes – Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2010a) describes *madame/monsieur* as "formes 'passe-partout'", i.e. versatile forms that can be used in a wide range of situations. Other forms such as titles and/or honorific forms (e.g. *Doctor*, *Professor*), trade names (*taxi*), kinship terms (e.g. *mum*, *dad*, *uncle*) or ad hoc labels (e.g. *blondie*) can also be used as NFAs (in this last category, the label is used metonymically and the list of potential forms is open ended). Terms that are used in a third person reference (e.g. *Henry is my uncle*) can often act as terms of address (e.g. *Hello, uncle Henry*, example adapted from Levinson 1983:70). It is important to note that the same lexeme (i.e. *uncle* in the example above) can have a *delocutive* function (i.e. third person reference) as well as an *allocative* function (i.e. second person address).

If there are many cases where the same lexeme can be used for both functions, there are cases where a different item has to be used. In French, although both *monsieur* and *madame* can be used in a second person address (e.g. *bonjour monsieur/madame*), *dame* is normally preferred over *madame* in a third person reference (e.g. *la dame dont tu parles s'appelle x*, 'the lady you are talking about is called x'); *mademoiselle* and *demoiselle* (allocative and delocutive respectively) function in the same way (*monsieur* can be used both allocutively and delocutively: *bonjour monsieur*/*le monsieur dont tu parles*). In English, *sir* and *madam* can only be used allocutively and cannot be used in a third person reference (e.g. *I can see a sir**), terms such as *lady*, *gentleman*, *man*, *woman* then have to be used (e.g. *I can see a lady over there,* etc.). We can also note that *sir* and *madam* are not normally used in a plural address in speech (*good morning Sirs/Madams**), *gentlemen* (or *gents*) and *ladies* have to be used instead[4]. Conversely, the plural *guys* can be used as an NFA but not the singular form *guy,*[5] the same with *folks*.

[4] Although decried, note that sirs (*dear Sirs*) is still used in writing by lawyers in the UK and the US.

[5] We can note that *guys* is very often used to make an address explicitly plural. In an utterance such as *how are you guys* exchanged among friends, it is necessary to include the NFA *guys* to make the address explicitly plural, as the pronoun *you* is both singular and plural (contrary to what occurs in French, where *vous* among

Leech (1999) provides a good overview and a useful taxonomy of the forms available in English (see also Dunkling 1990).

If it can be assumed that the main categories or forms available are roughly the same from one language to another (Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2010a: 5), it is also safe to assume that there is a certain amount of variation between address systems (Braun 1988:23), even among languages that are as closely related as English and French. One category might be used far more frequently in one language than in another, and some categories might exist in one language but not another. Comparing Leech's (Leech 1999) taxonomy with Kerbrat-Orecchioni's (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 2010a) for English and French respectively, we can note a lot of similarities and overlaps. A category such as personal names (first names, surnames, nicknames) appear in both taxonomies, as do titles, trade names, kinship terms, and terms of endearment. There are, however, significant differences. Firstly, although in Leech's classification *sir/madam* belong to the category of "honorifics", as they convey esteem and respect, *monsieur/madame* are placed in a category of their own in French ("termes passe-partout" as previously mentioned), and Kerbrat-Orecchioni notes that in contemporary French they have lost their honorific value. Secondly, Leech has a category, "familiarizers" (which comprises items such as *guys, bud, man, bud, dude, buddy, mate*, *folks*, etc.) which does not seem to correspond to any of the categories in Kerbrat-Orecchioni's model. According to Leech, items in that category are the opposite of honorifics. Rather, these NFAs frame the relationship between speaker and addressee as familiar and can be used to establish or maintain solidarity between the participants. This category seems to share similarities with the category labelled "relational terms" ("termes relationnels" in the French original) by Kerbrat-Orecchioni, items such as *collègue*, *confrère*, *compatriote* ('colleague/fellow

friends clearly indicates that the address is plural). The necessity to use a nominal form to make the address explicitly plural partly explains the development of the grammaticalized pronominal form *you guys* (see Sienecki 2014).

worker/fellow countryman'), typically used to address peers. However, terms in the French category are more specific, as they make the nature of the connection between speaker and addressee explicit. Although they signal a reciprocal and egalitarian relationship, the French forms do not convey familiarity.

It is interesting to note that the mixed-gender collective address form *messieurs-dames* which appears in our data (*bonjour messieurs-dames* addressed to all the people present in the shop for instance), seems to have no direct counterpart in English. Morphologically, the item is made up of the pluralised form of *monsieur*, as expected, and, surprisingly, of the plural of "dame", which is a third person reference form not a form of address. It seems that the grammaticalised possessive *mes-* in *messieurs* acts as the prefix to *dames*. This compound form is not the equivalent of *messieurs* (*et) mesdames* or *mesdames (et) messieurs* which would be two concurrent occurrences of collective single-gender address. Like the English *ladies and gentlemen*, *mesdames-messieurs* is normally used at the start of a formal speech, or to introduce someone famous at the start of an award ceremony or a show. In British English, the closest equivalent to *messieurs-dames* would probably be *folks*, both in terms of register and context of use.

1.2 Form selection: *T* and *V*

Although Brown and Gilman's seminal article does not deal directly with nominal forms, their approach to the selection of pronominal forms applies similarly to nominal ones. According to them, form selection is said to be governed by two sets of principles that are related to 1) the vertical dimension of the interpersonal relationship (i.e. status and power), 2) the horizontal dimension (i.e. social distance or solidarity), based on differing degrees of familiarity, closeness and intimacy between the interactants. Brown and Gilman (1960) tried to elucidate how the *T/V* pronominal address system originated in French and other European

languages. Whilst the power semantic prevailed, during the medieval period and for varying times beyond, the higher classes used *T* to address the lower classes; and the lower classes *V* to address the higher classes. Equals of the higher classes exchanged the mutual *V* and equals of the lower classes the mutual *T.* From the middle French period onwards however, there was a shift towards the solidarity dimension and *T* started gaining ground (Brown and Gilman 1960: 261). If in the early period it was common for a speaker with a superior social status to address an inferior using *T* and to receive *V* in return, this non-reciprocal use gradually became less common.

As others have noted (see Kerbrat-Orecchioni 2010:12), nominal forms correlates with pronominal ones as some nominal forms can only be used with either *T* or *V* (see Ervin-Tripp 1972 also on "co-occurrence rules"). In the French system of address, we can therefore assimilate forms such as *madame/monsieur* to V forms, as they are always used with *vous*, and convey the same values of respect and consideration.

1.3 Pragmatic function of NFAs

As NFAs can cover a range of functions, it is necessary to consider what these functions might be before engaging with the data in subsequent sections of the chapter. According to Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2010b: 24-29), NFAs have three main pragmatic functions (see also Leech 1999:108, Leech 2014:172). The first function of these forms is to get the addressee's attention and make it explicit to the addressee that s/he is being addressed. As Fasold (1990) points out, NFAs such as *sir* or *madam* frequently appear in American-English with summonses (*excuse me sir; Sarah, could you come here a minute*) and often at the start of an interaction when the communication channel has not yet been opened (see Kerbrat-Orecchioni 2010a, Leech 2014). This attention-calling function of the NFA (which Kerbrat-

Orrechioni calls its “fonction interpellative”) is akin to a nonverbal gesture such as a tapping on the shoulder.

The second set of functions Kerbrat-Orecchioni identifies are organisational as they relate to turn-taking management (see also Clayman 2012, McCarthy and O’Keefe 2003). Conversation analysts have shown the importance the turn-taking system plays in the organisation of talk-in-interaction and have shown that a lot of talk is dedicated to the smooth running of interaction (Sacks et al. 1974, Lerner 2003). Selecting an addressee and selecting the next speaker are important activities for the interaction to run smoothly. NFAs are one of the resources that participants can use to ensure this. For instance, in multiparty interaction by appealing to the hearer’s attention, the speaker makes it explicit who the addressee is within a group (the use of the NFA is, in this instance, akin to pointing gesturally at a participant). Forms of address can also be used to select the next speaker. Using an NFA such as a first name to select the next speaker is very frequent in classroom interaction, for instance (see Liddicoat 2011). NFAs are also a useful resource when a participant wants to self-select as next speaker or when a participant wants to interrupt a speaker. As Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2017: 204) notes in her study of TV political debates, a type of interaction characterised by a high degree of conflictuality, NFAs are often used to interrupt an interlocutor (e.g. *monsieur Sarkozy*) or to claim the right to speak.

A third set of pragmatic functions relates to cases where it is not necessary for the speaker to attract the attention of a participant in particular, where it is clear to whom the speaker is talking, and where the use of the NFA has nothing to do with regulating the turn system. For instance, a speaker who says *can you open the door, John* or *good morning, John* in a dyadic situation is obviously addressing *John* and the NFA appears redundant. In such cases, the pragmatic function of the NFA relates to the attitude of the speaker. According to Kerbrat-Orecchioni, by using the seemingly redundant NFA, the speaker strengthens the illocutionary

value of a speech act (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 2010b: 27-28). The NFA in the following utterance: *can you open the door, John* has the effect of "hardening" the request, as greater pressure is placed on the addressee to ratify the speech act in question. [6] This applies to both face-threatening acts (requests, orders and criticisms: *can you open the door, John*; *shut up, John*; *that's a great idea, John*) as well as face-enhancing ones (i.e. speech acts such as greetings, thanks, compliments: *hello John*; *thanks, John*; *that's beautiful, John*).

2. Methodology and data

2.1 Service encounters (SEs)

SEs are particularly interesting for researchers who want to engage in comparative work while working on naturally occurring data. They show methodological advantages due to the presence of elements that are stable and encountered in most interactions that belong to this category: their script is relatively predictable (Kerbrat-Orecchioni and Traverso, 2009:3). The "semi-public" aspect of these interactions, which occupy a space between everyday conversations on the one hand and ceremonial interactions on the other, also makes them particularly interesting from a comparative perspective (Kerbrat-Orecchioni and Traverso 2009: 2). While they are characterised by a high degree of routinisation, it is important to note that they leave the interactants a "significant margin for the deployment of negotiations of all kinds" (Kerbrat-Orecchioni and Traverso 2009: 2, my translation). SEs are constructed around a joint activity, the transaction, and follow a script that involves an opening sequence (typically made up of a ritualised exchange of greetings); a transactional sequence (that

[6] The term "hardening" is used as the antonym of "softening" which is a term used by politeness theorists, Brown and Levinson notably, when analysing the politeness strategies used to make requests less threatening.

mostly involves product selection and payment); a closing sequence (which involves goodbyes and thanks), as well as optional conversational sequences that involve safe and uncontroversial topics, i.e. small talk. (Traverso 2001) and, generally, a lot of talk dedicated to establishing and maintaining the interpersonal relationship (Tsakona and Sifianou 2019). Although the participants pursue different goals (selling and buying respectively) and have distinct roles, one defining trait of SEs is the complementarity of the actions performed by the shopkeeper and by the customer. [7] They share a common objective, the transaction, which should be viewed as a co-constructed activity to their mutual benefit (Filliettaz 2009; Kerbrat-Orecchioni and Traverso 2009). Their roles are nevertheless distinct: the shopkeeper acts in a professional capacity contrary to the customer, for whom shopping might be a leisurely activity. The shopkeeper is there to "serve" the customer and it is their professional duty to make sure the transaction is conducted satisfactorily, more often than not taking charge of the interaction, guiding the customer towards a positive outcome. As Cook-Gumperz notes (2001: 131), there is an intrinsic asymmetry between customer and shopkeeper: "the customer need not buy, while the worker needs to sell" and goes on to underline that "service interactions are a matter of tacit cooperation between asymmetries that must remain unmarked".

In terms of power relations, although the shopkeeper is in a position of service, the nature of the interpersonal relationship is not hierarchical, which never seems to be the case in the UK or in France, unlike in other cultures (see Kerbrat-Orecchioni and Traverso, 2009. The shopkeeper cannot really be considered to have power over the customer, nor the customer over the shopkeeper. The shopkeeper can withhold the service and the customer has the right not to buy a product, but the interpersonal relationship is framed in egalitarian terms. The

[7] The term 'shopkeeper' is used throughout this chapter but should be understood in the wider sense as the person providing service in the shop and not simply the shop's owner/manager.

analysis of the verbal material collected for this study shows that product requests, which are intrinsic to the transaction, are always formulated via the use of conventionally indirect utterances; and actions realised by the shopkeeper (e.g. making the product available) or the customer (e.g. making the payment available) are constantly punctuated by expressions of gratitude. The relationship between the shopkeeper and the customer is therefore characterised by mutual indebtedness (Kerbrat-Orecchioni and Traverso 2009). We can thus anticipate that the use of NFAs will mirror this feature of French and British SEs, even if, as we saw in section 1, the repertoires of NFAs that can be used with strangers in both languages suggest that there is not a one-to-one correspondence across the two languages.

2.2 The data

Using naturally-occurring data and an interactional analytical framework such as Kerbrat-Orecchioni's (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 2005) seemed to be the most fruitful way of identifying the pragmatic functions of NFAs in French and British SEs. The analysis does involve quantitative data, but rather than an end in itself, the analysis of the quantitative data is there to inform the qualitative analysis and to provide an overview of the practices encountered. The main analysis deals with the sequential organisation of stretches of talk that involve NFAs, whilst taking into account the actions and speech acts NFAs are associated with.

The data consists of audio recordings. Two distinct types of shops were selected in each country, a butcher and a shoe shop. The French butcher is located in Villefranche-sur-Saône, a town 25 kilometres North of Lyon, the English butcher in Cambridge (England) in the Arbury area; the French shoe shop is located in Lyon, and the English one in the East Sussex county town of Lewes. Over 22 hours of interaction were recorded in each site and then transcribed. In order to respect the privacy of the participants, the data was anonymised

following the ethical guidelines outlined in Baude et al. (2006). I collected the English data myself and for the French data used two existing corpora that were created by two other researchers (Neijete Hmed, Géraldine Lepésant) at the ICAR laboratory of the Université Lumière Lyon (Hmed, 2003; Lepésant 2003). The interaction scripts for the sites selected in France and England show many similarities that made comparing the data possible. They also have a lot in common from the point of view of the socioeconomic status of their clientele. The two types of settings (butcher's and shoe shop) were selected as their interaction scripts shows significant differences. At the butcher's, the customer is entirely reliant on the butcher to obtain the product that is behind the counter. In this type of setting, the spatial layout of the shop produces a "channelling" effect (Traverso, 2009); the customer is immediately within the butcher's field of perception as s/he enters the shop. Both in the French and English shop, a doorbell acts as a summons for the butcher, announcing the arrival of the customer, and, if the butcher is available, the interaction can start straight away. At the shoe shop, the situation is different since browsing is part of the script. The customer enters the shop unannounced, as there is no doorbell, and is free to wander around the shop so s/he can select the item s/he would like to try out or purchase. The shopkeeper does not necessarily see the customer as s/he enters the site, contrary to what happens at the butcher's.

In terms of participation framework, in both shops, most verbal interactions are dyadic but many involve two shop people interacting with one customer. At the butcher's, in both the English and French data, two parallel dyadic interactions can occur at a time with possible intersecting, particularly during small talk exchanges. There might also be customers waiting to be served while the shopkeeper is busy dealing with another customer. These unengaged customers act as bystanders (in the Goffmanian sense of the term)[8].

[8] Their presence might affect the behaviour of the other participants (Goffman 1981). The selection of a form of address also depends therefore on who might hear the form in question, not simply who the addressee is (Goffman 1981).

As the objective of the study is to determine the function of NFAs in English and French SEs as part of a comparative framework that seeks to identify cultural differences and similarities, the size of the data sample might appear limited at first sight. However, the study does not purport to reflect the linguistic variation that can be observed in SEs across England and France. The results should be seen as representative of the type of shops involved in those specific locations, the French results are similar to what has been observed by other researchers who have worked on other types of shops and/or in different locations[9].

3 Data analysis : patterns of NFA use in SEs

3.1 Frequency of NFAs in Opening and Closing Sequences

In both languages, NFAs appear mostly in opening and closing sequences of the interaction (90% of cases) and thus the following sections will primarily focus on these. Ethnographers, anthropologists and conversation analysts have long highlighted the importance of opening and closing sequences in managing a successful interaction. The sequences involve greeting and leave-taking rituals, which are essential to establishing and maintaining a good interpersonal relationship (see Goffman 1967 on "access rituals", Duranti 2001 on greetings, Schegloff and Sacks 1973 on the sequential nature of closing sequences). In opening sequences, rituals such as the exchange of greetings show that the participants are well disposed towards each other, keeping any potential threat at a distance. Closing sequences often involve ritualised exchanges of goodbyes, thanks, or good wishes (e.g. have a nice day) which ensure that the relationship can continue to flourish in potential future encounters.

[9] See Kerbrat-Orecchioni and Traverso (2009), Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2010b), Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2014).

Although they can also appear during the transactional phase of the interaction, their high frequency in closings and openings suggest that NFAs in French and English SEs are mostly associated with relational work.

The results presented below include the results for all the NFAs encountered in openings and closings.

NFAs in Opening Sequences (percent)

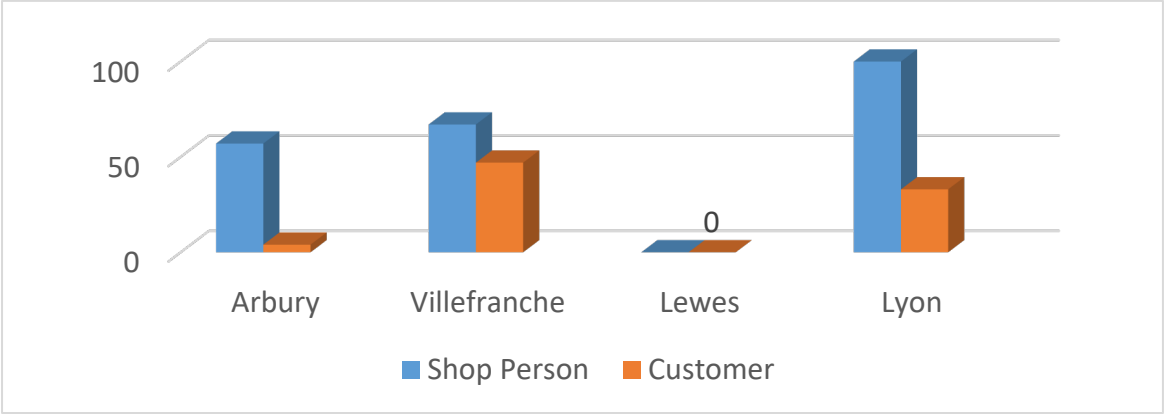


Figure 4.1

NFAs in Closing Sequences (percent)

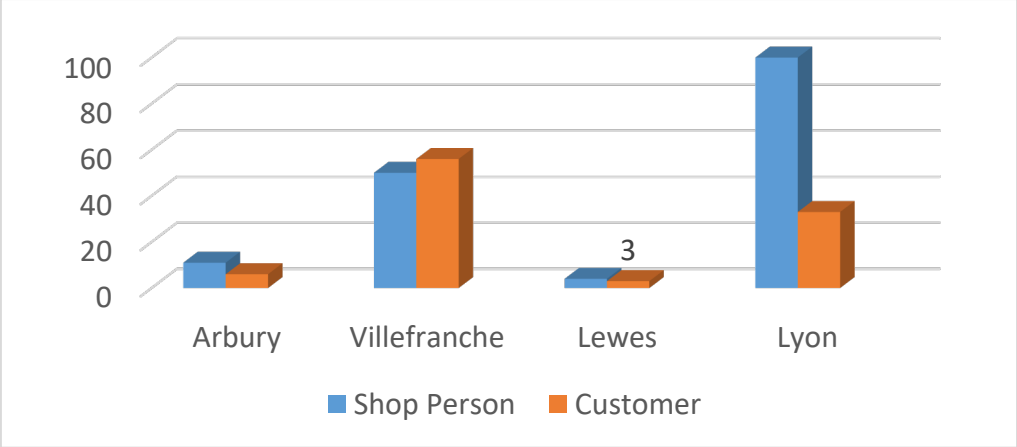


Figure 4.2

It is clear that NFAs are significantly more frequently used in French than in English SEs. They are very rarely used at the Lewes shoe shop (no NFA used by either participant in opening sequences). They appear at the Arbury butchers' both in opening and closing sequences, significantly more in openings. There is a substantial difference in their frequency depending on the role of the participant: they are more frequently used by the shopkeeper (by the butcher in 57% of opening sequences, and by the customer in only 4%).

At the Lyon shoe shop, NFAs are used by the shopkeeper in every opening sequence and by the customer in one third of them (NFAs are therefore used reciprocally in one third of the opening sequences of that site). At the French butcher's (Villefranche), NFAs are used by the butcher in 67% of opening sequences, and in 47% of them by the customer (they are used reciprocally in almost half of them). Their presence is almost constant at the French shoe shop (Lyon) where they are used by the shopkeeper in 97% of closing sequences.

These results point to two different patterns: reciprocity of use in French and asymmetry of use/absence of NFA in English.

3.2 NFAs in the French data: reciprocity of use

In the French data, there are many instances, such as in the following example, where the opening ritual is performed reciprocally via the use of the greeting form *bonjour* combined with an NFA (*madame* or *monsieur*).[10]

Villefranche butcher's – example 1

SK1 (i.e. shopkeeper): bonjour madame

Cs (i.e. customer): bonjour madame (..) je voudrais deux escalopes s'il vous plaît

SK1 : deux escalopes ↑ (..) oui épaisses ↑

SK1 : good morning madame

Cs: good morning madame (..) I would like two fillets please

SK1 : two fillets ↑ (..) yes thick ones ↑

We can note that the NFA does not always appear in the customer's response since there are instances where the customer simply uses the greeting formula but not the NFA (*bonjour madame→bonjour*). The greeting ritual can therefore be performed without the NFA being used symmetrically. It seems clear that the NFA contributes to the ritual and adds an interpersonal element to the greeting utterance, although it is not an absolute requirement.

Similarly, in closing sequences, they are used reciprocally in one third of the interactions at the shoe shop and in half of the interactions at the butcher's. We can note that they appear in exchanges initiated by the customer (example 2) and there are also instances where the NFA is used by the customer solely (example 3): NFAs are therefore not specific to a particular role:

[10] For ease of reading, NFAs have been underlined in the transcribed examples presented in the sections below. In the English translation of the French examples provided alongside the originals, the French NFAs have been kept in French, in order to avoid "foreignising" these forms and the assumption that there is an equivalent form in English (see Kluge 2019 on translating NFAs).

Villefranche butcher's – example 2

Cs1: au revoir <u>messieurs-dames</u>

SK1 : au revoir <u>monsieur</u>

SK2 : au revoir <u>monsieur</u>

Cs1: good bye '<u>messieurs-dames'</u>

SK1 : good bye '<u>monsieur'</u>

SK2 : good bye '<u>monsieur'</u>

Villefranche butcher's – example 3

Cs2: merci bien

SK2 : au revoir

Cs2: au revoir <u>mesdames</u>

Cs2: thank you

SK2 : good bye

Cs2: good bye '<u>mesdames'</u>

The role of the participants might account for the fact that they are more frequently used by the shopkeeper in openings – as we saw in section 2.1, the shopkeeper is there to serve the customer and can therefore be expected to play a more active part in the management of the interaction – but they are largely used by both sets of participants. From the point of view of the interpersonal relationship, if *madame/monsieur* convey a certain formality and social distance, the fact that they are used reciprocally shows that they are not used to index a hierarchy between the shopkeeper and the customer or to index a specific role. When using these forms, the participants address each other respectfully but as equals. The NFA is only ever combined with the pronoun *vous* and can therefore be assimilated to a *V* form (using *madame/monsieur* with *tu* would be marked and considered inappropriate).

The fact that the customer can use those forms means that the relationship is indexed as being on an equal footing, the customer and the shopkeeper belonging to the same category of people who use *V* when addressing each other.

This indiscriminate use of *madame*/*monsieur* echoes the frequent use of the mixed-gender NFA *messieurs-dames*, which is used by the customers to address all of the people present on the site (as in example 2 above).

We can note in passing that there is no instance of mixed-gender address in the English data, even when male and female customers are in the shop. The only instance of a plural form of address is a gender specific one:

> Lewes shoe shop– example 5
>
> Cs: thank you ladies (.) see you again
>
> SK1: I hope it's not too boring (.) come and see us again

This example occurs after a long conversational exchange between the customer and the two women working in the shop. As it is the only example of a plural NFA, it is difficult to determine whether plural address tends to be more gender specific in English, they are, in any case, very rarely used.[11]

3.3 NFAs in the English data: asymmetry and absence of use

Compared with what can be observed at the English butcher's (see Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.2), the near total absence of NFAs at the English shoe shop is indicative of the specificity of this setting since leaving the customer free to browse is part of the script. It seems that by

[11] In some British SEs, two customers shopping together might be addressed by the shopkeeper with the pronoun 'both' (e.g. 'Thank you both', 'Good morning both').

'over' greeting the customer the shopkeeper would run the risk of appearing pushy and would be denying them the freedom to browse. Although there often are verbal exchanges of greetings at the English shoe shop, they are less frequent than at the English butcher's or at the French shoe shop. The participants tend to expedite these ritual exchanges, which are performed via a laconic *hi* or *hello* (the greeting formula *good morning/afternoon* is never used; the greeting exchange is also often truncated, and a verbal greeting does not necessarily trigger a verbal response: *hi/hello*→∅).

This minimal realisation of the ritual seems to lead to two observations: 1) respecting the customer's autonomy is crucial and 2) performing the ritual (especially in a more emphatic way) puts the autonomy of the customer at risk.

At the English butcher's, *sir* and *madam* are never used by the customer. When an exchange involving such an NFA (example 4 below) is initiated by the butcher, the subsequent turn does not involve any NFA:

> Arbury butcher's – example 6
>
> SK: good afternoon <u>madam</u>
>
> Cs: hi (.) um
>
> SK: what can I do for you

In fact the above pattern, i.e. exchange initiated by the butcher with the greeting formula *good morning*/*afternoon* + *sir*/*madam* followed by a turn that involves no NFA, is the most common one when an NFA is used in the opening sequence. There are a few cases where the butcher knows the customer and uses their surname (*good morning Miss Drew*), or first name (*hello Lily*) or a short form of their first name (*hi Rog*)[12]. The cases where the customer uses an NFA are rare and involve using the butcher's first name and/or the NFA *mate*, which will

[12] There seems to be a strong correlation between the use of the greeting formula *good morning/afternoon* combined with *madam/sir* on the one hand, and *hello* or *hi* with the first name or diminutive on the other.

be discussed later. We can also note that whilst the butcher uses the greeting formula *good morning/afternoon* when addressing a customer, the customer very rarely uses such a formula, *hello* or *hi* tend to be used instead (and the shorter *morning/afternoon* on rare occasions).

Contrary to what can be observed at the shoe shop, as soon as the butcher is available, s/he is expected to serve the customer. By greeting the customer with a shopkeeper specific utterance (*good morning/afternoon sir/madam*), the butcher orients the exchange towards the transaction, the use of the NFA contributing "to signal to the hearer that the speaker is ready to be of service." (Dunkling 1990: 17).

In English closing sequences, *sir* and *madam* are used at the butcher's by the butcher only, with thanks or wish formulae (*have a good day*):

> Arbury butcher's – example 7
>
> Cs: it's a beautiful day
>
> SK: it is a beautiful day (.) thank you <u>sir</u>
>
> Cs: k'you

> Arbury butcher's – example 8
>
> Cs: thank you very much
>
> SK: thank you (.) <u>have a good day sir</u>

Three things are worth noting here. Firstly, the butcher uses an NFA that is never used by the customer. Secondly, the form in question conveys respect and deference towards the addressee (recall Leech's classification in which *sir/madam* belong to the category of honorifics). Thirdly, the customer does not use any NFA when addressing the butcher. Taking all three elements into account, it seems that the interpersonal relationship is

conceived in asymmetrical terms: where the butcher uses a form that can be assimilated to a *V* form, the customer uses nothing Ø.

3.4 The NFA *mate* as an egalitarian marker

The asymmetry mentioned in the previous section (i.e. shopkeeper in a lower position than the customer) can, however, be challenged. This is the case in the example below in which the customer uses the NFA *mate*.

Arbury butcher's – example 9

SK1: good morning sir

Cs: hello mate ((laughter))

SK2 : what can we get you ↑

The use of *mate* combined with the greeting formula *hello* contrasts with the deferential and formal tone of the butcher's utterance in the first turn. In fact, the butcher knows the customer and there is a certain familiarity between them, *good morning sir* conveys a jocular value which prompts the customer's response. The customer's response can be seen as challenging the asymmetry introduced by the butcher.

The NFA *mate* is also used by a customer in the following request:

Arbury butcher's – example 10

Cs: what sausages have you got ↑

SK1 : we've got the vinery the herby ones the Newmarket which are

Cs: =give us two pounds of the Newmarket then mate

Co 1 : sure

The request is formulated directly via the use of the imperative, which is unusual in the corpus as most requests are formulated via a conventionally indirect formula (*can/could I*

have x, *I'll have x* see Gagne 2018). The use of *mate*, and of the plural pronoun *us*, instead of the singular *me*, is part of the requester's strategy to minimise the request and soften the imperative.[13] This strategy would be classified in Brown and Levinson's model as a positive-politeness strategy, the requester creating a rapport and building a sense of camaraderie with the addressee. When using *mate*, the customer frames the relationship as symmetrical, as the term presupposes in-group solidarity and therefore familiarity.

The NFA *mate* which can be assimilated to a *T* form can be used to redress the asymmetry between shopkeeper and customer. However, this form is rarely used by the customers and it is never used by the butchers.

3.5 NFAs in the transaction: request prompts and organisational markers

We saw previously that NFAs were closely associated with closing and opening rituals, answering interpersonal needs, and also, that at the English butcher's *sir/madam* (in utterances such as *good morning sir/madam*) could contribute to orientating the interaction towards the transaction. In fact, NFAs seem to play a dual role, relational on the one hand, transactional on the other.

As mentioned in section 1.2., NFAs have attention-getting and organisational properties. By greeting a customer with an utterance such as *good morning/afternoon madam/sir* or *bonjour madame/monsieur*, the speaker calls on the customer explicitly; the NFA acting as a signal for the customer to get on with the activity at hand. From the point of view of designating the addressee, however, the NFA is redundant, as in most cases it is clear whom the speaker is addressing. The use of the NFA might then be motivated by two sets of needs of a distinct

[13] As Sifianou (1992: 105) points out, in British English the use of *us* (instead of *me*) is common among equals (*give us a kiss, give us a call*).

nature, to perform the greeting ritual politely and/or to make the address more pointed and swiftly orienting the exchange to the transaction.

Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2005: 244) notes that, in French SEs, the ritual value of a greeting formula such as *bonjour* or *bonsoir* can double up with that of a request prompt when uttered with a rising intonation. As well as being a greeting, *bonjour*↑ is also a question which acts as a request prompt (akin to the formula *what can I do for you?* sometimes used in English in the present data). This makes it clear to the customer that they can now make their product request:

Arbury butcher's – example 11

SK1: good morning <u>madam</u> (..) what can we do for you today

This *pragmatic compound* encountered in French is a useful resource for the shopkeeper as it allows them to speed things up politely, both responding to the ritual and transactional needs of the situation at the same time. [14] The NFA *madame/monsieur* can also be used similarly as a standalone:

Villefranche butcher's – example 12

SK1 : <u>madame</u> ↑

Cs1 : bonjour (..) moi je voudrais du filet mignon

SK1 : 'madame' ↑

Cs1 : hello (..) I would like some tenderloin

In this example, the customer responds to the shopkeeper's utterance with a greeting, before quickly formulating their product request. The rising intonation seems to signal to the customer that it is now time for them to formulate their request, therefore acting as an illocutionary force-indicating device (IFID).

[14] Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2005:244) uses the French term "amalgame pragmatique" to describe this process.

There is no case in the English data of the shopkeeper using a greeting formula with a rising intonation. Interestingly, however, there are cases where the customer's request appears in the subsequent turn:

Arbury butcher's – example 13

SK1 : good morning <u>madam</u>

Cs: morning (.) can I have two cuts of ham please

In the example above, the customer responds to the greeting before formulating the request. In the following, the greeting is absent in the customer's turn (note that the response is immediate):

Arbury butcher's – example 14

SK: good afternoon <u>madam</u>

Cs:=can I have half a pound of chipolatas please

As the greeting formula is almost exclusively used by the shopkeeper, (especially combined with *sir/madam*, also exclusively used by the shopkeeper), it seems judicious in this context to assume that an utterance such as *good morning/afternoon madam/sir* acts as an implicit prompt.

Similarly, there are cases during the payment sequence where the NFA plays an organisational function delineating the different activities involved in the transaction (taking the payment, giving out the change, holding out the product) and punctuating those actions. This is the case in the next example from the French butcher's. The NFA is used by the shopkeeper when announcing the amount the customer has to pay, and/or when handing change to the customer:

Villefranche butcher's – example 15

SK: oui (..) voilà (..) soixante-seize madame (..) et ben c'est gentil (..) bonne journée

Cs: voilà au revoir

SK: yes (..) there you are (..) seventy six madame (..) that's nice (..) have a good day

Cs: OK bye

Although the NFA could be said to minimise the payment request, it is also a clear prompt for the customer to pay. Similarly, in the next example, the NFA is used when the amount the customer has to pay is announced and also when holding out the change:

Villefranche butchers – example 16

SK: voilà cent douze vingt-cinq madame ((the customer hands a note over and SK gives the change back)) merci beaucoup madame (..) passez une bonne fin de semaine

SK: there a hundred and twelve twenty five madame ((...)) thank you very much madame (..) have a good rest of the week

This last NFA strengthens the thanking acts but also functions as a pre-closing device preparing for the final phase of the interaction. To an extent, by adding the NFA when announcing the amount the customer has to pay, the shopkeeper also sends a signal that could be glossed as *pay now*, and as *the interaction is about to end and you now have to go* in the second utterance.

4 Discussion and concluding remarks

NFAs do share similarities in both datasets. They appear in the more ritualised sequences of the encounter, namely in openings and closings, with speech acts that are largely interpersonally motivated: greetings in the opening sequence; thanks, wishes and also with goodbyes in the closing sequence. From this point of view, they can be said to be closely associated with the expression of politeness. They also appear in the payment sequence when money is being exchanged between the participants – these actions are often punctuated by

exchanges of thanks combined with an NFA. Announcements of the amount the customer has to pay are also combined with an NFA acting as a pre-closing device (although this is not attested in the English data, it might be due to the size of the data sample).

NFAs, should not in any case be perceived as a pure relational marker. In the opening sequence, they can contribute to making a quick and smooth transition towards the transaction, both in French and in English. Utterances such as *bonjour monsieur* or *good morning madam* might be more polite than utterances such as *bonjour* or *good morning*, but they are also more pointed. It is important to note that the fact an utterance such as *good morning sir/madam* can act as a request prompt relies on the attention-getting element inherent to any NFA. Any NFA contains an inherent face-threatening element, as the addressee is pushed to respond. However, by selecting a form that is largely respectful and 'polite', the speaker makes the request appropriate. Paradoxically, the NFA, the very element that makes the request polite, is also the element that acts as an IFID, turning the utterance into a clear request (i.e. an FTA). This operates in the same way that *please*, a politeness marker par excellence, which acts as an IFID, can be used to intensify a request (Aijmer 1996: 168).

The analysis therefore confirms the multifunctional aspect of NFAs and shows how their various pragmatic functions are interlinked. This underlines the importance of a close pragmatic analysis of these forms in context. NFAs are clear relational markers but their interpersonal value is not solely what motivates their use. We could in fact consider that their relational value is what allows them to be used. Often the main motivation for their use is to get the attention of the addressee, which, depending on the context, will acquire a specific pragmatic value. As with other politeness markers, they can be used strategically by the speaker to get the addressee to do what s/he wants them to do. In our data, this strategic use of the NFA correlates with the more frequent use of NFAs by the shopkeeper who leads the

exchange and is responsible for the smooth running of the interaction (however, this is not the case for the closing sequences at the French shoe shop where NFAs are more frequently used by the customer).

Let us now turn our attention to the differences we have observed for the two datasets. On the one hand, in French, *madame/monsieur* are frequently used reciprocally, each participant using the same *V* form. In English, only the shopkeeper uses *sir/madam* and the customer never uses a *V* form. There are some (but rare) occurrences of the *T* form *mate* by customers but never by the shopkeeper. The forms *sir/madam* are clearly used when the participants do not occupy the same place on the vertical power dimension with the participant in a lower position (the shopkeeper) addressing the participant in a higher position (the customer).

It is debatable whether the asymmetry signalled by the asymmetrical use of NFAs indexes a hierarchy of places or simply demonstrates a difference of roles. There appears to be something ostentatious in the use of these NFAs by the butcher, in line with the ethos of the shop, which is to provide a good service to the customer. The butcher's willingness to serve is almost theatrical in nature and reminiscent of a role-play (role must be understood in the Goffmanian sense here), and perhaps the asymmetry displayed should not be taken at face value. Rather, it should be seen as an expression of the butcher's playfulness who slightly exaggerates his role (as an actor might overplay the part). The role-play element is also present in French but extends to the customer who can join in and play the courteous and polite customer by using *madame/monsieur*. We can speculate that if there were *V* forms in English that could be used reciprocally, the customers might use them. However, there are no NFAs in English available for the customer to use – in English, a similar type of address to *madame/monsieur* in French would be *mr/miss/mrs + surname*, which obviously requires knowing the addressee's surname.

Although rare, *T* forms such as *mate*, as well as terms of endearment such as *love*, occur in English SEs – there are two occurrences of *love* at the English butcher's, each in a closing sequence, used by the customer and combined with thank you (*thank you love*). In each case, the speaker is female and older than the butcher. What is noteworthy in the English dataset is that the customers very rarely use NFAs.

Whether the lack of NFA available is indicative of a culture bias towards not naming one's interlocutor or of a simple lack of forms available is a moot point: one could argue that the absence of forms available is in itself indicative of a cultural bias. What is certain is that in a cross-cultural setting the use of these NFAs can be a source of misunderstanding when the value attached to an English NFA is transferred to a French one. This is exemplified by this comment from Liddicoat (2006: 12), where an English student learning French reacts to what is presented in a French textbook:

> There was this video in a shop in a village and everything was 'vous'. They called each other 'monsieur' and 'madame'. Like the customer called the shopkeeper 'monsieur'! That sounds kind of odd, you know, you would not call him 'sir' in English. I guess they are more formal there.

The use of *vous* is not, however, more formal than the English *you* if used reciprocally, and nobody would call the shopkeeper *sir* because *sir* encodes an asymmetry that *monsieur* does not – this interpretation is in fact a clear case of pragmalinguistic failure (Thomas 1983) as the values indexed by the English NFAs are transferred to the French ones. Similarly, an English speaker might wrongly feel flattered when addressed, Stanger (2003:159, my translation):

> How surprised I was when I first lived in Paris to hear people calling me "monsieur", when I was just 20! I was convinced that "monsieur" was normally used for people of a certain standard and found the Parisians very polite indeed.

> Friends later on told me that "monsieur" and "madame", or "mademoiselle" were simple formulae that signal the minimal amount of respect everyone deserves.

French speakers might similarly make erroneous inferences when encountering terms of endearment such as the term *love* encountered in the English data. Terms of endearment are never used in French SEs, and according to Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2010a: 12) not frequently used in everyday interaction. The NFA *mate* is also difficult to gauge for French speakers, and often impossible to translate, especially when used among strangers as there is no corresponding *T* form in the French system of address (see Formentelli 2007 for an overview of *mate* in British English).

We could perhaps draw the conclusion that using an NFA when addressing one's interlocutor is more expected in French than in English. However, it is also difficult to ascertain the extent to which it is necessary to use *madame/monsieur* to be polite in a French context when greeting, for instance, as recommended by prescriptive grammarians such as Grevisse or etiquette experts. According to the linguist and culture expert Anna Wierzbicka, such a norm does exist (Wierzbicka's 2016: 503-504):

> As a first approximation, we can say that the "logic" behind this broad and frequent use of the words *monsieur* and *madame* is that from a French cultural point of view, saying something to someone should often be accompanied by indicating that one thinks about the addressee at the moment of speaking as a man or a woman deserving of respect.
>
> This is a very general cultural norm, valid not only for speakers of French, but also for speakers of many other European languages (and many languages outside Europe too). Generally speaking, however, this norm is not valid for speakers of modern

English – a fact which often causes them considerable difficulties in intercultural communication.

Whether the form is a product of the norm or whether the perceived norm exists because of the presence of the form is not a question a linguistic investigation can answer. However, there seems to be an inescapable correlation between naming and social recognition, which is a function that only nominal forms of address can assume.

Bibliography

Aijmer, Karin. 1996. *Conversational Routines in English: Convention and Creativity*. Longman Publishing Group.

Baude, Olivier et al. 2006. Paris : Orléans: CNRS.

Braun, Friederike. 1988. *Terms of Address: Problems of Patterns and Usage in Various Languages and Cultures*. Berlin, New York, Amsterdam: Walter de Gruyter.

Brown, Penelope, and Stephen C. Levinson. 1987. *Politeness. Some Universals in Language Usage*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Brown, Roger, and Albert Gilman. 1960. 'The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity'. In Sebeok, Thomas Albert (ed.) *Style in Language*: 253-76,

Clayman, Steven E. 2010. 'Address Terms in the Service of Other Actions: The Case of News Interview Talk'. *Discourse & Communication* 4(2): 161–83.

———. 2012. 'Address Terms in the Organization of Turns at Talk: The Case of Pivotal Turn Extensions'. *Journal of Pragmatics* 44(13): 1853–67.

Cook-Gumperz, Jenny. 2001. 'Cooperation, Collaboration and Pleasure in Work'. . In Di Luzio, Aldo, Susanne Günthner, and Franca Orletti, (eds). *Culture in Communication: Analyses of Intercultural Situations*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 117–40.

Culpeper, Jonathan, Michael Haugh, and Dániel Z. Kádár. 2017. *The Palgrave Handbook of Linguistic (Im)Politeness*. Springer.

Dunkling, Leslie. 1990. *A Dictionary of Epithets and Terms of Address*. London and New York: Routledge.

Duranti, Alessandro. 2001. 'Universal and Culture-Specific Properties of Greetings'. *Linguistic Anthropology: a reader*: 208–38.

Ervin-Tripp, Susan. 1972. ‘On Sociolinguistic Rules: Alternation and Co-Occurrence’. *Directions in sociolinguistics*: 213–50.

Fasold, Ralph W. 1990. *The Sociolinguistics of Language*. Wiley-Blackwell.

Félix-Brasdefer, J. Cesar. 2015. *The Language of Service Encounters: A Pragmatic-Discursive Approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Formentelli, Maicol. 2007. ‘The Vocative Mate in Contemporary English: A Corpus Based Study’. *Language resources and linguistic theory*: 180–99.

Gagne, Christophe. 2018. ‘Indirectness and Entitlement in Product Requests in British Service Encounters’. *Journal of Pragmatics* 133: 1–14.

Goffman, Erving. 1967. *Interaction Ritual: Essays in Face-to-Face Behavior*. Aldine Publishing Company.

Goffman, Erving. 1981. *Forms of Talk*. University of Pennsylvania Press.

Haugh, Michael. 2007. ‘The Discursive Challenge to Politeness Research: An Interactional Alternative’. *Journal of Politeness Research. Language, Behaviour, Culture* 3(2).

———. 2015. *Im/Politeness Implicatures*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.

Haugh, Michael, and Jonathan Culpeper. 2018. ‘Integrative Pragmatics and (Im)Politeness Theory’. In *Pragmatics & Beyond New Series*, eds. Cornelia Ilie and Neal R. Norrick. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 213–39.

Hmed, Neijete. 2003. *Analyse Comparative Des Interactions: Le Cas de Trois Commerces: Français, Tunisien et Franco-Maghrébin*. Lyon 2. Unpublished doctoral thesis.

Kerbrat-Orecchioni, Catherine. 1992. *Les Interactions Verbales II*. Paris, Armand Colin.

———. 1994. *Les Interactions Verbales III*. Paris, Armand Colin.

———. 2005. *Le discours en interaction*. Paris, Armand Colin.

———. 2006. ‘Politeness in Small Shops in France’. *Journal of Politeness Research. Language, Behaviour, Culture* 2(1).

———. 2010a. ‘Pour Une Approche Contrastive Des Formes Nominales d’adresse’. *Journal of French Language Studies* 20(1): 3–15.

———. 2010b. (ed) *S’adresser à Autrui : Les Formes Nominales d’Adresse en Français.* Université de Savoie.

———. 2014. (ed) *S’adresser à Autrui : Les Formes Nominales d’Adresse dans une Perspective Comparative Interculturelle*. Université de Savoie.

———. 2017. *Les débats de l’entre-deux-tours des élections présidentielles françaises: constantes et évolutions d’un genre*. Paris: Editions L’Harmattan.

Kerbrat-Orecchioni, Catherine, Véronique Traverso (eds). 2009. *Les Interactions en Site Commercial*. ENS Editions.

King, Jeremy. 2010. ‘The Role of Power and Solidarity in Politeness Theory: The Case of Golden Age Spanish’. *Historical (Im) politeness*: 231–64.

Kluge, Bettina. 2019. ‘On Translating Pronominal and Nominal Terms of Address’. *It’s not all about you: New perspectives on address research* 1: 47.

Kluge, Bettina, and María Irene Moyna. 2019. *It’s Not All about You: New Perspectives on Address Research*. John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Leech, Geoffrey. 1999. ‘The Distribution and Function of Vocatives in American and British English Conversation’. *Language and Computers* 26: 107–20.

Leech, Geoffrey N. 2014. *The Pragmatics of Politeness*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.

Lepésant, Géraldine. 2003. *Interactions verbales dans un magasin de chaussures.* Lyon 2. Unplublished master’s thesis.

Lerner, Gene H. 2003. ‘Selecting next Speaker: The Context-Sensitive Operation of a Context-Free Organization’. *Language in society* 32(2): 177–201.

Levinson, Stephen C. 1979. ‘Pragmatics and Social Deixis: Reclaiming the Notion of Conventional Implicature’. *Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society* 5: 206.

Liddicoat, Anthony J. 2006. ‘Learning the Culture of Interpersonal Relationships: Students’ Understandings of Personal Address Forms in French’. *Intercultural Pragmatics* 3(1).

Liddicoat, Anthony J. 2011. *An Introduction to Conversation Analysis 2e: Second Edition*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

McCarthy, Michael, and Anne O’Keeffe. 2003. ‘’What’s in a Name?’: Vocatives in Casual Conversations and Radio Phone-in Calls.” In Leistyna P. and Meyer Ch. (eds.). Corpus Analysis: Language Structure and Language Use. Amsterdam: Rodopi’.

Norrby, Catrin, and Camilla Wide, eds. 2015. *Address Practice as Social Action: European Perspectives*. Houndmills, Basingstoke Hampshire ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Perret, Delphine. 1968. ‘Termes d’adresse et injures À propos d’un dictionnaire des injures’. *Cahiers de lexicologie, n° 12. varia*: 5–16.

Placencia, María E. 2001. ‘Inequality in Address Behavior at Public Institutions in La Paz, Bolivia’. *Anthropological Linguistics* 43(2): 198–217.

Ravazzolo, Elisa. 2014. ‘L’emploi de Formes Nominales d’adresse dans l’émission italienne Radio Anch’io approche comparée de corpus radiophoniques en Italien et en Français’. In Catherine-Kerbrat-Orecchioni (ed.) *S’adresser à autrui: les formes nominales d’adresse dans une perspective comparative interculturelle*: 177–218.

Sacks, Harvey, Emanuel A. Schegloff, and Gail Jefferson. 1974. ‘A Simplest Systematics for the Organization of Turn-Taking for Conversation’. *Language* 50(4): 696–735.

Schegloff, Emanuel A, and Harvey Sacks. 1973. ‘Opening up Closings’. *Semiotica* 8(4): 289–327.

Sienicki, Ben. 2014. ‘“ Hey, y’guys!”: A Diachronic Usage-Based Approach to Changes in American English Address’.

Sifianou, Maria. 2000. *Politeness Phenomena in England and Greece*. Oxford University Press.

Stanger, Ted. 2012. *Sacrés Français: un Américain nous regarde*. Paris: Gallimard.

Thomas, J. 1983. 'Cross-Cultural Pragmatic Failure'. *Applied Linguistics* 4(2): 91–112.

Traverso, V. 2006. 'Aspects of Polite Behaviour in French and Syrian Service Encounters: A Data-Based Comparative Study'. *Journal of Politeness Research. Language, Behaviour, Culture* 2(1): 105–122.

Traverso, Véronique. 2009. 'Cadres, Espaces, Objets et Multimodalité'. Kerbrat-Orecchioni, Catherine and Traverso Véronique (éds.)*, Les interactions en site commercial*: 45–76.

Tsakona, Villy, and Maria Sifianou. 2019. 'Vocatives in Service Encounters: Evidence from Greek'. *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia* 51(1): 60–89.

Wierzbicka, Anna. 2016. 'Making Sense of Terms of Address in European Languages through the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM)'. *Intercultural Pragmatics* 13(4): 499–527.