UNIVERSIDAD COMPLUTENSE MADRID

Master's Dissertation

Rapport Management in the TV show *Orphan Black*: From accommodation strategies to accommodative moves

Patricia Díaz Muñoz

Supervisor: Dr. Carmen Maíz Arévalo

**MA in English Linguistics:
New Applications and International Communication**

October 2018

ANEXO I: DECLARACIÓN DE NO PLAGIO

D./Dña.   Patricia Díaz Muñoz

con NIF   51498336W   , estudiante de Máster en la Facultad de

filología   de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid en el

curso 2017 -2018 , como autor/a del trabajo de fin de máster titulado

'Rapport Management in the TV show *Orphan Black*: From accommodation strategies to

accommodative moves'

y presentado para la obtención del título correspondiente, cuyo/s tutor/ es/son:

Dra. Carmen Maíz Arévalo

DECLARO QUE:

El trabajo de fin de máster que presento está elaborado por mí y es original. No copio, ni utilizo ideas, formulaciones, citas integrales e ilustraciones de cualquier obra, artículo, memoria, o documento (en versión impresa o electrónica), sin mencionar de forma clara y estricta su origen, tanto en el cuerpo del texto como en la bibliografía. Así mismo declaro que los datos son veraces y que no he hecho uso de información no autorizada de cualquier fuente escrita de otra persona o de cualquier otra fuente.

De igual manera, soy plenamente consciente de que el hecho de no respetar estos extremos es objeto de sanciones universitarias y/o de otro orden.

En Madrid, a 28 de octubre   de 2018

Fdo.: Patricia Díaz Muñoz

Esta DECLARACIÓN debe ser insertada en primera página de todos los trabajos fin de máster conducentes a la obtención del Título.

Breve resumen

Desde que Giles (1973) propuso la Teoría de la Acomodación Lingüística (*Speech Accommodation Theory*) ha habido un creciente interés en el estudio de la acomodación como fenómeno social. No obstante, menos atención han recibido los efectos producidos por la acomodación en el estudio de la cortesía verbal, una disciplina tradicional en el campo de la pragmática. Por tanto, el presente estudio tiene como objetivo tratar el efecto que tiene la acomodación verbal en la cortesía pragmática, a través de una serie de muestras obtenidas de la ficción; más concretamente, de la serie *Orphan Black*. Sin embargo, la controversia y la falta de acuerdo que existe entre las diferentes teorías actuales, dificultan el estudio de la cortesía verbal. Ante esta situación, la teoría de Gestión de Relaciones Interpersonales (*Rapport Management*) (Spencer-Oatey, 2004, 2008) ha sido elegida como marco de desarrollo para el presente estudio, ya que posibilita tanto la descripción émica (subjetiva) como ética (objetiva) de los datos recabados. Dicho esto, dos importantes cuestiones se plantean para el desarrollo del estudio: 1. ¿Hasta qué punto pueden considerarse estrategias de cortesía los movimientos acomodativos? 2. ¿Qué tipo de diferencias culturales pueden darse en el uso de la acomodación como estrategia de cortesía?

Considerando las cuestiones a tratar, el presente estudio se ha dividido en cinco secciones, además de la introductoria. En segundo lugar, el marco teórico profundiza en la definición y las principales características de la acomodación y la cortesía verbal, además de aportar nociones importantes con respecto a la variable cultural. Después, la tercera sección contiene la descripción del corpus utilizado y de los participantes, así como del procedimiento realizado y las herramientas empleadas para el estudio. En la cuarta sección se presentan los resultados tanto cuantitativos como cualitativos del análisis. Además, se proporciona una amplia comparación de los resultados y una discusión sobre los hallazgos obtenidos. Finalmente, serán proporcionadas las conclusiones, junto con posibles líneas de investigación futuras y posibles limitaciones.

En primer lugar, el concepto de acomodación es definido en el marco teórico como un ajuste comunicativo mediante el cual el hablante se adapta no sólo a su interlocutor, sino al contexto, en general, en el que tiene lugar la interacción. De esta forma, Dragojevic et al. (2016) sugieren cinco tipos diferentes de estrategias de acomodación por las cuales se puede realizar dicho ajuste comunicativo, a saber: estrategias de aproximación, estrategias de interpretabilidad, estrategias de gestión del discurso, estrategias de control

interpersonal y expresiones emocionales. Sin embargo, el presente estudio no se ha llevado a cabo dentro de la Teoría de la Acomodación de la Comunicación desarrollada por Dragojevic et al. (2016), sino que se han analizado ejemplos pertenecientes a los cinco tipos de estrategias de acomodación dentro del marco de Gestión de Relaciones Interpersonales con el propósito de comprobar cómo actúan al ser consideradas estrategias de cortesía.

Dicho marco no pertenece a ninguna de las tres perspectivas principales en el estudio de la cortesía verbal (perspectiva tradicional, perspectiva postmodernista y enfoque basado en marcos), aunque tiene cierto paralelismo con las teorías desarrolladas desde una perspectiva postmodernista, ya que distingue entre cortesía de primer orden (perspectiva émica) y cortesía de segundo orden (perspectiva ética). La cortesía de primer orden estudia la evaluación de las estrategias de cortesía por parte de los propios participantes de la interacción, mientras que la cortesía de segundo orden es el estudio teórico tradicional por parte del analista. A su vez, las estrategias de cortesía son una serie de realizaciones lingüísticas mediante las cuales se pueden gestionar las relaciones interpersonales e intergrupales. Además, la Gestión de Relaciones Interpersonales se sustenta en tres bases principales, que deben estar equilibradas para que la interacción pueda desarrollarse de forma armónica y fluida. Dichas bases principales son susceptibilidad de la imagen, derechos y obligaciones, y objetivos interactivos. Cabe destacar que la elección de estrategias de cortesía, que afectan a dichas bases, depende de varios factores contextuales como la relación existente entre los participantes, su orientación al iniciar la conversación (y a lo largo de la misma) o el número de participantes en sí.

En lo que respecta a la literatura especializada en el tema, son pocos los estudios previos que han centrado su atención en la relación entre la acomodación y la cortesía verbal y, además, estos se han desarrollado principalmente en entornos laborales. No obstante, la imagen que los individuos proyectan de sí mismos va más allá de su imagen en el entorno laboral. Esta es una de las principales motivaciones por la cual el presente estudio se enfoca en interacciones cotidianas entre las cinco participantes seleccionadas.

Con respecto a la variable cultural, es importante destacar que afecta tanto al uso de la acomodación como al estudio de la cortesía verbal. Algunos académicos (Ylänne, 2008; Gallois, 2016) sugieren que ciertos ajustes comunicativos responden al deseo de los participantes de marcar su propia identidad (cultural, en este caso). Por otra parte, el uso

de estrategias de acomodación también puede deberse a la intención de los participantes de eliminar ciertas barreras culturales. Atendiendo a la influencia de elementos culturales en el estudio de la cortesía verbal, sería conveniente mencionar que son un factor determinante en el desarrollo de las tres bases principales de la Gestión de Relaciones Interpersonales. Además, según Brown y Levinson (1987), la realización de las estrategias de cortesía depende ampliamente de aspectos culturales.

Con el propósito de estudiar los efectos del uso de la acomodación como estrategia de cortesía, se creó el corpus OBCAP (*Orphan Black Corpus for Accommodation and Politeness*). El corpus OBCAP se compone de seis episodios (tres del principio y tres del final) de la serie *Orphan Black*. La ficción es una importante fuente de datos para trabajos en el campo de la lingüística, ya que en muchas ocasiones se utilizan varios elementos lingüísticos para crear una sensación de realidad y, además, suelen ser fuentes de fácil acceso. Para acotar el foco de estudio de la presente investigación, se eligieron cinco de los personajes, pertenecientes a diferentes culturas (británica, estadounidense, canadiense, ucraniana y francesa), como participantes del estudio. Después, se buscaron posibles comentarios metapragmáticos verbales emitidos por las participantes a través de Wordsmith Tools. Los comentarios metapragmáticos son evaluaciones implícitas o explícitas por parte de los participantes sobre el comportamiento lingüístico de los demás participantes. Además, cada interacción entre las cinco participantes fue manualmente revisada para comprobar que las evaluaciones respondían efectivamente a estrategias de acomodación, para encontrar otras formas de realización de las evaluaciones y para que ningún caso de acomodación quedara excluido. Una vez finalizada la búsqueda de movimientos acomodativos y sus respectivas evaluaciones, los 85 casos reunidos fueron clasificados según el tipo de estrategia de acomodación al que pertenecían y la influencia que tuvieran en el estudio de la cortesía verbal.

Sin embargo, el continuo solapamiento de las estrategias de acomodación dificultaba la realización del análisis. En otras palabras, cada movimiento acomodativo estaba formado por la combinación de dos o más estrategias de acomodación, imposibilitando la realización precisa de cualquier análisis. Ante esta situación, se establecieron una serie de macro-categorías que, considerando las diferentes combinaciones de estrategias de acomodación y su efecto en el estudio de la cortesía, permitieran dicho solapamiento. Las cuatro macro-categorías propuestas para el presente estudio fueron cuatro niveles en los cuales los movimientos acomodativos tienen lugar, a saber: nivel relacional, nivel de

contenido del mensaje, nivel de beneficio y nivel emocional. De esta forma, cada nivel de acomodación focaliza en una variable contextual determinada.

Posteriormente, los análisis tanto cuantitativo como cualitativo se llevaron a cabo. En primer lugar, el análisis cuantitativo muestra que los movimientos acomodativos que tienen lugar en el nivel de beneficio son los más frecuentes en el corpus OBCAP, seguidos por los movimientos acomodativos pertenecientes al nivel de contenido del mensaje. Los movimientos acomodativos menos frecuentes son los que tienen lugar en el nivel de relaciones y en el nivel emocional. Una posible explicación para esta situación podría ser que los movimientos acomodativos que conllevan mayor coste para los hablantes son realizados con menos frecuencia. Después, el análisis cualitativo muestra que cada nivel de acomodación tiene una serie de patrones y características de acomodación y de cortesía asociados. De esta manera, existen diferentes grados de prototipicalidad dentro de cada nivel de acomodación en función de los patrones y características correspondientes.

Considerando los resultados de ambos análisis, la estrategia de acomodación más empleada por los participantes es la estrategia de gestión del discurso. Sin embargo, las estrategias de acomodación no suelen aparecer en solitario, sino que aparecen combinadas e incluso en bloque. Como consecuencia, agrupar las estrategias de acomodación en movimientos acomodativos y clasificar estos movimientos acomodativos en diferentes niveles de acomodación según la variable contextual en la que se focalizan, parece más viable que llevar a cabo un análisis considerando únicamente los tipos de estrategias de acomodación.

Para concluir, se confirma que los movimientos acomodativos se pueden utilizar como estrategia de cortesía y tienen varias implicaturas en el estudio de la cortesía verbal, particularmente en la Gestión de Relaciones Interpersonales. No obstante, la cortesía verbal también influye en la acomodación, ya que ayuda a establecer una serie de macro-categorías que facilitan su estudio, así como diferentes grados de prototipicalidad dentro de estas macro-categorías. Dicho esto, se podría concluir que la acomodación es un ajuste comunicativo a nivel contextual y no sólo en referencia al interlocutor, lo que desencadena una influencia bidireccional entre acomodación y cortesía.

En cuanto a la variable cultural, el estudio ha demostrado que las diferencias culturales no tienen una repercusión determinante en las interacciones cotidianas, lo cual no descarta su importancia en otros contextos. Por esta razón, sería interesante que futuras

investigaciones estudiaran la acomodación en diferentes contextos como en medios de comunicación, instituciones educativas o redes sociales, por ejemplo. Además, se podrían incluir otras variables como edad, género o diacronía. Por otra parte, el presente estudio ha demostrado que las especificaciones de rol tienen un papel fundamental en el uso de la acomodación como estrategia de cortesía en interacciones cotidianas.

Finalmente, aunque se haya obtenido una perspectiva más amplia de la acomodación a través de conceptos relacionados con la cortesía verbal, el estudio de la acomodación permanece incompleto. El hecho de que las estrategias de acomodación puedan aparecer en bloque y que puedan darse como movimiento de inicio o de repuesta, sugiere que la introducción de conceptos relacionados con el Análisis Conversacional podría aportar una perspectiva más completa de lo que es la acomodación. Además, profundizar en los diferentes grados de prototipicalidad dentro de los niveles de acomodación sería también necesario en futuras investigaciones.

Abstract

Since Giles (1973) proposed the Speech Accommodation Theory, accommodation has been developed from a sociolinguistic perspective. However, little attention has been paid to the influence of accommodation on the study of politeness, which is one of the main fields of study as regards pragmatics. Hence, this paper examines the effect of verbal accommodation occurrences taken from fiction from the perspective of politeness, considering cultural differences too. The framework of Rapport Management (Spencer-Oatey, 2004, 2008) has been selected in order to develop the present study, for it considers both emic (insider) and etic (outsider) perspectives. As a result, the evaluation of accommodation strategies from the perspective of Rapport Management provides a wider view of what accommodation is.

Keywords: accommodation strategies, Rapport Management, accommodative move, accommodation levels.

Acknowledgments

First of all, I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Carmen Maíz Arévalo, whose lectures first inspired me to study Pragmatics. I would also like to thank her for her wise guidance and unfailing encouragement.

Thanks to all my teachers on the Master's course, especially to Dr. Begoña Núñez Perucha for her help and constant dedication to the students.

I owe a debt gratitude to my linguist friends for their comments and criticisms, but also to my non-linguist friends, especially to María and Araceli, who have not only supported me, but have also shown a deep interest in what I do. They are my favourite passive pragmaticians.

And most importantly, thanks to my mother, my sister and my granny, who have unconditionally believed in me, even when things were not easy. None of this would have been possible without their constant love and patience. I would also like to thank them for continually encouraging me, every day, to fight to achieve my goals.

Rapport Management in the TV show *Orphan Black*: From accommodation strategies to accommodative moves

Table of Contents

1. Introduction

Recently, there has been growing interest in the concept of *accommodation* as a social phenomenon (Hua and Sweeney, 2010; Dragojevic et al., 2016a, 2016b; Kádár and Marsden, 2017). Accommodation is defined as a communicative adjustment produced by the participants of a conversation in order to adapt their linguistic behaviour to the context of the ongoing interaction in either verbal or non-verbal ways. It is generally acknowledged that accommodation can provide a sense of convergence (see section 2.1) among the participants of an interaction. However, it can also be considered as a divergent strategy (see section 2.1). Moreover, accommodation can be performed through different means such as tone of voice, speech patterns, gestures and so on.

Since Giles (1973) proposed the Speech Accommodation Theory (SAT henceforth), many scholars have provided new approaches to the concept of accommodation (Coupland et al., 1991; Ylänne, 2008; Gasiorek and Giles, 2012; Dragojevic et al., 2016a, 2016b, among others). However, little attention has been paid to the effects of the use of accommodation on politeness, which has traditionally been one of the main subjects in the field of pragmatics (Hua and Sweeney, 2010; Kádár and Marsden, 2017). Politeness studies speakers' choice of strategies so as to maintain the social equilibrium and smoothness in an interaction, and its following evaluation by interlocutors as (im)polite. Hence, this paper aims to classify verbal accommodation occurrences according to their effects on politeness in face-to-face interactions taken from fiction. For that purpose, Rapport Management (Spencer-Oatey, 2004, 2008) has been chosen as the politeness framework to develop the analysis because it considers the participants' own perceptions and not only the analyst's theoretical approach. Thus, this framework allows to conduct the analysis from an emic perspective, i.e. participants' perception within their cultures, as well as from an etic perspective, i.e. researcher's perception outside participants' cultures. Hence, two research questions are posed:

> **RQ1.** To what extent can accommodative moves be considered rapport management strategies?

> **RQ2.** What are the cultural differences stemming from the use of accommodation as a rapport management strategy?

Thus, the main hypotheses, considering previous research on the topic, are the following:

Hypothesis 1. Accommodative moves might be employed as rapport management strategies not only because they can regulate social distance among the participants, but because they can also affect participants' face sensitivities and therefore be used so as to save, threaten or enhance (among others) participants' face. Furthermore, following Spencer-Oatey's (2004, 2008) framework for rapport, participants might use accommodation because of concerns about their rights and obligations within an interaction. Finally, the use of accommodation strategies can help to achieve participants' goals (either relational or transactional) when entering into a conversation.

Hypothesis 2. Although non-native speakers of English accommodate native speakers through using their language as working language, they might be less accommodative than native speakers since non-native speakers may have more limitations and fewer accommodative resources than native speakers do. In addition to that, given that the samples are taken from a TV show, the characters might represent cultural stereotypes even when talking. This can also affect their use of accommodation strategies and lead to some cultural (and stereotypical) differences in the use of accommodation throughout the TV show.

The current study is divided into five sections. Once the introduction has been presented, in section 2, a theoretical background will be provided in order to introduce the topic and some important concepts concerning accommodation and politeness, especially Rapport Management (RM henceforth). Furthermore, a definition of *culture* and some cultural aspects related to accommodation and politeness will be discussed. The third section will include a brief description of the corpus and the participants as well as the tools and the procedure employed to develop the study. Then, in section 4, the results and findings from the analysis will be discussed and compared in depth. Cultural aspects will be also addressed and compared. Finally, a conclusion for the topic will be given alongside further research and future directions on the topic.

2. Theoretical background

This section is divided into four subsections so as to introduce some theoretical notions that are necessary to develop the analysis, namely accommodation, face(work), politeness

and RM, and culture. Some of these subsections are divided into different parts due to the difficulties that accommodation and politeness pose.

2.1 The concept of *accommodation*

According to Dragojevic et al. (2016a: 36), "Upon entering a communicative encounter, people immediately (and often unconsciously) begin to synchronize aspects of their verbal (e.g., accent, speech rate) and nonverbal behavior (e.g., gesture, posture)." This phenomenon is termed *accommodation* and can be considered as a communicative adjustment. The current research focuses on verbal accommodation in face-to-face interaction through extracts taken from fiction. It occurs when the participants of an interaction adapt their linguistic behaviour to the context in a verbal way. Moreover, Dragojevic et al. (2016b) have claimed that accommodation is not always aimed to create rapport and convergence among people[1]:

> [1] B: I carry around all these mistakes. I don't know how to be happy. There's no one left to fight, and I'm still a shit mum.
> A: Did you guys see how panicked I got when Felix handed me the baby earlier? Like, I am just not maternal at all. And that makes me wonder like, am I selfish or am I scared? You know? We're all scared Sarah.

It might also create a sense of divergence and, therefore, be used by the speakers so as to highlight that they are different or they have different opinions[2]:

> [2] B: How are we all related?
> C: We're not.

This idea suggests that accommodation serves, among other things, as a mechanism to regulate the social distance with our interlocutors (Gasiorek, 2016).

Since Giles proposed the SAT (1973), many scholars (Coupland et al., 1991; Ylänne, 2008; Gasiorek and Giles, 2012; Dragojevic et al., 2016a, 2016b) have developed a framework for the analysis of these communication adjustments as social phenomena. This framework is termed Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT henceforth) and "seeks to explain and predict such communicative adjustments, and model how others

---

[1] This example has been taken from the OBCAP corpus, where B stands for British and A for American referring to the participants' nationalities. In this scene, the B is upset because she has failed an exam and A is trying to comfort her.
[2] This example has been also taken from the OBCAP corpus, where B stands for British again and C for Canadian. In this scene, the British woman and the Canadian woman are having an argument since the Canadian woman does not want to answer the British woman's questions.

in an interaction perceive, evaluate, and respond to them." (Dragojevic et al., 2016a: 176). Furthermore, Coupland et al. (1988) suggested a taxonomy for strategies that people use in order to adapt their communicative behaviour to their interlocutors depending on their initial orientation[3]. This taxonomy is summarised in Table 1:
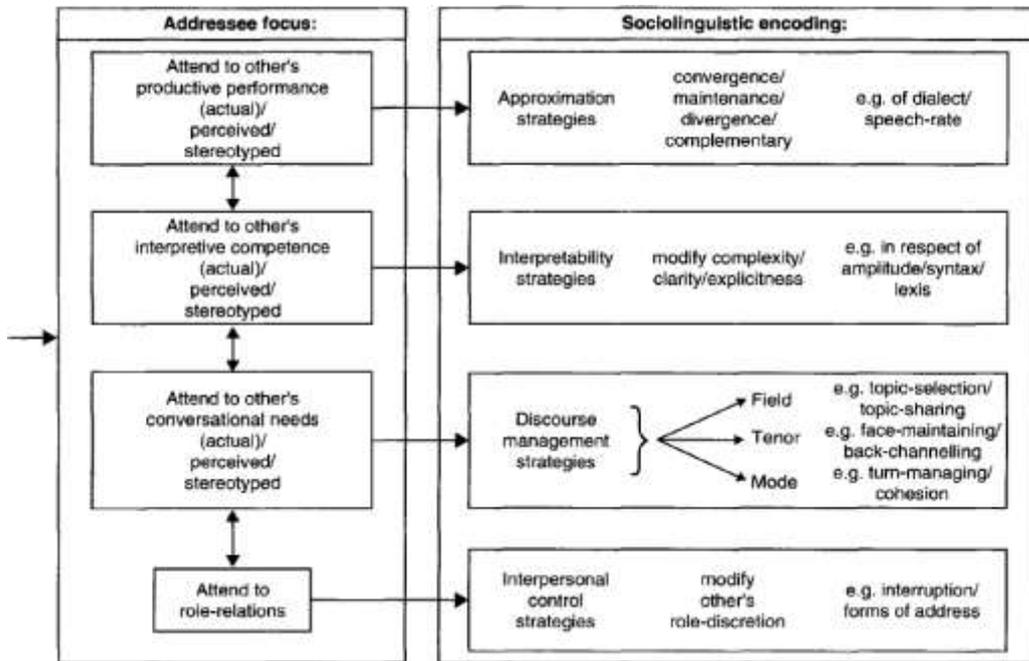

Table 1. An extended model of sociolinguistic processes in CAT (Coupland et al., 1988: 28)

In addition to that, Dragojevic et al. (2016a) have added a fifth category to the taxonomy: emotional expressions. The focus of emotional expressions is on participants' feelings and they are used so as to make an interaction comfortable and easier. Reassurance is an example belonging to this category[4]:

[3] Okay, okay. Don't freak out. They need to use Interpol to find the German, which is unlikely.

The authors have also suggested that accommodation strategies are not merely intended to facilitate interaction, for they could be employed with malicious intentions too (see

---

[3] According to Dragojevic et al. (2016b: 186), the initial orientation "is the goals, beliefs, and predispositions speakers bring to a given encounter." It might change during the interaction.
[4] This example has been taken from the OBCAP corpus. Here, the interlocutor has impersonated a police woman to discover what is happening with the clones. The police have just found a corpse, which was buried by her so as not to raise suspicion, albeit she did not kill that person. She asks the speaker for advice and this is the answer that the speaker provides.

example [2]). Besides, it cannot be considered as a clear-cut classification since some kinds of strategies might overlap (cf. section 4).

As previously mentioned, CAT not only analyses convergence and divergence within interaction, but also other features and variables (beyond the scope of the current study) related to accommodation strategies (such as symmetry, modality, duration and so on). In fact, CAT also studies the before and after of accommodation strategies, which means that it considers the antecedent conditions and participants' expectations and following evaluations, which may vary depending on each individual's perception (cf. Dragojevic et al., 2016a, 2016b). This suggests that CAT gives importance to both speaker and hearer. That is why CAT seems to share some features and principles with politeness theories. These connections between CAT and politeness theories will be addressed in the following sections.

Although the focus of the present study is not on CAT as a framework for accommodation, but on the evaluation of accommodation as a rapport management strategy, it has provided many other important insights regarding the concept of accommodation apart from the aforementioned accommodation strategies. Firstly, Gallois et al. (2016) have stated that accommodation can occur across different domains such as culture, gender or age. Moreover, it can take place either in interpersonal or intergroup encounters. According to Gallois et al. (2016: 124) "intergroup encounters are those where at least one communicator accesses a social group and applies it to interaction." On the other hand, in interpersonal encounters, "group membership and affiliations are not applied." (ibid.). In the second place, Gasiorek (2016) has highlighted that accommodation not only serves to regulate the social distance with our interlocutors but it also helps to look for common ground[5] among the participants, which facilitates interaction. In addition to that, Gasiorek (ibid.) has claimed that accommodation can be initiated by the speaker or as a response to others. The third one is that, in the same way as politeness (or rapport management) strategies, the use of accommodation entails a set of costs and benefits that speakers must assume (Dragojevic et al., 2016a). Thus, it could be related to Spencer-Oatey's (2008) idea of participants' rights and obligations (see section 2.3.2).

---

[5] Colston and Gibbs (2017: 13) have defined common ground as "information, beliefs, attitudes that some select group of individuals both share and mutually recognize that they possess in common."

Lastly, it is also worth mentioning that there are more perspectives on the analysis of communicative adjustments apart from CAT, such as Code-switching (Gumperz, 1982) or Mimicry (Chartrand and van Baaren, 2009; Gueguen et al., 2009), among others (cf. Gasiorek, 2016). CAT seems to be the most complete of the theories, albeit the lack of contextual variables seems to leave a gap in the framework. Here is where politeness theories might play an important role.

2.2 Face(work)

Face and *politeness* are two of the most important concepts within the present study. Sometimes both concepts are wrongly equated in pragmatic studies. That is why defining them separately seems to be more viable so as to develop the study in a clear and order way. First of all, the concept of *face* will be discussed in depth.

The notion of *face* was coined by Goffman (1967). He borrowed the term from the English expression 'to lose face' (i.e. to be embarrassed) and defined it as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself [sic] by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact" (Goffman, 1967: 5). Since then, many scholars have expanded on the concept of face. Brown and Levinson (1987) claimed that there are two aspects concerning face: negative face and positive face. As Spencer-Oatey (2005: 119) has summarised, "negative face represents a desire for autonomy, and positive face represents a desire for approval". Moreover, Brown and Levinson (1987) considered face as a notion inherently linked to the study of politeness. However, Haugh (2013) has recently stated that face is not necessarily related to politeness studies and must therefore be analysed as a separate object of study. In addition to that, he has claimed that face should not be merely conceptualised as a social aspect of self, but as:

> *interpretations* of persons-in-relationships as well as relationships-in-interaction by participants, with an interpretation referring to a representation of the interpersonal *significance* of that understanding for which participants can be held accountable. (Haugh, 2013: 48, emphasis in the original)

Hence, he has highlighted the relational nature of face. In the same vein, Arundale (2010) has proposed the Conjoint Co-constituting Model, where face is created by both speaker and hearer and is, therefore, considered a relational and dynamic aspect of participants. Furthermore, Locher and Watts (2005, 2008) have maintained that face is negotiated in interaction. They have stated that "face is socially attributed in each individual instance

of interaction, which implies that any individual may be attributed a potentially infinite number of faces." (Locher and Watts, 2005: 12). That is why they sometimes use the term *mask* to refer to the concept of face. Moreover, according to Spencer-Oatey (2008: 14), face "is concerned with people's sense of worth, dignity and identity, and is associated with issues such as respect, honour, status, reputation and competence." Thus, Spencer-Oatey (2007, 2008) has claimed that face is closely related to identity and has established three notions of face based on psychological paradigms:

- Quality face (individual identity): people's desire for other people to evaluate their individual qualities in a positive way.
- Relational face (relational identity): people's desire for other people to evaluate their relational qualities in a positive way. It is associated to interpersonal communication.
- Social identity face (in-group identity): people's desire for other people to respect their role or social identity within a group. It is associated to in-group communication.

Although she has related the concepts of face and identity, Spencer-Oatey (2007) has also established some distinctions between them. Borrowing from Arundale (2005), the notion of face is essentially linked to social interaction, whereas identity can be considered an individual phenomenon, albeit both emerge in interaction (cf. Spencer-Oatey, 2007). Another important distinction is that "A person's identity attributes include negatively and neutrally evaluated characteristics, as well as positive ones, whilst the attributes associated with face are only positive ones" (Spencer-Oatey, 2007: 9). That is why she has suggested that face is vulnerable and lies in what she has called *face sensitivities*. On the other hand, Locher (2008) has claimed that both identity and face are negotiated by the participants in interaction, considering identity as a long-term aspect of participants in interaction and face as a short-term one. Furthermore, Dragojevic et al. (2016a, 2016b) have neglected the notion of face in their studies of accommodation, but they have discussed the differences between interpersonal and in-group "identities", which agrees, to some extent, with Spencer-Oatey's (2007, 2008) notions of face, and Locher and Watts' (2005) concept of mask.

Having discussed the concept of face, Goffman (1967: 12) defined *facework* as "the actions taken by a person to make whatever he is doing consistent with face." Moreover,

following Brown and Levinson's (1987) seminal work, facework consists of a set of linguistic options that each culture has so as to mitigate face threats. Nevertheless, Locher and Watts (2008) have expanded on the concept of facework and have equated it with their politeness framework of Relational Work:

> Relational work refers to all aspects of the work invested by individuals in the construction, maintenance, reproduction and transformation of interpersonal relationships among those engaged in social practice. In this sense it is equivalent to facework, but only if we accept that facework is always present in any form of socio-communicative verbal interaction. If facework is only taken to refer to rationally motivated means of mitigating face-threatening acts, which is implicit in the Brown and Levinson understanding of facework, then it cannot always be taken to be present in social practice. (Locher and Watts, 2008: 96)

Hence, what they have claimed is that facework is not merely intended to avoid face threats, but also to maintain, gain or even enhance face. However, the distinction between politeness and facework seems to remain blurred. On that subject, Haugh (2013) has argued that politeness is one of the many forms of facework alongside impoliteness, mock politeness, self-politeness, and so forth. In addition to that, he claims that face is considered as interpretations of persons in interaction, while politeness is considered as:

> *evaluations* of persons and relationships vis-à-vis the taken-for-granted sets of expectancies of participants, where evaluations refer to the casting of persons and relationship into particular valenced (i.e., positive-neutral-negative) *categories* according to some kind of perceived normative scale or frame. (Haugh, 2013: 48, emphasis in the original)

Furthermore, according to Spencer-Oatey (2008), face sensitivities are only an element considered when studying politeness, beside rights and obligations, and interactional goals.

It can therefore be concluded that face can be used as an element within politeness studies, albeit it is not merely linked to politeness. Nevertheless, borrowing from Intachakra (2012), other elements such as the concept of *heart/mind* can be considered in politeness studies (cf. Kádár and Spencer-Oatey, 2016). According to Kádár and Spencer-Oatey (2016: 92), "it [heart/mind] entails being considerate to others, being aware of their feelings and desires, and being concerned for their peace of mind." Moreover, Haugh

(2013) has also highlighted the necessity for this "caring for others' perspective" (Kádár and Spencer-Oatey, 2016: 92) in the study of politeness. In any case, the concept of face sensitivities will be considered and developed in the current study since it is included in the framework of RM proposed by Spencer-Oatey (2004, 2008) (see section 2.3.2).

2.3 Politeness and Rapport Management

2.3.1 Politeness

As regards the concept of *politeness*, Kádár and Marsden (2017) have considered accommodation as a social phenomenon that may have some effects on politeness, which has traditionally been one the main subjects in the field of pragmatics. However, the lack of agreement among the different current approaches and concepts makes difficult the study of politeness and politeness (or rapport management) strategies. Some scholars (Spencer-Oatey, 2011; Haugh et al., 2013) have tried to join them in order to organise the main ideas and seek a common framework. Nevertheless, there are still disagreements among pragmaticians working on politeness. According to Terkourafi (2005), there are three main views concerning politeness:

- The traditional view: to this view belong the seminal works on politeness, namely Lakoff's (1973), Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) and Leech's (1983). These authors took the Co-operative Principle[6] as a starting point in the analysis of politeness. Moreover, they claimed that meaning is only created by the speaker and analysed individual utterances (or speech acts) rather than whole interventions. This view is also characterised by an anglocentric tendency, neglecting cultural differences in the study of politeness.

- The post-modern view: is a reaction against the traditional view. Examples of scholars belonging to this view are Eelen (2001), and Locher and Watts (2005, 2008). These theories are usually based on discursive approaches, where a distinction between 1st and 2nd order politeness is made. 1st order politeness refers to participants' evaluations on other people's linguistic behaviour within an interaction, while 2nd order politeness refers to the theoretical study of politeness conducted by the analyst. Hence, discursive approaches are hearer-oriented

---

[6] Theory proposed by Grice in 1975. It consists of making "your contribution such as it is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged." (Grice, 1975: 45).

instead of merely considering the speaker in the creation of meaning, and analyse longer discourses rather than single utterances. These authors have also rejected pre-established norms, claiming that they emerge in interaction and have included socio-theoretical aspects that favour the study of cultural differences. Although the theories belonging to this view have offered new interesting insights in the study of politeness, they are still in progress.

- The frame-based view: proposed by Terkourafi (2005). She has tried to fill in the gaps left by the two previous views. The frame-based approach analyses larger corpora and "acknowledges norms *to the extent that* these can be empirically observed" (Terkourafi, 2005: 247, emphasis in the original). Furthermore, it consists of assembling different types of contexts through the concept of *frame*[7]. Thus, she maintains that politeness depends on the frequency of occurrence of certain expressions within the same context. It is also related to the speakers' societal rationality and the effect produced on the hearer (cf. Terkourafi, 2005).

In addition to that, some scholars (Escandell Vidal, 1996, 2004; Spencer-Oatey, 2004, 2008, among others) have provided politeness insights outside these three main views. Escandell Vidal (1996, 2004), for instance, has proposed an integrated politeness framework combining cognitive and social pragmatics. She has claimed that the perception of appropriateness depends on a set of expectations that are, at the same time, culturally-specific and socially-acquired. In the same vein, Spencer-Oatey (2004, 2008) has proposed the framework of RM. She has maintained that participants' evaluations lie in expectations, but she has also considered face sensitivities and interactional goals in the analysis of politeness (see section 2.3.2).

Considering these disagreements stemming from the different politeness views, RM has been selected as the framework in which the current study will be developed so as to overcome the difficulties arising in the study of politeness. As a consequence, of politeness proposed by Spencer-Oatey (2004: 3) will be taken as the working definition:

> sentences or linguistic constructions are not *ipso facto* polite or rude; rather, politeness is a social judgement, and speakers are judged to be polite or rude, depending on what they say in what context. Politeness, in this sense, is a question of appropriateness.

---

[7] Defined by Escandell Vidal (1996: 34) as "set of structured specific knowledge".

Hence, it is worth highlighting that Spencer-Oatey (2004, 2008) has considered politeness as the study of evaluations on other people's linguistic behaviour made by participants within an interaction. However, RM will be further developed in the following subsection.

2.3.2 Rapport Management

Rapport Management is a politeness framework proposed by Spencer-Oatey (2004, 2008). It considers social and contextual factors as well as a few cognitive notions. Although it does not belong to a concrete politeness view, it is similar to discursive approaches since it also makes a distinction between 1st and 2nd order politeness. That is why it is sometimes related to the post-modern view. According to Franklin and Spencer-Oatey (2009: 102):

> We use the term 'rapport' to refer to people's subjective perceptions of (dis)harmony, smoothness-turbulence and warmth-antagonism in interpersonal relations, and we use the term 'rapport management' to refer to the ways in which this (dis)harmony is (mis)managed.

Furthermore, Spencer-Oatey (2008) has claimed that RM has three main motivational bases in order to analyse rapport management strategies: face sensitivities, social rights and obligations, and interactional goals.

Face sensitivities

Having discussed the concept of face in the previous subsection, Spencer-Oatey (2008) considers face as a universal phenomenon since people all over the world are concerned about it. They think they own certain attributes that they are sensitive to. That means that people want others to acknowledge their positive attributes. That is what Spencer-Oatey (2007) has termed *face sensitivities*. Thus, taking face sensitivities and the close relationship between face and identity into account, she has proposed the aforementioned notions of face (quality face, relational face and social identity face). Depending on the context, a given notion of face can be affected. Moreover, each individual is sensitive to different attributes. Hence, she has claimed that "face threat/loss/gain will only be perceived when there is a mismatch between an attribute claimed (or denied, in the case of negatively-evaluated traits) and an attribute perceived as being ascribed by others." (Spencer-Oatey, 2007: 10).

Rights and obligations

According to Fraser (1990: 232), "upon entering into a given conversation, each party brings an understanding of some initial set of rights and obligations that will determine, at least for the preliminary stages, what the participants can expect from the other(s)." He termed this set of rights and obligations the *Conversational Contract*.

In the same vein, Spencer-Oatey (2008) has maintained that if people's behavioural expectations stemming from social rights and obligations are not met within an interaction, there might be consequences for the management of rapport. Expectations are defined as:

> the cognitive, internalized image of the general prototype for each situation; they lie at the heart of what we perceive as normal, "smooth interaction" (when the participants share a similar prototype and act according to it), and come to the foreground in misunderstandings (when the participants happen to lack a common set of assumptions). (Escandell Vidal, 2016: 493)

Furthermore, Spencer-Oatey (2008) has stated that people's behavioural expectations within interaction depend on:

- Contractual/legal agreements and requirements: contracts and societal requirements such as avoidance of discriminatory behaviour (Spencer-Oatey, ibid.).
- Explicit and implicit conceptualizations of roles and positions: consisting of three main ideas: equality-inequality, distance-closeness and the rights and obligations associated to the role relationship. Teacher-student or mother-daughter relationships, for instance.
- Behavioural conventions, styles and protocols: they are developed through being exposed to social encounters. For example, Muslim people know how to behave in a mosque due to the fact that they have experienced the same situation many times.
- Sociopragmatic interactional principles (SIPs): "socioculturally-based principles, scalar in nature, that guide or influence people's productive and interpretative use of language" (Jiang and Spencer-Oatey, 2003: 1634). Thus, they vary across cultures and situations, and are also developed through reiterative exposition to some situations. Spencer-Oatey (2008) has suggested two main kinds of SIPs:

- ➢ Equity principles: involving cost-benefit considerations (reciprocity concerning costs and benefits for the participants since they must not be exploited) and autonomy-imposition considerations (participants must not be imposed).

- ➢ Association principles: involving interactional involvement-detachment ((dis)association with people in interaction) and affective involvement-detachment (caring about participants' feelings, concerns and interests).

In this sense, Spencer-Oatey (ibid.) has claimed that equity is related to individualism and association to collectivism. Individualism refers to societies whose members are autonomous and prioritise personal goals, whereas collectivism refers to societies whose members are interdependent and prioritise common goals (Triandis, 2001).

Interactional goals

Interactional goals refer to participants' wants within an interaction. Spencer-Oatey (2005, 2008) has stated that there are two kinds of interactional goals:

- Relational goals: the speaker simply wants to keep their relationship with the interlocutors. In other words, it is aimed at managing participants' relationships such as strengthening friendships (Spencer-Oatey, 2005).

- Transactional goals: the speaker provides or asks for something. It aims to accomplish a concrete 'task' such as in business interactions (ibid.).

In addition to that, Locher (2008) has claimed that people have also 'interpersonal goals' within interaction. They are mainly related to face sensitivities and participants' desire for others to acknowledge their positive attributes and social roles.

Spencer-Oatey (2008) has concluded that these three main motivational bases must be balanced so as to achieve an appropriate management of rapport, as illustrated in Figure 1:
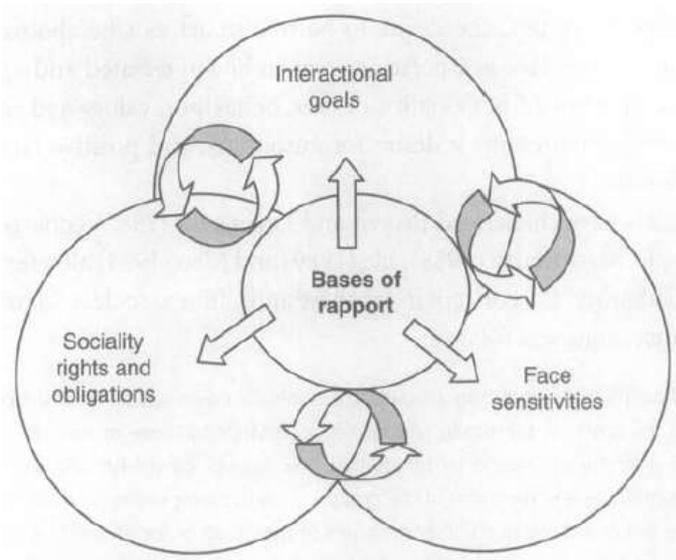
Figure 1. The bases of rapport (Spencer-Oatey, 2008: 14)

2.3.3 Politeness strategies

According to Spencer-Oatey (2004, 2008), there are a set of strategies employed to manage rapport. The aforementioned linguistic options selected in order to manage politeness (or rapport, in this case) are termed *politeness (*or *linguistic) strategies* by Brown and Levinson (1987) and *rapport management strategies* by Spencer-Oatey (2004, 2008). In addition to that, Spencer-Oatey (ibid.) has claimed that rapport management strategies can operate in different domains, namely:

- Illocutionary domain: managing face and rapport by performing speech acts. Consider the following example:

  [4] Can you pass me the salt?

  Example [4] belongs to the category of indirect requests since the speaker is not asking for the hearer's ability to do so, but requesting the salt. Making a request in an indirect way instead of giving a direct directive might mitigate the degree of imposition.

- Discourse domain: associated to the organisation of an interaction. An example would be the use of discourse markers such as 'firstly', 'in addition to that', 'I mean', 'as I say', and so on.

- Participation domain: closely related to the previous domain. Nevertheless, Spencer-Oatey (2008) has argued that it can be considered a domain *per se.* It has to do with the procedure followed in an interaction. Moreover, she maintains that

turn-taking rules and exclusion strategies are examples belonging to this domain[8]:

[5] B: Adopted, like 8. Came here, around 12.

C: Heartbreaking [sarcastic]. [Addressing only A] Can we get back to Beth, please? Suicide? I don't accept that. This one's some kind of low-life grifter. How do we know she didn't push her?

In example [5] C is trying to exclude B from the conversation by changing the topic.

- Stylistic domain: related to the choice of certain linguistic forms or aspects. For instance, the choice of easier words to talk to children, the use of certain vocatives, or changes in the tone of voice.

- Non-verbal domain: concerned with non-verbal language such as haptics, proxemics, or kinesics[9].

However, in the analysis of accommodation, two or even more domains might overlap. Take example [3] again. The speaker selects a set of concrete words (stylistic domain) in order to perform a directive (illocutionary domain). In addition to that, Spencer-Oatey (2004, 2008) has proposed a set of factors that might affect the choice of rapport management strategies:

- Orientation: she has proposed four main orientations when entering into a conversation:

  ➢ Rapport enhancement: the speaker wants to strengthen their relationship with the hearer.

  ➢ Rapport maintenance: the speaker wants to protect their relationship with the hearer.

  ➢ Rapport neglect: the speaker is not interested in their relationship with the hearer.

  ➢ Rapport challenge: the speaker wants to impair their relationship with the hearer.

- Contextual variables: participants and their relationships (power-distance), message content (cost-benefit considerations), social/interactional roles, activity

---

[8] This example is taken from the OBCAP corpus. Here, B does not know what is going on with the clone thing and is asking A and C for information. However, C does not seem to be very cooperative.

[9] Haptics refers to participants touching each other while communicating, proxemics refers to the distance kept among the participants, and kinesics refers to gestures and facial expressions.

type, and overall assessments of context that may change during the interaction (cf. Spencer-Oatey, 2004, 2008).

- Pragmatic principles and conventions: Spencer-Oatey (2004, 2008) has discussed the differences proposed by Leech (1983) and Thomas (1983) between sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic principles:
  - ➢ Sociopragmatic: "social principles or 'rules' which help to minimize the conflict that might arise from self-centered pursuit and gratification of face needs and sociality rights" (Spencer-Oatey, 2008: 40). They are developed within different societies.
  - ➢ Pragmalinguistic: "conventions of strategy use which affect how a given pragmatic meaning is conveyed in a given context." (ibid.).

Given that RM is based on the participants' own perceptions, Spencer-Oatey (2002) has claimed that the best way to collect participants' evaluations on rapport management strategies is by interviewing them. Nevertheless, Haugh (2007) has argued that deducing these perceptions from participants' metapragmatic comments might be more effective. Metapragmatic comments are participants' verbal and non-verbal evaluations on other people's linguistic behaviour and can be implicitly[10] or explicitly[11] given. In this regard, Haugh's (ibid.) view seems to befit this study since interviewing the participants would not be possible. However, considering participants' evaluations might be a limitation for the study of politeness since knowing their own perceptions is not always possible. Sometimes metapragmatic comments are not clear or they are even not performed. In addition to that, the interpretation and categorisation of metapragmatic comments is ultimately the analyst's issue. Haugh (2012) has claimed that this fact affects the essence of 1st order politeness. Nonetheless, he has also suggested that this can also be considered as a reaffirmation of the analyst's importance within the study even if it is based on participants' evaluations. Finally, it is worth mentioning that participants' and analysts' opinions might not coincide in some cases. That does not mean that there is an inconsistency in the study, but it may be taken as an enriching factor and the *raison d'être* of 1st and 2nd order politeness distinction.

---

[10] Speech acts might be good examples of implicit metapragmatic comments, for example someone thanking their interlocutor(s) linguistic behaviour, meaning that s/he has evaluated it positively.

[11] 'That wasn't funny' referring to someone's linguistic behaviour, for instance.

Some previous studies (Ylänne, 2008; Hua and Sweeney, 2010; Kádár and Marsden, 2017) have related accommodation to politeness and specifically to the framework of RM. Ylänne (2008) has pointed out some similarities between CAT and RM that might suggest the possibility of analysing accommodation within both frameworks (and not only CAT). This would favour the idea of accommodation as a rapport management strategy, if we consider that it can be analysed as such. However, CAT has neglected some contextual variables, which are determining in the evaluation of other people's accommodative behaviour. In this regard, RM can provide new necessary insights to the concept of accommodation. Furthermore, Hua and Sweeney (2010) have analysed accommodation occurrences among native and non-native speakers in business encounters. They have studied the effect of four accommodation strategies (they have not added emotional expressions) on politeness and have concluded that not all the native speakers accommodated non-native speakers, and not all those who did it, did so in order to converge with their interlocutor. Finally, Kádár and Marsden (2017) have studied mimetic practices[12] in e-mail interactions between a proofreader and transcriber, and her international clients. They have concluded that accommodation cannot be merely considered as an element in rituals and conventions and that it might be an important aspect in interpersonal phenomena, politeness among them.

Studies relating accommodation and politeness have been conducted within work situations (Hua and Sweeney, 2010; Kádár and Marsden, 2017). The fact that people project certain images of themselves during work interactions seems to be unarguable, however one's work image is merely one of the many faces that people have (Locher and Watts' concept of mask). As a consequence, there is a need to pay more attention to accommodation in other contexts beyond workplace so as to analyse these people's other masks. That is one of the main reasons why this study lies in everyday life interactions among five characters who are complete strangers at the beginning and become friends as time goes by.

2.4 The influence of *culture*

The distinction between interpersonal communication and in-group communication suggests that the concept of *culture* might provide some important insights to the analysis

---

[12] What Kádár and Marsden (2017) have considered *mimetic practice,* in this study has been called *accommodation.* However, both seem to refer the same concept.

of politeness and accommodation due to its contribution to in-group (or intergroup, according to Gallois et al., 2016) communication. However, using the term *culture* might be quite problematic due to the fact that it does not have a concrete definition. Although many scholars (Hall, 1976; Hofstede, 1984; Triandis, 2001; Haugh, 2011, among others) have tried to define it, coming up with a definition that encompasses all the factors and features concerning culture remains challenging. To deal with that problem, Spencer-Oatey's (2004) definition of culture has been taken as the working definition:

> Culture is a fuzzy set of attitudes, beliefs, behavioural conventions, and basic assumptions and values that are shared by a group of people, and that influence each member's behaviour and each member's interpretation of the 'meaning' of other people's behaviour. (Spencer-Oatey, 2004: 4)

Given that RM lies in participants' perceptions of other people's linguistic behaviour, this definition of culture befits the purpose of the current study.

2.4.1 Culture and accommodation

Concerning accommodation, Gallois et al. (2016) have considered culture as a concrete context in which accommodative moves take place. However, rather than a context in and of itself, culture might be taken as a relevant variable that forms a whole context alongside other elements such as those mentioned in previous sections. Moreover, Ylänne (2008: 174) has argued that accommodation strategies are a means "of projecting a social and sometimes an ethnic identity through language". In the same vein, Gallois et al. (2016: 125) have claimed that "Adjustments in communication can be in response to intergroup identities or as a means to mark one's group identity." This would also include accommodation as a way to (dis)affiliate with others depending on cultural aspects and leads to identity saliency within interaction.

The concept of cultural boundaries is also important in the use of accommodation. They are understood as differences between cultures that give place to the existence of reasonable cultural labels (Ylänne, 2008). Nevertheless, Ylänne (ibid.) has claimed that cultural boundaries are disappearing in favour of hybrid cultures and individuals. On the other hand, Gallois et al. (2016) have argued that accommodation in intercultural contexts is frequently employed so as to overcome those cultural boundaries or barriers. However, when cultural boundaries between two or more cultures are particularly stressed, reaching effective communication becomes more complicated. It is what Gallois et al. (2016) have

termed *zero ground.* This concept is the opposite to common ground and it occurs within an interaction when the cultural boundaries block the search for common aspects to start a conversation or keep it going (cf. Gallois et al., 2016). Another important feature is that:

> individuals often interact with each other as representative members of social groups rather than actually as individuals, and that their communicative strategies are linked to these group orientations and to the potential gains and losses associated with them. (Ylänne, 2008: 174)

That means that the interaction between only two participants is not necessarily considered as interpersonal communication, for they might be representing a whole group. As a consequence, in-group communication can also occur between two participants, affecting the use of accommodation. Those in-group encounters are frequently related to culture. Having said that, it is important to consider the effects of culture on RM in depth.

2.4.2 Culture and politeness

There is much controversy among pragmaticians working on face(work) and politeness regarding the notion of face. It is triggered by the fact that face has been mainly analysed from a Western perspective, neglecting Eastern concerns. As a consequence, many scholars (Mao, 1994; Haugh, 2013; Kádár and Spencer-Oatey, 2016) have started to associate some necessary cultural factors to the notion of face. For instance, they have borrowed the concepts of *miànzi* and *liǎn* from the Chinese culture. According to Kádár and Spencer-Oatey (2016: 95), "*miànzi* stands for prestige or reputation, while *liǎn* refers to a good moral reputation." Hence, the three notions of face provided by Spencer-Oatey (2007, 2008) are closely related not only to Western concerns, but also to the Chinese concepts of *miànzi* and *liǎn* in her search for a universal notion of face.

The influence of culture on politeness concerns not only face but also expectations. Apart from the previously described SIPs, where equity is related to Triandis' (2001) notion of individualism and association to the notion of collectivism, norms and representations have also been widely studied from a cultural perspective. According to Escandell Vidal (2004: 15), "norms act as filters: they make salient everything that does not conform to them" within interactions. Furthermore, the fact that they are subjected to cultural variation means that they are socially-acquired and expanded in different ways. For example, Sperber (1985) coined the term of *epidemiology* and suggested that

representations can be spread just like epidemics, affecting only some members within a community and to different degrees, which also occurs in the case of cultural norms. Escandell Vidal (2004) has argued that they can also be spread through reinforcement (e.g. your parents telling you to say thank you) or through being exposed to the same situation repeatedly (i.e. practice in itself). However, as previously mentioned, discursive approaches reject the idea of pre-established norms (whether cultural or not) and argue that they emerge in interaction instead.

Nevertheless, expectations regarding culture might lead to the creation of (unnecessary) stereotypes[13], which may be quite problematic. These stereotypes are even strengthened by giving people some cultural labels in academic studies (Ylänne, 2008). Another important aspect of expectations is the immediate evaluation derived from them. This following evaluation depends on whether the expectations have been met or not. It is also problematic due the distinction between emic and etic perspectives. Emic has been previously defined as the insider perspective, while etic has been defined as the outsider perspective in terms of culture. In the study of accommodation within RM, both must be considered, even if they do not coincide. Further complicating matters is the fact that by relying on stereotypes, participants' evaluations on accommodation (and RM in general) can diminish their credibility (Gallois et al., 2016).

Back into Triandis' (2001) distinction between individualism and collectivism, cultural aspects might influence people's tendency with regard to goals within interaction. People belonging to collectivistic cultures may have more relational wants than people belonging to individualistic cultures because of their interdependent nature. On the other hand, people belonging to individualistic cultures may initiate interactions with a task-oriented aim in mind more frequently than people belonging to collectivistic cultures due to the fact that they are more concerned with individual issues.

Finally, rapport management strategies lie in cultural aspects too. Thus, it is important to mention that "the degree of variation shown by different cultures poses, therefore, a strong challenge to the universality hypothesis" (Escandell Vidal, 1996: 631). In this regard, Escandell Vidal (1996, 2004) has claimed that pragmaticians would need to include some cognitive paradigms, besides the socio-cultural aspects, if they are to reach universal

---

[13] Defined by Gallois et al. (2016: 126) as "overgeneralized representations of actual group differences", cultural differences in this case.

principles concerning politeness theory. In RM, some cognitive factors can be found: notions of face based on psychological insights, evaluations based on expectations and rejection toward anglocentrism.

3. Method section

The aim of this section is to describe the tools and the procedure employed in this study. Besides, a brief description of the corpus and the participants will be provided. Hence, the section is divided into two subsections: corpus and participants description, and tools and procedure.

3.1 Corpus and participants description

In order to analyse accommodative moves within the framework of RM, a corpus termed OBCAP (Orphan Black Corpus for Accommodation and Politeness) was created. The OBCAP corpus is composed of the script of six episodes from the TV show *Orphan Black.* This TV show was selected because all its scripts are easily available online[14] and therefore they offer a rich quantity of data to analyse face-to-face interactions. However, the fact that the samples have been taken from fiction is far from been a drawback since it can provide a large amount of data in an easy way. In this sense, Zabalbeascoa (2001) has claimed that cultural references and symbols are included within audiovisual texts to enrich them and make them easier to interpret by the viewer. This concept is termed *cultural artifact* and lies in reality construction. Given that accommodative moves and rapport management strategies are culturally influenced, they are frequently included within audiovisual texts so as to reach that sense of reality. That is why fiction is a recurring data source in the field of pragmatics. Some pragmaticians (Juez, 1995; Fernández Fontecha and Martínez Fernández, 2008) have taken data from fiction to develop their studies. Besides, Jucker and Locher (2017) have recently edited a book based on pragmatics and fiction.

In addition to that, and to avoid any bias, the episodes were randomly chosen and they belong to the beginning and the end of the show. Once all the scripts were gathered, each one was given a code in order to prevent potential problems and confusions. For instance,

---

[14] See https://www.springfieldspringfield.co.uk/episode_scripts.php?tv-show=orphan-black-2013. Last access: 23/10/2018.

the third episode[15] was coded as OBCAP_01, the fourth episode as OBCAP_02 and so on.

The show starts when Sarah, the main character, witnesses how a woman, who looks exactly like her, commits suicide. In spite of getting shocked, she impersonates the dead woman's identity to steal her money. However, she realises that she and the dead woman, together with many more women, are clones. Sarah meets many clones throughout the story while she tries to discover who is cloning women and why. Hence, the participants of the study are five women in their thirties who are from different cultures: American, British, Canadian, French and Ukrainian[16]. They were selected to narrow down the scope of the study and, taking advantage of their different nationalities, to seek possible cultural differences that might affect their use of accommodation strategies within interaction. It is also important to mention that B and U are sisters, and A and F are girlfriends, while they all become friends throughout the show.

3.2 Tools and procedure

Having the corpus created, the process of analysis was the following step. Given that RM lies in participants' own evaluations within interactions, verbal and non-verbal metapragmatic comments were found so as to gather the samples and start the analysis. Concerning verbal metapragmatic comments, they were sought through Wordsmith Tools[17]. Wordsmith Tools is a software that helps researchers in the analysis of corpora. The *Concord* function allows analysts to search for the number of occurrences of concrete words within a corpus and the contexts in which they take place. Thus, some possible positive metapragmatic comments (such as 'thank', 'cool' or 'helpful') and negative metapragmatic comments (such as 'shit', 'bad', or 'crazy') were sought in order to find positive and negative evaluations. In addition to that, every interaction among the participants was manually examined so as to check if those verbal evaluations were related to accommodation occurrences, and to find non-verbal evaluations and other verbal evaluations with a different linguistic realisation that the ones found through Wordsmith Tools. This thorough search was conducted so that no samples were left out. Finally, the total of samples gathered was 85.

---

[15] Since the corpus starts with the third episode from the show.
[16] Transcription conventions: A stands for American, B stands for British, C stands for Canadian, F stands for French, and U stands for Ukrainian.
[17] See https://lexically.net/wordsmith/version6/. Last access: 23/10/2018.

After analysing all the accommodative moves found in the OBCAP corpus within the framework of RM, they were classified considering the five kinds of accommodation strategies (namely approximation, interpretability, discourse management, interpersonal control and emotional expressions) and the effect they have on politeness (see section 4). Then, cultural aspects regarding the aforementioned classification were analysed.

Finally, the results from the analyses, quantitative and qualitative, were compared and discussed so as to reach some final findings and conclusions.

4. Results and findings

This section is aimed at presenting the results from both the quantitative and the qualitative analyses. In addition to that, all the results will be discussed and compared so as to seek common patterns and differences among the samples, as well as to reach some final conclusions. Hence, some representative examples will be also provided.

The analysis of the data recurrently proved that accommodation strategies are constantly overlapping, which means that each accommodative move is usually produced by the combination of two or more accommodation strategies, which is illustrated in Figure 2. Take the following example[18]:

> [6] B: Stay a cop to help you?
>   A: To help us. Help us find out who's killing us.

In this example, A employs two different accommodation strategies: 1. An approximation strategy because she imitates B's structure; 2. An interpretability strategy since she makes B a clarification.

---

[18] Example [6] has been taken from the OBCAP corpus. In this excerpt, A is asking B to discover who is trying to kill them, however, B thinks that she cannot obtain a real benefit from doing so.
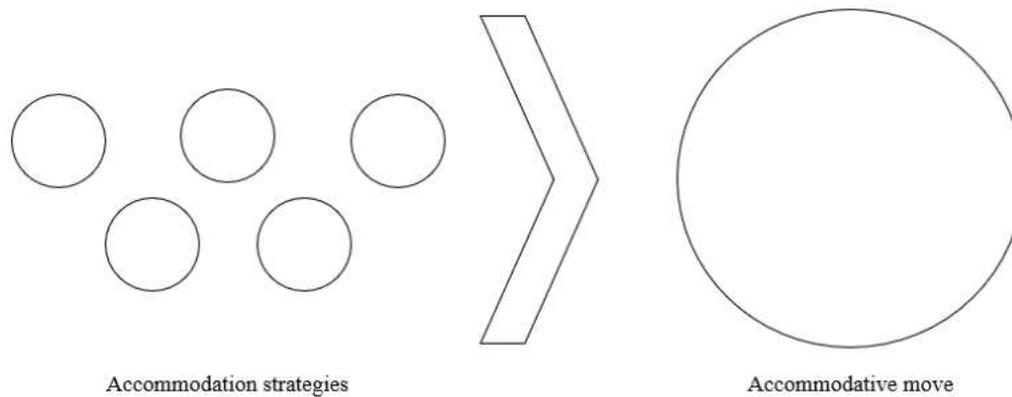
Figure 2. The formation of accommodative moves

As a consequence, a plausible solution might be the establishment of a set of macro-categories that would facilitate the analysis of the accommodative moves, allowing for the possibility of overlap among the different accommodation strategies. For that purpose, patterns regarding the combinations of accommodation strategies and the effects they have on the management of rapport have been thoroughly analysed. Finally, four accommodation levels (based on the pre-established micro-categories, i.e. accommodation strategies) in which accommodative moves occur within the OBCAP corpus have been found, namely: relationship level, message content level, benefit level and emotional level.

Relationship level:

Accommodative moves in this category are intended to affect (either in a positive or in a negative way) participants' relationships throughout the interaction. In other words, in this level belong accommodative moves whose main focus is on participants' relationships. Thus, they are typically used in order to (dis)affiliate with the interlocutor(s) and either to be liked by them or to irritate them.

After defining this category, some common patterns have been found in this accommodation level. The most repeated accommodation strategy, and hence, prototypical strategy within this category, is discourse management, which usually appears alongside other strategies such as interpersonal control strategies (e.g. How you doing, *sestra*?) and approximation strategies (e.g. going along with someone). In addition to that, they mainly affect people's relational face since they deal with participants' relationships, and have therefore a relational goal. Regarding rights and obligations, these accommodative moves may be related to Spencer-Oatey's (2004, 2008) association

principles because of the interactional and affective involvement they entail. Some linguistic items that facilitate the identification of these accommodative moves are the use of 1st and 2nd person pronouns and determiners, vocatives, and seeking a common ground. Peripheral cases belonging to this category also appear within the OBCAP corpus.

Message content level:

This category encompasses the accommodative moves focused on the content of the message. That means that the communicative adjustment is produced for the sake of clarity so that the message can be easily understood by the interlocutor(s). These kinds of accommodative moves lie in the audience's comprehension ability as perceived by the speaker. Hence, they are usually employed so as to explain or clarify something, and they help the conversation going.

The most repeated patterns are the combination of interpretability strategies and discourse management strategies in explanations (see example [10]), and approximation strategies and discourse management strategies in clarifications (see example [10]). Moreover, they mainly affect participants' quality and relational faces, for the speakers may presuppose that the interlocutor(s) do not have the proper knowledge about the topic or cannot understand it. These accommodative moves usually have a transactional goal, and may be related to role specifications. They are characterised by the selection of specific lexis or speech patterns. Some peripheral cases can be also found.

Benefit level:

This category contains accommodative moves merely aimed at obtaining something from the other participants such as information, services or objects. Thus, these communicative adjustments are focused on participants' self-interest within the interaction, and therefore entail a benefit for them. They are usually employed so as to mitigate face-threat in requests and to ask another participant for the development of their utterance, which is also a request partially related to the ongoing interaction. Some of the accommodative moves in this level might look similar to clarifications in the message content level. The difference resides in that accommodative moves in the benefit level determine (to some extent) other participants' participation in the interaction, whereas accommodative moves in the message content level do not. In any case, an accommodative move in the message content level may be performed as a response of an accommodative move in the benefit

level. That is why these kinds of accommodative moves in the benefit level may be considered non-conventionally indirect requests regarding the ongoing interaction.

Some common patterns found in this accommodation level are the use of discourse management strategies (e.g. First, I want some answers) that can be combined with other strategies, usually interpretability and approximation strategies (see example [12]). This might stem from the fact that people tend to mitigate the degree of imposition that requests entail by selecting concrete structures. This category is therefore related to Spencer-Oatey's (2004, 2008) concept of equity principles. Furthermore, these accommodative moves affect mainly people's relational face or even quality face if we consider that the speaker thinks someone is able to attend their requests. Regarding interactional wants, accommodative moves in this category have a clear task-oriented (i.e. transactional) goal. Finally, some items that can help identify these accommodative moves are the use of certain speech acts such as different kinds of requests, and downgraders and upgraders[19]. This category also contains peripheral cases.

Emotional level:

Accommodative moves belonging to this category are focused on participants' feelings, which means that the communication adjustment is made according to participants' emotional needs throughout the interaction. Consequently, they are used so as to comfort, apologise or thank people, for instance.

The most common pattern in this level is the use of emotional strategies that might be combined with other kinds of strategies or not (e.g. I am sorry, *sestra*). They affect participants' quality and relational faces, and have a relational goal. In addition to that, they are related to the concept of association principles again, for the participants are concerned with their interlocutor(s) feelings and act according to them. Some linguistic items that help to identify this kind of accommodative moves are the use of vocatives, and the performance of certain speech acts such as 'I want to thank you for helping'. Curiously enough, no peripheral examples have been found within this category in the OBCAP corpus, for all the samples contain an emotional strategy that has similar effects on the management of rapport.

---

[19] "Upgraders increase the force of the speech act, whereas downgraders reduce or weaken the force." (Spencer-Oatey, 2008: 23) (see Table 2.)

In this way, accommodative moves in each accommodation level entail a matter of degree and prototypicality[20] more than clear-cut categories, as illustrated by Figure 3.
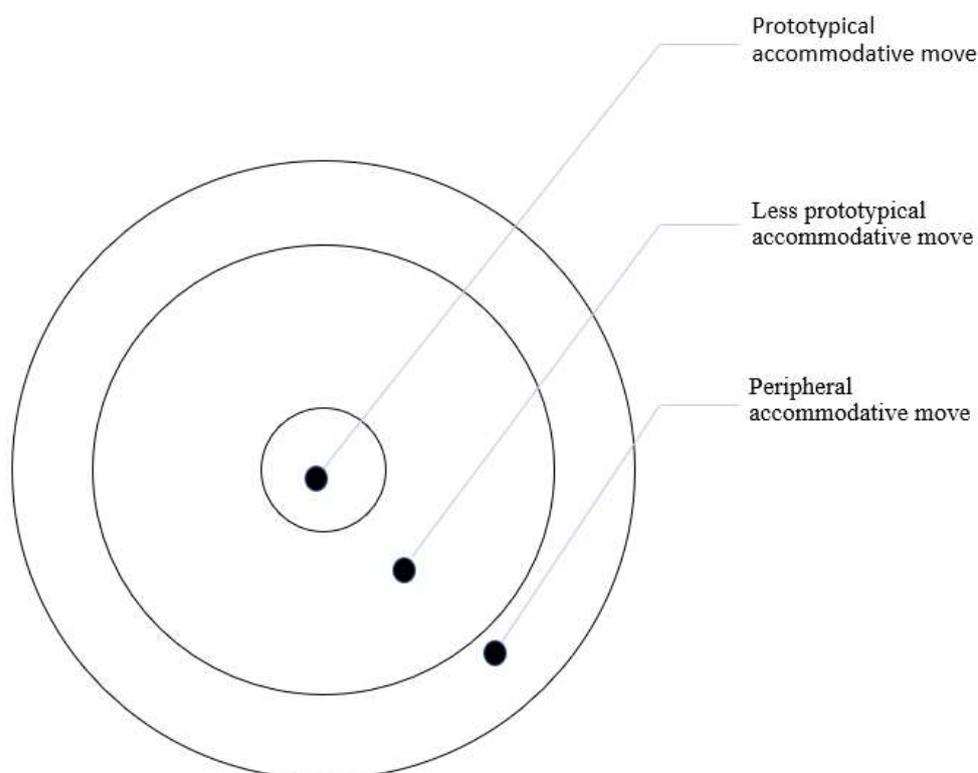

Figure 3. Degrees of prototypicality within each accommodation level

That said, Table 2 summarises the main features of each of the four accommodation levels along with some examples regarding their linguistic realisation.

---

[20] "By prototypes of categories we have generally meant the clearest cases of category membership defined operationally by people's judgments of goodness of membership in the category ... we can judge how clear a case something is and deal with categories on the basis of clear cases in the total absence of information about boundaries." (Rosch, 1978: 36).

Accommodation level	Focus	Accommodation strategies	Face sensitivities	Rights and obligations	Interactional goals and orientation	Linguistic items
Relationship level	Participants' relationships.	Discourse management strategies + other kinds of strategies.	Mainly relational face, but also quality face. Social identity face in public.	Mainly related to association principles.	Relational wants. Rapport enhancing/ challenging.	Pronouns (I, we) and determiners (my, our), vocatives (honey), and seeking common ground.
Message content level	Content of the message, clarity.	Interpretability strategies + discourse management strategies // Approximation strategies + discourse management strategies.	Quality face and relational face. Social identity face in public.	Mainly related to role specifications.	Transactional wants. Rapport maintaining.	Specific lexis and speech patterns.
Benefit level	Participants' self-interest.	Discourse management strategies + other kinds of strategies (or not).	Mainly relational face, but also quality face. Social identity face in public.	Mainly related to equity principles, but might be also related to role specifications.	Transactional wants. Rapport maintaining/ neglecting.	Downgraders (politeness marker 'please' or explanations), upgraders (threats) and speech acts (E.g. Can you pass me…).
Emotional level	Participants' emotional needs.	Emotional expressions + other kinds of strategies (or not).	Mainly quality face, but also relational face. Social identity face in public.	Mainly related to role specifications and SIPs.	Relational wants. Rapport enhancing/ maintaining/ challenging.	Vocatives and speech acts (e.g. I apologise).

Table 2. Common features of accommodative moves in the four different accommodation levels within the OBCAP corpus

Although this classification seems to be more consistent and viable, overlapping cases might still occur (only 10 occurrences) among the four levels. These accommodative moves have been termed *multilevel accommodative moves*. Consider the following example[21]:

[7] Breathe, Helena. That alarm is our people, okay? So, they tracked me here. We're not alone.

In this example, the speaker is accommodating towards the addressee, Helena, by giving her an explanation so as to comfort her. Consequently, B's accommodative move occur in both the message content level and the emotional level.

4.1 Quantitative results

Having established these macro-categories, a quantitative analysis will be conducted, considering the four accommodation levels. Table 3 illustrates the comparative analysis of the accommodative moves in the four different accommodation levels, namely relationship level, message content level, benefit level and emotional level. The cultural variable has been also introduced, classifying the accommodative moves in intracultural or intercultural encounters, regarding the kind of cultural encounter in which they occurred. There are 75 occurrences, excluding multilevel accommodative moves due to their marginal character and rare occurrence.

	Relationship level		Message content level		Benefit level		Emotional level	
	n=	%	n=	%	n=	%	n=	%
Intracultural encounters	7	9.3	12	16	17	22.7	3	4
Intercultural encounters	6	8	10	13.3	13	17.3	7	9.3
Total	13	17.3	22	29.3	30	40	10	13.3

Table 3. Accommodative moves in the four accommodation levels in terms of cultural encounters

As can be observed in Table 3, accommodative moves in the benefit level are the most employed by the participants (40%), followed by accommodative moves in the message

---

[21] Example [7] has been taken from the OBCAP corpus. In this excerpt, the interlocutor, who is pregnant and nervous, and the speaker are running away from their captors.

content level (29.3%). Accommodative moves in the relationship level and in the emotional level are less frequent within the OBCAP corpus (17.3% and 13.3% respectively).

4.2 Qualitative results

Following the results from the quantitative analysis, the following paragraphs will provide a qualitative interpretation of such results. In other words, the samples will be analysed in a qualitative way so as to find common patterns and differences stemming from the use of the different accommodative moves and the effect they have on the management of rapport. In order to dispose all the examples in a clear way, this subsection will be divided into four parts considering the four accommodation levels in which the accommodative moves occur: relationship level, message content level, benefit level and emotional level.

4.2.1 Relationship level

Focusing on the relationship level separately, it contains more accommodative moves occurring in intracultural encounters (9.3%) than in intercultural encounters (8%), although both ratios are relatively low. The reason behind that fact may be that accommodative moves in this level usually entail high costs for the speaker(s) and are therefore performed less frequently. As regards cultural differences, the percentage in intracultural encounters might be higher because managing relationships with people from your own culture might be easier than doing it with outsiders.

That said, some prototypical and peripheral accommodative moves in the relationship level are provided:

Prototypical accommodative move:

This example belongs to excerpt 19 of the OBCAP corpus. A and F have just met. A is talking to F because she likes her and she is trying to be liked by F, which is one of the functions that Dragojevic et al. (2016b) have claimed for convergent orientation.

> [8] A: Full disclosure, I… did peek. You are French. You have killer grades.
>
> F: Thank you. Um, oh, God! I'm so sorry, I'm not usually like… like this.
>
> A: Oh. Bad breakup?
>
> F: Yeah, well we're an ocean apart so…
>
> A: Hmm, yeah. Long distance never works. Um, you're in microbiology too, right?

F: Yes. Um, immunology. I study host-parasite relationships.

A: Oh, cool. Cool, yeah. I'm Evo Devo.

F: [Doubts] Evolutionary development?

A: Yeah, yeah. That's… that's what we call it here.

F: [Smiling] Delphine.

A: Cosima.

F: *Enchantée*.

A: *Enchantée*.

Example [8] contains a set of assorted accommodation strategies. In the first place, A praises F when she says 'You have killer grades' and when she evaluates what F does as 'cool', which can be considered as a combination of discourse management strategies and emotional strategies. Furthermore, A keeps performing discourse management strategies because she seeks a common ground (avoiding zero ground) to highlight that they have something in common, for both are doing a PhD in microbiology. Finally, A uses an approximation strategy so as to converge towards F, for she answers back in French when F talks to her in French (which is F's native language). In addition to that, it can be deduced from the interaction that A is trying to keep the conversation with F going by asking her for her recent breakup and her work in immunology.

In terms of RM, the accommodation strategies contained in this excerpt might affect the participants' faces in a different way. Firstly, A's utterances affect F's quality face in a positive way since A is praising her grades and her work in immunology, which is related to F's individual qualities as a student and researcher. Then, F starts talking in French and A answers back in French too, which affects A's relational face in a positive way. Although the first question that A poses might threaten B's face, she is trying to enhance F's face by praising her.

Regarding rights and obligations, Spencer-Oatey's (2004, 2008) association principles are particularly important. A cares about F's feelings and that is why she asks F about her relationship. Moreover, A is associating with F by seeking a common ground between them to keep talking. On the other hand, F may want to stress her nationality so that it becomes salient to her interlocutor, which is usual in intercultural encounters, according to Ylänne (2008) and Gallois et al. (2016). In any case, A reacts in a positive way and takes advantage of it since she uses it to converge even more towards F. Considering interactional goals, it could be said that A's want is mainly relational because she wants

to improve her relationship with F, which shows A's rapport enhancing orientation within the interaction. On the other hand, F's goal within the interaction is not that clear. She could be flirting too or just answering A's questions.

It can therefore be said that A's accommodative move can be considered as a rapport management strategy so as to converge with F and shorten the social distance between them, as claimed by Gasiorek (2016). It operates in two different domains: the illocutionary domain when A pays F some compliments, and the stylistic domain when A answers back in French and when she talks about science. As a consequence, F evaluates A's accommodative move in a positive way by thanking A's compliments and smiling at her when introducing herself. Another interesting fact might be that this sample could contain some examples of in-group communication since A represents people studying evolutionary development by saying 'that's what we call it here', and F might represent the French culture when talking in French. Finally, it is deduced from the analysis that this example meets most of the main features associated to the relationship level and can therefore be considered a prototypical example.

Peripheral accommodative move:

Having analysed a prototypical example in the relationship level, an opposite peripheral case is now provided:

This example has been taken from excerpt 11 of the OBCAP corpus. Here, C and B, who do not get on well at the beginning, are having an argument after B has realised that the person who is killing them is also a clone.

> [9] C: Why would one of us be killing us? What is wrong with her?
> B: Bad breath. Batshit crazy.
> C: Does she know about me? About my kids? How do you know you didn't just bring her right to my doorstep?
> B: Because she's impaled with rebar and I wouldn't do that.
> C: I have been living this nightmare much longer than you have, Sarah. I explained. I have a family to protect. I do what I can.
> B: Right. You provide financially [sarcastic].

Moves in example [9] belong to the category of discourse management strategies. C is neglecting B's conversational wants by diverging from her. C is using singular 1st person pronouns ('I' and 'me') and determiners ('my'), and highlighting that they are not the

same because C has been fighting for a long time and has valuable things to protect. Moreover, the use of colloquial expressions such as 'batshit crazy' gives the interaction an informal tone. Hence, C is disaffiliating from B, which is one of the main functions of divergent accommodation, according to Dragojevic et al. (2016b).

As regards the management of rapport and, specifically, face sensitivities, C is attacking B's quality face since she does consider that being just like B is a bad sign. C implies that B has not been fighting that much and that she has not valuable things to protect. It would mean that C does not evaluate B's individual qualities in a positive way. Thus, C wants to save her own face by highlighting that they have the same appearance, but they are totally different indeed.

When it comes to rights and obligations, B, who has almost died, does not expect C to be that rude with her. She perceives C's divergent verbal behaviour as inappropriate and reflects that by saying 'Right. You provide financially' in a sarcastic way, implying that she does not fight for them (the clones). As a consequence, she might feel that she is not being treated in a fair way. On the other hand, C is showing a lack of interest in B and in her relationship with her maybe because she considers the costs higher than the benefits, for she and her family might be in danger because of B. Thus, she is not considerate with B and does not show any sympathy with her, which is related to Spencer-Oatey's (2004, 2008) SIPs. It would entail that C has a rapport neglecting orientation within the interaction, even challenging if one considers that she is stressing C and B's differences in order to hurt B. Concerning interactional goals, C's aim by taking a divergent orientation is to tell B that they are not the same and that she has other concerns. Hence, she is giving her information about her life so as to disaffiliate from her, and she has, therefore, a relational goal.

To conclude, it is worth mentioning that this accommodative move can be considered as a rapport management strategy because it has an effect on Spencer-Oatey's (2004, 2008) three main bases of rapport and is used in order to regulate (increase, in this case) the social distance between the two participants. That said, it operates in the stylistic domain since C selects her words so as to disaffiliate from B. As a result, B evaluates C's divergent verbal behaviour in a negative way, as previously mentioned. Another way in which B shows her negative evaluation on C's linguistic behaviour is by changing her orientation throughout the conversation. B initiates the interaction with a rapport maintenance orientation or even enhancing orientation and then takes a challenging

orientation, for she is talking in a sarcastic way. Moreover, this accommodative move is considered peripheral because it does not meet many of the usual patterns for the relationship level: it is merely formed by discourse management strategies, it does not have a concrete effect on participants' relational faces, and rapport is mainly neglected.

Thus, the results from the qualitative analysis have shown that accommodative moves in this level are usually the product of the combination between discourse management strategies and other kinds of strategies. That may be due to the fact that some linguistic items employed in the creation of accommodative moves (belonging to the relationship level) are the use of certain pronouns and determiners (example [9]), and seeking for a common ground (example [8]), which belong to the category of discourse management strategies. Moreover, at the beginning of the show, B does not get on well with U and with C. Consequently, they are constantly disaffiliating and attacking each other (example [9]). Nevertheless, at the end of the show, they have a closer relationship and they employ affiliative strategies with each other. As a reminder, it is worth mentioning that, although no interpersonal control strategies appear in the examples, they are quite common in the creation of accommodative moves in the relationship level. In other words, the use of certain vocatives so as to address someone might indicate the kind of relationship (or social distance) between the participants of an interaction.

Regarding RM, face sensitivities seem to be closely related to the concept of accommodation, particularly to accommodation aimed at being liked by someone (example [8]), for people usually want other people to evaluate their individual, relational and social attributes in a positive way. In this regard, accommodative moves in the relationship level mainly affect people's relational face because of their focus on participants' relationships and the fact that they usually occur in interpersonal encounters. Concerning rights and obligations, the relationship level seems to be related to association principles, since accommodative moves in this level entail participants' interactional involvement or detachment ((dis)affiliation with the interlocutor(s)). That is why they are usually intended to alter rapport and participants' kind of relationship throughout the interaction, which suggests that participants performing these accommodative moves have a rapport enhancing or challenging orientation (examples [8] and [9]). Furthermore, these accommodative moves working as rapport management strategies can operate in the four verbal politeness domains, namely stylistic, illocutionary, participation and

discourse domains (regardless the non-verbal domain), albeit in the case of accommodative moves in the relationship level, they mainly occur in the stylistic domain.

4.2.2 Message content level

Regarding the message content level, it contains the second highest percentage in both intracultural (16%) and intercultural (13.3%) encounters. In terms of cultural differences, figures in this level are similar to figures in the relationship level, which might be surprising since native speakers correcting non-native speakers would be a plausible explanation for the high percentage of accommodative moves in the message content level. However, in this case, the high ratio is produced by role specifications instead. It means that the female scientist is always explaining scientific concepts to the other characters.

The following prototypical and peripheral examples are provided in order to exemplify accommodative moves in the message content level.

Prototypical accommodative move:

Example [10] has been taken from excerpt 33 of the OBCAP corpus. Here, B is studying for a mathematics exam. A, who is a scientist, together with a friend of her are helping B with her exam.

> [10] B: Uh, so, I used Pythagora [sic] thing.
>   A: Pythagorean theorem, yeah, exactly.
>   B: Okay.
>   […]
>   B: I don't know what I'm doing. I don't know what I've done wrong.
>   A: Oh, you're really close. You just have to remember that when you have the hypotenuse, then you flip the equation.
>   B: Yeah.
>   X: Mom.
>   B: [Addressing her daughter] Oh shit, your lunch. [Addressing A and Scott] Um, I've gotta go, guys. Thanks for your help.

Example [10] contains some accommodation strategies. In the first place, A makes a clarification to B by correcting her when she says 'Pythagora thing' instead of 'Pythagorean theorem'. Then, A explains B what she has to do when she asks A for help. Thus, these accommodative move in composed of both discourse management strategies

(A is attending B's conversational needs) and interpretability strategies (A is clarifying and explaining some concepts to B since A is a scientist and B a student who need to pass an exam).

These accommodation strategies might affect Spencer-Oatey's (2004, 2008) three bases of rapport. Concerning face sensitivities, both strategies have a twofold effect on participants' face. In the first place, they affect participants' relational face in a positive way since they favour the flow of the interaction and encourage the understanding of the message by every participant. At the same time, the fact that A is explaining mathematics to B implies that B is not that good at mathematics, which affects B's individual qualities and, hence, B's quality face in a negative way, while it has the opposite effect on A's quality face. However, they merely aim to maintain both face and rapport.

As regards rights and obligations, role specifications play an important part in this example. The fact that A is a scientist and B a student who needs to pass a mathematics exam suggests that B is expected to ask A for help and A is expected to explain some concepts to B. In this case, both participants meet the expectations and fulfil the tasks associated to their corresponding roles. In addition to that, SIPs are also followed, particularly on the side of A, who is being considerate with B, for she is helping her, albeit the fact that A is not obtaining any benefit. Considering interactional goals, A and B have transactional aims: B wants to practice so as to pass her exam, and A provides B with the information she needs through some explanations and clarifications.

After analysing this accommodative move, it can be concluded that it affects the three bases of rapport in order to maintain it and help the conversation going. This move operates in the stylistic domain because scientific explanations always entail the use of a simplified vocabulary so that the interlocutor(s) can understand the whole message. Furthermore, A's accommodative behaviour is evaluated in a positive way by B, who thanks A (and her friend) for her help by saying it explicitly ('Thanks for your help'). It is also worth mentioning that this example meets most of the main patterns found for accommodative moves in the message content level, which makes it a prototypical example. Moreover, it might be another example of in-group communication because A is talking to B as a scientist rather than as her friend. A peripheral example will be provided below.

Peripheral accommodative move:

Example [11] has been taken from excerpt 40 of the OBCAP corpus. U has written the story of the clones, who she calls '*sestras'*, which is the Ukrainian word for 'sisters'. Here, U wants to show her story to some of them (A, B and C), taking advantage of the fact that they are chilling out together.

> [11] B: Is that your memoirs?
>
> U: Yes. I finished my book. It's a story about my *sestras*. I call it 'Orphan Black'.
>
> B: Boy, that's weird. [Laughs] What is…
>
> A: It's cool 'cause we are all orphans, right?
>
> B: Yeah, that's what it is. Is that what it is?
>
> C: We're not black.
>
> A: Are you… [Laughs]
>
> B: [Laughing] What does it mean?
>
> U: Shut up.

This example contains many accommodation strategies, some of which belong to the message content level, which is the focus of example [11]. In the first place, A converges towards U by agreeing and giving sense to the title U has chosen for her story. Consequently, A's first utterance would be a combination of approximation and discourse management strategies. Then, C diverges from U by disagreeing with her and criticising the title that U has given to her story. Moreover, C partially imitates A's speech patterns. Hence, C's accommodative move consists of approximation and discourse management strategies too. Although it contains the same strategies as A's utterance, the effect is the opposite.

Concerning RM, these accommodative moves might have some implications as regards face sensitivities. The first accommodative move affects U's quality face in a positive way since A suggests that U has chosen a 'cool' title for her story. Due to the fact that it occurs in public, this move affects U's social identity face in a positive way too. A might try to repair U's face because the other participants are laughing. On the other hand, C's utterance affects U's quality and social identity faces in a negative way, for she suggests that the title is not that good. C may do so because of the fact that she might consider being black as a negative trait and, hence, she feels annoyed. Consequently, C could be repairing her own face by damaging U's face. Thus, A has a rapport maintaining orientation, whereas C is challenging the rapport.

In regard with rights and obligations, A is the only one who is being considerate with U. The other participants are laughing and neglecting U's concerns and feelings, that may be the reason why A tries to restore the equilibrium of the conversation by converging towards U. Nevertheless, C is not considerate with U and keeps neglecting her concerns and feelings. As a consequence, U seems to be annoyed with her interlocutors' linguistic behaviour, for she says 'Shut up' when B keeps teasing her. Concerning interactional goals, both A and C have a relational want. While A may aim to restore the equilibrium of the interaction, C's goal is to disagree with U.

All in all, these accommodative moves have an influence on Spencer-Oatey's (2004, 2008) three bases of rapport. As a consequence, they can be considered rapport management strategies operating in the stylistic domain because both A and C perform approximation strategies. Furthermore, these moves are negatively evaluated by U, who answers 'Shut up'. Finally, what makes these accommodative moves peripheral cases is the fact that they are not related to role specifications and their goals are relational rather than transactional. Moreover, in the case of the second utterance, it is aimed at neglecting rapport, which is not common in the message content level.

The results obtained from the message content level show that discourse management strategies are predominant once again because, by focusing on the content of the message, the participants are usually attending their interlocutor(s)' conversational needs. Furthermore, other peripheral functions of accommodative moves in the message content level have been found: agreeing and disagreeing with other participants (example [11]). Lastly, these accommodative moves may be performed with malicious intentions, for example, when shocking explanations are given in a tactless way.

In terms of RM, accommodative moves in the message content level have a twofold effect on participants' face. On the one hand, they usually affect participants' relational face in a positive way since they help the conversation going. On the other hand, they affect the interlocutor(s)' quality face in a negative way because if they need an explanation or a clarification, it is implied that they do not have the proper knowledge about the ongoing topic, which affects their individual qualities. In regard with rights and obligations, the message content level is closely related to role specifications, as previously mentioned. What is remarkable here is that A is talking to the other participants as a scientist, representing the scientific community. As a consequence, these interactions might be considered in-group encounters too (example [10]). That said, it is important mentioning

that A frequently employs accommodative moves in the message content level so as to defend some of the participants, who are not being treated in a fair way (example [11]). That fact reinforces the importance of the balance among the three bases of rapport claimed by Spencer-Oatey (2004, 2008). Finally, accommodative moves in this level can be considered rapport management strategies. In this case, they mainly operate in the stylistic and participation domains.

4.2.3 Benefit level

The accommodation level that contains more accommodative move occurrences is the benefit level in both intracultural (22.7%) and intercultural (17.3%) encounters. A plausible explanation may be that the speaker(s) need to perform such a communicative adjustment if they are to maintain the rapport and the equilibrium of the conversation (due to the high costs they usually entail for the interlocutor(s)). Regarding cultural differences, the percentages are quite similar, but the number of accommodative moves in intracultural encounters is slightly higher maybe because of the fact that non-native speakers have a lower knowledge of the pragmatic (sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic) principles and conventions within the English language so as to deal with these situations. Now, some examples are provided in order to exemplify prototypical and peripheral moves in the benefit level:

Prototypical accommodative move:

This example has been taken from excerpt 4 of the OBCAP corpus. B is telling A what she has found about the death of one of the clones.

> [12] B: Beth's partner found the German. At least part of her.
>   A: Part of her?
>   B: Yeah. Um, I messed up when I buried her. They have a fingerprint, Cosima.

A's accommodative move can be considered as both a discourse management strategy and an approximation strategy. The fact that A is asking B for the development of her explanation suggests that A is influencing B's answer and participation in the conversation and, hence, she performs a discourse management strategy. On the other hand, A does so by imitating B's structure, making this strategy an approximation strategy. In addition to that, with this accommodative move, A shows that she is paying attention to what B is telling her. Finally, it is worth mentioning that asking for the

development of one's interlocutor(s)'s utterances might be one of the functions of accommodation that Dragojevic et al. (2016b) have not examined.

Concerning the management of rapport, A's utterance affects B's relational face in a positive way since A shows her interest in the conversation by asking B for the development of her explanation. However, A is merely maintaining B's face, which also suggests that A has a rapport maintaining orientation, for she does not want to change the kind of relationship she has with B. A's engagement with the conversation might also affect her relational face in a positive way.

Regarding rights and obligations, requests always carry certain degree of imposition, however, this kind of requests related to the ongoing conversation may follow the common procedure of an interaction and be therefore expected and unnoticed by the participants. As a consequence, A is not neglecting B's equity principles and B does not consider that she is being imposed or treated in an unfair way because she answers A's question, attending her conversational request, albeit it merely entails benefits for B. That said, both participants' interactional goals may be merely transactional. On the one hand, A's goal within the interaction is to obtain some information from B, which is considered a benefit for her. On the other hand, B's goal is to provide this information to A.

It can therefore be concluded that A's accommodative move can be analysed as a rapport management strategy, although it is merely related to the needs of the ongoing conversation. In spite of that, it operates in the illocutionary domain because of its nature as a request, and in the stylistic domain because of the way in which it is performed (imitating the interlocutor's structure). Finally, there are no metapragmatic comments by B, probably due to the fact that A's utterance goes unnoticed to her. Nevertheless, B does not evaluate A's linguistic behaviour in a negative way, for she answers A's question without complaining or showing any inconvenience. This example is a prototypical one, for it follows the common procedure of interactions.

Peripheral accommodative move:

Example [13] belongs to excerpt 29 of the OBCAP corpus. U is seriously injured and about to give birth. To top it off, she and B are trying to escape from the people who want to make experiments on them. Here, B wants U to regain consciousness.

[13] B: Helena? Come on, wake up. Meathead, come on! Wake up! Hey. Hey, I'm here. I'm here. Hey. She's awake, Coady. I'm right here. Why did you do that, eh?

[…]

U: I'm sorry, *sestra*.

B's use of 'meathead' so as to address U can be analysed as a rapport management strategy. It would belong to the category of interpersonal control strategies, which suggests that it is a peripheral accommodative move regarding the benefit level. Moreover, this strategy is considered as banter. According to Leech (1983: 144), "banter is an offensive way of being friendly (mock politeness)". However, Technau (2017: 98) has gone further and has pointed out that there is "an aspect of banter that is far more important than mere politeness: the indicating and strengthening of relational connections." That means that, although 'meathead' may appear to be offensive, what B wants is to highlight her relational connection with U. As a consequence, in order to analyse banter, the analyst needs to have some background knowledge so that s/he can analyse it as a camaraderie expression. In this case, 'meathead' is the term of endearment that B uses to address U throughout the show. In addition to that, this example contains some direct requests. In this regard, 'meathead' could even be a downgrader in these requests so as to mitigate the degree of imposition and to be more tactful.

That said, the analysis of this accommodative move as a rapport management strategy seems to be quite interesting. In regard with face sensitivities, it may affect U's relational face in a positive way since, by using 'meathead', B is highlighting her relationship with U within an interpersonal encounter. As a result, U evaluates B's utterance in a positive way and addresses towards her as '*sestra*'. Nevertheless, U addressing B in Ukrainian would not be analysed as underaccommodative because the fact that she uses her mother tongue to address B can be considered more personal than merely using the working language to be affectionate. In the same way, U usually addresses towards B as '*sestra*'. Consequently, both participants' accommodative moves are intended to maintain rapport, for 'meathead' and '*sestra*' are their usual nicknames for each other.

Concerning rights and obligations, each one's role is brought to the conversation by participants' way of addressing each other (that is why this strategy has been classified as an interpersonal control strategy). Hence, B acts accordingly and tries to help U, who is in danger. Furthermore, B is asking U to wake up in such a direct way, which follows equity principles since it is an emergency, there is no time for other indirect or more polite

requests. In addition to that, the benefit for U would be quite high, considering the situation in which she is. Moreover, B and U are affectively involved and are concerned with each other. Thus, both respect Spencer-Oatey's (2004, 2008) SIPs. Regarding interactional wants, B has a task-oriented goal because she wants U to wake up and run away from their captors. It can therefore be said that she has a transactional want with a pinch of relational want throughout the conversation.

After analysing this move as a rapport management strategy, it can be concluded that it operates in the stylistic domain (for B is addressing U in a concrete way) and in the illocutionary domain (because B is asking U to wake up). On the other hand, U's evaluation on B's linguistic behaviour might be also considered an accommodation strategy itself. It would be analysed in a similar way and classified into an interpersonal control strategy acting in the stylistic domain, but it might belong to the relationship level because U is not asking B to do anything. Curiously enough, the opposite happens in example [9], where the speaker talks in a sarcastic way (see example [9]). That said, this accommodative move is considered as peripheral due to the fact that the main accommodation strategy is an interpersonal control strategy that may function as a downgrader. Moreover, it is an emergency, hence, cost-benefit considerations are not that relevant. Finally, U's evaluation of B's accommodative move is also curious because it could be analysed as a rapport management strategy in and of itself.

The results from the benefit level have shown that the most repeated pattern is the use of discourse management strategies that may be combined with other kinds of strategies, especially approximation strategies and interpersonal control strategies. That may be due to the fact that the speaker(s) tend to mitigate the degree of imposition that requests always carry by selecting concrete linguistic items. Some of these linguistic items are speech acts that contain some downgraders (politeness markers such as 'please') and upgraders (such as 'bloody', which is widely used by B throughout the show), and vocatives that may act as downgraders (example [13]). The use of approximation strategies might stem from the fact that requests affecting the ongoing interaction (i.e. asking the interlocutor(s) for the development of their utterances) entail the partial repetition of participants' speech patterns (example [12]).

As regards RM, accommodative moves in this accommodation level usually have a negative effect on participants' relational face because they might feel imposed when the speaker(s) perform these accommodative moves. The opposite may be also true if the

speaker(s) show an interest in what their interlocutor(s) say. Furthermore, they may affect participants' quality face in a positive way if the speaker(s) consider that their interlocutor(s) are able to attend their requests. When it comes to rights and obligations, the benefit level is mainly related to cost-benefit considerations and equity principles in general. Emergencies are an exception (example [13]). In addition to that, accommodative moves in the benefit level may be related to role specifications. That said, these accommodative moves have a clear transactional goal, for they are intended to obtain something from the participants. That is why they sometimes neglect the rapport among the participants, particularly if there are no role specifications. Nevertheless, the problem is that accommodative moves in the benefit level sometimes go unnoticed by the participants because they are part of the common procedure of interactions (especially when the speaker(s) ask someone for the development of their utterance) (example [12]). As a consequence, metapragmatic comments and evaluations are difficult to find and sometimes even not performed, which is one of the difficulties that Haugh (2007, 2012) has stressed regarding the analysis of 1st order politeness[22].

4.2.4 Emotional level

The case of accommodative moves in the emotional level is quite similar to the case in the relationship level. The low ratio may be due to the costs they entail for the speaker(s). However, the percentage of occurrences in intercultural encounters (9.3%) is higher than in intracultural encounters (4%). In this case, the reason behind that might be the participants' kind of relationships (since F and A are girlfriends, and U and B are sisters) more than cultural differences.

The emotional level does not have any peripheral cases within the OBCAP corpus. Thus, a prototypical example is provided:

This example has been taken from excerpt 17 of the OBCAP corpus. Here, C has helped B with her daughter, albeit they do not get on well at the beginning. Hence, B wants to thank C for her help.

> [14] C: So, the killer is still out there?
>   B: Yeah. Probably crawled back to the freaks that sent her after us.
>   C: Did you have to quit being a cop? How can that help?

---

[22] Participants' emic perception.

B: Alison, this isn't why I called. I want to thank you for helping with Kira.

C: Oh.

B: Yeah, I get to see her tomorrow and you set that up. So…

C: Well, she's a special little girl. I can tell. You're very lucky.

This example contains an accommodative move belonging to the emotional level. It is performed by B, who changes the topic of the ongoing conversation in order to thank C for helping her with her daughter. As a result, this accommodative move is a combination between a discourse management strategy and an emotional expression. Nevertheless, it seems that C did not expect such an accommodative move because she does not know how to react, however, she ends up thanking B's linguistic behaviour by praising B's daughter.

In terms of the management of rapport, B's accommodative move affect C's quality face in a positive way because B appreciates what C did, considering her actions as valuable. Considering that C does not even expect B's utterance, B might be enhancing rapport between them. Moreover, thanking might threat both speaker and interlocutor's face depending on the situation, which may be the case for this example since the participants do not get on well.

When it comes to rights and obligations, thanking someone's help is conventionally considered a social protocol. In addition to that, considering Spencer-Oatey's (2004, 2008) equity principles, the act of thanking might be related to cost-benefit considerations. When someone does a favour to us, it usually entails some costs and no benefits for them. As a consequence, we thank them so that the equilibrium of the interaction is to be partially restored, and the interlocutor(s) do not feel imposed or treated in an unfair way. That is what B is doing in this example. Moreover, B follows the association principles since by thanking C for her favour she establishes a kind of ceasefire between them. On the other hand, concerning interactional goals, B's aim seems to be clear: she wants to thank C for what she has done, which is therefore considered a relational want.

To conclude, it is worth mentioning that this accommodative move can be analysed as a rapport management strategy operating in the illocutionary domain because B performs it in order to thank C's help. As a result, C evaluates B's linguistic behaviour in a positive way, specifically considering the complicated relationship they have. Thus, C, who does

not expect such an accommodative move by B, starts praising B's daughter as a response. Hence, example [14] meets most of the main features associated to the emotional level.

The results obtained from the emotional level have shown that the most repeated pattern is the use of emotional expressions that may be combined with other kinds of strategies or not. In this case, the underlying reason seems to be clearer: these strategies are mainly focused on participants' feelings and emotional needs. Some of the linguistic items associated to this accommodation level are the use of vocatives and the performance of certain speech acts (see example [14]).

Concerning RM, accommodative moves in this level affect participants' quality and relational faces. In addition to that, these accommodative moves are mainly related to association principles because of the interactional and affective involvement (or detachment) they entail. Moreover, they lie in role specifications, which may be the main reason why there is a higher number of occurrences in intercultural encounters than in intracultural encounters, regardless cultural factors. Cost-benefit considerations might have also an influence on the emotional level, for accommodative moves entailing feelings are difficult to perform, however, the speaker(s) might consider the benefits from accommodating that way higher than the costs. As a consequence, they usually have a rapport enhancing orientation (example [14]), but sometimes maintaining or challenging too. As in other levels, another important function is restoring the equilibrium of the conversation after a participant has been treated in an unfair way or because some of the participants think someone has been imposed upon (example [14]).

Once all the accommodation levels have been analysed separately, some common differences and similarities will be now sought.

Considering all the results in terms of accommodation, discourse management strategies are the most employed in the creation of accommodative moves, albeit all of them appear frequently across the four different accommodation levels due to the fact that each kind of accommodation strategy occurs particularly in one of the accommodation levels. Moreover, accommodation strategies usually appear combined or in groups across the accommodation levels. That is why grouping them so as to create accommodative moves and classifying these accommodative moves considering their focus on concrete contextual variables (namely participants' relationships, the content of the message, participants' earnings and participants' feelings) seem to be more viable than trying to

conduct an analysis merely considering accommodation strategies. In addition to that, combinations of more than three accommodation strategies rarely appear and are therefore considered peripheral cases. Nevertheless, the emotional level is an exception because it has no peripheral cases within the OBCAP corpus, which may be due to the fact that sometimes an only emotional expression can create a whole accommodative move, suggesting that combinations between many different accommodation strategies are not as necessary as in other accommodation levels. Finally, it is also worth mentioning that sometimes accommodation can be perceived in different ways by the participants of an interaction, as claimed by Dragojevic et al. (2016b).

As regards the results concerning RM issues, it has been proved that accommodative moves affect the three main bases of rapport claimed by Spencer-Oatey (2004, 2008) and, what is more, they (accommodative moves) can be performed in order to restore the equilibrium and the bases of rapport throughout the interaction. It is also worth mentioning that accommodation as a rapport management strategy can operate in each of the four verbal domains (the nonverbal domain is beyond the scope of the present study, albeit it can be examined in future research).

Furthermore, politeness insights have helped to distinguish the four different accommodation levels in which accommodative moves can occur. At the same time, politeness has also helped to identify common patterns in each accommodation level so as to establish certain degrees of prototypicality within them. It can therefore be said that accommodation and politeness have a bidirectional influence and that participants perform accommodative moves in order to adapt to the whole context in which the interaction is occurring and not only to their audience. In addition to that, by examining the focus of the accommodative moves on these contextual variables, some other functions for accommodation (not mentioned in previous studies) have been found such as: mitigating imposition, asking for the development of someone's utterance, (dis)agreeing and more functions (that can and should be extended), albeit restoring the equilibrium of the conversation seems to be the most noteworthy within the present study. Otherwise, they could have gone unnoticed. However, the use of politeness insights has also posed some problems and limitations: metapragmatic comments and evaluations are not always clear or even found, making difficult the study of 1st order politeness, and sometimes accommodation goes unnoticed because it follows the common procedure of interactions.

Despite the addition of some politeness insights, the analysis of accommodation remains incomplete. There are many cases in which the accommodative moves are not only created by a combination of accommodation strategies, but these accommodation strategies appear in groups, as previously mentioned. In order to overcome that problem, some insights from Conversation Analysis (CA henceforth) could be added. Thus, an interdisciplinary framework would be necessary; however, it must be thoroughly created because, otherwise, it would seem a mishmash of disjointed ideas. According to Gasiorek (2016), accommodation can be either an initiation move or a response move, which stresses the necessity for some CA insights for a complete analysis of accommodation. This would provide researchers working on accommodation a wider perspective of what accommodation is. Nonetheless, it would have merely resource purposes because creating a definitive universal framework that encompasses all the potential cases of accommodation remains challenging, and even inviable, for it would limit future studies on accommodation.

Regarding the cultural variable, role specifications seem to be more influential than cultural differences when it comes to daily life encounters since participants' kinds of relationships usually affect participants' choice of accommodative move in the four accommodation levels, whereas the cultural variable is not always relevant, albeit it sometimes highlights cultural saliency in intercultural encounters and suggests that accommodation can occur in both interpersonal and in-group encounters. Concerning role specifications, they are not only more determinant than cultural differences, but the results have also shown that they might change with the passage of time.

5. Conclusion

The present study has examined accommodation occurrences from a politeness perspective in six episodes from the TV show *Orphan Black*. Accommodative moves belonging to each of the four accommodation levels (that have been established in the present study) have been analysed in terms of Rapport Management, selecting five women from different cultures (British, Canadian, American, Ukrainian and French) as the participants of the study. This has allowed for the study of possible cultural differences in the use of accommodation.

The main purpose of the study was to examine the effects of accommodation on politeness, in particular on the management of rapport throughout interactions in order to see to what extent can accommodation occurrences be considered rapport management strategies. The analysis has shown that accommodative moves affect the three main bases of rapport, namely face sensitivities, rights and obligations, and interactional goals. In addition to that, accommodative moves can be performed so as to balance these three main bases of rapport so that the conversation keeps going in a smooth way. Thus, the first hypothesis has been confirmed: accommodation occurrences affect the three main bases of rapport in a noteworthy way, which is one of the main reasons why accommodation can be considered a rapport management strategy. Another important effect of accommodation on RM is that they can operate in each of the four verbal domains as regards politeness. As a result, accommodative moves can be considered rapport management strategies and, therefore analysed as such.

Nevertheless, not only does accommodation have an influence on RM, but politeness insights also have an influence on accommodation, which stresses the bidirectional influence between accommodation and politeness. By analysing accommodative moves within the framework of RM, some common patterns among the accommodative moves have been found, which has helped establish the four accommodation levels in which accommodative moves can occur. Moreover, RM insights alongside accommodation strategies have identified different degrees of prototypicality within each accommodation level. Hence, it has been proved that accommodative moves are a matter of degree and prototypicality rather than clear-cut categories and boundaries. Furthermore, this way of analysing accommodative moves has reached many interesting findings that have been discussed throughout the study. Finally, although accommodation levels might overlap, they do it much less frequently than accommodation strategies, allowing for a more consistent study of accommodative moves.

Regarding the cultural variable, it does not seem to have a relevant impact on the present study, which hinders the identification of true cultural differences. In this sense, role specifications seem to be more influential than cultural differences when it comes to daily life encounters, for, in this case, two of the participants are sisters, other two participants are a couple and they all are friends. As a consequence, the second hypothesis proposed in previous sections could not be confirmed through the present study, but maybe in future

research by analysing other kinds of encounters that may provide different results as regards cultural differences.

Although including some politeness insights has helped develop the study of accommodation, it is important to point out that it still remains incomplete. For that purpose, introducing some concepts from CA might be helpful in accommodation studies since accommodative moves are sometimes formed by groups of accommodation strategies. In addition to that, accommodation can be performed as both an initiation move and a response move. In this sense, interdisciplinary studies would provide a wider view of what accommodation is.

In order to continue with the study of the bidirectional influence accommodation-politeness, larger corpora should be gathered so as to study in depth the different degrees of prototypicality found among the prototypical examples from each accommodation level as well as the multilevel accommodative moves. Moreover, some other variables could be examined such as age, gender, or diachronic variables that would study accommodation from other perspectives. Finally, corpora from different settings could be also created to obtain a wide variety of results, which might be also compared among them so as to find similarities and differences in the use of accommodation across different contexts such as social networks, the media or educational institutions.

It is also important to bear in mind the limitations derived from the combination of accommodation and politeness. The two main problems found within the present study are the lack of metapragmatic comments and the fact that accommodation can go unnoticed. Overcoming these two problems might be also an interesting challenge for future research. Hence, although research in accommodation has come a long way since 1973, there is still much to be discovered.

References

Arundale, R. B. (2005). Face as relational and interactional: Alternative bases for research on face, facework, and politeness. In *9th International Pragmatics Association Conference.* Riva del Garda, 10-15.

Arundale, R. B. (2010). Constituting face in conversation: Face, facework, an interactional achievement. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 42(8)*,* 2078-2105.

Brown, P. and S. Levinson (1978). Universals in language usage: Politeness phenomena. In E.N. Goody (ed.) *Questions and Politeness: Strategies in social interaction.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 56-289.

Brown, P. and S. Levinson (1987). *Politeness. Some Universals in Language Usage.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chartrand, T. L. and R. van Baaren (2009). Human mimicry. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, *41*, 219-274.

Colston, H. L. and R. W. Gibbs (2017). The emergence of common ground. In R. Giora and M. Haugh (eds). *Doing Pragmatics Interculturally: Cognitive, Philosophical, and Sociopragmatic Perspectives.* Boston, Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 13-29.

Coupland, J., N. Coupland and H. Giles (1988). Accommodating the elderly: invoking and extending a theory. *Language in Society*, 17(1), 1-41.

Coupland, J., N. Coupland and H. Giles (1991). Accommodation theory: Communication, context, and consequence. *Contexts of Accommodation: Developments in Applied Sociolinguistics.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1-68.

Dragojevic, M., J. Gasiorek and H. Giles (2016). Accommodation strategies as core of the theory. In H. Giles (ed.) *Communication Accommodation Theory: Negotiating Personal Relationships and Social Identities Across Contexts.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 36-59.

Dragojevic, M., J. Gasiorek and H. Giles (2016). Communication accommodation theory. In C.R. Berger and M. Roloff (eds). *The International Encyclopedia of Interpersonal Communication.* Hoboken, NJ: Wiley Blackwell, 176-196.

Eelen, G. (2001). *A Critique of Politeness Theories.* Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing.

Escandell Vidal, V. (1996). Towards a cognitive approach to politeness. In K. Jaszczolt and K. Turner (eds). *Contrastive Semantics and Pragmatics*. Oxford: Pergamon, 629-650.

Escandell Vidal, V. (2004). Norms and principles. Putting social and cognitive pragmatics together. In R. Márquez-Reiter and M. E, Placencia (eds). *Current Trends in the Pragmatics of Spanish*, 123, 347-371.

Escandell Vidal, V. (2016). Expectations in interaction. In K. Allan, A. Capone and I. Kecskés (eds). *Pragmemes and Theories of Language Use, Perspectives in Pragmatics, Philosophy and Psychology.* Springer, 493-503.

Fernández Fontecha, A. and B. Martínez Fernández (2008). The teachability of pragmatics in SLA: Friends' humour through Grice. *Porta Linguarum.* 10, 31-43.

Franklin, P. and H. Spencer-Oatey (2009). *Intercultural Interaction: A Multidisciplinary Approach to Intercultural Communication.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Fraser, B. (1990). Perspectives on politeness. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 14, 219-236.

Gallois, C., J. Gasiorek, H. Giles and J. Soliz (2016). Communication accommodation theory: Integrations and new framework developments. In H. Giles (ed.) *Communication Accommodation Theory: Negotiating Personal Relationships and Social Identities Across Contexts.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 192-210.

Gasiorek, J. and H. Giles (2012). Effects of inferred motive on evaluations of nonaccommodative communication. *Human Communication Research*, 38(3), 309-331.

Gasiorek, J. (2016). Theoretical perspectives on interpersonal adjustments in language and communication. In H. Giles (ed.) *Communication Accommodation Theory: Negotiating Personal Relationships and Social Identities Across Contexts.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 13-35.

Giles, H. (1973). Accent mobility: A model and some data. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 87-105.

Goffman, E. (1967). *Interaction Ritual. Essays on Face-to-Face Behaviour.* New York: Pantheon.

Grice, P. H. (1975). Logic and Conversation. In P. Cole and J. L. Morgan (eds). *Syntax and Semantics.* New York: Academic Press, 41-58.

Guegen, N., C. Jacob and A. Martin (2009). Mimicry in social interaction: Its effect on human judgement and behaviour. *European Journal of Social Sciences*, 8(2), 253-259.

Gumperz, J. J. (1982). *Discourse Strategies.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hall, E. T. (1976). *Beyond Culture.* Garden City, Nueva York: Anchor.

Haugh, M. (2007). The discursive challenge to politeness research: An interactional alternative. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 3, 295-317.

Haugh, M. (2011). Epilogue: Culture and norms in politeness research. In D. Z. Kádár and S. Mills (eds). *Politeness in East Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 252-273.

Haugh, M. (2012). Epilogue: The first-second order distinction in face and politeness research. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 8(1), 111-134.

Haugh, M. (2013). Disentangling face, facework and im/politeness. *Sociocultural Pragmatics*, 1(1), 46-73.

Haugh, M., D. Z. Kádár and S. Mills (2013). Interpersonal pragmatics: Issues and Debates. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 58, 1-17.

Hofstede, G. (1984). Cultural dimensions in management and planning. *Asia Pacific Journal of Management*, 1(2), 81-99.

Hua, Z. and E. Sweeney (2010). Accommodating toward your audience: Do native speakers of English know how to accommodate their communication strategies toward nonnative speakers of English? *Journal of Business Communication*, 47(4), 477-504.

Intachakra, S. (2012). Politeness motivated by the 'heart' and 'binary rationality' in Thai culture. *Journal of Pagmatics*, 44(5), 619-635.

Jiang, W. and H. Spencer-Oatey (2003). Explaining corss-cultural pragmatic findings: Moving from politeness maxims to sociopragmatic interactional principles (SIPs). *Journal of Pragmatics*, 35(10-11), 1633-1650.

Jucker, A. H. and M. A. Locher (2017). *Pragmatics of Fiction.* Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.

Juez, L. A. (1995). Verbal irony and the maxims of Grice's Cooperative Principle. *Revista Alicantina de Estudios Ingleses*, 8, 25-30.

Kádár. D. Z. and H. Spencer-Oatey (2016). The bases of (im)politeness evaluations: Culture, the moral order and the East-West debate. *East Asian Pragmatics*, 1(1), 73-106.

Kádár, D. Z. and L. Marsden (2017). The pragmatics of mimesis: A case study of intercultural email communication. *Scandinavian Journal of Intercultural Theory and Practice*, 4(1), 1-29.

Lakoff, R. (1973). The logic of politeness: Minding your P's and Q's. In C. Corum, T. Cedric Smith-Stark and A. Weiser (eds). *Papers from the 9th Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, 292-305.

Leech, G. (1983). *Principles of Pragmatics.* New York: Longman.

Locher, M. A. and R. J. Watts (2005). Politeness theory and relational work. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 1, 9-33.

Locher, M. A. and R. J. Watts (2008). Relational work and impoliteness: Negotiating norms of linguistic behaviour. In D. Bousfield and M. A. Locher (eds). *Impoliteness in Language. Studies on its Interplay with Power in Theory and Practice.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 77-99.

Locher, M. (2008). Relational work, politeness, and identity construction. In G. Antos, E. Ventola and T. Weber (eds). *Handbooks of Applied Linguistics.* Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 509-540.

Mao, L. R. (1994). Beyond politeness theory: 'Face' revisited and renewed. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 21, 451-486.

Rosch, E. (1978). Principles of categorization. In B. B. Lloyd and E. Rosch (eds). *Cognition and Categorization.* Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum, 27-48.

Scott, M. (2015). *WordSmith Tools version 6.* Stroud: Lexical Analysis Software.

Spencer-Oatey, H. (2002). Managing rapport in talk: Using rapport sensitive incidents to explore the motivational concerns underlying the management of relations. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 34, 529-545.

Spencer-Oatey, H. (2004). Rapport management: A framework for analysis. In H. Spencer-Oatey (ed.) *Culturally Speaking. Managing Rapport through Talk across Cultures.* London, New York: Continuum, 11-46.

Spencer-Oatey, H. (2005). (Im)politeness, face and perceptions of rapport: Unpacking their bases and interrelationships. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 1, 113-137.

Spencer-Oatey, H. (2007). Theories of identity and the analysis of face. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 39(4), 639-656.

Spencer-Oatey, H. (2008). Face, (im)politeness and rapport. In H. Spencer-Oatey (ed.) *Culturally Speaking. Culture, Communication and Politeness Theory.* London, New York: Continuum, 11-47.

Spencer-Oatey, H. (2011). Conceptualising 'the relational' in Pragmatics: Insights from metapragmatic emotion and (im)politeness comments. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43(14), 3565-3578.

Sperber, D. (1985). Anthropology and psychology: Towards an epidemiology of representations. *Man*, 73-89.

Technau, B. (2017). Aggression in banter: Patterns, possibilities, and limitation of analysis. In S. Bonacchi (ed.) *Verbale Aggression.* De Gruyter, 97-130.

Terkourafi, M. (2005). Beyond the micro-level in politeness research. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 1, 237-262.

Thomas, J. (1983). Cross-cultural pragmatic failure. *Applied Linguistics*, 4(2), 91-112.

Triandis, H. C. (2001). Individualism-collectivism and personality. *Journal of Personality*, 69(6), 907-924.

Ylänne, V. (2008). Communication accommodation theory. In H. Spencer-Oatey (ed.) *Culturally Speaking: Culture, Communication and Politeness Theory.* London, New York: Continuum, 164-186.

Zabalbeascoa, P. (2001). El texto audiovisual: Factores semióticos y traducción. In J. D. Sanderson (ed.) *¡Doble o Nada!*, 113-126.