

UNIVERSITE NATIONALE DU RWANDA
FACULTÉ DES LETTRES

**AN ETHNO - SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY
OF POLITE FORMULAE IN ENGLISH
AND KINYARWANDA**

par
Jean de Dieu TULIKUMANA

Mémoire présenté pour l'obtention
du grade de Licencié en Lettres
Option : Anglais

Directeurs : - Thomas HEARON
- Anastase GASANA

RUHENGERI, Juin 1985

UNIVERSITE NATIONALE DU RWANDA

FACULTÉ DES LETTRES

**AN ETHNO - SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY
OF POLITE FORMULAE IN ENGLISH
AND KINYARWANDA**

par

Jean de Dieu TULIKUMANA

Mémoire présenté pour l'obtention
du grade de Licencié en Lettres
Option : Anglais

Directeurs : - Thomas HEARON
- Anastase GASANA

RUHENGARI, Juin 1985

**
Ku babyeyi banjye
Mwewe mwanyeretse
Inzira igana ishuli.
**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study is the result of the co-operation of different and various people. To you whose moral and material support has been an invaluable help to me, I present my profound gratitude.

Above all, I would like to address a smile of gratitude to Messrs Thomas HEARRON and Anastase GASANA. Their untiring advice and their sense of leadership--especially when I was sailing in despair and uncertainty-- have immensely inspired my confidence. They have greatly contributed to the realization of this paper.

My thanks also go to people who accepted to answer the questionnaires. Indeed, my informants have been a source of inspiration during the interpretation of data. Without them, this work would lack the scientific facet.

Jean de Dieu TULIKUMANA
Nyakinama, May 1985.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
GENERAL INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER ONE: POLITE NON-VERBAL LANGUAGE.....	13
I. Introduction.....	13
II. General overview of non-verbal communication...	14
III. Polite non-verbal communication in English and Kinyarwanda.....	20
III.1. Body language.....	21
III.1.1. Kinesics.....	21
III.1.1.1. Head behavior.....	22
III.1.1.2. Eye behavior.....	24
III.1.1.2.a. Eye contact.....	25
III.1.1.2.b. A look.....	27
III.1.1.2.c. To make eyes.....	29
III.1.1.3. Mouth behavior.....	33
III.1.1.3.a. A smile.....	33
III.1.1.3.b. A kiss.....	34
III.1.1.4. Head behavior	36
III.1.1.4.a. Hand clapping.....	36
III.1.1.4.b. Hand shaking.....	37
III.1.1.4.c. To embrace.....	39
III.1.1.5. Other means of non-verbal communication..	40
III.1.1.5.a. Hat lifting.....	40
III.1.1.5.b. Bowing.....	42
III.1.1.5.c. Coughing.....	42
III.1.2. Proxemics.....	43
III.1.2.1. Body distance.....	44
III.1.2.1.a. Social distance.....	44
III.1.2.1.b. Intimate distance.....	47
III.1.2.2. Body position.....	48
III.1.2.2.a. The standing relaxed position.....	49
III.1.2.2.b. The standing non-relaxed position.....	50
III.1.2.2.c. The sitting relaxed position.....	50
III.1.2.1.b. The sitting non-relaxed position.....	53
IV. Summary and conclusion.....	54
Footnotes.....	55

CHAPTER TWO: POLITE REQUESTS AND APOLOGIES.....	57
I. Introduction.....	57
II. Social norms in requests and apologies.....	59
II.1. Definition of a social norm.....	61
II.2. Social control.....	63
III. Polite requests.....	67
III.1. Definition of a request.....	67
III.2. The recognition and the presentation of a request.....	69
III.3. Possible attitudes of the offender and the offended.....	72
III.4. Polite commands, suggestions, invitations, offers, and permissions.....	74
III.5. Forms of reply.....	79
IV. polite apologies.....	82
IV.1. Definition of an apology.....	82
IV.2. Units for making an apology.....	83
IV.3. Forms of reply.....	85
IV.3.1. Positive forms of reply.....	85
IV.3.2. Negative forms of reply.....	85
Footnotes.....	87
 CHAPTER THREE: POLITE VERBAL FORMS IN RELATION TO SEX, AGE, AND STATUS.....	 88
I. Introduction.....	88
II. Welcome formulas.....	90
II.1. Forms of general greetings.....	92
II.2. Forms of greetings referring to the time of encounter.....	97
II.2.1. Forms of greetings used in the morning.....	97
II.2.2. Forms of greetings used in the afternoon and in the evening.....	98
II.3. Forms of leave-takings.....	101
III. Wishes.....	103
III.1. When stumbling.....	104
III.2. When sneezing.....	105
III.3. While leaving a patient.....	106
III.4. While eating.....	106
III.5. Forms of thanking and imploring somebody.....	108
III.5.1. Forms of thanking someone.....	108
III.5.2. Forms of imploring somebody.....	110

IV. Forms of address.....	113
IV.1. The morpho-syntactic category.....	114
IV.1.1. Pronouns of address.....	114
IV.2. The lexical category.....	116
IV.2.1. The naming principle.....	118
IV.2.2. The non-naming principle.....	122
Footnotes.....	128
GENERAL CONCLUSION.....	129
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	136
APPENDIX.....	138

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

=====

LOCATION OF THE WORK IN ITS CONTEXT

Sociolinguists define sociolinguistics as the study of language in its social milieu. Sociolinguistics is often referred to as the sociology of language. As a matter of fact, it may be regarded as originating from both linguistics and sociology. Sociolinguistics is mainly concerned with how speech is used in a given community. Speech is then an important factor which determines the relation between people using the same language. About speech, Greenberg states: "...we define speech as the totality of speaking activities within human social groups. We then exclude at once the artificial symbolic languages derived from spoken languages such as writing and code-signalling."¹

The social patterning of language use is relevant not only to sociology and linguistics, but also to other social sciences. Indeed, there is interdisciplinarity between social sciences. That is the reason why anthropology, psychology, ethnolinguistics... cooperate in the realization of sociolinguistic features. Kroeber² suggests that anthropology is the particular science concerned with culture as such. On the other hand, Goudenough³ states that the anthropologist's basic task is to describe specific cultures adequately through the help of ethnography. We notice so far that there is a close interdependence between sociolinguistics and anthropology because they both are concerned with language, society and above all, culture. Sociolinguistics and anthropology focus on socio-cultural patterns found in human communities; those communities express various socio-cultural aspects through language. Ethnolinguistics is often seen as social linguistics. In this respect, there is a tendency to make no distinction between sociolinguistics and ethnolinguistics because the two are concerned with the same goal, that of studying language in all its social aspects:

L'ethnolinguistique s'occupe principalement aujourd'hui des rapports du message linguistique avec l'ensemble des circonstances de la communication. Limitée d'abord au terrain des sociétés dites primitives, l'ethnolinguistique déclare que désormais tout terrain lui appartient, même celui des sociétés modernes les plus complexes.

Cette nouvelle définition du programme de recherches de l'ethnolinguistique rapproche singulièrement cette discipline de la sociolinguistique, au point que certains n'hésiteraient pas à parler d'une ethno-sociolinguistique.⁴

This means that today the primary concern of ethnolinguistics is the relation between a linguistic message and a set of communication's circumstances. First limited to primitive societies, ethnolinguistics declares that from now on, any field belongs to it, even the field of the most complex modern societies. This new definition brings together that discipline and sociolinguistics to the point that some people would no longer hesitate to speak of ethno-sociolinguistics.

To avoid confusion in terminology and to achieve some consistency and conformity,¹ I proposed to entitle the project "An ethno-sociolinguistic study of polite formulae in English and Kinyarwanda". The combination of the terms "ethnolinguistics" and "sociolinguistics" was inspired by a concern with satisfying most of the readers of this study. In fact, some people still consider ethnolinguistics and sociolinguistics as two different sciences. Some others regard the two sciences as overlapping and complementary, and even as ^{two} instances of ^a same domain, that of the sociology of language. I think that it would be plausible to regroup the two disciplines under one heading, that of ethnosociolinguistics which would be more accurate than if the concern was only on ethnolinguistics or on sociolinguistics. I feel that the combination of the ^{two} concepts in one concept ^{treating} of the two at the same time is a judicious choice in order to meet the expectations of any reader of any tendency.

Ethno-sociolinguistics has something in common with language, society and culture. There are still obscure opinions about the relations existing between language and culture. To what extent are language and culture interrelated and to what extent do they depart from each other? It is this series of questions that I want to elucidate in order to facilitate the understanding of the rest of the project which is mainly concerned with the polite language used in the English and the Rwandan cultural contexts. But before we go a step further, let us first define language and culture. It is a common saying that language is a tool for communication among people of the same community. In order that language functions

efficiently in a speech community, people have to share the same beliefs and customs, and the same view of the world. The sum of these beliefs and customs is what is generally called culture. Culture is in this sense the way of life of a people:

Culture is a "blue-print" that "guides the behaviour of people in a community and is incubated in family life. It governs our behavior in groups, makes us sensitive to matters of status, and helps us to know what others expect of us and what will happen if we do not live up to their expectations. Culture helps us to know how far we can go as individuals and what our responsibility is to the group... . Culture might be defined as the ideas, customs, skills, arts, and tools which characterize a given group of people in a given period of time. But culture is more than the sum of its parts. "It is a system of integrated patterns, most of which remain below the threshold of consciousness, yet all of which govern human behavior... .5

Among anthropologists who provided definitions of culture, Ward H. Godenough remarked:

... a society's culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members, and do so in any role that they accept for any one of themselves. Culture, being what people have to learn as distinct from their biological heritage, must consist of the end product of learning: knowledge, in a most general, if relative, sense of the term. By this definition we should note that culture is not a material phenomenon; it does not consist of things, people, behavior, or emotions. It is rather an organization of these things. It is the forms of things that people have in mind, their models for perceiving, relating, and otherwise interpreting them. As such, the things people say and do, their social arrangements and events, are products or by-products of their culture as they apply it to the task of perceiving and dealing with their circumstances.⁶

After we have attempted to define language and culture, we may now go back to the initial step, that of knowing the relation between language and culture. Are they to be regarded as interdependent or are they definitely separate concepts? May we say "language in culture" or "language and culture"?:

It is a recognized problem whether we ought to say "language and culture" or "language in culture". As to the essential relevant facts, everyone is in agreement. When we need a term for that larger whole which is the common property of all groups of men and which distinctly sets off mankind from all other animals, there is no question: we call it culture. . . . But an equally important consideration is that language is easily the most nearly autonomous, self-consistent, and self-contained unit which is discernible within the totality of culture. Why this is--why perhaps it had to be so--is something

that we do not understand with clarity or conviction. And I shall therefore not try even to suggest an explanation, but to accept the fact as something that students of language and students of culture both posit as a starting point, explicitly or implicitly. It is, however, one kind of content, one body of phenomena which language and culture indubitably share--and that is meaning.⁷

According to Kroeber, language and culture share certain common characteristics. Some phenomena are relevant to both language and culture so that it is really difficult to state which concept is part of which one. Does language help the understanding of culture or does culture contribute to the realization of language. These questions cannot find definite answers, but tentative suggestions because we are in an area where people talk about the concepts with reserve. Any individual concerned with the relation between language and culture treats the subject with caution by using nuances. However, there is a tendency to regard language as a part,--an important one--of culture. There is an assumption that language is the external realization of culture. In this respect, language is an integral part of culture:

Indeed, we may define a language in precisely the same terms in which we have already defined a culture. It consists of whatever it is one has to know in order to communicate with its speakers as adequately as they do with each other and in a manner which they will accept as responding to their own. In this sense, a society's language is an aspect of its culture. This is contradicted in no way by the fact that two communities speaking what passes for the same language may otherwise have somewhat different cultures. . . . The frequent assertion that language and culture are independent, while properly cautioning against certain kinds of inference, is in other respects an unfortunate half-truth. The relation of language to culture, then, is that of part of . . . whole.⁸

Godenough states further that it is in the course of learning his language and how to use it that every human being acquires the bulk of his culture. ". . . as a set of forms, language is not only a part of culture; as a set of easily manipulated non-iconic signs, it is a major instrument for learning it."⁹ From this opinion, it is clear that one can hope to acquire his society's culture by acquiring and using its language. Language is therefore an important and indispensable instrument to express culture because language learning is culture learning. In this way, language is the mirror of culture.

Face-to-face with differing opinions about language and culture, some saying that language is part of culture and some others arguing that there is no convincing evidence about which concept is part of which one, my position is that we may regard both culture and language as entirely interrelated: "A language is a part of culture and a culture is a part of a language; the two are intricately interwoven such that one cannot separate the two without losing the significance of either language or culture."¹⁰ I favor this viewpoint about language and culture not because I discredit other opinions, but mostly because I consider it as the synthesis of the different standpoints. In addition, for the sake of my project, language and culture must be regarded as interdependent in order to avoid some confusion resulting from the constant differentiation between them. Throughout different chapters in the study, there will be no differentiation between the two concepts for practical reasons. When I say for example "In the English language, requests function in such a way...", or if I say "In the English culture...", the two statements ought to be considered as meaning the same thing because I do not want to mislead the reader by differentiating notions which are somehow similar in many respects.

I also grasp the occasion to make precise some terms which would impede the better understanding of the study. Since we are concerned with a comparative study of both English and Kinyarwanda, there are terms which are introduced for the sake of stylistic variety. Those terms are for example "context" and "milieu". Instead of writing "the Rwandan culture...", I may replace "culture" by "context" or "milieu". These notions are to be regarded as meaning exactly the same thing as "culture". But the major problem is about the term "English" which is really ambiguous and misleading. Indeed, "English" may refer to any English-speaking people. In this memoir, "English" is used to refer to either British people or Americans of the United States because I assume that among English speaking people, Britains and Americans are the most likely to behave in the same way because they belong to the Anglo-Saxon tradition. I do not mean that they share exactly the same cultural patterns, but generally speaking, they present more similarities than differences. The term "English" makes then reference to British and/or Americans, and it would be understood in that way.

In my study, the focus is on polite forms in English and Kinyarwanda. To achieve my goal, the methods to be used are at the same time descriptive and comparative. In fact, the two methods are complementary and concurrent. In order to show similarities and differences between the English and the Rwandan socio-cultural and linguistic patterns, I will have first to examine and to describe the polite forms in each of the contexts before stepping into the comparative study. Throughout the memoir, the descriptive and comparative methods will be placed in the ethno-sociolinguistic context. Indeed, the ethno-sociolinguistic approach is the main focus in the paper.

DELIMITATION OF THE STUDY

The study of language is as complex as the study of its producer, man. It would then be a blind ambition to assign oneself the study of any form of language in all of its aspects. In addition, it is better to focus on some points instead of treating many points without any hope of achieving exhaustively. Furthermore, a license memoir limits us to concentrate on some important elements. The important thing in all this is not the amount of the material, but the way it has been treated. The quantity of the material presented is not so important, but the quality. It is for this reason that I chose to concentrate only on the verbal and the non-verbal language used in everyday conversation. Pursuing my goal of limiting the topic to the important and useful, I will focus on the politeness variable in both English and Kinyarwanda.

What inspired me to put much emphasis on the spoken language which is most often accompanied with the non-verbal behavior is the assumption that the spoken language is "as natural as breathing". This aspect of being natural may be of great help for the one concerned with how it is used among people in face-to-face encounters. In addition to being natural, it is spontaneous. Naturaliy and spontaneity are what the language mechanic needs in order to draw some conclusions after he has observed the way language is used among individuals. In fact, naturality and spontaneity of speech--or gestures--may signal the inner intent of an individual. In this respect, the one studying how language functions between people may be enabled to investigate the psychology of people in interaction and to interpret their respective mental states at the moment when

they are having a verbal exchange. My favoring the verbal and the non-verbal language does not discredit other aspects of language such as the written language and codesignalling. The primary reason to exclude them in my study is that they are languages at a second level. This means that they derive from the spoken language and they lack in themselves the naturalness and spontaneity variables which characterize speech.

In every society, in every culture, there are hierarchical relations between people. Society is so stratified that every person accepts the fact as it is. If we apply the stratification of society to the use of language during social dealings, we notice that any speaker adapts his speech to his addressee and to the setting. The addressee is the starting point of the kind of language used between him and the addressor. Ethno-sociolinguistics studies the shifting from one variety to another variety in the same language. It also tries to determine who speaks which kind of language, about which topic, and with what interlocutors. The relationships between people in interaction will greatly determine the degree of politeness between them. Their respective social status, their age, their sex...are the great indicators which guide the politeness variable. Politeness will mostly be found on formal occasions or when people of different age, sex, and social standing are conversing. In the case when people of the same age, the same sex, and the same social status are interacting, there is a great chance that their language will be a familiar one. The familiar language is the one I will often refer to as the informal polite language because intimacy does not necessarily exclude politeness. However, the very politeness is found in situations where people in social dealings have distant relations. The reason why I choose to consider the politeness variable in the English and the Rwandan in everyday conversation, when people talk with people, there are social contexts is that moral norms which impinge on them to follow the conversation rules. Those conversation rules are most of the time based on politeness. Even when people happen to depart from the social norms governing any encounter between individuals, they thereafter seek a remedy. When the remedy has been provided, the conversation takes the initial position, that involving politeness. Generally speaking, the politeness variable is the most likely to occur in social dealings between people in interaction.

CORPUS

For the accomplishment of my paper, a preliminary but necessary work has been performed, that is, the constitution of the corpus. It is of paramount obligation to make some researches in order to present a solid work based mostly on observations and inquiries. That is that "any linguistic study must be based on a corpus of some kind." 11 For the Kinyarwanda part, I relied heavily on oral and written information which was the result of a questionnaire I made for that issue. Other sources were some of the works of License students of the French and African languages and literatures Department during the academic year 1981-1982 with Dr. A. Gasana as responsible for the study theme. Those works were centered on forms of address in Kinyarwanda. In addition, my own competence as a native speaker of Kinyarwanda has been an invaluable help to me. The reason why I made both oral and written inquiries is that most Rwandan people are illiterate. It was then impossible to get information from them without the oral methods. The written material has been distributed to "intellectuals" in the aim of confronting the oral results from the written ones. The results of the two kinds of inquiries showed that there is not yet any great discrepancy between literate and illiterate people on how Kinyarwanda functions in everyday communication. The purpose of the two sorts of inquiries was also to try to get information from people of any social status, of any age and of any sex. I want to specify that by people of any age, I mean people whom I assumed were able to give satisfactory answers about how polite forms function in Kinyarwanda. For that purpose, I inquired from people from eighteen years of age on.

My respectable knowledge of English helped me to make a questionnaire about English polite formulae. It is this very knowledge which helped me to interpret the received information from British and American people who were available in different corners of Rwanda. Apart from my fair knowledge of the English language and conclusions derived from the questionnaire, I heavily relied on interviews I have had with different native speakers of English on the campus. These interviews were of a great help to me when my own competence and the material from informants had somehow failed to inspire my confidence.

I hope that this paper is based on scientific methods which recommend that a corpus must be as various as possible. I think that I have tried to achieve variety in the constitution of the corpus by taking into account different opinions from different points of view of different people.

INTERESTS OF THE STUDY

What inspired me to deal with the topic is what I heard from people that there are not cultures but only one culture! This statement puzzled me to the point that I decided to deal with it to see to what extent the English and the Rwandan cultures are similar or different. People who say that there is only one culture assume that at the deep level, all individuals have the same beliefs, the same customs..., but that it is the surface structure which differentiate them. That is to say that originally there is a culture which has been altered by time and space because change in time and space does not reach different groups of people in the same way or at the same moment. But is this universality of culture applied to English and Kinyarwanda when politeness is considered.

Simple curiosity gave rise to three main interests. The first practical interest of this memoir is the approach itself. The ethno-sociolinguistic field is a very complex one because it borrows from other fields such as linguistics, anthropology, sociology... . In addition, comparative ethno-sociolinguistics is a new science which is gaining ground little by little. Still, it is an untrodden land for the one concerned with a comparative study of English and Rwandan polite forms because very little has been done in this domain. The interest of the study may be assigned to the complexity of the approach, to its newness and to the originality of the topic.

The second interest is the pedagogical implications which derive from the study. This memoir would be helpful for both teachers and students. Any teacher teaching English and/or Kinyarwanda will have a written document to base his judgement on when he feels it necessary to interpret his students' attitudes in different given situations. It is, for example, a common practice for Rwandan students to prefer the teacher to do much of the

talking. They do not like to fully participate in classroom lessons unless the teacher insists. One may then interpret their attitudes as hostile and impolite because one does not know that it is their way of life. In this sense, this paper would help any teacher in a Rwandan classroom context. Students would also profit from the memoir because they will learn to accept teachers of a different culture from their own. If there is mutual acceptance between teachers and students, mutual understanding would settle, and the classroom work would be made easy for everyone.

The third interest mainly concerns the Kinyarwanda context. Kinyarwanda, just like English, has a rich cultural heritage. Unfortunately, some aspects of the culture are disappearing because there are no valid conceived ways to preserve them. One of the sure means to keep the cultural heritage alive is writing. Today, written documents on the Rwandan culture are still few. This memoir is then a modest contribution to some aspects of the Rwandan culture because until now, almost nothing has been said about politeness in the Rwandan context. Thus, this study presents a cultural interest.

FORMAT OF THE STUDY

The study is concerned with three chapters which concentrate on how English-speaking people and Rwandans behave in a polite manner during face-to-face encounters. I would like to specify that, throughout this paper, I will be considering only oral interactions. The first chapter deals with different aspects of non-verbal behavior in both the English and the Rwandan cultures. The reason why I include this chapter in the project is that I noticed that man cannot communicate with words alone; he makes recourse to gestures.... In this respect, the non-verbal language may be used. In addition, I noticed that the non-verbal language may be used alone, but the verbal language cannot. The silent language is then a language by itself, contrary to what some people think that the spoken language is the only language. This chapter is divided into one section: body language, which is itself subdivided into two parts: kinesics and proxemics. Kinesics is the technical term referring to the study of gestures. It is commonly called the science of gestures. Proxemics is the study of body positions and movements of an individual during a social interaction.

Kinesics comprises many facets such as **movements performed by the** eye, the mouth, the head, the hand, the arms, the feet... . All these different movements performed by some of the body organs are part of the science called kinesics. Proxemics comprises essentially the standing and the sitting positions which in their turn treat of relaxation and non-relaxation variables. If we relate the polite non-verbal language to the English and the Rwandan cultures, we notice that there are some similarities and some differences.

Under the title "Polite requests and apologies", part two is especially concerned with how the verbal language functions in particular instances of everyday communication where politeness is the great concern. In fact, in the instance of making a request, the individual must make sure that he uses an appropriate language because if he does not do so, he would not probably receive what he needs from his interlocutor. In the same line, to ask for forgiveness for a committed infraction is regarded as a polite way of behavior for the individual who performs such an act. The practice of asking for a remedy of a fault is found under the requests section. In this chapter, different terms relevant to requests and apologies are defined in order to facilitate the better understanding of the memoir. Those terms are for example "social control", "social norms", "the offender", "the offended", etc. Furthermore, practical examples of how to make a request or an apology in both languages are provided.

Chapter three is centered on polite verbal forms in relation to sex, age, and status. I would like to put to the reader's notice that in any communication act, the speaker must adapt his speech to the addressee because the latter is the most significant determinant of how conversation works between people in interaction. The speaker must therefore adjust his speech to the listener's social status, to his age, and to his sex because I think that the three variables are the main indicators of what kind of language would be used.

But one may wonder why I put a great emphasis on age, sex, and status in the third chapter as if other chapters cannot be affected by these variables. True, the non-verbal language and the making requests and apologies' instances are also influenced by status, age, and sex. However, I preferred to emphasize the already mentioned variables in the ~~third~~ chapter because I noticed that the very chapter presented

enough material which could be easily and adequately adapted to such variables. The chapter is divided into three subparts. The first is concerned with welcome formulas, that is, greetings and leave-takings. The second sub-part concentrates on different forms of wishes, and the last section deals with forms of address which present two categories: the morpho-syntactic category and the lexical category.

FOOTNOTES

1. Greenberg, J.H. "Linguistics and Ethnology" in Hymes, D.(ed.), Language in Culture and Society, New York, Harper & Row, 1964, p.27.
2. Foreword in Hymes (ed.), p.XVII.
3. Goodenough, W.H. "Cultural Anthropology and Linguistics", in Hymes (ed.), p.36.
4. Garmadi, J. La Sociolinguistique, Paris, PUF, 1981, pp.15-16.
5. Brown, H.D. Principles of Language Learning and Teaching, Ney Jersey, Englewood Cliffs, 1980, pp.122-123.
6. Goodenough, p.36.
7. Foreword in Hymes (ed.), p.XVII.
8. Goodenough, p.37.
9. Goodenough, p.39.
10. Brown, p.124.
11. Gafaranga, J. The Semantics of Locative Markers in English and Kinyarwanda: a Comparative Study, Ruhongeri, 1983.

CHAPTER ONE: POLITE NON-VERBAL LANGUAGE

I. INTRODUCTION

"It is indeed difficult to know what another person really feels. He says one thing but does another; he seems to mean something but we have an uneasy feeling it isn't true."¹ According to Mehrabian's view-point, verbal language is not sufficient in itself because it does not express all the intentions of the speaker. Words do not always speak the feelings of the mind. They lack in themselves one of the essential sides of communication, that is, the non-verbal language.

"In addition to language, there are other ways in which man communicates that either reinforce or deny what he has said with words."² If we try to interpret this statement, it is clear that verbal language goes hand in glove with other means of communication such as gestures, body position, body distance, the tone of the voice, etc. These ways of communication are commonly called the non-verbal language. It is therefore evident that words are incomplete by themselves; there are other signs that contribute to the completeness of an utterance. In fact, there is a close connection between what is said, how it is said and the attitudes of people in interaction. By "attitudes", I mean the body features which accompany an utterance. One example of such features is the smile. A smile is often interpreted as an indicator of satisfaction and happiness. But it is not always the case because it may happen that in a face-to-face interaction, one may smile at his interlocutor pretending that he is happy to see him whereas in fact he is not pleased at all. From this example, one notices that even the non-verbal language is not always reliable. It may delude us because there is no one single interpretation of a sign. Such a complexity of body language made me wonder about how it functions in everyday life, and its role as compared to the verbal language.

The purpose of this chapter then is to compare the English non-verbal communication with the Rwandan non-verbal communication. The emphasis will be on one aspect, that is, the politeness variable. What inspired me to include this chapter in my study is what I happened to read about non-verbal language:

We communicate so much information non-verbally in conversations that often the verbal aspect of the conversation is negligible. This is particularly true for interactive language functions in which **social contact is of key importance** and in which it is not what you say that counts but how you say it--what you convey with body language, eye contact, physical distance, and other non-verbal messages.³

This chapter is structured into two subparts. The general overview of non-verbal communication and the polite non-verbal communication in the English and the Rwandan cultures. The non-verbal language is, as I mentioned above, part of everyday conversation. We smile, we shake hands with our friends, we use our heads, we have different ways of looking at individuals... . All these behaviors are very significant; they are significant if we relate them to the context in which they occur. As for the polite non-verbal language used in the English and the Kinyarwanda speaking-cultures, it just functions like the non-verbal communication except that it is one particular aspect of it. The polite non-verbal language treats only of one aspect, the body language. Body language is itself divided into two categories: kinesics, which is concerned with facial engagements, hand behavior... and proxemics, which studies body distance and position.

II. GENERAL OVERVIEW OF NON-VERBAL COMMUNICATION

"Il n'y a pas moins d'éloquence dans le ton de la voix, dans les yeux et dans l'air de la personne que dans le choix des paroles."⁴ La Rouchefoucauld seems to suggest that just like words, there is much eloquence in the tone of the voice, in the eyes and in the mood of the speaker. My previous assumption in the introduction to the chapter, that non-verbal language and verbal language are interrelated, finds more support here. In fact, during a conversation, verbal and non-verbal modalities are interdependent. That is why it is difficult and quite impossible to study the non-verbal behavior alone without referring it to the verbal language. In any case, the emphasis will be put on the non-linguistic communication, but sometimes it will be necessary to relate it to linguistic modalities especially while giving examples and illustrations.

The communication without words involves different parts of the body. Rwigamba Barinda⁵ makes a classification of kinemes in five categories:

- kinemes of the hands and fingers
- kinemes of the face
- kinemes of the whole head
- kinemes of the arms and shoulders
- kinemes of the feet and toes.

If we take into account Barinda's classification, we notice that each part of the body performs its own kinemes. In addition, each kineme may occur alone as it may occur concomitantly with other kinemes of other parts of the body. For example, in the Rwandan context, "gukoma amashyi" (to applaud) may be performed alone as a sign of thanking someone for what he has given to you. It may also be performed at the same time as "gupfukama" (to kneel down) which is a sign of total respect and submission. "Gukoma amashyi" is a kineme of the hands and the fingers, and "gupfukama" is a kineme of the foot. Another example is "guhobera" (to embrace) and "guseka" (to smile). One may "guhobera" without necessarily "guseka" as he may "guseka" without "guhobera". But he may also perform the two actions at the same time. "Guseka" (to smile) is classified among the kinemes of the face as "guhobera" is among the kinemes of the arms and the shoulders. It is worth mentioning that Rwigamba's classification is only tentative and indicative because it is not systematic. It concentrates only on some parts of the body. However, it is understandable since there is no precise way in such an area where no one sign can be put into a definite box.

Other specialists tried to classify different elements of the non-verbal forms of communication in accordance with the senses. Douglas Brown⁶ classifies the modalities of non-verbal communication in three categories:

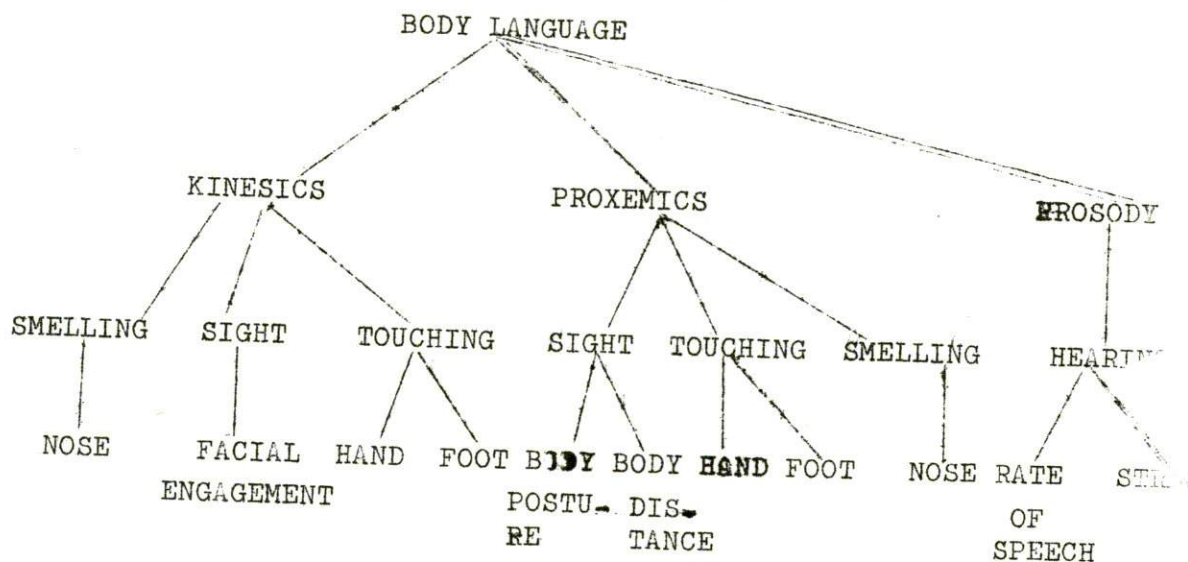
- the visual modality which includes gestures, body language... .
- the kinesthetic modality which refers to touching.
- the olfactory modality or smelling.

His classification can be put like this:

MODALITIES	MODES OF EXPRESSION
VISUAL MODALITY (SIGHT)	eye contact proxemics artifacts... .
OLFACTORY MODALITY (SMELLING)	noses
KINESTHETIC MODALITY (TOUCHING)	hands fingers feet

Douglas Brown deliberately excludes the hearing and the taste modalities, arguing that the former is the private domain of the verbal language: "verbal language requires the use of one of the five sensory modalities: hearing."⁷ For taste, he suggests: "But there remain in our communicative repertoire three other senses by which we communicate everyday, if we for the moment rule out taste as falling within a communicative category (though messages are indeed sent and received through the taste modality)."

Face to face with such a complex and diverse classification what is my own standpoint? My first and immediate observation is that the two classifiers are not complete in their categorizing different elements of the non-verbal language. They both classify them according to the parts of the body, but each has his favored parts. For me personally, I would suggest that we look at these two classifications as complementary, as working together. If we look at them in this way, we get a great deal of how the silent language works in everyday communication. I therefore am for the combination of the two methods. My classification is the following:



According to this diagram, there is an introduction of a new element, prosody, which is the study of intonation and change of voice during a conversation. With prosody, the hearing modality enters the non-verbal communication, contrary to Brown Douglas' assumption that hearing is the property of verbal language only. Nonetheless, Rwigamba's classification does not disappear. It is found under the kinesics and the proxemics parts. From the diagram, prosody is classified among the body components. This raises a question: is it adequate to consider the supra-segmental elements as part of the non-verbal language or are they to be regarded as belonging to the verbal language? Many people consider prosody as definitely not linguistic and definitely not linguistic, that is, they say that it is somewhere between the verbal and the non-verbal behavior. Some others say that it is linguistic since it involves the hearing modality, and others argue that it is non-linguistic because it does not fulfill the required characteristics of the verbal language.

For me personally, I would classify prosody among the non-verbal features. To avoid confusion in terminology, I decided to include prosody in the body language. In this respect, it may be considered as a non-linguistic feature. But note that this is only an arbitrary decision which does not intend to destroy other opinions about prosodic factors. For the sake of clarity and conformity, the term "prosody" would be understood as part of non-linguistic language.

Every culture has its own body language....
 A Frenchman talks and moves in French. An
 American handles his body in a distinctively
 American way... . Most Americans, observing

an Englishman, would recognize that the way he crosses his legs is nothing like the way a male American does it.⁹

Davis' viewpoint is also applicable to the Rwandan culture. Rwandans have their own proper way of life which differentiates them from other speech communities. I have been told by Rwandan students studying overseas that when two Rwandans meet abroad, they recognize each other because they share the same cultural features. Each culture has its own behavioral patterns which distinguish it from other cultures. H. Douglas Brown suggests that there are cultural stereotypes in each speech community. Although there are variables within the same community which may affect the individual's use of language--be it the verbal or the non-verbal language--nevertheless, one moves, gestures, talks in a way which corresponds to his culture. These variables are for example regional differences, sex, age, and social position differentiations, and the personal register of the individual. All these factors influence any form of language. It is true that people from different regions of the same country do not use necessarily the same language. There are departures especially in pronunciation and lexical items. This is also the case for their different use of body language. It is also true that men and women use the same body language in distinctively masculine and feminine ways. But apart from these differences within the same group of people, individuals on the whole share the same beliefs, the same patterns, the same customs. Those beliefs, patterns and customs are part of a system which governs human behavior, that is, culture. About cultural differences, there are diverse assumptions characterizing people of different cultures. Douglas Brown states that British people are referred to as being reserved, polite, thrifty. Americans are informal, materialistic, and friendly. Orientals are reserved, wise, cunning, and "inscrutable". As for Rwandans, they are commonly referred to as reserved, cunning, and hospitable. From this viewpoint, it comes out that cultures have something in common as they differ from each other. Accordingly, there are cultural differences as there are universals in culture. These opinions about different cultures are not to be taken for granted; nonetheless, they tell us a bit about the behavior of each nation.

For the non-verbal language used in the English and the Kinyarwanda-speaking cultures, it is worth mentioning that the two cultures share almost the same body language elements, but those

elements tend to function in a different way. In both cultures, those elements such as a smile, eye behavior, a shrug, a wink... are present, but they may mean different things according to the one who uses them. In Rwanda for example, it is impolite to look at the other person for a longer time than the normal in face-to-face interaction. Rwandans prefer to look away or at the floor as a sign of respect and submission. This mostly occurs when the interlocutor is a superior. Bosmojian states that "In England the polite listener fixes the speaker with an attentive stare and blinks his eyes occasionally as a sign of interest. That eye-blink says nothing to Americans, who expect the listener to nod or to murmur something such as 'mnhmn'."10

It is difficult to determine scientifically how the non-verbal language may be interpreted because there is no one-to-one correspondence between a gesture and its meaning. To one gesture may correspond various and diverse meanings. There is no precise vocabulary of gestures, and experts in kinesics have not yet come up with an adequate presentation of non-verbal behavior. We then still rely on our intuitive mind and our observations of people in everyday conversation in order to draw some conclusions which cannot pretend to exhaustivity because there is no efficient way at hand to be precise and concise in the literature of non-verbal language. However, in order to grasp the meaning of a gesture; it is necessary to relate it to the context in which it occurs. In addition, the relationship between people in interaction is of paramount importance. Their degree of intimacy, their respective social status... can be factors to determine how body language would function among them and how it would be interpreted. An example is that of two young Rwandan people of different sexes; they are both university students. The encounter takes place in the girl's room, and the relations are private. They are very intimate and are of equal status. What may be noticed if we study some aspects of their body language is that while interacting, they are at ease. That is, if we observe their body position, there is a great chance that they are in a relaxed position. Furthermore, they smile to each other and eye contact may last a longer time than if it was two people of the same sex and of different social positions who were interacting. The counter example is that of an inferior talking with a superior. The superior would look most of the time at the inferior; he would use many gestures because he is in a dominating

position. The inferior would not feel at ease and he would be limited in his movements. From these examples, it is noticeable that the context, the situation in face-to-face dealings plays a great role because it is the indicator, the governor of how conversation would work between people.

Communication between human beings would be just that dull if it were all done with words; but actually words are often the smallest part of it. So it's fun for a time to put them aside and to become aware of the rest of what goes on when people meet face to face.¹¹

True, words alone cannot communicate--at least in a desired way--. They need the support of non-verbal language. A good illustration of the usefulness of body language is to ask someone to try to communicate without the use of non-verbal features. He would notice what effect the absence of body language has on him, on his communication and on his audience. When I asked some of my friends on the campus to perform such an exercise, they tried and after a very short moment, they gave up and told me that it is really impossible to communicate without the use of non-linguistic language. I carried on my experiment, asking them to try to communicate between themselves without words. This time, they succeeded. They were amazed to notice that non-verbal communication works in "mysterious" and complex ways which the verbal language lacks. I concluded then that one can do without words, but he cannot do without the non-verbal language. After this experiment, I was more convinced than before that the non-verbal communication is deep-rooted within ourselves. All our feelings, all our emotions are mostly expressed through body language with its numerous aspects. But what about politeness in all this?

III. POLITE NON-VERBAL COMMUNICATION IN ENGLISH AND KINYARWANDA.

Before moving into the very heart of the matter, I would like to make precise how one would recognize a polite form from a non-polite feature because what is polite in one situation may be seen as familiar or impolite in another. In addition, what seems polite in one culture may be interpreted as incongruous in another culture.

Goffman gives an example of Indians of the United States who sit down when they talk. They also do not look at the person addressed. This eye behavior attitude is seen in Rwanda as an impolite one. The general pattern in Rwanda is that people alternate seeing and not seeing the interlocutor. This means that there is a moment when they look at him and another moment when they look away at some invisible object, or they look down on the dust. A polite gesture then may vary from culture to culture, and its definition limits itself in the framework of the cultural barriers. However, since I agree that there are universals in culture, I will provide a general definition which may be applied universally if one does not take much account of variations resulting from the existence of different speech communities. I would therefore define a polite gesture as a non-linguistic device used by someone in an appropriate way. People say that someone is polite when he has good manners and consideration for other people. From this definition it is evident that the important thing to remember is to adjust oneself to the addressee because he is the main guide of one's attitudes and behavior in a face-to-face encounter. Politeness is acquired from childhood, and it is part of our culture. It is a cultural heritage that we acquire from the environment. Since the English and the Rwandan environments are quite distant from each other, it would be interesting to study similarities and differences between them. In this chapter, the focus is on polite expressions of the non-verbal language.

III. 1. BODY LANGUAGE

III.1.1. KINESICS

The term "kinesics" refers to the study of gestures and mimics as means for communication. During a conversation, those gestures may be used alone as they may accompany the spoken language. The first man to conceive of the notion "kinesics" is the American Ray L. Birdwhistell. In the 1950's, he defined a science of body gestures and gave it the name kinesics. He followed the model of the already existing science called phonetics. As a matter of fact, kinesics is a new science; it is an untrodden land which has not yet been fully explored. The fact that it is a new area in the study of language raises many problems for the researcher because he does not have enough material to exploit it.

III.1.1.1. HEAD BEHAVIOR

When we speak of head behavior, this means that the head performs different movements according to situations. These head movements are what is commonly called the head nod (Hn) or the head shake (Hs). The Hn involves two essential movements: a movement up and a movement down. Combined together, those movements are called the vertical movements. The Hs performs horizontal movements moving from left to right or vice-versa.

In the English-speaking culture, the nod is used as a polite means of communication in two ways. The first use is when a person is conversing with another person. The polite way to keep up contact with the one speaking is to nod as a sign of agreement, this is not to be taken in its literally meaning because one may nod to somebody without necessarily meaning that he agrees with him. The nod may then be considered as a means of showing to the interlocutor that you are listening to him, that you do not remain impassive, that you somehow participate in the conversation, that perhaps his speech interests you. The second usage is that a nod functions as a sign of greeting. Greetings are the most polite forms in everyday communication. To greet somebody is to show him that you are aware of his existence. In many cultures, to greet somebody is to respect him. It is to show friendliness, courtesy, and politeness. In the English-speaking culture, when you pass by someone, you can greet him by using the verbal language or you can simply use a head nod. You move your head vertically up and down. However, it is important to notice that you do not nod to just anybody. It would be for example incongruous for an inferior to nod to a superior unless they are very familiar. Most of the time, a nod is a familiar greeting which is performed between friends, acquaintances.

A Hn can be used alone as it can be accompanied with a vocal non-verbal sound to mean "yes". That non-verbal sound is very nasal and is approximately nated like this: "mahmn". When there is use of both the Hn of agreement and the -vocal non-verbal sound, we speak of a simultaneous use of a kinesic feature with a prosodic element. According to my informants in personal communication, it seems that it is somehow rare in the English culture to use the vocal non-verbal feature alone as a means of expressing an agreement or of greeting somebody.

But a nod can be used alone. In this respect, the vocal non-verbal device is complementary to the nod and is optional whereas the nod is obligatory.

It is necessary while studying different aspects of the head behavior to also examine the head shake. A Hs is often a horizontal movement performed by the head as a sign of disagreement and disapproval. The Hs is seen as impolite or very familiar. One who performs a Hs moves his head from left to right once or many times. The Hs functions in the same situations as the Hn, but in an opposite way. However, it can never stand for a greeting. It occurs during an encounter in face-to-face dealings. When the addressor says something, the addressee may disagree with him by using a Hs. But most of the time, in hierarchical situations, the low ranked people prefer not to disagree with their heads; they disagree within themselves and use an external agreement, that is, the Hn. A Hs is often used between equals, between intimates. It can also be used by a superior toward an inferior, but the latter rarely uses it face-to-face with his superior. A Hs may also be used simultaneously with a vocal non-verbal sound to mean "no". The whole head of the addressee moves from left to right and he emits a vocal non-verbal sound *ih* or *ihî*.

In the Kinyarwanda-speaking culture just like in the English context, the head nod is used in the same ways and in the same situations with slight variations especially when the Hn is simultaneously performed with the vocal non-verbal sound of agreement. According to my informants and to my own knowledge and observations of everyday use of language, head nods are rarely used alone. They are most of the time accompanied with the agreement sound to mean "yego" (yes). This assumption may raise a question among people who have been in contact with the western civilization because they tend to use the Hn in the same way as western people do. But my inquiries in the very countryside led me to conclude that in the Rwandan context, a Hn mostly works with the vocal non-verbal feature. Another difference is that in the Rwandan culture, people often use the vocal non-verbal feature alone without necessarily using the nod or with a nod which is not really articulated as the nod used in the English milieu. As I remarked before, in intellectual milieus, my assumption may be discredited. However, according to the saying that a bilingual behaves in a bilingual way and a trilingual in a

trilingual way, educated people are caught between two or three cultures. It is then difficult for them to tell what is typically Rwandan from what is not. Apart from the slight differences between the nods used in the Rwandan and the English contexts, they on the whole function in the same way. This is also the case for the Hs used in the Rwandan culture. This Hs is an impolite or familiar gesture which expresses disagreement. It generally follows the mechanisms of the Hs used in the English culture.

III.1.1.2. EYE BEHAVIOR

When the father walks into the home, the child may not even look up from what he is doing and the father, for his part, takes no more notice than he receives. If their eyes happen to catch one another's glances, father and child seem to look without seeing until one or the other looks elsewhere.¹²

This report of social organization among Washington, D.C. blacks is an illustration of how eye behavior operates in one typical community. Davis reports that for example in some parts of the Far East, it is impolite to look at the other person at all during conversation. In Israel on the contrary, people not only stare at others, but also look them up and down. From these differing examples, each community, each group of people, each culture has its own ways of behaving with eyes. Some people in social contact prefer not to look at other people; others stare at them. These are two attitudes which are poles apart. Even in the same culture, it is not always easy to establish a general rule for eye behavior because this depends primarily on the context. It is also difficult to determine the meaning of an eye performance because there is not a single meaning but meanings. How to interpret the eye performance of a student who looks in the eyes of his teacher most of the time while the latter is teaching? Is it affection, is it respect, is it that he is interested in both the teacher and the course, or is it something else? Bosmojian says that one of the most potent elements in body language is eye behavior: "you shift your eyes, meet another person's gaze or fail to meet it--and produce an effect out of all proportion to the trifling muscular effort you've made."¹³ There is so much subtlety in eye behavior that even specialists in kinesics who use elaborate machines have not

yet come to convincing conclusions. The findings of those scholars remain hypotheses which await to be confirmed or rejected by further experiments. It is reported that in the case of eyebrows, they have a repertoire of twenty-three possible positions.

Another difficulty in eye movements is to differentiate a look from a glance or from a stare in an adequate and precise way whereas we know that even specialists are still sailing in suppositions. Face to face with such complex situations in the study of eye behavior, my own decision is to study this area purely on the intuitive level because there is no other solution at hand. However, in addition to intuition, which is not sufficient in itself and which is not always reliable, my own observation of people in interaction and the opinions of my informants most of the time in personal communication will lead me to plausible suggestions about how eye behavior works in both the English and the Rwandan contexts. There are a lot of questions about eye movements: in the polite context, how and when to look at someone? How and when to avoid looking at him? How long does a look last? How long does the non-looking at the interlocutor last? All these questions are basic to the understanding of how one behaves with his eyes in polite situations. The answer to them will be a tentative one for reasons mentioned before.

III.1.1.2.a. EYE CONTACT (EC)

The eye has the quality of maintaining contact between two people or a group of people in interaction: "When two people are engaged in conversation they look each other in the eye intermittently."¹⁴ This phenomenon is what is called eye contact. It can be described as follows: when A looks in the eyes of B and B in his turn looks in the eyes of A, this is the eye contact practice. Eye contact supposes two movements performed by two people: a movement away and a movement back. In the English context, when two people are conversing, when A looks at B, this means that he wants him to participate in the conversation. To show that B agrees with A's invitation, he will look back at A, and this look back movement is a very polite way of showing to A that he wants to communicate with him. If B does not want to cooperate with A, he will perform a contrary movement of the eye. He may for example look away from A, and this may be interpreted as a hostile response to

A's intentions. He may also look back at A but with eyes widely open perhaps accompanied with a frowning. Even though B looks back at A, this does not mean that he wants to engage in conversation with him, but his look conveys the feeling that B is not willing to respond to A's expectations. In the same way, during an interaction, if B looks away while A is speaking, A notices that B is no longer interested in what A says; this look away movement is seen as an impolite and rude means of showing to one's interlocutor that what he says is of no interest. The best way to show respect and politeness to one's interlocutor is to maintain eye contact.

In the Kinyarwanda-speaking culture, eye contact can be compared to what is called "kurebana" (to look at each other). The word is composed of the verb -reb- (to look) and an associative morpheme -an-. The morpheme -an- underlies the idea of reciprocity. In "kurebana", there is a movement away and a movement back. In the Rwandan milieu, the mechanisms of eye contact are very similar to those of the English culture. "Kurebana" in itself expresses politeness of the two people in interaction because "kurabana" supposes that there is a person who looks at another person and the other person answers the look. If there is a reply then, there is a willingness to co-operate, and a willingness to co-operation is a polite way of showing to a person that one is at his total disposition. The only difference I picked up in the way eye contact works both in the English and the Rwandan milieus lies in the duration of looks. Generally speaking, Rwandans are very careful in their ways of looking at people. It would not therefore be astonishing that in face-to-face interaction, the addressee most of the time looks away from the addressor and performs from time to time a quick glance in the direction of the addressor to assure him that he is following what he says. The addressor also, while speaking, may look away from the addressee, and people of different cultures may wonder if such an attitude suits the situation. In the Rwandan culture, the look away movement is seen as the respect and politeness signal. But to look away must not be confused with total avoidance of the addressee. What I call "to look away" does not mean total non-looking at the interlocutor, but this involves some slight and quick movements of the eye toward the addressee.

There is another way of showing politeness during a conversation, that is, to turn the eyes to the dust. This is

usually performed by the listener. This action may be regarded as a sign of total respect and submission to the speaker. But this depends on the degree of familiarity between people. If the situation is the one involving an old person and a young man, it is most of the time the young person who will look at the floor, but this does not exclude that the old man would not look away from the young person or turn his eyes to the dust. Apart from the degree of intimacy and other variables affecting the way people behave, Rwandans in general tend to be more reserved in their performance of eye contact. A reserved look is associated with politeness, respect and sometimes submission.

III.1.1.2.b. A LOOK

There are different ways of looking. While looking, the eye performs different actions according to what the person wants to convey with his eyes. During a performance, the eye achieves different dimensions. It for example happens that the eye is normally opened, or half-closed or immeasurably open, etc. These eye degrees of aperture vary according to what message is being conveyed and to whom it is being addressed. In the English culture as in any culture, to look at somebody is to show him that you are aware of his presence, of his existence. A look has therefore social functions because it may initiate contact between people. When A looks at B, B interprets A's look according to the situation, to the context in which the look occurs:

When two Americans look searchingly into each other's eyes, emotions are heightened and the relationship tipped toward greater intimacy. However, Americans are careful about how and when they meet another's eyes. In our normal conversation, each eye contact lasts only about a second before one or both individuals look away.¹⁵

A normal look can be compared to Bosmojian's statement that it lasts about a second. It is mainly intended to keep up social contact during a conversation. But there is another aspect of a normal look which I call a passing greeting look performed by a person who meets another person, for example on the street. When they meet, A may look at B without saying anything to him, and each goes his way. This look functions as a way--an implicit one--

of greeting the other person one meets. That kind of passing greeting look is also a sign that A has noticed the presence of B.

Eye behavior used in the English context functions in intricate ways and varies in accordance with the context. Let us examine Flora Davis' experiment on Sandra and Joan during a conversation. Joan starts talking:

She starts by looking away from Sandra. As she hits her conversational stride, she glances back at her friend from time to time at the end of what she wants to say, she gives Sandra a rather longer glance. Experiments indicate that if she fails to do this, Sandra, not recognizing that it is her turn to talk, will hesitate or will say nothing at all. When Sandra takes up the conversation, Joan, listening, sends her longer glances than she did when she herself had the floor. When their eyes meet, Joan usually makes some sign that she is listening.¹⁶

From this statement, one may conclude that a look used by the one talking may serve as an indicator to the listener that it is his turn to start talking. It is also worth mentioning that people look more while listening than while speaking. Their glances are longer and their away glances are shorter. C. David Mortensen shares the same opinion as Davis while saying:

When A is just about to start speaking he looks away from B; at the ends of sentences or phrases he looks up briefly, and at the end of his utterance he gives B a more prolonged gaze. He does not look at hesitations or pauses in the middle of sentences, but only at natural breaks. B, who is listening, will at the same time be giving rather longer glances, and may respond to A's short glances by signals of various kinds.¹⁷

The fact that before beginning talking and during hesitations, an individual looks away is interpreted as a means of concentration, of not being distracted by the other. By looking away, a person has better opportunity to organize his thoughts than if he were looking at his interlocutor because if he constantly looks at him, he would lose concentration, and his thoughts would be somehow disorganized. Back to Joan and Sandra's example, Joan, while speaking, glances at Sandra either to see how she is reacting or to ask her the permission to go on talking. In short, Joan looks

at Sandra for feedback needs. On the other hand, while Sandra is talking, Joan often looks at her to show that she is listening, that she is being polite. From this experiment, politeness is conveyed at three levels. First, to look at somebody speaking is a way of showing him that you listen to him. In this respect, a look has a feedback role. Second, a look functions as a means of asking permission of the listener in order to keep on talking. Lastly, a longer look during a conversation has a role of terminating one's speech and a means of showing the listener that it is his turn to talk. To conclude his experiment, Flora Davis suggests that "For Americans..., eye behavior does duty as a kind of conversational traffic signal to control how talking time is shared."¹⁸ She goes on saying:

You have only to observe an actual conversation to see that this pattern is not a precisely predictable one. If the 'facts' of eye behavior are cut and dried, for there are variations between individuals. People use their eyes differently and spend different--and characteristic--amounts of time looking at others. But if you know what to look for, the basic American idiom is there.¹⁹

III.1.1.2.c. TO MAKE EYES

Apart from the normal look performed in face-to-face encounter, to make eyes is another aspect of a look which takes place in private relations, for instance between people of opposite sexes. In the instance of making eyes, A shows to B the emotions or feelings he has toward him in a special way accompanied by the use of an eye conveying emotions and love. Making eyes occurs between friends, intimates, and lovers.

If B is an attractive member of the opposite sex, looking combined with a friendly expression conveys A's sexual attraction to B--he is "making eyes" at B-- especially if EC is prolonged. Looking combined with a hostile expression means that A dislikes B, or wishes to dominate him.²⁰

That is, the action of making eyes is performed by one of the partner in a friendly situation. During a face-to-face encounter, if A accompanies his speech with a prolonged look, B will tend to have positive impressions toward A whom he considers as believable and confident. It has been observed that people look more when they

like the person they are talking to. To make eyes involves a series of short glances: "If A gives B rather longer glances than are normal, B will interpret this as meaning that A is concerned primarily with B as a person, or with the relationship between A and B, rather than with whatever it is they are talking about. This can be seen in the case of young lovers who are ostensibly talking about politics, religion, or mathematics."²¹ When A makes eyes to B, B may answer to A in three possible ways. He may turn back the eye making, he may only smile to A or he may make eyes to A and smile at the same time. But this kind of response to A's advances is only performed when B has positive judgements toward A. When he has negative and hostile views about A, he may look angrily at him and then shift his look away. This hostile look is what I qualify as a severe eye as opposed to a tender look, which characterizes the instance of eye making. The severe eye is considered as an impolite behavior whereas the soft, the tender eye is the very polite form of eye behavior in any social dealings.

In the Rwandan culture, I already mentioned that people tend not to look too much at others and they do not either like to be stared at. This is the general polite rule which every Rwandans learns from early childhood. Just like in the English context, a look has many components such as "kureba" (to look). This refers to the social normal look in the English-speaking culture, "gukanura" (to stare), "gutereka amaso" (to make eyes) which involves "guhumba amaso" (to lower one's eyes) and sometimes "kwica amaso" (to wink). As far as politeness is concerned, we will examine "kureba" (to look) and "gutereka amaso" (to make eyes). But little will be said about them because we are already familiar with them in the English context. For "kureba", it may be understood as to see or as to look. But in this paper, whenever I use the term "kureba", take it as meaning to look and by extension, it refers to a normal look. I do not want to say more on "kureba" than what I said about the normal look used in the English speaking culture because I noticed that they mostly function in the same way. I only want to put more emphasis on "gutereka amaso" which presents some differences from "to make eyes."

"Gutereka amaso" usually refers to the feminine sex. When people speak of "gutereka amaso", one directly understands that it is the private practice of females who are specialised in such a ritual. "Gutereka" occurs in face-to-face dealings where persons of different sexes are involved. The situation supposes an intimate and private context. "Gutereka amaso" is described as follows: first the woman lowers her eyes as if looking at the dust, then she looks up slowly, graciously, and then straight at the partner. She may accompany these eye movements with a smile. "Gutereka amaso" is interpreted as a sign of seduction and interest in the other person. When there is lack of "gutereka amaso", the male partner is disappointed because his expectations are not fulfilled, and he qualifies the woman's attitude as hostile and impolite. However, when the woman "ateretse amaso" (when she makes eyes), this means that she is disposed to receiving the man. In this respect, "gutereka amaso" is a sign of being hospitable, of knowing how to receive somebody. I have observed a conversation between two young men. One was complaining about a girl he had visited recently. He said that when he went to see her, "ntahwo yigeze atereka amaso, nta nubwo yamusekeye", that is, she did not make eyes to him, nor did she smile to him. This is to say that "gutereka amaso" is one of the very important aspects of social attitudes. If we observe a Rwandan woman while interacting with a male, we can have some information about her feelings toward the male person by studying the different eye movements she performs. When "gutereka amaso" takes place on the female's side during a social encounter, it means that the female is interested in communicating with her interlocutor.

"Gutereka amaso" may be seen as taking its origins from what Rwandans call "isoni z'abakobwa" (girls' shyness). For a Rwandan girl, to be shy, to be reserved is a high quality which developed from the historical background which assigned to females the dominated role. Even today, women still have a low status. This dominated role influenced the female's attitudes and "isoni z'abakobwa" developed from this situation. "Isoni z'abakobwa" forbids the female sex to achieve a high degree of emancipation; they are very reserved because they feel that they are inferior to men. I think that the females' attitude of inferiority has had a great impact on their behavior today. A girl who tries to transcend that shyness is considered as being in discordance with the normal polite way of behaving. People say of her that "yaneye isoni"

(she's shameless), that is, she no longer looks like a Rwandan girl. "Gutereka amaso" is a direct consequence of "isoni z'abakobwa" because "gutereka amaso" is primarily a way of showing timidity and therefore submission before being a means of seducing one's interlocutor. Both "gutereka amaso" and "isoni z'abakobwa" are still considered as two features highly polite and highly estimated by the Rwandan population. A woman who lacks these two social obligations no longer behaves as a respected Rwandan female. But beware. "Gutereka amaso" must not be considered as a sign of lightness. That is the reason why girls and women use it with a high attention so as not to be looked at as frivolous persons.

Another aspect of polite eye behavior worth mentioning in the Rwandan context is "kwica ijisho" (to kill the eye) or to wink. I entirely agree with people who argue that there is not politeness in "kwica ijisho" because it is a very familiar non-verbal feature used most of the time by young people of a questionable social standing. In this respect, "kwica ijisho" is looked at with contempt and is regarded as inadequate in polite situations. But people will also agree with me that "kwica ijisho" is sometime a way of communicating politely to others. As such, it is used in situations where a person performing it wants discretion. In this sense, "kwica ijisho" occurs when A wants to tell something to B, but B is among many people. A wants B in private and he does a gesture of "kwica ijisho" addressed to B. B interprets the sign as the one which tells him that A wants to talk to him in private. After the gesture has been performed, B joins A and they interact. It may happen that when B has left the group, people comment on his departure, saying that he has left without warning them, and other people argue that "yamwiciye ijisho" which means that A winked to him.

Instead of using a wink, one may also use words such as "nagushakaga" (I want to speak to you), but the great defect of words is that one cannot achieve discretion when he is in public because everyone hears the utterance, but "kwica ijisho" is better since no one--except the one to whom it is directed-- notices it. Note that "kwica ijisho" can never be used by an inferior in age or status to the superior because it is a familiar feature, nor

can it be used by a superior to an inferior because it would be seen as a need for familiarity and intimacy whereas the superior has to keep distances. Old people tend in general to discredit the use of such a device, saying that it is the fashion of the new generation with all the connotations this implies. Nonetheless, even though "kwica ijisho" is somehow the property of young people, it begins to gain ground and to be credited among the polite gestures. Yet, it is a polite familiar gesture which necessitates that you use it carefully in appropriate situations and with appropriate people. If not, you may be seen as impolite, selfish or not well educated.

III.1.1.3. MOUTH BEHAVIOR

III.1.1.3.a. A SMILE

Smiles, I think, have important functions in public order and are to be examined in terms of the slot in which they occur in the streaming sequence of behavior. Smiles serve as silent 'thank you's' and 'you're welcome's'. Smiles allow the individual to announce no contest even before he has discovered what the contest will be about. When an individual in the close quarters of an elevator, hall passageway, or party gathering finds a stranger's eyes touch his, he may attempt to show social grace by allowing a smile to flick across his face as if giving recognition to the common social situation of the two of them but without going quite as far as full-scale social recognition.²²

According to Goffman's viewpoint, this is the way smiles function in public life, especially in the American society. In fact, the English context uses smiles as silent means of greeting or welcoming somebody. It may happen that when you go to visit a British or an American, the first thing he does before saying "hello" is to smile at you. That smile stands at the same time as a greeting and a welcoming. As such, it eases the encounter since it stands for a feature which eliminates all kind of threatening and/or hostile dealings. A smile may be addressed to acquaintances as it may be directed to strangers.

In face-to-face dealings, to smile is a sign that you are interested in the other person, that you are pleased with what he says. But note that a smile is not always a sign of pleasure and happiness because one may smile without necessarily meaning it. This often occurs in moments of indecision, of doubt, of embarrassment. I know a professor who, whenever the students asked him a difficult question, smiles before attempting any answer. That kind of smile is not to be regarded as a smile of satisfaction, but of anxiety. Goffman gives us an advice that "when in doubt, play a smile." 23 Generally speaking, a smile is an appeasement gesture because when someone smiles, the one to whom the smile is addressed is somehow appeased because he notices that there is no danger in the other person. On the other hand, the one who smiles is also released especially in doubtful and anxious situations. It is important to notice that a smile can be used by anyone to anyone regardless of his age, sex, social standing...

In the Rwandan culture, such a ritual does exist and functions almost exactly as in the English milieu. However, what I want to focus on is that Rwandans are not specialists of smiles. They do not use them wherever they are nor to whoever they meet. They tend to be reserved in smiles. The greeting and the welcome smiles do exist, but Rwandans prefer to use the verbal language much than the smile. This does not mean that Rwandans do not use the smile, but its occurrence is limited if compared with the smile used in the English-speaking culture. At this level, one may wonder when smiling occurs in the Rwandan culture. In the Rwandan milieu, there is not much enthusiasm about smiling but most of the time in intimate situations. This tendency of being reserved in the smiling practice may be assigned to the fact that one who smiles at any occasion is referred to as "Rushinyika" (the one who smiles at any occasion for no apparent reason). In Rwanda, "Rushinyika" is seen as a foolish person. That is mostly the reason why people economize their smiles and await a favorable occasion to perform them.

III.1.1.3.b. A KISS

A kiss occurs in intimate situations such as between a wife and a husband, a mother and a child, a boy and a girl, etc. When it is used, this means that there are close relationships between people. In the English milieu, there are different kinds

of kisses, but my concern is the kiss on the cheek and the quick kiss applied on the mouth. By a quick kiss on the mouth, I want to oppose it to the prolonged kiss on the mouth which stands for something other than simple affection signal.

A kiss on the cheek is most of the time performed by both sexes. Perhaps females use it more than males, but what I noticed is that females use the kiss on the cheek either to men or to other women, but men tend to use it toward females and sometime to other men. Between men, the hand shake is of common use. The quick kiss applied on the mouth follows roughly the same patterns as the kiss on the cheek. They both function as greeting and leave-taking gestures. Note that the kiss is not so widely used in American and British interactions. It is mostly performed between intimate and acquainted people.

In Rwanda, there is a great departure from the kiss used in the English context in the sense that Rwandans rarely use it. If it happens to occur, it is found in young people and intellectual milieus because these people copied it from the western culture. But the way it is used is very different from the way it is used overseas. Here in Rwanda, both the kiss on the mouth and the kiss on the cheek are used, but in special cases with special people. This is to say that they are not used in any situation nor by any person. They are most of time performed by people who tend to deviate from the normal Rwandan appearance. The situations in which these kisses appear are very few. Private places are the favorite places for people to perform these kisses because in public places, they do not feel at ease since they still fear the eyes of the crowd. It seems that in Rwanda, girls use the kiss much more than boys because they may perform it among themselves as they may address it to people of the opposite sex. Young men address it only to the opposite sex and very rarely among themselves. The kiss used in the Rwandan culture functions as a greeting and a leave-taking. It may open an encounter as it may terminate it. Apart from the kiss borrowed from the western civilization, there is a traditional kiss which is performed between a husband and a wife during their moments of intimacy. I have been told by old people that the traditional kiss is mostly performed before or during sexual intercourse. There is

also a kind of kiss that a mother applies to her little children. The two kinds of kisses may be called affection kisses between lovers or between a mother and child.

III.1.1.4. HAND BEHAVIOR

III.1.1.4.a; HAND CLAPPING

In the English context, hand clapping can be interpreted in different ways according to the situations in which it occurs. But hand clapping usually takes place in public places especially in ceremonies where many people are gathered together. Let us take an example of a political meeting where an important personality is to deliver a speech. When he arrives, people clap their hands as a sign of welcoming him. This welcoming sign is also a kind of greeting addressed to the politician. During the speech, it may happen that he says an important point, and people clap their hands again. This hand clapping stands for approval. It also can stand for a sign of interest in the speech. At the end of the speech, people perform once again the hand clapping gesture which expresses a "thank you". When the politician is ready to leave, people perform the hand clapping as if to tell him "goodbye". In this situation, the hand clapping fulfills four functions: to welcome or to greet somebody, to approve and to show interest in him, to thank him, and then to say good bye to him.

In Rwanda, hand clapping also takes place on ceremonial occasions such as the wedding ceremonies where there is a person who has to deliver a speech. The only difference between the hand clapping used in the English and the Rwandan-speaking cultures is that during the ceremonies, the handclapping is, in Rwanda, reserved to men, and women do something called "kuvuza impundu". I cannot think of an equivalent in English, but "kuvuza impundu" is a kind of vocal non-verbal feature noted /hiiiiii/ and performed by women on top of their voices and they insist on the vowel /i/ which they lengthen while performing the action. "Kuvuza impundu" fulfills the same functions as "gukoma amashyi" (to clap the hands) except that "gukoma amashyi" used to be the private property of males and "kuvuza impundu" the special activity of women. Today, however,

females have adopted the hand clapping practice. That is to say that now, "gukoma amashyi" is shared by the two sexes, and "kuvuza impundu" is disappearing little by little because females of the modern Rwanda prefer "gukoma amashyi" to "kuvuza impundu".

III.1.1.4.b. HAND SHAKING

English people tend to be reserved in their use of the hand especially when the hand is intended for a greeting. I have personally been startled to notice that they use the hand shake in few situations. During the time I spent on the campus, I noticed that English people shake hands with acquainted and familiar persons and not with anyone they meet. When an English person wants to speak to you, he may come and directly say what he wants to tell you without any initial ceremonies of hand shaking. Instead of shaking hands with you, he may prefer to use the verbal greeting "hello". That is to say that the English culture uses limited handshakes in limited situations. To the question of knowing if it is necessary for English speaking people to shake hands whenever they meet, one of my informants in personal communication replied: "Not necessary. Generally, hand shakings are selectively used--for people one knows or one would like to have a verbal interaction with." According to my informant, a handshake is purposive; it is not performed at random. It cannot be performed to a stranger since when an English person meets somebody he does not know, he goes his way as if he had not seen him. Very few people would pass by a stranger and smile at him; but this is rather rare and no hand shake can be performed in this situation.

In the English culture, hand shake is also used between two acquaintances in a situation where one of the two who has been away for a relatively long time comes back. In this case, hand shaking is necessary. To determine the situations where hand shaking occurs is unpredictable because it does not only depend on the context, but also on the individual's preferences since there are people who prefer a hand shake, or a smile, or a nod, or a verbal greeting. But when a hand shake happens to be used, there are some ways of using it. It is said that a hand shake mostly occurs between males, and that between females, a kiss or a smile is preferred to a hand shake. But this is not to say that there is no performance of hand shake between females, but it is used less than the two formal gestures. Between a male and a female,

there is a choice; either ^{the} kiss or the hand shake is used, but this depends on the degree of familiarity between people.

For Rwandans, however, it is very impolite to walk by someone without addressing him any kind of greeting. Even a stranger, an inferior...has to be greeted. A person who passes other people without any sign of recognition is seen as somebody who is not a Rwandan. In the Rwandan culture, any greeting is obligatory. As for the hand shaking, it is one of the far most important forms of greetings. It is performed whenever people meet with the intention of interacting with one another. It serves as an introduction in face-to-face dealings. It also plays the role of a leave-taking; it is a gesture which terminates an encounter.

In the Rwandan culture, the performance of hand shaking is called "kuramukanya". But "kuramukanya" is more than to shake hands. It also involves embracing. When someone tells you "jya kumuramutsa" (go and greet him), this means that you will shake hands with the other person, or you will embrace him. If it is to shake hands, people say "gutanga intoki" (to give the fingers), and if it is to embrace, they say "guhobera"(to embrace). But the generic term is "kuramukanya". The hand shaking is mostly common among males. Among females, it is the embrace which is often used. Between a male and a female, it is mostly an embrace which is performed. But it may happen that an embrace occurs between two males when one of them has been absent for a significant time. When he comes back, an embrace is normally obligatory. However, it is inappropriate to initiate a hand shake with a high-ranked person. In such a case, you wait for him to initiate a greeting gesture.

In the Rwandan context, there are two varieties of shaking hands, that is, "kuramutsa n'ukuboko kumwe" (to use one hand in the shaking hands' instance) and "kuramutsa n'amaboko yombi" (to use both hands in the shaking hands practice). "Kuramutsa n'ukuboko kumwe" is the normal way of greeting somebody when the shaking hands is required. "Kuramutsa n'amaboko yombi" occurs between two people of different statuses. That is that the situation is the one involving a superior and an inferior.

The inferior uses both hands as a sign of respect and submission, and the superior uses one hand. "Kuramutsa n'amaboko yombi" is then performed by the one who wants to honor and to obey his interlocutor.

III.1.1.4.c. TO EMBRACE

In the English culture, an embrace is a non-verbal greeting which occurs in very limited situations where affection is the primary concern. To embrace is then to be placed in the intimate context where people in interaction are friends and acquaintances. It is most of the time performed between equals. An embrace can be regarded as a gesture standing for an affectionate greeting between a male and a female, between two females, between a parent and a child, and rarely between two males. In politics and diplomatic affairs, an embrace is performed between two politicians--even when they are males--, between two diplomats as a greeting. I refer to this greeting as a political embrace because those politicians who embrace each other have no affection for one another, but it is the routine matters which oblige them to use such a gesture. The embrace used in the English-speaking culture is not performed as an everyday familiar greeting.

In the Rwandan culture, however, "guhobera" (to embrace) is a very familiar form of greeting which is performed at any occasion when greeting is required. It is, with hand shaking, the normal way of initiating conversation. It is addressed to any person of any sex. But it is not to be addressed to a superior. In this case, one waits for the superior to initiate communication by using either a hand shake or an embrace. It is also advised by the Rwandan culture that a male use an embrace with a female and vice-versa. As between men, if one of them or both of them are strangers, they will shake hands, and two acquaintances would normally perform the hand shake except when a long time has elapsed before seeing each other. In this situation then, they embrace each other. It is very important to know that an embrace would never be performed as a means of leaving someone. In the case of a leave-taking, the hand shake is the only possible non-verbal form.

III.1.1.5. OTHER MEANS OF NON-VERBAL COMMUNICATION

III.1.1.5.a. HAT LIFTING

Lifting the hat is a conventional gesture of politeness shown to strangers only... . In lifting his hat, a gentleman merely lifts it slightly off his forehead-- by the brim of a stiff hat or by the crown of a soft one-- and replaces it; he does not smile or bow, nor does he even look at the object of his courtesy. No gentleman ever subjects a lady to his scrutiny or his apparent observation if she is a stranger. 24

This is the traditional way in which the ritual was performed. It fulfilled the role of a greeting and a leave-taking mostly when a gentleman was with a female stranger. It also could be used as a means of thanking somebody. There was another aspect of hat lifting rules: "...hat-tipping was also performed by a man when gaining or leaving face access to female acquaintances (including his own wife) to whom additional rituals were owing or had been performed."25 At this level, we notice that hat lifting makes an expansion in its use because it is not only performed to a lady who is a stranger, but also to female acquaintances including one's wife. This expansion in usage is what Goffman calls a complication in the hat lifting rule. Today, the expansion is still going on because hat-tipping is no more the reserved property of gentleman; any male person can perform it to a female--be she a stranger or an acquaintance--. In addition, the one performing this gesture may smile or look at the object of his courtesy. My informants told me that hat lifting can also be used between males. For example when a man is in face-to-face dealings with another man, he can lift his hat as a sign of salutation, and while leaving, he can perform the same gesture as a means of saying "good bye". Today therefore, hat lifting is used not only to female strangers, but to anyone of any sex provided that the performer assumes that his interlocutor deserves this kind of respect and courtesy. The remaining similarity between the traditional way of hat lifting and the contemporary one is that the performer is a male person. But it is important to know that the hat lifting practice is not current today. It is a very rare polite non-verbal form.

In the Rwandan milieu, such a practice is borrowed from the western civilization. As such, it tends to follow the same pattern as the hat lifting rules in the English context. In Rwanda, however, lifting the hat is often accompanied with movements of the hand. For example in a situation where an important person and an ordinary person are going to interact, the latter, before addressing the former, must lift his hat-- if he wears one--. In this case, he may touch the hat and then shake hands with the superior, or he may use his left hand to lift the hat slightly and the right hand is directed toward the addressee for hand shaking. To the question of knowing if between "gukuramo ingofero" (to lift the hat) or "gukora ku ngofero gusa" (to only touch it) or "kuramukanya n'amaboko yombi" (to greet somebody by using both hands) there is a difference, some of my informants affirmed that there is a slight difference because even though they all express politeness, this politeness is expressed at different levels. They said that "gukuramo ingofero" is the highest form of respect, and that "kuramutsa n'amaboko yombi" is just normal respect. Some other informants stated that there is no difference since all of them are signs of respect at the same level. They argued that one gesture excludes the performance of another. For example "gukuramo ingofero" (to lift the hat) stands for itself and needs no supporting means of showing respect. "Gukora ku ngofero" (to touch the hat) involves the use of hands, and the body is slightly bantaa as a sign of submission and total respect. "Kuramutsa n'amaboko yombi" (to greet using both hands) occurs when the person wears no hat. It is then a high form of politeness in situations where the hat behavior is eliminated. From the two differing standpoints, my own position is that there is no need to categorize the three practices. What is important to know is that each of them is among the best ways of showing respect. However, there is a tendency especially among old people to touch the hat with the left hand and the right hand goes toward the addressee (gukora ku ngofero gusa). But this is not to say that this gesture is the best form to express politeness.

In the Rwandan context, the hat lifting practice is performed by males because females rarely wear hats. And if they happen to wear them, the rules governing the hat lifting practice

are not applied to them. Instead of wearing hats, females put on "igitambaro cyo mu mutwe" (head scarf). It is important to know that a woman wearing a head scarf never takes it off during any social encounter with any individual.

III.1.1.5.b. BOWING

According to Goffman, bowing, in the English culture, is originally a gesture used to acquaintances and friends. It differs from lifting the hat in the sense that lifting the hat seems to be originally used to strangers. But, like hat lifting, it expanded its use and can be used today by anyone to anybody who is an equal or a superior. It cannot be performed to an inferior. However, bowing is usually performed in official ceremonies, in the court (for the case of England) or in the church. In ceremonials, the example is that of a president bowing to the public before a speech as a sign of greeting and as a desire to adjust himself to the rank of the audience. In this respect, the President's bowing is interpreted as self-humility, as total communion with his subjects. In the church, a priest performs the action of bowing before the altar as a sign of submission to the Almighty. In everyday communication, bowing is rather rare, and people prefer to use the hand shake or any other form of greeting. When bowing happens to occur, it also can be performed as a leave-taking gesture. In the Rwandan culture, such a practice does not exist. However, it is replaced by another practice: "gupfukama" (to kneel down) which is no longer in practice today. "Gupfukama" used to be performed in the monarchic times especially in the court. For example before addressing the king, his subjects knelt down as a sign of loyalty, respect and subordination.

III.1.1.5.c. COUGHING

Apart from the normal coughing, there exists another aspect of the coughing practice which is a device expressing politeness. But it is not performed in everyday interaction. It is rather used in special occasions by an inferior or sometimes by an equal of the person to whom the coughing gesture

is intended. Mortensen says:

When the individual is socially subordinated to the one to whom he is about to initiate an encounter overture, he may be required to use a minimal sign so that the superior can easily continue to overlook it, or can respond to it at his convenience.²⁶

He gives an example of a butler who coughs discreetly so that his master notices his presence and allows him to deliver a message. The discreet cough is a perfect and appropriate way of showing respect in hierarchical situations where a subordinate and a high-ranked person have to interact. English and Rwandan contexts use the coughing practice in similar ways.

III.1.2. PROXEMICS

Like kinesics, proxemics is part of the body language. Proxemics is defined as the study of body position and movements. It is the field which studies different positions of the individual's body while interacting with other people. It is also concerned with the various distances between individuals during a conversation. In proxemics, we distinguish the personal distance, the intimate distance, the social distance, and the public distance. For positions, there ^{are} two basic positions: the sitting and the standing positions. Cultures differ from each other in their way of using proxemics. The talking distance and the conversational body posture for one people are not necessarily identical to body performances for another people. Flora Davis puts that for Arabs, close contact is very current because while talking, they stand very close together. This goes the same for Latin Americans, who practically stand nose to nose. For other cultures, however, a close distance makes people feel uncomfortable. In addition, there are cultures which prefer the sitting position and others the standing posture during social dealings. But what about English speaking people and Rwandans?

III.1.2.1. BODY DISTANCE

III.1.2.1.a. SOCIAL DISTANCE

For English people--especially Americans--, the normal social distance for talking is about two feet apart:

The north American demands more personal space for himself than do people from other countries. For two unacquainted adult male North Americans the comfortable distance to stand for conversation is about two feet apart.²⁷

The North American's conception of space is for example different from the Latin American's. During an encounter between a North American and a Latin American, there must be misunderstandings. Edward T. Hall, an American anthropologist, watched a conversation between a North and a Latin American. His report says that the conversation "began at one end of a forty-foot hall and eventually wound up at the other end...."²⁸ During the conversation, the Latin American wanted to be very close to the North American, which the North American refused by performing backward steps. The conclusion is that North Americans do not like to be closed in on whereas Latin Americans do not like to be kept away from closeness. What I notice from this report is that for the North American, the appropriate, the polite distance during a conversation is not the same for the Latin American. The differences result in prejudices about the two cultures. For example the North American may qualify the Latin American as impolite and vice-versa.

Another report is about a young American woman complaining about Dolores, a South American woman. The report goes this: "Dolores is one of those people who like to talk standing nose to nose... . I like her and I know it's just her way, but I can't help myself; when I see her coming I start backing up. I put a desk or a chair between us if I can."²⁹ We notice to what extent differences in behavior can lead to extremes while people of two different cultures are interacting. The American woman can no longer stand the Latin woman to the point that she puts an obstacle between them. Davis says that the reason why Americans do not like to be in a close distance is that they associate close contact with sexual relations. Americans' sense of

smell is reduced to the minimum during face-to-face encounters. Floza Davis remarks: "Americans don't like to feel anyone else's body heat, except in lovemaking--they object to sitting down in a chair warmed by another. And they don't like to be touched. The American spends years teaching his children not to crowd him."³⁰ It is true that Americans avoid bodily contact; they have a pattern which discourages touching, except in moments of intimacy.

The normal social space for English people, which is about two feet, may be affected by other variables such as the social position of people in interaction. In this sense, space can be a telltale status signal. E.T. Hall suggests that the normal speaking distance for business matters is five and a half to eight feet. This is the case when impersonality is involved between people in conversation. We notice then that the normal speaking distance for social matter (2 feet) is far different from the normal distance for business matter (5.5 to 8 feet). The great discrepancy between the two distances is due to the fact that in business matters, the personal relationships do not count. One has to do what he is assigned to and nothing else. But in social matters, the personality of the individual is of great importance. One may then conclude that the more people are acquainted, the more the distance between them tends to be reduced, and the higher the impersonality between people, the greater the distance between them. An example of how status affects distance is to examine this illustration:

When executive Jones walks into executive Smith's office, you can gauge their relative importance in the scheme of things by noting just how far into the room Jones comes. Executive desks are often made big enough to hold visitors to a respectful distance.³¹

Another example of how status has an effect on distance is to observe practices in the military service. There are officers and soldiers, superiors and inferiors. In this respect, there would be a significant distance between soldiers of different ranks during an encounter. Hall writes that "Instructions for reporting to a superior officer were that the junior officer was to proceed up to a point three paces in front of the officer's desk, stop, salute, and state his rank, his name, and his business."³²

From what has been stated above, it is evident that the so-called "normal" social distance is not normal at all because it varies from two feet to three paces and even more. That is to say that it would be quite impossible to determine the standard normal social distance between people in social dealings. We know that in areas where no precision is possible, it is hard to have a definite standard but different varieties of the standard. Nevertheless, if we take into account different variables which influence distance, and if we examine how the distance varies accordingly, we are then able to draw some conclusions about how the normal social distance functions in the English context.

In Rwanda, the social distance tends to work in the same way as in the English context except that perhaps Rwandans are more hostile than English people to the one who wants to intrude on their own space territoriality. That is, the distance between two persons in a conversation varies from about three to four feet. A Rwandan cannot help somebody who wants to come in close contact with him, and if this happens to be the case, he has some means of keeping the normal distance. To avoid "body collision", the Rwandan backs up. But he does not back up suddenly but retreats little by little without the other person noticing it until he attains the comfortable social distance. Another way of avoiding close contact is to start "kwigenzagenza" (to work around) while keeping up conversing with his interlocutor. The Rwandan is allergic to whoever would attempt to attack his right place during an encounter. I said that the normal social distance varies between three and four feet, but to simplify, one may take an arbitrary decision and say that the normal social distance is about three and half feet. It is therefore evident that the Rwandan culture prohibits close social distance except in special cases such as in intimate situations.

When in situations such as between people of unequal social standing, each person in presence knows the right distance. The low-ranked person is aware that he must not be close to the superior--except when the high-ranked person invites him to-- and the superior knows that he has to keep distances. The right distance in this context can be evaluated between five and seven feet. This corresponds more or less to the situation in the English

culture when two people are of different social position. Last vacation, I had the opportunity to attend an encounter between a university student and a General Director in a ministry. I had accompanied the student at the General Director's office, but I made sure not to stand close to him--I had respected the distance--. The student, however, went very close to him and began to say what was the aim of his visit. The first reaction of the General Director was to tell him to retreat a little because he made him uncomfortable. He added: "Uzi ko usuzugura! Nta soni ze kunyegera bigeze aho!" which means: "you're really impolite! Aren't you ashamed of being so close to me?" From this illustration, one may draw a conclusion that even though it is difficult to exactly determine at which distance one has to stay from an important person, it is advisable to stay far from him instead of standing close to him. But be careful not to be so very far that the conversation be impeded by the fact that the distance is so aloof that communication does not follow the normal way. Nonetheless, it is better to stay far from the high-ranked person than to be near him because the more you are far from him, the better, and the more you are near him, the more you are regarded as knowing nothing about the rules of courtesy. But if the distance is very near, this will also be seen as a sign of impoliteness. It is therefore necessary to measure out the distance.

III.1.2.1.b. INTIMATE DISTANCE

As opposed to the social distance where people involved in a conversation have no or little close relationships between them, the intimate distance refers to the distance between people who know each other well, who are friends, intimates, lovers... . If we apply the saying that the more you like a person, the more you will be close to him, this is to say that intimacy tends to reduce the distance to the minimum. In the English context, the intimate distance occurs especially in moments of privacy. Intimacy refers to both sexes. One may be intimate with a woman as he may be intimate with a man. Intimacy also hints at familiarity. But one may wonder why I include the intimate distance among the polite devices. I want to call your attention to the fact that in intimate relationships, there is a kind of implicit politeness. Take for example the case when a male and a female are

very good friends. When the man goes to visit the woman, the latter receives him well but forgets only one important thing: she keeps distances; she does not sit near him. Do you think that she has been polite to the man? Not really because she has not behaved in an appropriate and expected way. In intimate contexts, E.T.Hall says that the intimate distance is between ten inches and one inch. During the intimate distance, it is the only moment that English people do not avoid bodily contact because now they are with acquaintances. They also accept to smell other people's breath. It is therefore in intimate moments that English people help touching and smelling the other person especially when they are with the opposite sex.

In the Rwandan milieu, what I want to insist on--since the mechanisms are in general the same as those I have just described above-- is only that in intimate cases for example between a boy and a girl, there is a tendency for the two young people to keep a remarkable distance between them. The girl is the one most responsible for that distance because--I think-- the Rwandan culture teaches girls to be more reserved than boys. Girls must not show all their feelings to boys. A girl who behaves in this way has the credits of the public opinion, and that is why girls tend to keep distances. But this is not to be interpreted as a lack of intimate relations for a girl because she has other devices--such as to smile and to make eyes-- which show to the boy that she admires him. Another reason for girls to avoid the intimate distance is perhaps the fact that they are highly emotional, and these emotions may lead them to succumb to the boys' temptations if they do not pay attention. This mostly happens in private places. In public, such as on the street, people of different sexes prefer not to be engaged in an intimate distance even though they have intimate relations, but they choose to be in a normal social distance in order to hide their intimacy.

III.1.2.2. BODY POSITION

As mentioned before, while interacting, the individual's body performs different positions depending on the personality of the interlocutor or the degree of familiarity between two people, or else, depending on the context in which the conversation takes

place. The personality of the individual has much to do in determining his attitudes toward people. It is said that introvert persons tend to be less relaxed in any situation than extrovert people, who show much relaxation even when the context does not require such an attitude. The degree of familiarity would also be a good indicator of how people would interact. As for the context, it is definitely the most important thing to have in mind during a conversation because individuals have to adapt themselves to it and act in accordance with its requirements. Body position has two facets: the standing position and the sitting position. Each of the two positions is affected by the relaxation and the non-relaxation variables. That is why we have the standing relaxed position and the standing non-relaxed position, and the sitting relaxed position and the sitting non-relaxed position.

III.1.2.2.a. THE STANDING RELAXED POSITION

In everyday conversation, English people use the standing position in different ways to convey different messages. There is the straight, upright posture which I refer to as the standing relaxed position, and the slightly bent position which is referred to as the standing non-relaxed posture. It would seem strange to have at the same time the standing and the bent position in the same standing position, but this may occur when a person in a standing posture slightly bends his body during an encounter. The straight upright posture occurs when people interacting are equals. This means that they are in an anxiety-free situation. There is nothing which obliges them to limit their movements. In fact, in such a situation, an individual may talk with his hands in his pockets, he often looks in the eyes of his interlocutor for a considerable amount of time, he smiles, laughs, claps his hands..... This position allows all the liberties because people interacting feel really at ease since there are no exigencies, no constraints. Relaxation is at its highest point. It has been argued that the relaxed posture is a sign that one has not much respect for the person he is conversing with. True, a person in a relaxed position may be regarded as impolite toward the person he is with, but this depends on situations. For the case I examined before, the two people are either familiar or equal, and they are both in a relaxed position. There is therefore no need to show much respect to each

other. But beware; lack of respect does not necessarily hint at disrespect or impoliteness. About the case under consideration, the two people are under natural conditions in a conversation, and their being impolite to one another is in no way predictable. However, in other cases, relaxation may mean disrespect especially when one of the two people is in a relaxed position and the other not. This often happens when the relaxed person feels superior to the non-relaxed one. In this case, then, the one in the relaxed posture shows superiority, and the non-relaxed person is somehow submissive and polite toward the former.

III.1.2.2.b. THE STANDING NON-RELAXED POSITION

In a standing non-relaxed position, there is definitely one person under pressure because the other person outranks him in age or in status. When the non-relaxed person interacts with a person who is not of his rank, he feels uneasiness which results from his being under pressure and fear of the superior. My informants unanimously affirmed that social status is the greatest factor in determining how people would behave. In this respect, the high-ranked person imposes on the inferior the attitudes to adopt. In this sense, the inferior, while conversing with a superior in a standing position, tends to bend slightly his body as a sign of self-humility, of submission, and above all, of respect and politeness. He is not free in his movements, and the kinesic features are very limited. He cannot for example put his hands in his pockets, his look movements are reduced.... While conversing with the superior, he may cross his hands as to show that he is polite to him. In the Rwandan culture, both the standing relaxed posture and the standing non-relaxed position follow approximately the same principles as mentioned above. There is no need then to examine them.

III.1.2.2.c. THE SITTING RELAXED POSITION

According to Flora Davis³³, relaxation in a sitting posture is judged within three categories: the category of the least relaxed people who sit with tense hands in a rigid posture. This category will be classified in the sitting non-relaxed position because it seems that there is no great difference between less

relaxation and non-relaxation. The second category is that of moderately relaxed people and the last category is that of most relaxed persons. In this part, the last two categories will have much attention because they fall in the sitting relaxed position. The posture of a person sometime signals his inner emotion; that is the case for the sitting position which reflects the person's attitude to people he is with.

"...when men are with other men who they dislike they relax either very little or very much--depending on whether they see the other man as threatening."³⁴ From this quotation, I suggest that when men are with other men whom they like, they relax moderately. My assumption finds support when Flora Davis concludes from an experiment she conducted that usually, the moderately relaxed person likes the people he is with. A moderately relaxed person in a sitting posture is described as the one who slumps forward slightly. Flora Davis says that that person is neither tense nor rigid, neither is he excited; he is just in the middle. As the experiment with men showed that when they dislike people they are with, they are either less relaxed or much relaxed, women's experiment showed only one tendency, that of much relaxation. Women showed their dislike in a very relaxed posture. The most relaxed sitting position involving impoliteness or lack of consideration for other people can be described as a position in which legs are stretched out and arms are folded. From the experiment conducted with women, may we conclude that they are very extremist, that they have no half-measure? Can we deduce that women tend to be less relaxed when face-to-face with people they like? These are only suggestions and there is no precise answer to those questions. However, moderate relaxation in a sitting posture seems to be the standard attitude during a conversation because it is seen as a neutral way of behavior. If an individual is in a moderately relaxed posture, no one can charge him of being insolent, incorrect, impolite or of being very much polite, much formal, much correct. The moderate relaxation is just in the middle of the two extremes.

The most relaxed position is a position characterized by excess in relaxation. That is that such an excess leads to a high degree of familiarity. This is not a position to adopt once in

presence of a superior or any person to whom you owe respect. It sometimes involves impoliteness. The person in this posture seems to have nothing in common with people he is with; he completely ignores them as human beings and somehow considers them as non-present in the conversation. However, there is another position within the most relaxed sitting position in which the subject sits with crossed legs and crossed arms. To cross the legs and the arms is sometime a sign of politeness, of appropriateness--at least this may be considered as the starting point of respect toward other people even though the context is a very inappropriate one for this kind of attitude. Nevertheless, the most relaxed sitting position is one of the areas where politeness has little to do, where the sense of respect is less developed.

In the Rwandan context, Flora Davis' categories in the sitting relaxed body position are also valid perhaps at different levels, but they find their applicability in the Rwandan milieu. When people sit with people they like, they on the whole are moderately relaxed. But here, the individual's personality may play a great role in determining his attitudes. A person who is timid will tend to behave in a timid way, and a self-confident person in a more confident way, in a relaxed way. But apart from the particular variations within the general frame, the general tendency is that with friends, the moderate attitude is the best one. The most relaxed sitting posture is mostly observed among people of the same status and the same sex because in such a situation, there is no threatening element which enters the context to affect their attitude toward each other. But if one of the variables changes, for example if in a group of people it happens to be a person of a different standing or of a different age, the conversation would take another aspect. This reminds me of another possibility in the most relaxed sitting position where equals are in social dealings. It may happen that another person of a superior age or status comes in. In this case, the group stands up immediately and greets the newcomer. Note that they cannot greet him in the sitting position because the Rwandan appropriate way of greeting a superior is to be in a standing position. When they have finished greeting the newcomer, they sit down again. But in some cases especially when they pay much respect to the person, they stay in the standing position until the person invites them

to sit down. When the person is ready to leave, they stand up again and bid him adieu. It is only after his departure that they sit **again**. One may deduce from this illustration that for Rwandans, the sitting relaxed position is performed between friends, intimates, and not always between people of different standing because the difference in status implies that relaxation will tend to be reduced to the minimum. In such situations, the most relaxed people will become less relaxed or not relaxed at all.

III.1.2.2.d. THE SITTING NON-RELAXED POSITION

As mentioned before, the sitting non-relaxed position is also referred to as the **less** relaxed posture. People in a least relaxed position in the English context are those who sit in a rigid posture with tense hands. They are in conditions full of anxiety and strain because **they** are preoccupied with the proper way of behaving. In this respect, the context is an artificial one because there is no way to conduct oneself according to one's will. The individual is obliged to adjust himself to the requirements of the moment. He is not free to act but behaves according to what he has been told from childhood about the proper way to handle other people on such occasions. The sitting non-relaxed posture occurs in situations where two people in interaction have little in common. That is the case for example when A goes to see B in his office. A is a simple employee and B is his boss. When A enters, B invites him to sit. At this point, it is necessary to mention that even the distance between them is very significant because A and B sit far from each other. For the sitting positions, A sits in a less relaxed posture and B in a more relaxed position because he has nothing to fear since he is in front of an inferior. But A is not at ease because professional conditions oblige him to be in a strained posture. His movements are calculated and he is cautious in his words in order not to appear impolite vis-à-vis his boss. The sitting non-relaxed position is performed by one of two people in interaction because the other person of a different status is in general relaxed. That is to say that non-relaxation often refers to the inferior--in age or standing.

In Rwanda, the sitting non-relaxed person is also a low-ranked person. His posture may be described as follows: he is in a sitting and bent position, his arms are crossed or put on his

thighs, his legs are crossed or tightened together. He is to be looked at like a convinced Christian in meditation. He looks away from the interlocutor or down on the floor, and very rarely into the eyes of the other person. He is limited in his words and never initiates conversation. He only contents himself with answering what he has been asked. When the other says something, he nods his head or utters a vocal non-verbal sound to mean yes. He is a kind of puppet manipulated at will. He is a slave under the control of the master.

IV. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

POLITE SYMBOLIC RITUALS IN ENGLISH AND KINYARWANDA

ATTITUDES EXPRESSED	BEHAVIOR PATTERN
AFFECTION	smiling embracing kissing looking making eyes
APPROVAL-ASSENT	nodding
HUMILITY	bowing kneeling down
SALUTATION	hand clapping hat lifting hand shaking nodding smiling embracing kissing
WELCOME	hand clapping hat lifting smiling embracing kissing
LEAVE-TAKING	hand shaking kissing smiling hand clapping
THANKING	smiling kneeling down hand clapping

The table summarizes the polite symbolic rituals performed in the English and the Rwandan cultures. But this classification is far from achieving exhaustivity because of reasons already stated. However, the elements included in the table are the common outstanding points found in both the English and the Rwandan contexts to express politeness and respect toward people with whom one interacts.

It seems better--at least to me-- to conclude the chapter with two quotations showing how important the non-verbal communication is:

To study man's oral and written discourse is to study but part of his communicative and persuasive efforts and we must begin to seriously examine the implications of the fact that man does not communicate by words alone.³⁵

Freud also relied heavily on the communicative significance of man's acts rather than his words. He distrusted the spoken word, and a good deal of his thinking was based on the assumption that words hid much more than they revealed.³⁶

FOOTNOTES

1. Mehrabian, A. "Communication Without Words", in Mortensen, C.D. Basic Readings in Communication Theory, New York Harper & Row, 1973, p.92.
2. Hall, E.T. The Silent Language, New York, Anchor Books, 1973, p.
3. Brown, H.D. Principles of Language Learning and Teaching, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1980, pp.198-199.
4. La Rouchefaucauld quoted by Guiraud, P. Le Langage du corps Paris, PUF, 1980, p.3.
5. Rwigamba Barinda, Approche Générativo-Pragmatique des Unités Distinctives de la Communication Interactive en Kinyarwanda, Thèse de doctorat, Lubumbashi, UNAZA, 1982, p.253.
6. Brown, pp.199-202.
7. Brown, P. 199.
8. Brown, p.199.

9. Davis, F. "How to Read Body Language," in Bosmojian (ed.), The Rhetoric of Nonverbal Communication: Readings, Scott, Foresman and Company, 1971.
10. Davis, p.7.
11. Davis, p.14.
12. Goffman, E. Relations in Public, New York, Harper & Row, 1972
13. Davis, p.5.
14. Argyle, M. "Eye Contact", in Mortensen (ed.), p.99.
15. Davis, p.6.
16. Davis, p.7
17. Argyle, p.100.
18. Davis, p.7.
19. Davis, p.7.
20. Argyle, p.101.
21. Argyle, p.102.
22. Goffman, p.160.
23. Goffman, p.160.
24. Goffman, E. "Facial Engagements", in Mortensen (ed.), p.85.
25. Goffman, p.192.
26. Goffman, p.84.
27. Davis, p.10.
28. Davis, p.10.
29. Davis, p.11.
30. Davis, p.11.
31. Davis, p.12.
32. Hall, E.T. The Silent Language, New York, Anchor Books, 1973
33. Davis, p.9.
34. Davis, p.9.
35. Bosmojian, p.XII.
36. Hall, p.60.

CHAPTER TWO: POLITE REQUESTS AND APOLOGIES

I. INTRODUCTION

When you deny or contradict what someone else has stated, the effect is often 'impolite', unless the denial is qualified in some way. You can 'qualify' it by an apology or by adjusting to the speaker's point of view.¹

Leech and Svartvik give an example:

- (A) English is a difficult language to learn.
- (B) I'm afraid I disagree with you: some languages are even more difficult, I think.

Leech and Svartvik's standpoint is that to contradict someone's statement is a sign that you are being impolite to him. In this situation, you do not use the proper, the appropriate language which is often referred to as the polite language. About the polite language, they state: "Our language tends to be more polite when we are talking to a person we do not know well, or a person senior to ourselves in terms of age or social position. The opposite of 'polite' is 'familiar'. When we know someone well or intimately tend to drop polite forms of language."² Back to the example provided above (B) disagrees with (A)'s statement in a subtle way. He chooses the lexis to use. Word choice is a very important part in conversation because what you say, the language you use expresses what you are, what your behavior is--at least from the point of view of people you are interacting with--. If to (A)'s statement that English is a difficult language to learn, (B) had answered: "I'm not convinced," (B)'s response would be considered as a direct and more polite one because it is not a kind of disagreement. His language is inappropriate because of his word choice. The inappropriateness is most clearly found through the use of the negative form "I don't think" instead of "I'm afraid" and the use of the verb "to be convinced" instead of "to think". From the two answers provided by (B) to (A)'s utterance we may infer that even though the subject matter is the same, people do not necessarily use the same language. We distinguish the polite language from the familiar language which sometimes leads to inappropriateness and impoliteness.

In this chapter, the main concern is on the polite language used in face-to-face dealings between people. In fact, during an encounter, it may happen that a person misconducts himself, vis-à-vis other people he is with. In this case, the only possible way to be rehabilitated in society is to recognize his fault and to ask for forgiveness. If not, he is considered as someone who does not care about the proper way of behaving. A good illustration on the proper way of behavior is the way questions are addressed in a polite way:

- A- Would you mind having a glass of beer?
B- No, not at all. I don't feel well.

A's question may be analysed at different levels because it involves different instances. It may be considered as a simple question addressed to one's interlocutor as it may be seen as a kind of invitation, an offer, a suggestion, or simply a request. In this paper, we will treat each item individually because in actual practice, there is some distinction between an invitation, an offer, a suggestion, and a request. That distinction involves the relations of speaker and audience, and especially, the purpose of the exchange. But in general terms, invitations, offers and suggestions may be regrouped under one heading, that of requests. That is to say that suggestions, invitations, and offers may be considered as different instances of the same moment, that of requests.

In addition, there are some kind of commands which may take the form of a request:

- Go and get the dishes, please.

This sentence is a command, but the element "please" has the function of toning down and of weakening the effect of the command upon the addressee. Leech and Svartvik suggest other ways of toning down a command. One way is to add the tag question "won't you" to the sentence:

- Look after the children, won't you?

Two other tags "why don't you" and "will you" have the same effect as "please" and "won't you", but "will you" is used after a negative command:

- Have a chocolate, why don't you?
- Don't be unkind to him, will you?

But in many circumstances, commands are impolite. It is only when they have been provided with the toning down elements that they become polite commands. The polite commands tend to become offers or invitations, and therefore requests:

- Have another glass of beer, please. (an offer).
- Come in, won't you? (an invitation).

As I said before, this chapter is mainly concerned with the polite language used in everyday conversation. However, all the aspects of the polite language cannot be examined in the limits of only one chapter. That is why I decided to limit the topic to polite requests and apologies because I think that requests and apologies are among the most representative and significant components of appropriate language in social encounters. With requests, I will be preoccupied with how an individual seeks for something and how his interlocutor provides an answer to his plea. The answer may be a positive or a negative one depending on the nature of the request and on the availability and the willingness of the addressee. For apologies, they occur when one of the two people has done or said something in disagreement with the normal expected behavior. In this respect, he is in the social obligation of showing to the addressee that he did not wrong him on purpose. In the apologies' instances, there is an offender and an offended person. The offender is obliged by social norms to present his excuses to the offended, and the offended may accept or refuse them.

II. SOCIAL NORMS IN REQUESTS AND APOLOGIES

It can be argued that all face-to-face dealings are conducted in accordance with ground rules, some of which ordinarily ensure that the participant with superior social power will be allowed the liberties and license employed by the others in commerce with him.³

If we apply Goffman's statement to requests and apologies, we notice that these fields follow the social norms of any encounter. That is, in making a request or an apology, the individual adapts himself to the requirements of the moment. That is to say that he adjusts his language to the addressee. If the addressee is an inferior, the

request may take the form of a command. In the case of an equal, the use of familiar requests and apologies is likely to occur. But when the addressee is a superior, rules governing the inferior--superior relationships oblige him to use a highly polite language. Social situations are a telltale signal of how language would function between individuals. There are moral rules which guide the individual once in interaction with other individuals. These moral obligations are a kind of link between the self and society. If a person fails to conform to these moral values, he is seen as someone who is no longer belonging to his society; he stands apart, and people comment on him as someone who has deviated from the normal way of behavior. In the case of apologies, when somebody happens to offend another person, the normal appearance is to ask for "appeasement" on the spot or any time later. If he does not behave in that way, if he does not excuse himself for the fault he caused, he is referred to as the one whose behavior is no longer the standard one, as someone who gets rid of social norms which show the proper way to conduct oneself toward one's environment. In the same line, in the instance of making requests, if a person says: "come in" or "come in, please," the two sentences are considered as requests but at different levels. The first sentence is a kind of command or a familiar request, and the second is a polite request. In this respect, the individual's attitudes are controlled and directed by other people. In fact, society obliges us to limit ourselves to what is seen by others as suitable, correct, and appropriate. Such social obligations or social norms have a great influence on the individual because he cannot do without them. Requests and apologies are some of language rituals where social norms show to the individual the proper way to behave in accordance with what others consider as correct and decent. Those social norms are a kind of moral obligation which guide the individual for example to ask for permission in a way and not in another, and to say "sorry" or "excuse me" if he has made an infraction. These social rules also influence the addressee on the polite way of answering a request or an apology.

II.1. DEFINITION OF A SOCIAL NORM

A social norm is that kind of guide for action which is supported by social sanctions, negative ones providing penalties for infraction, positive ones providing rewards for exemplary compliance. The significance of these rewards and penalties is not meant to lie in their intrinsic, substantive worth but in what they proclaim about the moral status of the actor.⁴

From Goffman's definition, a social norm implies three instances: positive sanctions, negative sanctions, and the moral status of the actor. When an individual complies with the social norms, we say that there is conformity, and when he departs from them, we say that there is deviation from the moral values. When the case of deviation occurs, there are social sanctions which await the individual. Those negative sanctions are either informal or formal. "Formal when a specialized agency that has been officially delegated the sanctioning task acts in due response to a schedule of sanctions; informal when the work is done locally, largely by the very person whose concerns have been jeopardized or by those who personally sympathize with him, the sanction itself taking a rough, ready, and changing form."⁵ In this chapter, we will be considering the informal negative sanctions because they are mostly to occur in everyday interaction. For the formal negative sanctions, they mostly occur at the law-court, and this is not our concern here. An example of an informal negative sanction is a negative reply addressed to the one who has made an inappropriate request to a superior. Here is the situation:

A- Pass me that book.

B- What?

Even though the superior-inferior distinction is not often so sharp especially in the American context, A's statement in this case is impolite because it cannot be addressed to a superior. Therefore, there is no possibility of a satisfactory reply. In this case, B may decide not to give the book to A. In this respect, B punished A without making recourse to the official law, and he punishes him to the very spot. We speak then of an informal negative sanction, or an informal negative reply to A's request.

The moral status of an individual in interaction is linked to his moral responsibility toward people he is with during social encounters. By "moral responsibility," I mean the individual is responsible for his acts: "... he who fails to guide himself by a particular rule has done so at best because of momentary lapse, at worst because of faulty character, and that although he has not conformed, he is capable of doing so, should have desired to conform, and in any case, ought now to conform. Note that this sense of the term responsibility is intrinsically diffuse since it combines into one concept the notion of why the individual acted as he did, how he could have acted, how he should have acted, and how in the future he ought to act."⁶ The attitude of the individual who has not conformed to the moral responsibility by behaving in discordance with his social environment can be attributed to three reasons. First, the individual himself may be the cause of his mischiefs because, as I said in the first chapter, the character of an individual is among the great determiners of how he would act in society. Second, the addressee may determine what kind of language would be used. The addressee's personal character and his social position may guide the addresser in his word choice. Third, external elements such as the context itself in which the encounter takes place may influence both people in interaction. But not that no one of the three factors in social interaction would influence the individual's language more than other social elements. The best way to consider how language functions among people is to combine all the three elements because no single factor has much influence on its own.

In short, if we relate the social norms of the individual to requests and apologies, we notice that both the speaker and the recipient are directed by social values which tell them the adequate way of behaving and the proper means to correct one's attitudes when an infraction has been committed. These social norms impinge on the individual in two ways: first as an obligation, and second as an expectation. By "obligation" I mean that the individual is required, by the situation in which he is, to act accordingly. By "expectation," I mean that people with whom he interacts predict the correct behavior and await him to do so. I may add that "obligation" and "expectation" are somehow interrelated and that "expectation" is the direct consequence of "obligation" because

if a person has a moral obligation to accomplish a thing, he is expected by his social environment to comply himself to that moral rule. "Any deviation then, on any one occasion when the rule is supposed to apply can give the impression that the actor may be delinquent with respect to the whole class of events. And any compliance can carry assurance regarding the actor's handling of all other events that come under the rule."7 From this quotation then, we come back to the notions of reward and punishment or positive and negative sanctions. The normal way for people to avoid punishment in the field of requests and apologies is to avoid the use of inappropriate language; it is to conform to the expected social norms. A social norm can therefore be defined as the regulator of public life. It is the barometer of social encounters between individuals.

II.2. SOCIAL CONTROL

If we adapt to social encounters between individuals John Donne's powerful remark that no man is an island, we notice that there is much truth in the statement because all our actions, the language we use is not necessarily meant for ourselves, but for others because we do not communicate with ourselves, but with the social surrounding. In this way, we have an influence on people with whom we interact as they have some control over us. Those relations self/society or individual/environment give rise to the notion of social control. We tend to control others' actions as they tend to control ours. The "eyes of the crowd" are always directed toward us as ours are directed to them so that the slight incongruous movement from our part is noticed and perhaps commented on.

The traditional view of social control seems to divide the world into three distinct parts: "In one the crime is committed, in the second the infraction is brought to trial, and in the third(should the actor be found guilty) the punishment is inflicted. ...The individual therefore must not only provide clarifying information but when he cannot convince others of his innocence, he also must be prepared to do penance and provide

reparation on the spot in exchange for being accepted back into good graces a moment later."⁸ But be careful not to take the terms "crime", "infraction" and "punishment" in their literal meaning as terms referring to law. In this study, these terms are to be understood with relation to social dealings where our concern is the way language is used among people in conversation. That is, in everyday conversation, the crime or the infraction is committed by an individual whose acts, whose language does not suit people with whom he is having social dealings. In this case, his attitude is in disconformity with the conversational context. It is sometimes expected that people who have been offended ask the offender to provide explanations about his inadequate behavior. These explanations--if they are satisfactory--permit him to be rehabilitated as a perfect person. If they are not convincing, the same people may decide to administer other punishments such as to close up the conversation and leave the place where social dealings were taking place, or they may go on conversing but ignoring him completely. In the case of total ignorance of the offender, whenever he wants to speak, they may laugh at him or tell him to shut up because they consider that he is no longer part of the group.

If there was no social control in our society, the notions of crime and punishment would be meaningless and irrelevant because there would be no one to control what people do or say. But social control is so developed that no one can escape it. And if one happens to escape it, it would be for a short time. Social control weighs upon us that we are not really free to act. We always fear what other people would say if we fail to behave appropriately. In the contingencies of face-to-face interaction, the individual is cut into two parts. One part for himself and another part for society. In this respect, we have the individual part and the social part. The individual part is referred to as what somebody would like to be, what he would prefer to look like, and the social part is what the individual actually is, it is the part of the self that he shows to the public. There is a saying that the individual is meaningless unless he adapts himself to society because it is mainly the environment which shapes him. In this sense, the individual part--when compared to the social part--does not have a great role to play in social dealings. This is mostly due to social control which does not allow much initiative for people to conduct themselves at will.

Social control compels forms of respect and various rituals performed by an individual while addressing other people. But this is not to say that in any social encounter, one always conforms to the principle of speaking the correct language. One may be impolite because the situations abide him to, because people with whom he interacts cause him to behave so. He may also be polite because the context is that consideration for other people is obligatory. Politeness and impoliteness really depend on many variables. However, it is an ideal to try to always behave correctly, but in practice, it is not the case. If all people used the correct language, there would be no need to make apologies for committed infractions; there would be no offender and no offended.

If an individual makes abstraction of social control and behaves in a discordant way toward people he is engaged with in conversation, the normal appearance thereafter is to look for a remedy, for an appeasement. That social appeasement is what Goffman calls the remedial work. According to him, a remedial work's function is "to change the meaning that otherwise might be given to an act, transforming what could be seen as offensive into what can be seen as acceptable. This change seems to be accomplished, in our western society at least, by striking in some way at the moral responsibility otherwise imputed to the offender; and this in turn seems to be accomplished by three main devices: accounts, apologies, and requests."⁹ The remedial work or the act of appeasement performed by an individual occurs when there has been an offense, when an individual has misconducted himself vis-à-vis his interlocutors. At this level, in order to regain the credits of his social environment, he needs to show them that his act was not premeditated at all--even if he had planned it--. The important thing is that he recognizes his fault and tries to amend it.

As Goffman has stated above, the amendment of a fault is expressed through three devices, that is, through accounts, apologies, and requests. Let us now consider the account because the two other devices will retain our attention in more detail in the subsequent parts. An account is composed of explanations, excuses, and pretexts. When someone is guilty, he may present true or false accounts of the motives which pushed him to act in that way. In this respect, we distinguish between good accounts and bad accounts: "When

individuals speak of a 'good' account for an act, they seem to mean an account that succeeds in restructuring the initial response of the offended and appreciably reducing the fault of the actor--at least among the fair-minded. And a 'bad' account is one that fails to perform this service."¹⁰ Here, it is worth mentioning that it is necessary to clarify the slight difference between a good account and a true one, and the difference between a bad account and a false one. One may make a convincing account of what were the causes of his ill-behavior at the very moment when he committed an infraction, but this account is not necessarily a true one. In his explanations, if an individual has a smooth tongue, he may convince his interlocutors that the crime he is charged with did not happen on purpose; he can claim that it was an involuntary act--whereas it was a voluntary one. In this case, his account is not true at all, but it is a good one. The same goes for a false account and a bad one. A bad account is the one which fails to diminish the fault. The offender's explanations and his excuses do not succeed in convincing people. The same people therefore consider the account as false--even though it may be a true one. It is evident then that true, false, good, and bad accounts are intermingled that it is not always easy to state that an account is true, good, false or bad. The one to whom it is addressed interprets it according to how he understands it.

In summary, one may argue that social control is one aspect of social norms, and that social control obliges the individual to adapt himself to the requirements of his audience. This conformity to society obliges him to use a kind of language adjusted to his social environment. This language which is in conformity with one's audience is most of the time the polite, the appropriate language. But it may happen that the individual fails to adapt himself to his social milieu, and in this case, there is a possibility to redeem himself by performing a remedial work which has the function of settling the matter again, to re-establish him in his initial position. This act of appeasement and this gesture of remedy are mainly expressed through requests and apologies which are classified among the highly polite forms in everyday language rituals.

III. POLITE REQUESTS

As I said before, a request involves many instances. A request may express a way of asking permission, it may be seen as an obligation, a command, an offer, an invitation, a suggestion, etc. I also mentioned that not all requests are polite just as all commands are not impolite. That is the reason why I entitled this part "polite requests". In this part, commands, offers, suggestions, invitations... will be considered provided that they express politeness. However, it will be necessary from time to time to examine impolite or familiar forms of these instances when giving counter-examples to illustrate the improper way of language use in face-to-face interaction. These different instances (commands, suggestions..) are grouped under the request category and would be understood in this frame for reasons of conformity and clarity.

III.1. DEFINITION OF A REQUEST

A request consists of asking license of a potentially offended person to engage in what would be considered a violation of his rights. The actor shows that he is fully alive to the possible offensiveness of his proposed act and begs sufferance. At the same time he exposes himself to denial and rejection. The recipient of the request thus clearly is presented with the possibility of making an offer, one that would allow the suppliant's needs. An offer, in short is stimulated.¹¹

Generally speaking, a request is defined as a means of asking permission to do something:

- Would you mind my using your telephone?

However, this is not always the case because there are requests which do not necessarily stand for means to ask permission:

- Will you pass the cigars, please?

In this example, we notice that there is no instance to ask for permission. There is also the use of indirect requests which are statements about the individual's own wishes:

- I wouldn't mind a cigarette, if you have one.

From this example, we notice that a request may be in a declarative form contrary to the general tendency that requests are presented

in the interrogative form. From all the illustrations provided, it is evident that not all requests are units seeking permission. A request is simply a way to ask for anything. A request often occurs at the initial phase of an encounter, but after the greeting phase has been performed. But this is not a general rule because it may occur very late toward the end of an encounter, and the request's late occurrence is a matter of personal choice because the individual performing a request may assume that the initial phase is not a favorable moment for him to address his request. He then awaits the propitious situation. In this respect, the request's occurrence is not predictable because this depends on the nature of the request--since there are requests that must be carefully delivered-- and on the availability, the mood, the attitudes of one's interlocutor. If the interlocutor is not disposed to receive one's request, one may even postpone it.

When an individual makes a request, it is plain that he will need a reply of some kind from those to whom his plea is addressed so that he may learn whether or not it has been received, and if so, whether or not it has been granted. Similarly, when the individual provides an account or makes an apology, he becomes needful of the addressee's providing a comment of some kind in return; for only in this way can he be sure that his corrective message has been received and that it has been deemed sufficient to re-establish him as a proper person.¹²

In the making requests' instance, there must be a sort of dialogue between people in interaction. When an individual addresses a request, the addressee has some moral obligation to reply to the request. In this way, a dialogue is established between them. During a social encounter, when the addressor makes a statement or asks a question, the addressee makes some comments on the addressor's statement, and these comments are what is commonly called a reply. A reply is a kind of feedback provided by the addressee to ensure the addressor that his message has been received. In any social dealings, a request implies a reply. The reply may be positive or negative. More detailed explanations about different forms of reply will be provided latter. However, it is important to remember that a request involves at least two participants, one making a request and another replying the request. For the communication to be efficient between two individuals, an exchange, a dialogue is necessary.

II.2. THE RECOGNITION AND THE PRESENTATION OF
A REQUEST.

A request involves two basic conversational forms: the interrogative interchange and the declarative interchange. The interrogative interchange is usually presented under the question form. The interrogative form of a request has two variants: the interrogative affirmative form and the interrogative negative form. When the interrogative affirmative form is used, the addressor asks his hearer whether he is willing or able to do something. In this case, the auxiliaries will, would, can, and could are used:

- Will you give me that book, please?
- Would you tell me the way to the library, please?
- Can you tell him that I will come tomorrow?
- Could you talk to him about the accident?

Note that "will" and "would" express willingness, and "can" and "could" stand for ability. Leech and Svartvik say that "would" and "could" are more "tactful" than "will" and "can" when politeness is required. This is not to say that "will" and "can" are not polite forms, but "would" and "could" are much more polite. The difference lies in the degree of appropriateness. According to Leech and Svartvik, "you can also use a negative question, which expects a positive answer, and is to that extent less 'tentative' and more persuasive:

- Won't you come in and sit down?
- Couldn't you possibly come another day?"¹³

For the declarative interchange, Goffman states:

First speaker propounds an argument, enunciates an opinion, draws a moral, provides a little editorial, muses aloud, vents his feelings, and so on, all in the guise of saying something that should have some relevance and even validity for all who can hear; second speaker in return, provides an affirming reply at the proper conversational juncture--a grant, a nod, a verbal agreement, a counter-argument--any of which confirms first speaker's claim to being the sort of person who has a right to express opinions and who is worth attending when he does. To make a declaration, after all, is but to establish a line that might not be viable, and as such, commits the declarer to obtaining support from hearers--support not so much for what he says as for the propriety of saying it.¹⁴

From this quotation then, it is clear that a declarative statement undergoes a series of rituals. It is a kind of circumlocution which turns around before going to the point. But an interrogative statement is much more direct and goes straight to the point. The declarative statements are often referred to as indirect ways of making a polite request. Just like the interrogative interchange, the declarative interchange has two facets: one is affirmative and another is negative. In this case, not only auxiliaries are used, but also ordinary verbs such as "to mind", "to wonder", "to want", "to request"....:

- I wouldn't mind drinking another glass of beer.
- I wonder if you have any objection to me using that book.
- I want to ask you to lend me a thousand francs.
- I (therefore) request that I be allowed to use your telephone.

In addition, there are other lexical items which cooperate in realizing a polite request in both the declarative and the interrogative statements. These elements are mostly adjectives and adverbs which accompany the verb to qualify it, to give it more force and emphasis. The examples for adjectives are: "possible", "kind", "grateful"....:

- Is it possible to visit him tomorrow?
- Would you be so kind as to bring me that ash tray?
- I would be grateful if you paid the taxi for me.

For adverbs, the mostly used are: "extremely", "possibly", "perhaps", "too much", "most", "awfully"....:

- It would be extremely kind of you if you come tomorrow.
- Could I possibly use your notebook?
- May I perhaps tell him about the news?
- Is it too much to ask if I may call you anytime?
- I should be most grateful if you allow me to pay him a visit.
- Would you mind awfully if I spend the night out of the campus?

Apart from auxiliaries, ordinary verbs, adjectives and adverbs, there are other cues which are signs that a polite request has been addressed. These elements are for example "please", "excuse me", and "if":

- Will you open the door, please?
- Excuse me, I'd like to speak to you.
- If you don't mind, I'll ask you to write this letter for me.

About "please", Stubbs¹⁵ states that its only function is as a marker of politeness. Its essential function is to get someone else to do something, and it is, therefore, largely restricted to spoken language. The same may be said about "excuse me" which is a polite way of introducing one's request. One says "excuse me" to an individual with whom he wants to enter in communication.. "Excuse me" can therefore be seen as a social introduction element which allows the addresser to speak to the addressee. But it should not be confused with the "excuse me" of the making apologies' instance which will be considered later. As for the element "if", it co-occurs with other elements in the realization of a request. Here, it is worth noting that any cue in the formulation of a request cannot stand alone and express a request by its own. A verb needs a noun and other elements. That is to say that when making a request, there is co-occurrence of different syntactic structures. Some elements are obligatory and others optional, but the highest form of a polite request is the one which involves all these elements, the compulsory elements mingled with the optional ones:

- Excuse me, it would be very kind of you if you allow me to smoke once again.

In this sentence, most of the elements I have been talking about are combined together to form a polite request. There is a tendency to believe that the more a sentence for request is long, the more polite it is. On the contrary, the shorter a sentence is, the less polite. I myself tend to agree with this viewpoint because the combination of a great number of polite forms may influence the addressee who would accomplish what he is asked to. I would suggest that when an individual is requiring something to a superior he uses sentences combining all the possible polite elements, and those comprising limited features would be reserved to equals and inferiors.

As a conclusion, I would like to recall that a request is not necessarily made up of questions, but also of declarative statements presented in a way which expresses polite requests. A polite

request is the one which contains at least one of the elements I considered above. But in this case, the request would seem less polite:

- Do you mind me sending him a telegram?

But in the case where many elements are combined together, the request is much more polite:

- Would you mind if I possibly used your telephone, please?

The list of different elements co-occurring in the realization of a request is far from being complete because there are other stylistic variations in word choice, but this depends entirely on the individual's creativity. However, I think that the general frame of stereotyped forms is there. A polite request is therefore under two forms: the declarative and the interrogative interchanges, and it may be recognized by considering the ready-made features which co-occur in its formation.

III.3. POSSIBLE ATTITUDES OF THE OFFENDER AND THE OFFENDED.

We speak of the offender and the offended person in the case when an infraction has occurred between the two people in interaction: "In the case of infractions, there will be an obligated person who offends and an expectant person, a claimant, who is offended."¹⁶ The offender is the one whose behavior is discordant with his interlocutor's expectations and predispositions. His attitude is in disconformity with the "normal appearance" in a social conversation because he goes against the normal rules governing any social encounter. In this respect, his conduct is not the expected one. The offended person is the one who is victim of the offender's misconduct; he is the one whose individuality has been attacked in some way. He is the wronged person. When between two people in social dealings occurs an offense, there is a person who caused it--the offender--. In the case of an infraction, the addressor has deviated from his moral obligation, from social norms which are considered as rules which guide anyone's actions especially while interacting with others. In the case of requests, it may happen that an individual uses a bad language while asking another individual to do something. In this way, his abnormal behavior launches an infraction toward the one he is interacting with.

At this level, **if** may happen that the dialogue between the two individuals ceases at the very moment depending on the gravity of the offense and on how the offended interprets it. If the conversation stops, the remedial work cannot take place. It may also happen that the conversation goes on, but not as efficiently as if there had been no offense. In order to re-establish the conversation at the normal pace, the offender has a social duty to remedy the situation by asking for forgiveness. But in the requests' instance, when an individual has addressed an incongruent request, the offended has all the liberties to answer in an incongruent way by providing a negative reply. A good example is when the offender uses a direct command with an inappropriate intonation: - Shut the door. If the offended is an equal or a superior, but not an acquaintance, he may refuse to shut the door. In this respect, the addressee provides a negative answer because he is not satisfied with the offender's attitudes toward him. After the negative reply has been provided, the offender may give some explanations about his previous attitude saying perhaps that he did not intend to disrespect him. He may then reformulate his request: "shut the door, please." Here, there is an insertion of a polite element which makes the statement more appropriate than before. The offended may then provide a positive reply because the addressor has corrected his attitude. Instead of restating his request, the offender may go directly to apologizing for his improper attitude. In this respect, he says "excuse me" or "sorry for my ill-behavior." In this instance again, the offended has a choice. He may accept the apologies as he may refute them. If he accepts them, he says "OK" or "That's all right", and the conversation goes on in the normal way. But if he refuses the apology, there is a complication in the making apologies' process because the non-acceptance of an apology is a sign that the offense is a big one.

In short, the offender is the one who shows negative attitudes toward the addressee. The negative attitudes result from the use of an inappropriate language in a situation where politeness is necessary. In this case, the offender has a moral obligation to correct his attitudes. If not, the non-conformity to social norms may cause other people to consider him as a deviant character. Ideally, the one who has misconducted himself toward society has the duty to set up the matters because this is the normal way to provide a remedy. In the case of requests, any

request which has been badly addressed must be readjusted to the one to whom it is intended. The offended, on his part, may have positive or negative attitudes depending on how the offender has provided explanations about his offense. If the offended is satisfied with how the interlocutor has corrected himself, he shows positive attitudes, but if he feels not satisfied at all, negative replies are in order. In fact, the offended attitudes are inspired by the offender's behavior, by the way the offender succeeds in amending his fault.

III.4. POLITE COMMANDS, SUGGESTIONS, INVITATIONS, OFFERS, AND PERMISSIONS.

As I said earlier, polite commands, suggestions, invitations, offers, and units for seeking permission are polite means of appropriate behavior toward one's interlocutor. In addition, if we relate the definition of a polite request to these elements, we notice that it applies to them in some way. For me, I feel that these instances may fall under the request category and be regarded as such because they have the characteristics required by a request.

In the English culture, we distinguish a direct command from an indirect one. In general terms, a command is a means of getting ^{someone} to do something:

- Close the door.

In this section, direct commands will not be considered because in many circumstances, they are regarded as impolite ways of addressing somebody. The focus will be on indirect commands which I qualify as polite commands. Leech and Svartvik suggest different ^{ways} of toning down or weakening the imperative force of a command. One of them is the use of a rising or fall-rise tone, "instead of the usual falling tone". They give the following examples:

- Be careful.

- Don't forget your wallet.

From these examples, the tone of voice, its intensity are very important factors to determine if an individual is being polite in his utterance or not. In fact, impoliteness may be detected by the use of a severe tone, by the speaker's use of a hard voice and his quick rate of speech. A polite tone, on the contrary,

is the one expressed with a soft voice. The rate of speech is the normal one and the voice is not loud at all. For other means of toning down a command, we did consider them earlier, but it is necessary to recall them. One way is to add "please" to a command:

- Come here, please.

Two other ways are the use of tags such as "won't you", "why don't you", and "will you". These elements, once added to any sentence expressing a direct command, have the property to transform it into an indirect, polite command. Generally speaking, polite commands are expressed through different features. The most common are the using of fall-rise tone, the addition of "please", "why don't you", and "will you". Remember that "why don't you" and "will you" are often used after a negative command.

"As ways of influencing other people, advice, suggestions, and invitations are milder than commands. Strictly, these leave the decision about what to do in the hands of the hearer. But in practice...they are often 'tactful' ways of giving commands and instructions."17 In fact, the terms "suggestion" and "invitation" are indicative in themselves. They underly the idea that the receiver of the message is the one to decide. But as Leech and Svartvik say, suggestions and invitations are ways of influencing people on what to do. They are indirect means of giving commands. To suggest is to bring into another's mind that there is a possibility of doing something. Suggestions present two main facets:

Suggestions involving only the hearer:

- I suggest you read the second chapter of the book.
 - Can you do your homework (if you like).
 - You might take it seriously.
 - Why don't you go and see him next week?
- Etc.

And suggestions involving both the speaker and the hearer:

- What about a glass of beer?
 - I suggest we take the bus.
 - Why don't we go down town?
 - Shall we proceed? (a teacher to his students)
 - Let us have a cup of coffee.
- Etc.

To invite is to ask somebody to do something by his own will. In inviting people, many verbal features are used. For example, when somebody knocks at the door, the normal answer to his knock is to say "come in". This "come in" is considered as a polite, but familiar invitation. When he comes in, you invite him to sit down by saying "sit down, please." Still, this statement is familiar. There are other forms of polite invitation which are very formal. These forms are obtained by the use of modals and interrogative statements:

- May I invite you to come in and sit down, please?
 - Would you like to accompany me to the theater?
 - May I have the pleasure of your visit next Monday?
 - Would you be interested in watching television this night?
- Etc.

Suggestions and invitations are considered as polite verbal forms used in everyday communication between people in social encounters. There are familiar and informal forms just as there are very formal forms. The individual therefore has a choice on which form to use depending on the degree of acquaintanceship between him and his addressee.

To make an offer and to seek permission are also two instances in requests which express the appropriate behavior of the addressor toward the addressee. "In making an offer, you can make use of questions about the wishes of the hearer."¹⁸

- Can I do the job for you?
- Shall I get you that book?
- Would you like me to buy you that shirt?

In making an offer, you can also use declarative statements:

- I would like to get you that umbrella.
- I want to help you to repair the roof.

In the instance of asking for permission, "can" and "may" are used:

- Can I talk to you?
- May I speak to him?

The modals "can" and "may" are used in place of "to be allowed" and "to be permitted" which express exactly the same idea of seeking permission:

- Am I allowed to talk to you?
- Am I permitted to speak to him?

Another construction in asking for permission is the use of "hypothetical", "could" and "might":

- Could we ask you your name?
- I wonder if we might borrow your note-book.

The verb "mind" is also another possibility in requests for permission:

- Would you mind if I take your book?
- Do you mind if I use your telephone?

It is very difficult to distinguish between a polite command, a suggestion, an invitation, an offer, and a form asking permission. In fact, it may happen that an utterance is considered as falling into any one of these categories. In this respect, we can say that there is a close similarity between these aspects expressing requests. The important thing to know is that any of these forms is part of a polite request, and its utterance would be interpreted as an appropriate way of behavior in situations where politeness is required. However, such a similarity is not a sufficient reason to look at them as perfectly similar because there are situations where they are different. It was therefore necessary to consider each category alone--what I did-- and to provide illustrations of any of these categories. I would add that the best way to differentiate an invitation from a suggestion or an offer from a form for permission is to relate an utterance to the context in which it occurs because the context will help the individual to interpret the utterance in a suitable way.

In the Rwandan context, requests do exist just like in the English culture. The literature about requests has been already stated, and there is no need to talk about them again. However, I would like to put to your notice that the sub-categories which constitute the requests' instance are much more sophisticated and great in number in the English culture than in the Rwandan context. By this statement, I mean that English people ~~have~~ tend to be much more engaged in making request than Rwandans. This tendency leads to the fact that in English there is more creativity about the way requests are made than in Rwanda. In this paper, I intend only to provide the general frame of terms used in Kinyarwanda, the

stylistic variations depending on the individual's performance and to the status of the one he is addressing.

In making requests, Rwandans use many different cues such as verbs, nouns, pronouns of address.... Verbs which have the speciality of marking the making of a request are: "kuvugana" (to talk with), "gushaka" (to want), "kwifuza" (to desire), "kubwira" (to say something to somebody), "kubonana" (to see each other), "gutuma" (to send a message), etc. The list is far from being complete, but the basic forms are the one provided here. When an individual is in interaction with another person, he has a choice of the verbal repertoire to use. In many cases, one of the listed verbs is likely to occur. Here are some examples of what one may say while making a request:

- Ndabashaka (I want you).
- Nabifuzaga (I desire you, I want to speak to you).
- Hali umuntu wabantumyeho (somebody sent a message to you by my intermediary).
- Nagirango tubanane (I'd like to have an entertainment with you)
- Nagirango tuvugana (I'd like to speak to you).
- Hali icyo nababwiraga (there is something I want to tell you).

Apart from verbs, adverbs and pronouns of address are currently used, but their use most of the time requires the use of the verb because they stand for accompanying and qualifying the verb. They therefore have the status of qualificators. Adverbs frequently used are "rwise" (really) and "cyane" (very much, badly):

- Ndabashaka cyane (I want you badly)
(I want you very much).
- Nagirango tuvugana rwise (I'd really like to speak to you).

The pronouns of address are also very useful in making a request. There is a great difference when, while addressing somebody, one uses the pronoun of familiarity "U-" (you: 2nd person singular) or the pronoun of power, respect and deference "Mu-" (you: 2nd person plural):

- Uze kuza nimugoroba Do come in the evening.
- Muze kuza nimugoroba

When an utterance comprises the second person singular, the addressee is either an equal or an inferior. The second person plural is addressed to a superior. There are other pronouns of address "-ku-" and "-ba-". "-ku-" is addressed to an equal or an inferior, and "-Ba-" to a superior, to the one who deserves a particular respect:

- Ndagushaka I want to speak to you.
- Ndabashaka

"U-" and "-ku-" are the same forms except that "u-" is the subject and "-ku-" the direct object. The same goes for "mu-" which is a subject and "-Ba-" which is a direct object in the second person plural.

In the Rwandan culture, a request must be addressed in a polite way because we consider that when an individual needs someone else to do something, he is ipso facto in the inferior position. The one in need has therefore the duty to conduct himself accordingly for the only reason that if he mishaves, he may receive a negative reply. To achieve his goal, the requester has lexical items he uses for that purpose. These lexical items are verbs, pronouns, adverbs...specialized for that kind of activity. As I mentioned above, the list of these lexical items to express polite requests is only indicative and tentative.

III.5. FORMS OF REPLY

When one asks for something, he normally expects an answer. The reply may be a positive or a negative one depending on the way the addressor has made his request and on how the addressee has received it. The request might have been adequately made, but the receiver is in an impossibility to satisfy his interlocutor's needs. In this case, we speak of a negative reply. A positive reply occurs when the recipient has positive attitudes toward the message, when he answers positively to the plea addressed to him. This principle of providing a reply to a request is universally applied. In the English and the Rwandan cultures, the different forms of reply, especially the positive ones, tend to be fixed; they seem to be stereotypes.

The most used positive forms of reply in the English context are "ok", "yes", "yes, certainly", "thank you very much", "that's kind of you", "please", "all right"...:

A- Will you help me, please?

B- Could you lend me your dictionary?

C- Perhaps you'd be interested in coming with us.

To A's statement, many forms of reply are possible. These replies

are "ok", "yes, certainly", "all right", etc. B's request requires answers such as "ok", "yes, certainly", "all right".... To C's invitation, the addressee may accept by saying "thank you", "thank you very much", "that's kind of you"....

In the Rwandan context, the commonly used positive forms of reply are mostly parallel to those found in the English milieu. The forms such as "yego" (yes), "nta kibazo" (no problem, all right), "urakoze" (thank you) are the most common replies addressed to the inquirer:

A- Ndashaka ko untiza kiriya gitabo.

(I want you to lend me that book).

B- Nta kibazo (no problem, that's all right).

A- Alike nashakaga kukubwira ko tuzajyana gusura kalisa

(but I want to tell you that we will go to visit Kalisa).

B- Ni byiza kubona wabitekereje

(that's very good for you^r having thought about it.)
kind of you

Before leaving B, A may address his thanks to B for having lent him the book:

A- Wakoze kuntiza iki gitabo (thank you for having lent me
this book).

B- Ntacyo nakoze rwose (I really did nothing, don't mention it).

In refusing a request, many forms are used. These forms vary in degree of politeness depending on the relationships of the two people in interaction and on their respective social positions. However, there are definitely more polite refusals. These polite refusals include an explanation of the refusal:

A- May I come to see you tomorrow?

B- I'm afraid I won't be available. I will be in Kigali tomorrow.

B's response is more appropriate than if he simply said "no" without any further explanation. Other forms of polite refusals are "no, thank you", "no, please"....

A- Can I write the letter for you?

B- No, thank you.

At this level, we notice that "thank you" has a double use because it can be a positive form of reply as well as a negative one. There are other negative forms of reply which begin as a positive reply and end as negative forms. These forms are mostly achieved by the insertion

of devices marking opposition. These devices are "but" and "however":

A- May I give you some more coffee?

B- That's very kind of you, but I don't want any more.

These techniques of marking a refusal are as polite as the one referred to earlier because the addressor provides an explanation of why he refuses. To answer politely in English culture necessitates the use of explanatory elements. That is to say that "no" in itself is not a sufficient device for a negative answer.

In the Rwandan culture, negative forms of reply function exactly in the same way as those in the English culture because it is not polite to refuse without saying why you refuse. If you provide no justification of your refusal, people will consider you as the one who has no education on the proper behavior in social dealings. When someone asks you to do something for him, if you feel unable to satisfy his needs, the common and current way to answer him is to say "oya" (no) plus an explanation of why you say "oya":

A- Nagirango unterurire aliya meza (I want you to lift that table for me).

B- Oya, ntahwo rwose mbishoboye kuko navunitse ukukoko
(No, I feel really unable to because I broke my arm)

From this example, B has been correct in his answer. Note how A would feel offended if B had answered with only "oya" without any further explanation. We may conclude then that to answer with "no" is to be impolite or familiar. The best way to answer to one's request is even to omit the negative form "oya" and make use of other more polite forms:

A- Nashakaga ko ujya guhamagara Mugabo
(I'd like that you go and call Mr. Mugabo).

B- Ubu se ko nihuta. Mu kanya mfite inama.
(But I'm in a hurry. I've a meeting in a moment).

In B's statement, there ^{is} no use of the refusal device "oya", but the sentence is clearly a non-acceptance of A's request. However, the non-acceptance has been achieved in a subtle way.

IV. POLITE APOLOGIES

IV.1. DEFINITION OF AN APOLOGY

An apology is a statement of regret for doing wrong, being impolite, for hurting somebody's feelings. "In its fullest form, the apology has several elements: expression of embarrassment and chagrin, clarification that one knows what conduct had been expected and sympathizes with the application of negative sanction; verbal rejection, repudiation, and disavowal of the wrong way of behaving along with vilification of the self that so behaved; espousal of the right way and an avowal henceforth to pursue that course; performance of penance and the volunteering of restitution."¹⁹ In short, an apology is an act performed by the offender toward the offended person in the case when an infraction has been committed. That act may be a non-verbal cue as well as it can be a verbal utterance or both. In the case under review, we are concerned with verbal forms of apologies. When people are in interaction, it may happen that one of them misbehaves vis-à-vis his interlocutor. The polite way to remedy the situation is to excuse oneself, to beg the other's pardon. An apology most of the time occurs after the event, but it may occur before. When it happens to occur before, it is called an introductory statement just like a greeting. Hoffman says that in the case of some face-to-face encounters, greetings and leave-takings are not the only ritualization of access, but also apologies may be used especially between unacquainted persons. This may happen especially when a newcomer arrives in a group already in interaction. The polite way to address it is first to greet the people in the group. However, the greeting form may be replaced by an apology which helps him to enter in contact with the group. In this way, it differs from the apology addressed after an offense because here, there is no offense which has been committed and we cannot speak of the offender or the offended. We therefore make a distinction between the apology performed as an introductory element and the apology performed as a means of alleviating a fault done to someone. The second form of apology is the one which involves the offender and the offended to whom an infraction has been addressed. It is only the second form which will retain our attention because it is the one which is mostly to occur in everyday interaction.

when somebody offers an apology, it is necessary for the offended to provide a reply. As I stated before, a reply may be positive or negative, it may be ironic or sincere. But there are also

apologies which necessitate no reply. For the attitudes of the apologizer and the offended; I refer you to the part about the offender and the offended in the subdivision about requests because I assure that the literature I developed in that part is also applicable here. However, I would like to insist on the fact that an apology usually occurs after an offense whereas a request occurs before the event. An apology is presented by the offender to the offended, and its meaning is to amend the fault. An apology is regarded as a social obligation that one must perform once he has misbehaved in the company of other people.

IV.2. UNITS FOR MAKING AN APOLOGY

Once again, I do not pretend to be exhaustive in providing different forms of apologies because in such an area, the creativity is always inspired by already existing forms. That is why the forms I will give will be considered as general terms to express an apology. In offering an apology, many forms are used. Verbs expressing a regret of something wrong which has been done are: to be sorry, to beg one's pardon, to excuse oneself....:

- I'm sorry for being rude to you.
- Excuse me for my bad conduct.
- I beg your pardon (e.g. after having pushed somebody involuntarily).

Instead of saying "I'm sorry" or "I beg your pardon", it is usually preferable in the spoken language to split the verbal forms and to say "sorry" or "pardon" for reasons of economy. Leech and Svartvik say that "Excuse me (in British English) is limited to mild apologies for routine impolite behavior; e.g. for interrupting, for sneezing, for pushing in front of somebody. One would say I beg your pardon for mishaps such as treading on somebody's toe."20

If one wants to be more appropriate in his making apologies, there is another possibility. That is to use more lengthy apologies which are simply the extension of the already mentioned forms:

- I'm extremely sorry for my intruding.
- I hope you will forgive me for my bad behavior.
- I hope you will excuse me if I don't come tomorrow.

In offering an apology, one makes excuses about his misconduct

toward other people, but he also regrets his acts. That is why I decided to include the forms of regret among the apology forms. The most used elements in regretting something are the verbs "to be sorry" and "to regret":

- I'm sorry I couldn't come earlier.
- I regret my being absent the other day.

From these examples and those provided before, it results that there is no great difference between an apology and a regret. An apology is a means to ask for forgiveness. In the English culture, the basic way to offer an apology is to make use of one of the terms considered above. These forms are seen as fixed apologies. But there are other forms which are less fixed, but they cannot be studied here because each individual has his own way to express an apology. However, the individual's particular ways to express an apology do not depart much from the general frame because he borrows from it.

In the Rwandan culture, the literature about apologies is almost the same as the one in the English context. There is then ~~about it because it has been already stated. What I want to emphasize is no need to say much that~~ there are many ways to make an apology, but it seems that one form is central. That form comprises the verb "kubabarira" (to forgive). This is not to say that "kubabarira" is the only form used because there are other forms, but the use of those other forms do not exclude the use of "kubabarira". That is, "kubabarira" may be used alone as it may be used with other forms. When someone wants to offer an apology, he may say:

- Mbabarira (forgive me).
- Mbabarira sinabishakaga (forgive me, I didn't mean it).
- Mbabarira ntabwo nali nabigendereye (forgive me, I hadn't thought about it really).

According to these examples, "kubabarira" is used in any sentence. It may therefore be assigned the nucleus role around which other forms evolve. But it is not always necessary to precede any form asking for forgiveness by "kubabarira". There are times when "kubabarira" is deleted:

- Nyamara si nali nabigendereye (anyway it was not my intention).
- Sinabishakaga rwose (I didn't mean it really).

However, even though "kubabarira" is omitted, it is anyway understated.

IV.3. FORMS OF REPLY

IV.3.1. POSITIVE FORMS OF REPLY

Just like in the requests' instances, the one who addresses an apology awaits his addressee to provide any kind of reply. In the English context, when the offended provides a positive reply, he uses any of the following forms: "Don't bother", "don't worry", "don't think about it"; "that's all right", "that's ok", etc. Note that "please" may be added to the first three forms. For example when an individual has wronged another person, he may offer him this kind of apology: "excuse me for my being impolite to you." The offended may answer with any one of the already mentioned forms of reply: "don't think about it, please." Here are other illustrations:

- A- I'm sorry. I didn't mean to hurt you anyway.
B- Don't bother, it's nothing.
A- But I see that you're really hurt.
B- No, no, no. That's all right.

In the Rwandan context, the common forms used for a positive reply are: "ntacye bitwaye" (it doesn't matter), "nta kibazo" (no problem), "humura" (don't worry), etc.:

- A- Rwose umbabarire sinabishakaga kuguhutaza
(forgive me, I didn't really mean to push you down).
B- Ntacye bitwaye (it doesn't matter).
A- Alike ibyo alibyo byose nagukoshereje (but I did wrong you).
B- Humura rwose nta kibazo (don't worry, there is no problem).

We notice then that it may happen that a single form of positive reply may be used alone as there may be co-occurrence of many forms. That is the case in B's second reply. When there is co-occurrence of more than one form, the effect is that the offended wants to assure the offender that his plea has been fully accepted. It is a way to insist on the positive response.

IV.3.2. NEGATIVE FORMS OF REPLY

When, in the ordinary course of events, a virtual offender provides a remedy, the recipient can hesitate in providing relief, or even mildly dispute the adequacy of what is offered, and by doing so induce a replay of the remedy. Similarly, by giving relief in an ironic tone, the giver can remind the offender that he should have provided a remedy or can inform him that the one he provided was not quite enough.²¹

When the offender provides a remedy or an apology, the offended may disagree with it. If he does so, it is predictable that he will provide a negative reply. The negative reply has two aspects: the sincere negative reply and the ironic reply. The ironic reply may delude the offender that the offended has given a positive answer because he failed to interpret it correctly. However, an ironic reply is normally a severe negative response. An example of one variety of such a reply is to accompany a positive form of a reply with a sarcastic laughter. The sarcastic laughter has the property of altering the meaning of the positive reply. Normally, it is not common that a negative reply as such be provided, but the offended prefers to give a positive response even when he would like to refute the apology. This is only a tendency since it happens that sometimes the offended gives a severe negative reply depending on the gravity of the offense. When an offense is a minor one, the addressee most of the time gives a positive answer, and when an offense is a protracted one, he may give either a positive response or a negative one, but the negative reply is the mostly to occur.

In the English and the Rwandan contexts, there are no stereotypes to express a negative reply because negative replies are limited in their occurrence. There are no general terms to express the non-acceptance of an apology, but individual particular ways to show negative attitudes toward the offender. Those forms are for example in the English culture: "No, I don't think so", "not at all", "but you did it on purpose", etc.:

(1) Apology: I'm sorry, but I didn't mean it.

Reply : But you did it on purpose.

(2) Apology: Excuse me, I had not thought that it would be so dangerous.

Reply : No, I don't think so. I think you'd planned it.

In Kinyarwanda, some of the negative forms of reply are: "urabeshya" (you're liar), "wabishakaga" (you meant it), "wali wabigendereye" (you did it on purpose), etc.:

(1) Apology: Umbabarire rwose byanguyeho (forgive me, I didn't predict it).

Reply : Kandi wabishakaga! (but you meant it).

or

(2) Apology: Biliya bintu nagukoreye ntabwo alijye ntararo.
(What I did to you wasn't due to my own will).

Reply : Nyamara wali wabigendereye (but you did it on purpose).

In providing negative replies, the individual uses his own creativity because there are not really ready-made negative replies. In both cultures, the proper way to behave is to provide a positive reply. But beware. The positive reply is not always as positive as it sounds because one may accept by uttering a positive form of response whereas he disagrees within himself. That is perhaps why there are no fixed forms of negative reply because even a positive reply may serve as a negative answer. In the case when there is necessity to refuse an apology, there is the use of either the ironic reply or the purely negative reply.

FOOTNOTES

1. Leech, G. & Svartvik J., A Communicative Grammar of English, London, Longman Group Ltd., 1975, pp. 123-124.
2. Leech & Svartvik, p. 25.
3. Goffman E., Relations in Public, New York, Harper & Row, 1972, p. 70.
4. Goffman, p. 95.
5. Goffman, pp. 95-96.
6. Goffman, p. 99.
7. Goffman, p. 97.
8. Goffman, p. 107.
9. Goffman, p. 109.
10. Goffman, p. 112.
11. Goffman, p. 114.
12. Goffman, pp. 118-119.
13. Leech & Svartvik, p. 153.
14. Goffman, p. 162.
15. Stubbs, M., Discourse Analysis: The Sociolinguistic Analysis of Natural Language, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1983, p. 71.
16. Goffman, p. 162.
17. Leech & Svartvik, pp. 147-148.
18. Leech & Svartvik, p. 154.
19. Goffman, p. 113.
20. Leech & Svartvik, p. 153.
21. Goffman, pp. 155-156.

CHAPTER THREE: POLITE VERBAL FORMS IN RELATION TO SEX, AGE,
AND STATUS.

I. INTRODUCTION

"When a speaker varies his speech to cope with different communication settings or speech patterns, he selects different 'speech styles'..., 'speech codes'... or 'speech registers'.... For example, the speaker may talk to a foreigner, to a person of the other sex, to a familiar person or to a stranger".¹ According to the enquiries I conducted myself, I noticed from many informants that sex, age, and social status are--among other social variables which may affect speech--the most salient features to which the speaker may adapt in order to communicate efficiently. One's own age, sex, and social standing influence not only one's verbal behavior but also that of one's addressee.

In most societies, age is an important category for social interaction and social organization. Among other things, age is associated with the role structure in the family and in social groups, with the assignment of authority and status, and with the attribution of different levels of competence. Since a large part of social interaction consists of verbal communication, it is highly likely that the social category age is also reflected in speech behaviour. Those speech cues which potentially differentiate between members of different age groups will be called 'age markers'. ...the speech behaviour of a person not only conveys information about his or her own age but also about the listener or the redeiver of the verbal message. Thus, old people are spoken to in a different way from young people. Hence, a distinction will be between 'sender age markers' and 'receiver age markers'.²

From this quotation, one may infer that the age of the speaker and the age of the listener are very important factors in social interaction because a young man does not address an old person in the same way as he would a person of his own age. There are different ways for a child and a young person to talk to an old person and vice-versa.

Apart from age, sex has also a great influence on speech. Sex-based differences in the production of speech have proved that men and women speak differently in the same situations. Those sex differentiations are mostly found in the lexical field and in the speech style. The lexical field refers to the differences in vocabulary.

choice, and speech style hints at the dichotomy proper/improper language used in social dealings. Researchers have been preoccupied with male/female differentiations, but the findings are still empirical and speculative. Here is an example: "turning to the content and style of same-and mixed--sex conversations, three early studies of sidewalk conversations in New York, Columbus, Ohio, and London, England, showed that men talk to each other about money, business, amusement, and other men, while female conversations were about men, clothes, and other women (Landis 1927; Landis & Burttt 1924; Moore 1922). In mixed-sex conversations in the united States, the women appeared more often to accomodate to masculine topics, while in England, the men adapted to the woman somewhat (Landis 1927)."³ There are other assumptions that in general terms "men are discourteous and women more euphemistic in expression, that male speech is demanding, boastful, loud and forceful while female speech is kind, correct, friendly, and gentle."⁴ But this is not to be regarded as the naked truth since other findings may prove the contrary. The only thing to bear in mind is that in their production of speech, males and females show many differences--especially on the lexical level which is our concern in this chapter. A good example is the one where women in Rwanda do not utter the name of their parents-in-law. Another example is that in rural areas of England, women do not initiate a greetin formula to a stranger.

It should also be observed that participants in a situation of utterance not only assume the roles of speaker and hearer... . They may also stand in a certain linguistically relevant relationship of STATUS vis-à-vis one another (parent: child, master: servant; teacher: pupil, etc.)...⁵

The statuses of participants determine how speech would be used among them because if we take the examples provided by Lyons, a parent does not address a child in the same way as the child addresses his parents. The same goes for the relationship master/servant, or teacher/pupil. In this case, the master and the teacher are in a dominating position, and the servant and the pupil are in a subordinate situation. The relations superior/inferior are determined by the respective statuses of people in social dealings. In such situations, the appropriateness of speech is conditioned by people in interaction. When I asked my informants which among the three social variables (sex, age, status) mostly confers politeness to the person one is addressing, they unanimously affirmed that status is definitely the far determiner and conferer of honor and respect. We

may therefore infer that in many circumstances, status would prevail over age and sex. But this is not to say that age and sex are to be discredited because there is complementarity between status, age, and sex. In fact, an individual with a high social status who is young and male does not necessarily receive the same respect as the one who is old and female. This is to say that even though social standing outranks age and sex, they may happen to influence it.

In this chapter, we will be concerned with how sex, age, and status affect the speaker's and the listener's speech in various ways of address. Generally speaking, there is co-occurrence of age, sex, and status when people are in interaction. That is the reason why it is almost impossible to determine which of the three factors is the great determinant of speech's function between people. No one of the three social variables stands alone, but all the three co-participate in the realization of a polite utterance. One can never state where status begins and where it ends. The same goes for age and sex. There is no clear-cut demarcation between age, sex, and status because all of them are interrelated and must be considered as such because there is no evident way to look at them separately. While considering the welcome formulas, the different forms of wishes, and the morpho-syntactic and the lexical categories of forms of address, it is possible to look at them as being affected by the three social variables--perhaps at different levels. If for example I call somebody by his name, this depends on the degree of acquaintanceship between us, but also it is conditioned by his age, sex, and social position.

II. WELCOME FORMULAS

An opening greeting may take the asymmetrical form of a welcome, just as a closing salutation can take the asymmetrical form of a "well go", involving a nice-to-have-had-you on one side and a for-everything on the other.⁶

In both English and Kinyarwanda, welcome formulas may be classified in two essential categories, that is, greetings and leave-takings. But within these main categories, we distinguish sub-groups. Thus, in the greeting category, there are forms of greeting which occur after a long period of separation of people who meet, there are other forms which are performed when people meet in the morning, in the afternoon, or in the evening. The time of encounter is very important in the

determination of which kind of greeting is being used. In the same line, the leave-taking formulae will be different if people leave one another for a long period or if the separation occurs in the morning, in the afternoon, or in the evening. But this is more true of Kinyarwanda than of English.

In addition, it is worth mentioning that some welcome formulas are old-fashioned and rarely used on very few occasions by old people. That is for example the case in Kinyarwanda of the greeting formulas "Mugira impagalike n'ubugingo?" (are you in good health?) and "Muracyitsa?" (are you still breathing?). Some other forms are created and function in parallel with the already existing forms. This is mostly found in Kinyarwanda, which has much influence from foreign cultures. This contact of cultures favors the creation of new expressions which are the result of the borrowing phenomena. Here are some examples of that phenomenon:

- Habali: what is the news?

This form is borrowed from Swahili language, and it has been fully integrated in Kinyarwanda as a greeting form.

- Yezu akuzwe: May Jesus be praised.

This form is the result of the implantation of the Christian church in the country. This form is even used by the non-Christians because it has been perfectly so integrated into the Rwandan greetings that it has become a stereotyped form that anyone utters without necessarily thinking about its meaning. People say "Yezu akuzwe" exactly as they say "Amakuru ki" (what is the news) by simple automation, without any reference to the original deep meaning. There is also in Kinyarwanda a new greeting form which has been invented in 1975 because of the political situation of that moment. That form is "Ramba" which literally means "long life". This form is addressed to any Rwandan-- be he the President of the Republic or a simple citizen. In the English context, it is worth mentioning the progressive disappearance of the leave-taking form "Farewell," which is today seen as an archaism used by conservators and old people. It is usually replaced by the form "goodbye" which is of common usage. Today, "Farewell" is mostly found in literature when a writer wants to achieve some literary effect. In ordinary life, however, old people and those who want to sound traditionalist still use it.

II.1. FORMS OF GENERAL GREETINGS

...When two individuals join each other to form a "with", they obviously expose themselves to increased access and typically, on doing so, greet each other. Similarly, when business or ceremony leads them to attend the same social occasion where they will be in "open contact", that is, destined to happen into contact many times during the hours to come, greetings again occur. Something similar can be said of an individual arriving on the factory floor; or after work, arriving home; or, in the morning, getting up and once again becoming available to other members of the family. In all of these situations, too, the individual will find himself in sudden increased contactability with a set of others, and again greetings are likely to occur. Finally, when an individual moves to a new neighbourhood or region, he will find that he has suddenly increased his accessibility to those already residing there; once again, greetings occur.⁷

Conversational encounters often begin with a greeting since a greeting is a social introduction. It occurs between two people who meet. But those people have to be acquaintances; if not, one of the two has some message to convey to the other. In this case, before talking to each other, they must exchange greetings. That is how, generally speaking, the English system of greetings functions. Kagaba⁸ defines greetings as "ready-made utterances" that occur at the beginning of social contact and which do not elicit any information on the part of the addressee. According to this definition, greetings serve the function of phatic communion. About phatic communion, Mortensen says:

Small talk, uninspired greetings, and idle chatter are among the descriptions of a fundamental type of communication that Bronislaw Malinowski called phatic communion. To show that we welcome communication, that we are friendly, or that we at least acknowledge the presence of another person, we exchange words. In English we do not have special words for this function of communication, though phatic communion tends to be rather unimaginative. We say, "How are you?" or "Hello", or "Nice day".... Whatever the words, the speaker is saying, in effect, "I see you and I am friendly". The channels of communication are opened.⁹

In the phatic communion instance, the important thing is to talk. The greeting's primary function is to allow social contact between individuals. As such, it may be regarded as a social introduction. When a greeting begins with a question such as "How do you feel?", that question necessitates a reply "I'm fine." But the question is not to be regarded as a real question: "It is in this light that

we are to understand the oft-remarked fact that when A asks B how he is feeling, the questioning is not to be taken literally; a question is not being asked, a greeting is being extended. The answer provided is not an answer but an independent greeting, one available to second speakers."¹⁰ Goffman provides an example:

A- "How are you?"
B- "Fine, thanks."
B- "And how are you?"
A- "Fine, thanks."

This greeting sequence is reciprocal since A asks B his news and B in turn asks A his news. And both provide answers to the "question". However, there are cases where reciprocity is not involved:

A- "How are you?"
B- "Fine."

In other cases, there occurs the omission of answers:

A- "How are you?"
B- "How are you?"

In the case where there is omission of answers or where there is lack of reciprocity, the greeting takes the form of a passing greeting.

"When two acquaintances pass close by each other on their separate daily rounds in consequence of what is seen as the routine intersecting of their activities, they are likely to exchange "passing greetings", often without otherwise pausing. (In rural areas, something like these social recognition rituals may be performed between passing strangers.)"¹¹ Apart from the passing greeting, there is another kind of greeting called the greeting of surprise which occurs between acquainted persons who meet unexpectedly. Goffman gives an example of that kind of greeting: "What in the world are you doing here?". Goffman claims that both the passing greeting and the greeting of surprise may be classified together because they primarily have a maintenance character. It results then that greetings occur in three situations: passing greetings, greetings of surprise, and greetings between acquaintances or people who want to have social dealings.

The English greeting has four types:

- (1) Propositional greetings: "Glad to see you", "Happy to meet you", etc
- (2) Non-propositional greetings: "Hello", "Hi", etc.
- (3) Wishing greetings: "Good morning", "Good afternoon", "Good night".
- (4) Interrogative greetings: "How do you do?", "How are you?", etc.

The Rwandan greeting on the contrary has only two forms: Interrogative and wishing greetings. The greetings in the interrogative form are addressed to one's interlocutor to get information about his health. In fact, health is the common theme in the interrogative greetings:

- (M)uracyasunikaho? which literally means "do you still push your way through life?" that is, "Are you in good health?"
- (M)uracyatera akuka? "Do you still breathe?", "Are you still alive?"
- (M)urakoma? - This form is a familiar one. A superior may address it to an inferior, but the reverse would be seen as a lack of politeness. It literally means "do you speak?". Thus, it means "are you still alive?"
- Ni amahoro? - "Is it peace?", "Do you live in peace?"
- (M)uraho? This form literally means "are you there", that is, "are you alive?". "Uraho" is a pass-key form because it is used by anyone to anybody. One may address it to a friend, an acquaintance, a stranger... . It is directed to anyone of any sex, age, or social position.
- Amakuru?: what is the news?

For the wishing greetings, the recurrent themes are the cow and the child because in traditional Rwanda, to have a lot of cows and many children was considered as a sign of wealth and power:

- Amashyo: May you have cattle. The reply to this wishing form is "Amash ongore"(the cattle composed of females) because female cows are those which are in the position of producing other cows.
- Gira inka: May you have cows.
- Gira abana: May you have children.
- Gira inka n'abana: May you have cows and children.

Other themes are centered around the male parent, the wife and the husband. The greater wishes the greeted person to have a father, a

wife or a husband. When he wishes the greeted person to have a wife or a husband, this depends on the sex of the greeted person. But it may happen that the greeted person is already married; in this case, the verb "kugira" (to have) means "to keep as long as possible".

- Gira so: May you have your father or may you keep your father as long as possible. Note that one cannot say "Gira nyoko" (May you have your mother) because in traditional Rwanda, the father is a protector, a superior, whereas the mother is a protected and dominated person. It is therefore inadequate to wish somebody to "have" a subordinate and submissive individual.

-Gira umugabo: May you have a husband. This greeting formula is addressed to a female, married or unmarried. When it is an unmarried woman, the verb "kugira" means "to have". In the case of a married female, it means "to keep as long as possible".

- Gira umugore: May you have a wife. The form is addressed to a married or an unmarried male.

All the forms of the wishing greetings provided above are not today commonly used in everyday communication. They tend to be the reserved property of old people or of anyone who wants to be a conservator. However, "Amashyo" is a common greeting which is even used by young people. There is another form of recent innovation which is the result of the coming in of the Christian church. That form is "Yezu akuzwe" (may Jesus be praised). "Yezu akuzwe" and "amashyo" are the common formulas in the wishing greetings. It is very important to put to the reader's notice that the wishing greetings cannot be uttered without the performance of an embrace or a hand shake. Before addressing any wishing formula, the individual must embrace or shake hands with his interlocutor depending on the nature of the greeting.

As stated above, a greeting necessitates a reply. If not, the person to whom the greeting expression has been addressed is impolite, uncivil and uneducated. In the Rwandan culture, replies to a general greeting formula are very limited and reduced in number. For the general greetings subdivision, the answer to any greeting--be it a wishing greeting or an interrogative greeting-- is "yego" (yes):

- Greeting: Muraho? (are you still alive?)
- Reply : Yego (yes).
- Greeting: Gira umugabo (may you have a husband).
- Reply : Yego (yes) or ndamukugize (I make you my husband).

However, there are some but few form of greeting which require forms of reply other than "yego":

- Greeting: Amakuru ki? (what's the news?)
- Reply : Ni meza. (they are good).
- Greeting: Murakoma? (are you still breathing?).
- Reply : Murakoma namwe? (Are you still breathing, you too?).

In the greeting form "Murakoma", the addressee answers by returning the greeting to the addressor. But he may also answer by "yego". It is a common practice to provide positive replies to any kind of greeting, but it may happen that negative replies occur especially when the respondent does not really feel well. The commonly used negative forms of reply are: "ntabwo ntabwo" (there is nothing or nothing goes), "Ni ukubyumva" (it is to hear it) and by extension (it goes badly), "ni agatwe" (it is the little head). The expression means that things are bad even though apparently the individual is in good health. "Buhoro buhoro" (very, very little):

- Greeting: Ni amahoro? (Is it peace?)
- Reply : Ni ukubyumva. (It goes badly).
- Greeting: Amakuru ki? (What is the news?)
- Reply : Ni agatwe. (It is the little head).
- Greeting: Muracyahumeka? (Are you still breathing?)
- Reply : Ntabwo ntabwo. (Nothing really goes).
- Greeting: Muraho? (Are you alive?)
- Reply : Buhoro buhoro. (Very, very little).

As a conclusion, forms of general greetings in both the English and the Rwandan cultures have the same function of initiating face-to-face interactions. They are considered as social introductions between people who want to have social dealings. However, there are some kinds of greetings which end as soon as they have been performed. That is the case for passing greetings which do not necessarily stand for opening contact between people because individuals who exchange passing greetings go on their ways without any further communication. In addition, the English greeting has four categories whereas the Rwandan greeting has

only two categories. However, I noticed that the Rwandan greeting is much more rich in forms than the English greeting, whose forms tend to be limited in number. Rwandan greetings favor much creativity, that is why they present various expressions. In this subpart about forms of general greetings, the essential is to know how greetings function in both cultures.

II.2. FORMS OF GREETINGS REFERRING TO THE TIME OF ENCOUNTER

II.2.1. FORMS OF GREETINGS USED IN THE MORNING.

For the English and the Rwandan contexts, those forms are very reduced. The English language presents only one form of greeting used in the morning. That form is "good morning". "Good morning" is classified among the wishing greetings because it intends to wish a good morning to one's addressee. In Kinyarwanda, the most used forms are "(M)waramutseho?" (did you survive the night or are you still alive this morning?). The form derives from the verb "kuramuka" (to be still alive in the morning). There is also a longer form based on "kuramuka", That form is "(M)waramukanye amahoro?" (are you still alive this morning, in peace?). There are other forms which are constructed on the verb "gucya" and "gutandukana". These verbs refer to the beginning of the day:

- Bwakeye? = has the sun risen?
- (M)wabonye bucya? = did you see the day-light?
- (M)wabonye butandukana? = did you see the day-break?

Other forms include God, who is for Rwandans the protector and the provider of all chances:

- (M)wabonye Imana yugurura? = did you see God opening the entrance of the gate?
- (M)wabonye Imana ikingura? = did you see God opening the door?

It comes out from the Rwandan forms of greetings used in the morning that people look at the night with suspicion and fear because the night is full of traps and there is a possibility to be defeated by it. That is why it is a great good luck to be still alive in the morning. The Rwandan greetings provided above tend to be restricted to people of a certain age, that is, they are not commonly used, but by old people. Today, the expression "(M)waramutseho" is the only form used by anyone.

Concerning the answer to these forms, the mechanism is the same as that for the general forms of greeting. One answers by "yego"(yes) or by returning the question to the interlocutor. To the English form "good morning", the response is the repetition of the form of greeting:

A- Good morning, John.

B- Good morning, Tom.

The difference between the English form of greeting used in the morning and that of Kinyarwanda is that the English form is part of the wishing category whereas the Kinyarwanda form is among the interrogative category. In addition, there is only one form in the English culture, but the Rwandan context presents a wide range variety of forms. One may then conclude that Rwandans are perhaps much more concerned with greetings than English people.

II.2.2. FORMS OF GREETINGS USED IN THE AFTERNOON AND IN THE EVENING.

In the English culture, there is only one form of greeting for the afternoon. That form is "good afternoon". There is also one form for the evening which is "good evening". The reply to those forms of greeting is simply the repetition of the forms:

A- Good afternoon, Jim.

B- Good afternoon, Bill.

or

A- Good evening, Jack.

B- Good evening, Bob.

For the Rwandan culture, however, there is no distinction between greetings used in the afternoon and those used during the evening and the night. The forms of greeting reserved for the afternoon, the evening and the night have as a basis the verb "kwirirwa" (to spend the day) and its derivative "kwirirwaho"(to spend the day still alive). The following formulas are possible:

- (M)wiriwe? : did you spend the day?
- (M)wiriweho?: did you spend the day still alive?
- (M)wiriwe (m)ute?: how did you spend the day?
- (M)wiriwe neza?: did you spend the day well?

"(M)wiriwe" and "(m)wiriweho", which almost mean the same thing, are

the two forms mostly used in Kinyarwanda. For replies, the addressee simply says "yego" (yes) or he returns the form of greeting to the interlocutor. To the form of greeting "wiriwe ute?", the already stated mechanism of reply does not apply. One may answer as follows: "niriwe neza" (I spent the day well), or "neza" (well). To the form of greeting "(m)wiriwe neza?", the reply "yego" is possible, but the mechanism of returning the question is not possible. However, one may answer by saying "niriwe neza" (I spent the day well).

In sum, concerning the greetings' mechanisms, it is worth mentioning that both the English and the Rwandan cultures share the same opinion about them. But in practice, the Rwandan greeting is much more obligatory than the English greeting. When I asked my informants what is the importance and usefulness of greetings in the English context, some said that a greeting is an introductory expression used to recognize someone's presence and to initiate conversation. Some others said that a greeting is useful for maintaining relationships. But some others definitely affirmed that greetings are not very important and not always necessary. They stated that they are selectively used--for people one knows or one would like to have a verbal interaction with. For the Rwandan part, a hundred per cent of my informants strongly stated that greetings must be addressed to anyone--be he an acquaintance or a stranger-- because the one who does not greet other people is referred to as "umunyagasuzuguro n'umwirasi" (the one who looks at people with contempt). From this remark, we may infer that the English greeting is optional and selective whereas the Rwandan greeting is obligatory. Forms of greeting vary according to the time of encounter. However, there are forms which do not conform to this rule since they are used independently of the time of the day. Those forms are for the English part "How are you?", "How do you do?...", and for the Rwandan part "(m)uraho?" (are you alive) and "(m)uriho?" (are you alive?). I suggest that the reader look at Kagaba's memoir for further complete information about greetings because he is the one who treated the subject in depth. I would like to borrow his table summarizing the English and the Rwandan greetings in consideration of time of encounter. The table takes into account only formal forms of greetings:

Last encounter	Time of encounter	Formal greetings expressions	
		Kinyarwanda	English
No precision	morning (before 10 a.m.)	(perhaps) waramutse	good morning
Few days	morning (before 10 a.m.)	waramutse (perhaps)	good morning
The day before	morning (before 10 a.m.)	waramusse	good morning
Few hours in the morning	morning (before 10 a.m.)	wiriwe (probably)	good morning
No precision	morning (after 10 a.m.)	wiliwe (perhaps)	good morning (until about noon)
Few days	morning (after 10 a.m.)	wiliwe (perhaps)	good morning (until about noon)
The day before	morning (after 10 a.m.)	wiliwe	good morning (until about noon)
The day before	afternoon	wiliwe	good afternoon
The day before	evening	wiliwe	good evening
A relatively long time	any time	uraho (probably)	(perhaps) Intonation (')

II.3. FORMS OF LEAVE-TAKINGS

If the leave-takers are merely going back into the same felt probability of contact from which they came, and if this probability is high, then a phrase such as "see you" or "so long" may well be employed, on the phone, currently, it is "B'bye". But if the departure is to a place which for a time will render contact costly then something more serious is likely to be said, namely, "good bye". And similarly, when one "moves on" from a conversational circle during a party or business occasion, there being an expectation that co-participation in conversation will soon recur, an "excuse me" or a hand gesture may be all that is given.¹²

In both the English and the Rwandan cultures, forms of separation depend on three variables: there are forms of leave-taking in accordance with the separation for a long time, those in accordance with the separation for a short time--probably some hours. In this case, participants who leave each other hope to meet again sometime later. Finally, there are forms reserved to the evening and/or the night.

For leave-takings addressed to the one who goes away for a long time, the recurrent term in English is "good bye". This formula is considered as a formal one which may be addressed to a superior. There is another colloquial form which is addressed to acquaintances and inferiors. That form is "bye bye". The form "Farewell" is rarely used, and it connotes a potentially permanent leave-taking. Another form is "I hope I will see some more of you". The person to whom a leave-taking formula is directed may respond by repeating the form or by nodding depending on the nature of the formula. In the case of "good bye" and "bye bye", the addressee repeats the forms, but for "farewell" and "I hope I will see some more of you", he may just nod his head.

In Kinyarwanda, the common term is "urabeho" which literally means "may you be alive". The answer is "yego" (yes) or the addressee may return the wish to the addressor. At this level, we notice that the meaning of the Rwandan leave-taking is different from the English expressions basically because the Rwandan form of separation is an explicit wish whereas English forms of leave-taking are somehow implicit wishes. Rwandan other forms of separation are:

- (M)ugende amahoro: may you go in peace. This form may be the equivalent of the English expression "have a good journey". The answer is "(m) usigare amahoro" (stay in peace).
- Imana ikulinde: may God protect you. This expression is rare, and it is addressed to the one who undergoes a dangerous and perillous trip. To this expression the answer is "yego" and vary rarely "Imanqibalinde namwe" (may God protect you, too).
- Imana iguherekeze: may God be your companion. This expression means exactly the same thing as the previous one, and they occur in the same situations. One may be used in lieu of the other. To this form of leave-taking, only one form of reply is possible. That is "yego"(yes).

When two people in interaction hope to see one another again sometime later, the English common forms of separation are "see you", "see you again", or "so long". Those forms may also be addressed to somebody one would meet again within a relatively long period, say a week or two. When for example a student goes to see his teacher about a certain academic work, before leaving, the teacher may tell him "see you next week", and the student may answer by "ok" or by "see you then." In this context, "see you" is qualified by "next week" and it stands for a form of leave-taking which has the status of indicating with some precision when the next encounter between the teacher and the student will take place. In kinyarwanda, the corresponding formula is "wirirwe" or "wirirweho" which mean "may you stay alive till night fall":

- A- Wirirwe Kali. : may you stay alive till night fall you Kalisa
- B- Wirirwe Gashu.: may you stay alive till night fall you Gashu

When A says "wirirwe", B has four choices for his answer. He may say "wirirwe" as in the example above, he may say "yego", he may say "wirirwe neza" (stay well in health till nightfall), or he may say "wiriranywe amahoro"(stay in peace till nightfall). Apart from "wirirwe", three other forms of leave-taking are possible:

- Wirirwe neza: stay well in health till nightfall.
- Wiriranywe amahoro: stay in peace till nightfall.
- Wiriranywe amahoro n'amahirwe: stay in peace and good luck till night fall.

To sum up, the common used forms of leave-taking in the English context are "see you", "see you again" and "so long". The Rwandan culture presents mainly one form "(m)wirirwe" from which other forms derivate.

The basic English form when leave-takings occur in the evening is "good evening", and when they occur during the night, people say "good night". During the night, one may also say "sleep well" and the answer may be "thank you" or "the same to you". In Kinyarwanda, the most commonly used forms for both the evening and the night is "(m)uramuke" or "(m)uramukeho" (may you be alive till morning). There are other far-fetched forms which are highly formal and not very common today in everyday language:

- Urote Imana: - may you dream of God.
- may God be present in your dreams.

This expression may be compared to the English saying "have good dreams."

- Urare aharyana: may you sleep in an uncomfortable bed which causes you many troubles.

It would seem paradoxical to address such a wish to a person one likes. This kind of wish is to be understood in the sense that one who wants to protect his family and his possessions must not have a deep sleep because if he oversleeps, he would not be able to defend them. The enemy is the only person who would oversleep. The answer to that form of separation is "ahataryana harare umwanzi" which means that the enemy is the only one abilitated to sleep in a very comfortable bed. In this sense, the comfortable bed would cause him to have a sound sleep, and he would be victim of misfortunes because sleep would not allow him to defend and to protect himself.

III. WISHES

It is important to put to the reader's notice that the term "wishes" is a vague one because in the preceding part about welcome formulas, we saw that some forms of greetings and leave-takings functioned as wishes. Why then separate welcome formulas from other forms of wishes? The reason is that greetings and leave-takings' primary function is not to wish something to somebody, but they are first seen as respectively social introductions and social conclusions. However, other forms of wishes which we will consider in this part do not necessarily occur at the beginning or at the end of an encounter,

but during social interactions. The difference between welcome formulas and wishes lies primarily in the time of occurrence. But this is not to say that welcome formulas are not wishes; they are wishes on the second level.

In this part, we will be concerned with wishes which occur on very special occasions. Till now, we were used to examine how language works in everyday conversation, but now, I want to depart a little from the tendency in order to examine how it would function in "trivial" circumstances because even there, there is possibility to find polite forms of language. What I call "special occasions" are those occasions such as when someone stumbles or sneezes. Other occasions are for example while people are eating or when they leave a patient. In that context, the English and the Rwandan cultures have rituals which must be performed in such situations. In addition, the focus will be on forms of thanking and imploring someone because I assume that to thank and to implore somebody-- especially in the Rwandan context--is somehow to wish him a good fortune.

III.1. WHEN STUMBLING

In this domain, formulas are different in English and Kinyarwanda. My informants told me that in the English context, when somebody stumbles, it is advised to pretend not to look at him because there is no ready-made utterance for such an incident. They also told me that it would be impolite to laugh at him except when he is an acquaintance. But there is a form which may be used. Note that that form is rather rare, and people often prefer not to use it. That form is "be careful". In Kinyarwanda, however, when someone stumbles-- be he a stranger, an acquaintance, a superior or an inferior, in short a person of any age, sex, or status--there is a moral social obligation which abides people to address him a kind of verbal encouragement. The usually used expression is "komera, komera" which literally means "be strong, be strong". There is another formula which tends to disappear: "toragura impigi zawe" (pick up your charms). This expression is addressed to a child who stumbles and falls down. It refers to the traditional custom which obliged people to wear charms. Those charms were very intimate and were a means to protect oneself from misfortunes. When one happened to fall down, he ran the risk of losing some of them. The

formula "tora impigi zawe" had the effect of forbidding the child from crying because all his attention was directed toward the lost objects. Even though "tora impigi zawe" is disappearing from the usual use, it remains present in the countryside and is still used by old people while addressing little children.

III.2. WHEN SNEEZING

In the English context, when someone sneezes, he apologizes as if he has done something wrong. In this respect, he says "excuse me". But also people who are with him may address him a wishing formula "God bless you" or "ge-sund-heit". "Ge-sund-heit" is a formula which is borrowed from German. Note that "God bless you" or "ge-sund-heit" are not obligatory forms. People may address them to the one who sneezes or they may not. There is no rule which weighs on individuals to utter these wishing forms; this depends on individuals' will and availability. In Kinyarwanda, however, the action of "kwitsamura" (to sneeze) is accompanied with many beliefs. My informants told me that when someone sneezes with the right nostril, it is a sign of good omen. But when one sneezes with the left nostril, he runs the risk of having misfortunes that day. Since people are not exactly sure of which nostril has performed the sneezing action, they hurry to formulate a wish toward the one who sneezes. They say "urakire (may you be rich)". The answer to the wish is "twese" (all of us). In this way, the one who receives the wishing formula wishes the same chances to his interlocutors. Another formula, but a very familiar one addressed to children, is "gusyu". It is impossible to translate this form, and I could not get any information about its origin and meaning. All I know is that it is addressed to children when they happen to sneeze. But this form stands also for calling a dog. Perhaps that "gusyu" is addressed to a child with the aim to tease him as if he were a little dog. There is no reply to this form of wish because the child cannot answer by "twese" (all of us) to an adult who addresses him in this form. I remember that when I was still young, I happened to answer "gusyu" by "twese", and I was beaten and commented upon as insolent and impolite toward adults. Generally speaking, in the English culture, the one who sneezes excuses himself whereas in the Rwandan custom, the one who sneezes is addressed some wishing formulas which intend to remove any misfortune which would befall him.

III.3. WHILE LEAVING A PATIENT

When someone is sick, friends and acquaintances go and visit him in order to see how he feels. When they are ready to leave, they not only address him forms of leave-takings, but they accompany them with forms which intend to wish him a quick recovery. In both English and Kinyarwanda, such practices do exist. In the English context, I could find two basic forms which fulfill that activity. Those forms are "get well soon" and "I hope you get better soon". I do not intend to say that these are the only possible forms since each individual may find a suitable form for himself, but it seems that these are the most used. However, each individual may depart from the ready-made forms and create his own. One may say for example "I wish you a quick recovery", and he expresses exactly the same idea as the one who says "get well soon". In Kinyarwanda, one basic form is uttered: "urware ubukira" (I wish you a quick recovery). But other forms are also possible. One may for example say "gira vuba ukire" (be quick in your recovery) or "ihangane uzakira" (be patient, you will be well soon). What is important to know is that these forms of wishing are obligatory and must be performed when the situation obliges the individual to.

III.4. WHILE EATING

There are rituals which are performed especially before and after the meal. Those rituals are mostly found in the English milieu on special occasions when there is for example a guest invited to share dinner with his hosts. In this case, when they are ready to eat, one of the hosts, especially the one in charge of the home, wishes to the guest and to the whole family a good appetite. The form "good appetite" serves for the purpose. "Good appetite" is essentially intended for the guest because on ordinary occasions, it is not always necessary between members of the same family to perform such a ritual. At the end of the meal, the roles are reversed. It is not the host who performs a ritual, but the guest. The guest says "that was a wonderful meal" or "that was a nice meal". In traditional Rwanda, however, there is no formula to express "good appetite". The reason is that the Rwandan mentality considered that it was indecent to talk about food in society. It was even unthinkable to invite someone to have dinner. People on the contrary invited other people to share beer with them but never to share dinner. For Rwandans then,

to eat was considered as a vital necessity, but not as a social necessity. Such a conception about food developed the idea that it was indecent and degrading to talk about meals openly. That is the reason why they invented euphemisms. Instead of saying "kurya" (to eat), there were more subtle verbs which expressed that activity:

- Gukaraba: in its ordinary meaning, it means "to wash one's hands. This expression developed from the fact that before eating, Rwandans first washed their hands. Such a practice resulted from the fact that they used to eat with their hands since there were no forks, no knives, and no spoons.
- Gufungura: its first meaning is "to dilute". But in the gastronomic context, it means "to eat". I could not get any information on how "gufungura" acquired the meaning of "kurya" (to eat).
- Kwikora ku munnwa: to touch on one's mouth. As I said before, Rwandans had neither spoons nor forks; that is why while eating, they touched their mouths with their hands.

"Kwikora ku munnwa" (to touch one's mouth with one's hand) developed from its primary meaning and extended it to mean "kurya". Today, Rwandans' attitudes toward food has somehow changed because of the contact of cultures, and it is now allowed to speak freely about food without making recourse to euphemisms which are now the property of old people. It is now common to say "Ngiye kurya" (I am going to eat) instead of "ngiye gufungura" (I am going to dilute). Also, the western civilization has so much influenced the Rwandan culture that it is today normal to invite someone to share a meal with you. In this case, the form "(m)uryoherwe" (have a good appetite) is possible whereas it could not be uttered in traditional Rwanda because such an occasion would not occur. In the same line, the guest, at the end of the meal, makes some comments: "byali biryoshye" (the meal was delicious), or he simply thanks the host: "(m)urakoze" (thank you). In ancient Rwanda, to say "thank you" after a meal was not permitted. The one who did so was said to be "bashimira mw'iriro" (the one who says thanks while still eating). It was advised to keep one's feeling of gratitude within oneself, and to wait for another occasion to pay the received service by a service much more important.

III.5. FORMS OF THANKING AND IMPLORING SOMEBODY

III.5.1. FORMS OF THANKING SOMEONE

We already mentioned that in the English culture, it is common and advised to thank someone for his service. In such circumstances, the verb "to thank" is the pivot and any form of thanking derives from it. The following forms are possible:

- Thanks
- Thanks a lot
- Thank you very much
- Thank you so much.

In traditional Rwanda, however, it would sound indecent to address a form of thanking randomly and for any received service. It is normally advised to keep the sign of gratitude in one's mind because a direct sign of gratitude would be interpreted as lacking the full meaning and importance of a form of thanking. The one who receives a service waits for any future occasion to show to his benefactor that he has been satisfied with his services by perhaps performing a much more important service. Nonetheless, circumstances may oblige the individual to thank his benefactor, but in this case, he will do it in a reserved way; if not, he may shock his interlocutor. For example when somebody receives a service or a gift, the following formulas are used:

- (m)urakoze: you work (you do me good).
- (m)urakoze cyane: you work very much.
- (m)wibare: count yourself (count yourself among people who do me good).
- Ni uko: that is it (thank you).
- Ni uko (m)urakoze: that is it, you work.

All these formulas correspond to the English formulas "thank you", "thanks", "thanks a lot", etc. Generally speaking, the reply to those forms is a kind of minimization of the given service:

- A- (m)urakoze: you do me good.
- B- Ntacyo nkoze: I did nothing important.

On the reply part, there does exist a parallelism between the English system and the Rwandan system: "thank you" ↔ "don't mention it".
"(m)urakoze" ↔ "ntacyo nkoze".

Nevertheless, to the form of thanking "(m)wibare" (count yourself), the reply is always "(m)wibare gushima" (thank you too for thanking me). The Rwandan forms of thanking we considered above are to be regarded as direct ways of showing to one's benefactor that one has been happy with what he accomplished for him. They are called direct means because they go straight to the thanking instance. Those direct forms are performed in the case when the service is not really of paramount importance, but when it is worth being recognized.

In the Rwandan context, there are also indirect means of expressing one's gratitude. Those forms occur when the service is judged to be of great importance. Apparently, those forms can be misleading because people may not recognize that they are perfect forms of thanking someone. This is mainly due to their form and to their surface meaning. But on the deep level, the meaning is exactly the same as that of direct expressions. Indirect formulas are called roundabout expressions:

- Imana yonyine izaguhembe: may God himself reward you.

In this case, the addressor feels unable to fully express his gratitude, and he entrusts God to whom nothing is impossible.

- Urakabyara: may you have children.

- Uragaheka: may you bring(children) in the back.

- Uragatunga inka n'abana: may you have cows and children.

- Ungana Imana y'i Rwanda: You equal the God of Rwanda.

- Ungana mama: you equal my mother (you are as useful to me as my mother is).

- Ungana data wambyaye: you equal my father who begot me.

- Urambyaye: you beget me (you do to me what my parents would do).

- Umwanzi ukwanga aragapfa atabyaye: may your enemy die without leaving behind any offspring.

- Umwanzi ukwanga arakabura ikibondo: may the one who hates you lack children.

For the two last forms, it is worth noticing that it is permissible to address any insult to the potential enemy of the one to whom the thanking expression is performed. Note that the indirect way of expressing gratitude is often seen as a means of exaggerating one's feelings of gratitude. The exaggerated forms have the property of bothering the one to whom they are addressed. They tend to disappear from normal use, and they remain today the property of old people especially

old women who are never satisfied with the direct means of thanking. In addition, the one who wants to receive more may make recourse to the indirect forms. In English, the indirect forms may perhaps correspond to "I thank you indefinitely" or "I really thank you".

In Kinyarwanda, there is another form of gratitude, but it is only addressed to children. For example when a child has been quick to fetch water, his parents may say as a sign of gratitude: "Singushimiye amazi uzanye nggashimiye inka uzagabana" (I don't thank you for the water you have just brought, but for the cow you will get). This formula makes reference to the feudal regime now abolished. In ancient times, in order to get a cow, one had to work for a lord. The parents who addressed the formula to their child encouraged him to be always punctual and quick even at the lord's home where he will get the cow from. Today, however, the form is progressively disappearing because the context is no longer the same. But it may happen that one hears it from old people when thanking a child.

In sum, there is only one kind of forms of thanking someone in the English context, that is the direct forms. In Kinyarwanda, however, we are presented with two forms: the direct and the indirect forms. The direct way of thanking somebody may in the English culture correspond to that in the Rwandan context. But the Kinyarwanda indirect way is an extension of the direct one; it is more subtle and less used today by the young generation. The direct forms remain the most used by anyone.

III.5.2. FORMS OF IMPLORING SOMEBODY

In the English context, forms of imploring somebody are somehow similar to forms of reports because when an individual requires something, he may happen to make recourse to implorations because to implore someone may be a subtle and an efficient way to get what one needs from one's interlocutor. In the instance of imploring somebody, the most used forms are the interrogative forms because it seems that they are much more appropriate in convincing someone to give or to perform what he is asked to. That is not to say that declarative forms of requests may not serve that issue, but they are considered as direct forms, and therefore not always efficient. But this depends on the individual's choice. For example when one is imploring an inferior, he may use a direct form of imploration:

- I want you to lend me that pen.

But if he is addressing a superior, the indirect form is more efficient:

- Would you mind me using your pen, please?

In the same context, an old person would often be addressed with the indirect form, that is the interrogative request. The declarative form would be reserved to young people provided that they are not superior in status. In the same line, it would be adequate to use an interrogative form while addressing the opposite sex. We have noticed that in the English culture, forms of imploration function in the same way as those in the requests' instance. There is therefore no need to be exhaustive here because we did examine those forms before.

In the Rwandan culture, there are two ways of imploring somebody. There is the direct way and the indirect one. The direct way works in the same way as that of forms of requests in Kinyarwanda. When someone says for example "nashakaga ko unguriza amafranga"(I want you to lend me some money), this form is a request, but it may be also a kind of imploration because to require something is somehow to implore the addressee to do things for the addressee. In this part, my focus will be on the indirect means of imploring somebody because it is in this area that new forms we are not already familiar with are possible. It is worth noticing that Rwandan indirect forms of imploration are somehow similar to those of thanking someone on the content level. It is the form which presents some dissimilarities. Here are the possible indirect forms of imploration:

- wo kabyara we: you to whom I wish to have children.
- wo gaheka we : you to whom I wish to bring children in your back.
- wo gatunga we: you to whom I wish to have cows.
- wo gatunga inka n'abana we: you to whom I wish to have cows and children.
- wo kagira so we: you to whom I wish to have your father.
- wo kagira ababyeyi we; you to whom I wish to have your parents
- wo kagira Imana we: you to whom I wish to have God.
- girira so wakubyaye: do what I ask you for you father who beget you.
- girira nyoko waguhetse: do what I ask you for your mother who brought you on her back.
- girira Imana rurema: do what I ask you for God the creator.

Once again, the list is far from being complete because we are in a domain where creativity is very developed ~~since~~ in this area, the individual imploring something is concerned with accumulating all the possible praises in order to instigate the feelings of pity. But in ~~many~~ cases, one does not give because he has pity for the "importunate begger", but for getting rid of an individual ~~whose~~ whose eulogistic utterances are often annoying. As we said about the indirect ways of thanking somebody, the indirect means of imploring someone seem to be often used by very old people, especially the female sex because old women have the speciality of using flattering words whenever they are in need. However, anybody who is in great need may use these forms, but in general, the indirect means of imploring someone are considered as cunning ways of seducing somebody in order to give what one needs.

The indirect ways of imploring somebody comprise four main themes: children, the cow, the parents, and God. In traditional Rwanda, to have children and many cows was the first need for any family because they were considered as signs of wealth and power. Children defended their parents against any attack, and cows--just as money today-- were a sign of wealth. Today, however, the attitudes toward children and cows has changed, and money is the only thing which counts. That is the reason why one may hear from young people a wishing formula "urakagira amafaranga" (may you have money) or an imploring form "wo kagira amafaranga we" (you to whom I wish to have money). Terms referring to parents are also recurrent in the imploring instances. The attitude toward parents was--and is still--very strong because parents are considered as the initiators of any life and the protectors of their children. Any child who has lost his parents is a poor creature bound to the life of a wanderer without anyone to take care of him. God is very important in the Rwandan mentality because he is the provider of all things Rwandans owe. In addition, he is the giver of all good fortunes.

As a conclusion, if we consider the forms of thanking and imploring somebody, we notice that the English context presents one variable that is the direct forms, and Kinyarwanda two variables: the direct and the indirect forms. At this level, one may wonder why I classified the thanking and the imploring instances in the category of wishes ~~since~~ since there is apparently no wishing phase in "thank you" or

"would you mind if I use your book". But if we closely examine the meaning of "thank you", we may notice that it comprises an implicit wishing formula "may you be thanked for what you did to me". As such, the thanking forms in English may be regarded as part of the wishing category. What most inspired me to classify thanking and imploring forms in the category of wishes is that in the Rwandan context, forms of thanking and imploring somebody-- especially indirect forms-- are obviously wishing forms. It is therefore clear that Rwandan forms of thanking and imploring someone are explicit wishes and those of English are implicit.

IV. FORMS OF ADDRESS

L'expression termes d'adresse désigne une classe de termes qui permettent de nommer, désigner ou interpeller le ou les interlocuteurs au cours de l'échange verbal. Avoir une interaction verbale, c'est parler avec quelqu'un, c'est s'adresser à quelqu'un. Dans toutes les langues, il existe donc un certain nombre de procédés qui permettent de signaler à qui l'on parle. Ces procédés renseignent en outre sur la nature des relations établies entre les participants: relations familières ou distantes, relations de parenté, relations hiérarchisées, etc.¹³

From this quotation, Bertraux and Laroche-Bouvy roughly want to mean that the concept "forms of address" underlies terms which allow to name, to designate, or to interpellate an interlocutor (interlocutors during a verbal exchange. To have a verbal interaction is to speak with somebody; it is to talk to someone. In all languages, there do exist a certain number of processes which permit to signal the one to whom one is talking to. In addition, those processes give information about the nature of relations between participants: familiar or distant relations, kinship relations, hierarchical relations, etc.

Forms of address are limited in number, and their choice is predictable. That is, in English and Kinyarwanda, there are two main categories of forms of address: the morphosyntactic category and the lexical category. The morphosyntactic category is composed of pronouns of address varying according to languages. There is only one pronoun of address in English (you) and two in Kinyarwanda (u- and mu-). The lexical category comprises isolated items (sir, madam, Jim, doctor.

and nominal syntagms (dear Friend, Mr. Senator...). The choice that the speaker makes about which kind of form of address to be used depends on many variables: the roles that the interlocutors play among themselves, their dispositions vis-à-vis one another, the communication situation... . The passage from one kind of form of address to another seems to modify relations between participants; that modification is due to a change in social roles or situations:

When one person speaks to another, the selection of certain linguistic form is governed by the relation between the speaker and his addressee. The principal option of address in American English is the choice between use of the first name (hereafter abbreviated to FN) and use of a title with the last name (TLN). These linguistic forms follow a rule that is truly relational. Their use is not predictable from properties of the speaker alone but only from properties of the dyad. Kinship terms of address (e.g. dad, mom, son) are also relational language, but they constitute a restricted language of relationship since most dyads that might be created in America would not call for any sort of kinship term. Proper names, on the other hand, constitute a nearly universal language of relationships; the semantic dimensions involved serve to relate to one another all of the members of the society.¹⁴

The study of forms of address has some importance in the sense that there are social rules governing the individual's choice of which term to use. In Kinyarwanda for example, it would be impolite to address an old person by his proper name. There are other means which I qualified as "the non-naming principle" which are used in that case. The use of a form of address may signal the social position, the age or the sex of individuals to whom it is addressed.

IV.1. THE MORPHO-SYNTACTIC CATEGORY

IV.1.1. PRONOUNS OF ADDRESS

"In languages where a choice exists between the singular form of the second person pronoun marker and the "plural" form of address, the "plural" form is used for superiors and the singular for inferiors."¹⁵ However, the singular form is not only used for inferiors, but also for people whom one is familiar with. To be more precise, when one uses the plural form, he is addressing a socially distant interlocutor, and the singular form is for acquaintances and subordinates. We speak of "socially distant interlocutors" to refer to people who are unknown or not much known. To sum up, the plural form of address refers to distant relations between people in interaction, and the singular form refers to

familiar relations.

The English language lacks the distinction between the singular and the plural forms. In fact, "you" stands at the same time for the singular of intimacy and the plural of respect and deference. However, there are other elements which may determine if someone uses an intimate language or a respectful one:

- 1- I want to speak to you, Mr. Smith.
- 2- I want to speak to you, Paul.

In both examples, there is the use of the second person pronoun, but there is an addition of other features. In the first statement, there is the use of the title plus last name (TLN), and in the second sentence, there is use of first name (FN). The English language does not have P - S (plural-singular) markers, but they are achieved through the use of either TLN or FN.

In Kinyarwanda, the distinction between S - P forms is marked by the markers u- and mu-

- Uracyabaho? : are you still alive?
- Muracyabaho?: are you still alive?

U- and mu- are used when they are the second person pronouns in the context where they are subjects of a sentence. In the case when they are direct objects, u- changes into -ku- and mu- into -ba-:

- Yakubonye ugenda: he saw you while you were leaving.
- Yababonye mugenda: he saw you while you were leaving.

In Kinyarwanda, the different pronouns of address may be presented in a figure:

Pronouns of address

	subject	direct object
Singular markers	U-	-Ku-
Plural markers	Mu-	-ba-

Superiors are always addressed with the second form plural mu- or -ba- and equals and inferiors with the second form singular u- or -ku-. In addition, adult and old people would normally receive the second form of plural, and there is a tendency to treat with respect women-- especially those who have got children--by addressing them with mu- or

-ba-:

- Muraho mubyeyi? how are you, you the giver of birth?
- Ko nabashakaga? I want to speak to you.

IV.2. THE LEXICAL CATEGORY

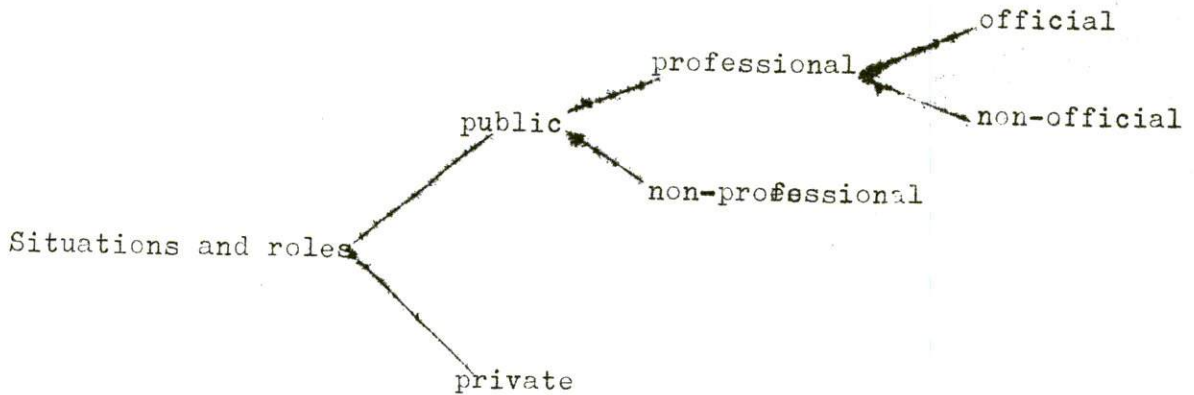
The study of names and titles of address has some importance because...they symbolize a man's social position in relation to the people around him, so that by the use of one or other of them, the status of the speaker to the person addressed is readily recognized. Like kinship terms, these modes of address thus emphasize social relationships so indicated. They are often used among relatives especially among very close kinsmen, instead of kinship terms.¹⁶

The lexical terms of address may be well understood if we are able to find solutions to a series of questions. Those questions are for example "who can name whom, how, when, where and why?" This series of questions makes reference to social roles that an individual plays in a given context, and to role relations between individuals. Bertaux and Laroche Bouvy¹⁷ suggest that two people may have only one role to play together, such as physician and patient. They may also play different roles. A couple may play the lovers' role in private, and the parents' role with their children. Each role, if related to the context in which it takes place, may therefore determine different terms of address. There are three categories of lexical terms of address:

- 1) terms of address proper to an individual. Those terms are the last name. The first name, the surname, and the diminutive name.
- 2) Affective terms of address which comprise general and particular terms of address.
- 3) terms of address in relation with a role. In this case, the role may be a public or a private one. The public role refers to titles and names of profession.

Bertaux and Laroche-Bouvy go on saying that in lexical terms of address, we must distinguish public situations from private situations in order to understand how forms of address function. They argue that public situations are situations where at least one of the participants is considered by other participants as stranger to the group. The private situations are those where all the participants consider themselves as members of the same group. Public situations comprise professional public situations and non-professional

public situations. In professional situations, we distinguish official and non-official situations. The following figure sums up what has been said before:



Monsieur un tel, fonctionnaire, jouera un rôle public professionnel officiel dans le bureau de son chef de division; il jouera un rôle public professionnel non-officiel en discutant dans les couloirs avec ses collègues; il jouera un rôle public non-professionnel chez son épiciier ou au café; enfin, en famille, il jouera les rôles privés de père ou d'époux. A ces différents rôles correspondent différents termes d'adresse donnés ou reçus. En examinant les correspondances entre les rôles, les situations et les termes d'adresse, on s'aperçoit que certaines situations et certains rôles éliminent d'emblée certaines catégories de termes d'adresse: dans une situation publique professionnelle officielle, les termes d'adresse affectifs sont exclus ainsi que les diminutifs et même les prénoms. Dans une situation privée, les termes d'adresse en rapport avec un rôle public, titres et noms de métiers, sont exclus.¹⁸

This means that a civil servant will play an official professional public role in the office of his chief; he will play a non-official professional public role while conversing with his colleagues in the halls; he will play a non-professional public role at his grocer's or in a café. In the family, he will play the private role of father or husband. To these different roles correspond different terms of address given or received. If we examine correspondances between roles, situations and terms of address, we notice that some situations and some roles eliminate some categories of terms of address: in an official, professional and public situation, affective terms of address and diminutives, and even first names are excluded. In private situation, terms of address referring to a public role, to titles and names of professions are excluded.

IV.2.1. THE NAMING PRINCIPLE.

According to Browne and Ford¹⁹, major patterns of address in the English context can be described as follows:

- The reciprocal exchange of FN.
- The reciprocal exchange of TLN.
- The non-reciprocal pattern in which one person uses FN and the other TLN.

"FN was taken to include full first names (e.g., Robert), familiar abbreviations (e.g., Bob), and diminutive forms (e.g., Bobbie). It may be said at once that male first names in American English very seldom occur in full form (Robert, James, or Gerald) but, are almost always abbreviated (Bob, Jim) or diminutized (Jerry) or both (Bobbie, Jimmy). Female first names are more often left unaltered. Titles for the purpose of this classification include, in addition to Mr., Mrs., and miss, such occupational titles as Dr., Senator, Major, and the like."²⁰ For the reciprocal exchange of FN, the two people in interaction are acquaintances. The mutual FN indicates a higher degree of intimacy:

A- How are you, Robert?

B- How are you, Jim?

The mutual TLN indicates distant relations between participants. Brown and Ford state that mutual TLN is most commonly found between newly introduced adults. Reciprocal TLN stands for formality, distance, and deference. For the non-reciprocal pattern in which one person uses FN and the other TLN, two kinds of relation can generate this pattern. The first is the difference of age. Children for example say TLN to adults and receive FN. The second is a difference in occupational status. The example is that of the relationships between an employer and his employee. The employer receives TLN and the employee FN.

In addition to the three major patterns of English forms of address, there are variant forms such as title without name (T), last name alone (LN) and multiple names (MN). Concerning the title without name, Brown and Ford suggest that it includes Sir, Madam, and Miss. These forms are used like TLN either reciprocally between new acquaintances or non-reciprocally by a person of lower status to a person of higher status. T is less intimate and more deferential than TLN. It may be used when the last name is unknown. For the LN, they state: "where the LN is not the usual form for an addressee it

represents a degree of intimacy greater than TLN but less than FN."²¹ That is the case for example when someone is called George Ford. To address him by "Ford" is more intimate than "Mr. Ford," but less intimate than "George". Last name alone usually occurs when the FN is polysyllabic and cannot be abbreviated whereas the LN is short or is easily shortened. For the multiple names, Brown and Ford noticed that "a speaker may use more than one form of the proper name for the same addressee, sometime saying TLN, sometimes FN or LN or a nickname. The case of multiple names (MN) is the case in which two or more versions of the proper name are used in free variation with one another."²² The use of MN represents a greater degree of intimacy than the use of FN. Since the use of MN is an intimate means of addressing an individual, it is possible to include the affective forms of address into this category. Affective forms of address are those terms used by acquaintances, familiars, friends, husbands, wives, and lovers. An example of an affective term is to consider how a husband addresses his wife in different situations. I outnumbered five possible forms of address the husband may address his wife with. He may call her by her first name "Liliane", by a diminutive "Lili", by a general affective term "sweetheart", by a particular affective term "honey", or by a term in relation with children "mama".

As a conclusion, we can adapt Spolky's²³ standpoint in summarizing the English system of address:

- (1) FN (or nothing) when speaking to a child.
- (2) In a formal situation (Faculty meeting, conference, etc.) TL
- (3) For a relative, FN unless the relative is a member of an ascending generation and is older, when kin title (Aunt, Uncle) plus FN is used.
- (4) For a stranger, TLN.
- (5) For a friend or colleague, FN, except if the addressee is of higher rank (pupil-teacher) or considerably older (about fifteen year difference); in these cases, TLN until the senior or older person invites FN.

In general terms, the English system of address is based on two patterns of TLN and FN. The Rwandan system of address is based on two patterns of name and title. In the Rwandan culture, there is a distinction between "izina lya Kinyarwanda" (the Rwandan name) and "izina lya gikirisitu" (baptismal name). The Rwandan name (RN) is the

name given to a child by his parents after his birth, and the baptismal name (BN) is the one given to someone by a representative of the church as a sign that he has adhered to a religion. RN is not the same as the English LN because each Rwandan has his own name which is not a family ^{name} like LN, but a personal name. In the same line, BN is not like FN because they do not function in the same way. In Kinyarwanda, there are two other names, that is "izina ly'ilihimbano" (nickname) and "izina ly'igisingizo" (~~praise~~ name), but these two names will not retain our attention in this study.

Back to RN and BN, there is no clear distinction between them because it is not predictable when one would use RN or BN. Traditionally speaking, the Rwandan name was the only available name because different religions had not yet settled in the country and BN was therefore non-existent. Today, however, things have changed. The baptismal name has conquered the mind of people because of the success of foreign religions. That is the reason why today, it is quite impossible to say with precision that RN and/or BN is used in well-defined situations. RN and BN overlap. Nonetheless, I noticed from my inquiries that old people tend to favor RN on behalf of BN because they claim that RN is the real name, and that BN is an imported and thus an artificial name. In "educated" milieus and among young people, there is a tendency to credit BN because it is in these milieus that the foreign civilization has had a great impact. When I asked people which of the two names shows politeness and respect, many of adult informants and almost all old people said that the Rwandan name is their real name, that it would be the one they would like to be addressed with especially when formality is involved. One informant stated: "Izina lya Kinyarwanda ni lyo zina nyakuri. Aliko hali abasigaye batandukira bagahamagana umuntu mw'izina babonye ryose batubahirije ikinyabupfura". That is, the Rwandan name is the adequate one. Unfortunately, there are people who diverge from the Rwandan way by using any name without conforming themselves to politeness. Another informant claimed that for him, he awaits people to address him his Rwandan name, especially when those people are Rwandans like him. On the other hand, young people especially "educated" people and particularly females depart from the traditional pattern. They prefer to use the baptismal name. The reason is that the western civilization is having great influence on the young generation more than on the old one. When I asked females on the campus why they like to be addressed with BN, they told me that they do not care whether they are called by RN or BN. But the experience

proved the contrary because any girl I called by her RN first showed hostile attitudes toward me before entering in social interaction. But when I called her by her BN, she showed positive attitudes and the conversation was easy for both of us.

Today, it is not evident when it is appropriate to use the RN or the Bn because it seems that this depends on the individual's personal choice and on the nature of each name. That is, when the RN is shorter than the BN, the short name is often the most used. The milieu has also a great influence on the use of RN or BN. In the countryside, for instance, people will tend to address each other by their RN, and in town and "educated" milieux, the BN will prevail.

There are other ways of naming people. Those ways are indirect because they do not directly refer to the name (be it the RN or the RB) of an individual. Those means are for example titles (T), occupational titles (OT), kinship terms, and affective terms. In this part, I want to center my study on affective forms of address because other forms will be considered later. The affective terms of address are used among acquaintances or between lovers. In Kinyarwanda, there are three basic forms referring to ^{familiarity,} affection and/or intimacy. Those forms are "nyabusa", "shahu" and "disi". "Nyabusa" is often addressed to children by their parents or by old people who may be considered as their parents:

- Genda ~~na~~mbwire aze hano nyabusa we: go and tell him to come here, you darling.

"Nyabusa" is usually performed by women to little girls. It is very rare to hear an adult male using "nyabusa" toward a male child. However, he may address it to an adult female or to his wife as a sign of affection. Women usually use "nyabusa" among themselves when intimacy and familiarity are involved.

- Nahuye na Gahirwa nyabusa: I met Gahirwa, my darling.

"Disi" may have the same status as "nyabusa" because it is addressed by adult females to young female children:

- Ngwino hano disi we: come here, my little girl.

However, it may be used by a male lover toward his loved one:

- Niko disi we, hali icyo nakubwiraga: I want to speak to you, my beloved.

"Disi" may be used among female intimates:

- Ntabwo dushoboye kuganira diso kuho nihuta: it is quite impossible for us to have a chat because I'm in a hurry. "Shahu" is used by adult males to young male children to show affection:

- Witwa nde sha? : what's your mama, lad?

It can also be used among male adults as a sign of intimacy and familiarity:

A- Aliko shabu Gahire wanguriye amafaranga: you Gahire, lend me some money.

B- Oya shabu ntayo mfite: I have no money, you guy.

I noticed also that young people of the male sex may address young people of the other sex with "shahu". In this case, familiarity, affection, and acquaintanceship are involved:

- Nzaza kugusura ku wa gatandatu shahu Ja. : I will visit you on Saturday, you Jane.

IV.2.2. THE NON-NAMING PRINCIPLE

In this section, I want to consider titles (T), occupational titles(OT), and kinship terms of address.

My informants claimed that SIR and MADAM (ma'am) are usually used in formal deferential situations. They also tend to be the "neutral" forms of address to customers and clients (e.g., restaurants, shops). "Miss" is used in isolation in a less formal situation perhaps in the street, for example, if trying to catch a girl's attention. It can be slightly derogatory. It would not be used if the addressee's name is known, because it is considered more polite to address someone by name.²⁴

According to what I heard from my informants, SIR^{is} also addressed to a stranger, that is to a person whose name is unknown. But it may also be addressed to a person whose name is known, but that person is higher status and the relations between him and the addressor are so distant that it is incongruous to address him by his proper name. It is here that the non-naming principle applies. The same goes for MADAM which may be addressed to a married as well as to an unmarried woman when formality and politeness are intended. However, the title MISS is used on some special occasions, for example in the classroom where pupils address "Miss" to their teacher:

- Pardon me, Miss. I have a question to ask.

In this situation, the teacher's name is known by her pupils, but they prefer not to use it because it would sound impolite to call one's teacher by his/her name except when he/she asks one to. In addition, the classroom situation requires a formal language. One may then say that the refusal to name someone is a sign that one is being polite, appropriate in his behavior. Titles such as SIR, MADAM, and MISS participate in the achievement of this goal.

Apart from titles, occupational titles, that is, titles referring to one's profession stand for indirect means of naming somebody. As such, they follow the non-naming principle because when an individual refuses to name a person by his own name, he uses other means such as the reference to his professional title because it is advised that a person of higher social standing must not be addressed by his proper name except when he allows to. In the case of an inferior addressing a superior, the English language have some mechanisms to achieve this. Those mechanisms are for example the use of the title "Sir" followed by the profession of the addressee:

- Mr. Senator

or

- Mr. Chairman.

But there are other occupational titles which do not require the precedence of a title. For example when one is addressing a doctor, he may say:

- I want to speak to you , Doctor.

During my inquiries, I asked my informants who are the people one cannot call by their names, the reasons of non-naming such persons, and how they are called. The answer was that priests, judges, mayors, teachers, bosses...are not to be called by their proper names. In short, usually people in a superior position are addressed with their occupational titles. To a priest corresponds the title FATHER, a judge is addressed with YOUR HONOR, a major with YOUR WORSHIP... . The reason for non-naming such personalities is that to name them would show a lack of respect.

For kinship terms of address, the English language functions in the way that parents, grandparents, uncles, and aunts receive the kinship titles from their children, grandchildren, nephews, and nieces. Such attitudes of children toward old people with whom they have close family relationships is explained by the fact that they

respect and love them. My informants stated that traditionally, children do not call their parents by their names, but that today, many children are calling their parents by their given names. When it happens that children avoid to call their parents by their names, kinship terms are used. To a father, the following forms of address may be used:

- Dad
- Daddy
- Papa, etc.

A mother is addressed by her children by "mom", "mommy", "mama...". Grandparents are referred to by their grandchildren as "grandpa" if it is the grandfather, and "grandma" if it is the grandmother. The term "uncle" is addressed by nephews and nieces to their uncle, and "aunt" to their aunt. Note that the kinship titles "uncle" and "aunt" are sometime followed by FN:

- Uncle Tom, would you like me to have a cup of tea?
- Aunt Flora, I want another glass of water.

In Kinyarwanda, the refusal to name an individual depends on many variables. The most important variables which determine the non-naming principle are the addressee's status, his age, and his sex. There is a saying that "ntawe uvuga umuntu mukuru mw'izina", that is, it ^{is} not allowed to call a superior (in age or status) by his proper name. In this case, there is the use of titles such as occupational titles, titles making reference to age and sex, and kinship titles. In the Rwandan culture, titles refer to both sexes. These are titles referring to males: "Bwana" (mister) is a term borrowed from Swahili and is addressed to any married male. Note that it cannot be used alone. Either it is used with the RN or the BN, or it precedes the occupational title:

- Bwana Kalisa wali wagiye he?: where have you been, Mr. Kalisa?
- Bwana Aloyizi ko nagushakaga: I want to speak to you, Mr. Aloys.
- Nali mfite ikibazo bwana Prefe: I have a problem, Mr. the Prefect.

* "Nyakubahwa" (you who deserve honor, honorable) may correspond to "his excellency". It is addressed to a person of higher position, of high occupational title:

- Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Republika: his excellency mister the President of the Republic.

It may also be used with "Bwana" (mister):

- Nyakubahwa bwana ~~Perefe~~ wa perefegitura ya Kibungo:
Honorable Mr. the Prefect of Kibungo prefecture.

*"Nyilicyubahiro": you who deserve respect (honorable). This term is reserved to important figures in the church. It is a term of address performed only toward bishops:

- Nyilicyubahiro musenyeri: honorable bishop.

Bishops may also be addressed with "Nyakubahwa":

- Nyakubahwa musenyeri: honorable bishop.

Titles referring to the female sex are "madamu" (madam or Mrs.) and "madamazera" (miss). When "madamu" is used alone, this means that the addressor shows respect and deference to the addressee. "Madamu" is always used toward a married woman:

- Muraho mada: How are you, madam?

It is usually addressed to an unknown married woman or to a woman one considers that she deserves respect even if she is known. It is often addressed to a married woman with whom one has distant social relations. When "madamu" precedes an occupational title, this means that either the addressee is called by her profession's name or by that of her husband:

- Mwaramutse madamu burugumestiri: good morning, Mrs. bourgmaster.

This means that either the woman is a bourgmaster or her husband is a bourgmaster. Concerning "madamazera" (Miss), it is a title given to an unmarried woman and does not know well, or to a stranger. In the case when the unmarried woman is an acquaintance, to call her by "madamazera" would be considered as an insult.

For titles making reference to age and sex, those titles are always addressed to old people by people younger than themselves. The following forms are possible:

- Mubyeyi: the giver of birth. Traditionally, this term is addressed to a woman of a certain age especially the one who has four children or more. But today, the term is no longer reserved to females only since adult and old males receive the title "mubyeyi".

- Muntu mukuru: old person: it refers to an old person of any sex.

- Musaza: old man: it is reserved to any old male.

- Muzehe: old man: this means the same thing as "musaza" except that it has been taken from Swahili.

- Mukecuru: old woman. It refers to an old person of the female sex.
- Sogokuru: grand father. It is addressed by grand children to their grandfather. However, the term has been extended and is addressed by any young person to any old man.
- Nyogskuru: grandmother. The term is used by grand children to their grandmother. By extension, it is used by any young person to an old woman.

There are also titles referring to age and sex, but which are used by any person while speaking about a married man or woman:

- Nyirurugo: the one who is responsible for the home. The term refers to any husband because he is the superior in the family.

- Bene urugo: the owners of the house; that is the husband and the wife.

- Nyirubwite: it is difficult to find a correspondence in English, but the term refers to the husband. It may correspond to "chief of the family".

- Abandi: the others; the husband or the wife, or both.

This term is uttered for example when someone goes to visit a family, and he finds that the husband or/and the wife are absent. He may then ask: "Abandi se bagiye he?" (where are the others?)

- Ab'ikambere: those leaving in the secret parts of the house, that is, the wife.

Traditionally--and even today--wives were responsible for most of domestic activities and had no time to leave their homes. That is why they are referred to as people who are always busy in the house.

- Ab'iwanjye: those of my home. This is said by a husband to refer to his wife or vice-versa.

- Urugo: the enclosure. It, by extension, refers to the wife. This term is said by a husband while referring to his wife. He may for example say: "urugo rwanjye rurarwaye" (my wife is sick).

Rwandan kinship terms of address function almost exactly as those in the English context except that uncles and aunts are not necessarily addressed by "marume" (maternal uncle) and "data wacu" (paternal uncle) and "mama wacu" (maternal aunt) and "masenge" (paternal aunt). To address them is often to use the second pronoun plural marker mu- or

While addressing their father, children say "dawe", "papa" or "papali". All these terms mean "papa". Children call their mother by "mawe", "mama", "mamali"... . In the case of grandparents, grandchildren use "sogokuru" (grandfather) and "nyogokuru"(grandmother).

As a conclusion, I would like to borrow Kagaba's²⁵ table about patterns of English and Rwandan address:

Contextual features	Addressee	Kinyarwanda	English
-	child	RN(or BN) and S	FN
Intimacy	adult(inferior)	RN (or BN) and S	FN
	adult(equal/friend)	RN (or BN) and S	FN
	adult(equal)	RN (or BN) and S	FN
Formality	adult (equal)	TRN or TBN and (perhaps) S	TLN
	adult (superior)	P of reverence	TLN
	adult (stanger)	P of reverence	Ø (sometimes) and TLN after introduction
	adult (superior and friend)	P of reverence	TLN (until the superior invite FN)
Distance, Deference	adult (superior)	(T) OT and P.	TLN

FOOTNOTES

1. Scherer, K.R. & Giles, H. Social Markers in Speech, London, Cambridge University Press, 1979, p.88.
2. Scherer & Giles, p.63.
3. Scherer & Giles, p.127.
4. Scherer & Giles, p.125.
5. Lyons quoted by T. Kagaba, English and Rwandan Greetings: A Sociolinguistic Study, mémoire de licence U.N.R., Ruhengeri, 1983, p.22.
6. Goffman, E. Relations in Public, New York, Harper & Row, 1973, p.86.
7. Goffman, p.78.
8. Kagaba, p.20.
9. Condon, J.C. "When People Talk with People" in Mortensen (ed.), Basic Readings in Communication Theory, New York, Anchor Books 1973, p.46.
10. Goffman, p.81
11. Goffman, p.75
12. Goffman, pp.82-83
13. Bertaux, p. & Laroche-Bouvy, D. "Quelques remarques sur les termes d'adresse en Français et en Allemand" in Contrastes n°4-5 novembre 1982, Paris, p.7.
14. Brown, R. & Ford, M. "Address in American English" in Hymes (ed.), Language in Culture and Society, New York, Harper & Row, 1964, p.234.
15. Kagaba, p.43.
16. Evans-Pritchard, E.E. "New Modes of Address" in Hymes (ed.), p.221.
17. Bertaux & Laroche-Bouvy, p.18.
18. Bertaux & Laroche-Bouvy, pp. 20-21.
19. Brown & Ford, p.295.
20. Brown & Ford, p.236.
21. Brown & Ford, p.237.
22. Brown & Ford, p.238.
23. Spolsky quoted by Kagaba, p.52.
24. Kagaba, p.48.
25. Kagaba, p.65.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

Throughout the study, the main concern has been on forms of language used in everyday interaction. One aspect of language use has retained our attention, that is, the politeness variable. In both the English and the Rwandan contexts, there are social norms which guide any individual to adjust his language, his behavior to the one he is addressing and to the situation in which the encounter takes place. It is in this sense that we have to understand the meaning of a polite feature. The polite language is the one which suits the situation in which it occurs. That is to say that the addressor has to ensure himself that his gestures, his words, his attitude meet the expectations of his interlocutor. When somebody performs a gesture or utters a statement, he makes sure that the gesture, the word, is used in an appropriate way. The age, the sex, and the social standing of the addressee are of key importance in an area where politeness is required. In fact, during an encounter, age, sex, and social position of the addressee greatly influence the language of the addressor. The latter has then to conform to the three variables in order to appear correct in his attitude.

In the first chapter, we did examine how the polite non-verbal language functions in both the English and the Kinyarwanda-speaking cultures. Since man does not communicate with words alone, it was necessary to look at how non-verbal communication may be a way of expressing one's feelings, one's ideas sometimes more efficiently than the verbal language. For an utterance to be complete and fully meaningful, there must be co-occurrence of both the verbal and the non-verbal language. In this respect, the non-verbal aspect of language contributes to the full realization and understanding of the verbal communication. But this is not to say that the non-verbal language is necessarily complementary to the verbal language and therefore optional. It has been proved in this memoir that one can communicate with gestures alone, but he cannot do with words alone. It is then clear that the silent language can stand by itself, but the spoken language needs the support of the non-verbal cues. In this order, there is a tendency to consider the non-verbal communication as much more important and much more efficient than the verbal communication. However, the best way to look at the two aspects of language is to consider them

as complementary and working together without necessarily wanting to categorize them according to their degree of importance and efficiency. The important thing to bear in mind is that the good means of communication is the use of both the verbal and the non-verbal language concomitantly, and that is the case in everyday conversation. It may happen that the non-verbal language be used alone, but most of the time, it occurs with the verbal language.

In this study, the non-verbal language is concerned with the study of kinesics and proxemics. Kinesics is defined as the study of communication through gestures. On the other hand, proxemics is the study of communication through body position and movements. In both the English and the Rwandan contexts, non-verbal forms of communication are numerous and diverse. That is the reason why we tried to limit ourselves to the essential forms, provided that they express politeness. What is worth mentioning is that each culture has its behavioral patterns. One moves, gestures, talks in a way which corresponds to his culture. That is to say that cultures differ from each other. However, there is an opinion that there are universals in cultures. In the case of the English and the Rwandan cultures, there are differences as there are similarities in the way people use the non-verbal communication.

The main differences we picked up in the kinesics part are about the head behavior, the eye behavior, the mouth behavior, the hand behavior, and the bowing practices. The head behavior comprises two facets: the head nod and the head shake. In Rwanda, the head nod is used in the same situations as in the English context. The only difference is that in the Rwandan milieu, the head nod of agreement is often accompanied with the vocal non-verbal sound to mean "yego" (yes). In addition, people in Rwanda may use the non-verbal sound without the use of a nod. In the English culture, however, it is not very common to use the vocal non-verbal feature alone, but a nod can be used alone. The eye behavior performed in the English-speaking culture tends to be different from the eye behavior used in the Rwandan milieu primarily because Rwandans are much more reserved in their way of looking at people. During an encounter, the listener often looks away from the speaker, or he looks at the dust. He may from time to time perform a quick glance toward the addressor to assure him that he is

following what he says. Rwandan people do not like to look or to be looked at for a long time. In the instance of eye behavior, there is another component, that is, to make eyes. In the Rwandan context, to make eyes may be compared to "gutereka amaso" (to lower one's eyes). "Gutereka amaso" and to make eyes are signs of seduction and interest in the other person of the male sex, but at different levels. It seems that in Rwanda, "gutereka amaso" is, for the feminine sex, an obligatory practice whereas in the English context, to make eyes is not so obligatory; it is somehow optional.

In both the English and the Rwandan cultures, the mouth behavior comprises the smile and the kiss practices. These practices function differently because the Rwandan context is very reserved in its way of using the smile and the kiss. In traditional Rwanda, the performance of a kiss is limited to very few situations especially before or during sexual intercourse between a husband and his wife. Today, there is a trend from the western culture which is beginning to gain ground. That is to say that the kiss is acquiring little by little the shape of the kiss performed in the English milieu. For the hand clapping performance, the English and the Rwandan customs share the same beliefs except that in Rwanda, females often do a practice called "kuvuza impundu" which is a vocal non-verbal feature noted /hiiiiii/ instead of clapping their hands. For the hand shake and the embrace, English people tend to use them in very limited situations especially with acquaintances and friends. Rwandans, however, use the hand shake and the embrace in many occasions with almost anyone they want to interact with. The bowing practice is only found in the English milieu, and it is not current today. In Rwanda, bowing is replaced by "gupfukama" (to kneel down) which is no longer used today. It was performed in the court as a sign of respect and loyalty.

The basic differences in the proxemic part are essentially about body distance especially about the social distance between people in interaction. That is not to say that body position is necessarily performed in the same way in both cultures, but on the whole, there are many similarities about body position than differences. Back to the social distance between people in social dealings, we noticed that the Rwandan culture is more hostile than the English culture to an individual who would intrude on one's spatial territory.

ality except in moments of intimacy. In the Rwandan context, the normal social distance for conversation is about 3.5 feet whereas it is about 2 feet for English people. This distance is the one between friends or equals. Between an inferior and a superior, the distance between them is lengthened because status affects distance. For business matters where the impersonality between people is involved, the talking distance is 5.5 to 8 feet in the English milieu. For the Rwandan milieu, the talking distance for business matters is approximately between 5 and 7 feet. We may perhaps conclude that social status affects much more the social distance in the English context than in the Rwandan milieu.

In the second chapter, the main concern has been on how an individual may make a polite request or a polite apology. It is in this area that the notions of social norm and social control have been examined. The one who does not conform to rules governing any society is the one who does not adjust his language to the requirements of the moment. He is therefore considered as an offender because he departs from the normal appearance. The offended person is the one to whom an infraction has been directed. He is victim of the offender's ill-behavior. To be rehabilitated as a normal person, the offender has a moral obligation to make recourse to the remedial work, that is, he must recognize his fault and look for a remedy. The remedial work is achieved through requests and especially through apologies. When one makes a request or an apology, he awaits any kind of reply depending on the availability and willingness of the offended person and/or on the way he addressed them. In this respect, the addressee may provide a positive or a negative reply.

In the instance of making requests, both English and Kinyarwanda use the declarative and the interrogative forms. The declarative statement expressing a polite request is considered as an indirect means because it is a kind of circumlocution. It is a subtle way of making a request. The interrogative form has the status of being a direct way of expressing a request because it goes straight to the point without any roundabout way. Requests comprise commands, invitations, offers, suggestions... . In making a request, many elements co-occur in its realization. That is, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, nouns...are simultaneously used in the formation of a polite request. People tend to believe that a highly polite form of a request is the one combining all the possible polite elements. Accordingly,

the longer the sentence is, the more polite, and the shorter, the less polite.

An apology occurs when an individual has misconducted himself vis-à-vis other people. In this case, ^{he is} morally obliged to apologize by regretting his wrong behavior. The offended person ~~may~~ accept or refute the offender's excuses. There are two kinds of apology: an apology performed before an event and the one which occurs after an event. An apology which occurs before an event is considered as an introductory statement just like a greeting. This kind of apology is often performed between unacquainted people who want to interact. The apology which occurs after the event is the one which has mostly retained our attention because it is the one which is a means of alleviating a fault done to someone. To apologize is to be sorry or to regret one's fault. In this line, statements underlying the idea of regret are the best indicated in both cultures to express an apology. In English, verbs such as to regret, to be sorry, to excuse oneself...are the most used. In kinyarwanda, one verb "kubabarira" (to forgive) is the central form, the nucleus around which other formulas evolve.

In the third chapter, we concentrated on welcome formulas, wishes, and forms of address. The welcome formulas comprise greetings and leave-takings. In English, general greetings have four types: propositional greetings, non-propositional greetings, wishing greetings, and interrogative greetings. In Kinyarwanda, there are only two forms: interrogative and wishing greetings. The interrogative greeting is concerned with one basic theme, that is health. For the wishing greeting, the essential themes are the cow, children, the male parent, the wife, the husband... . Apart from general greetings, there are greetings referring to the time of **encounter**. There are for example forms of greeting reserved for the morning, those used in the afternoon, and the night. In Kinyarwanda, however, no distinction is made between forms of greetings used in the afternoon and those used during the evening or the night. For leave-takings, they comprise three variables. There are forms in accordance with the separation for a long period, those depending on the separation for a short time, and forms reserved for the evening and/or the night.

Welcome formulas may be classified among forms of wishes, but we preferred to consider them alone because their primary function is that they are respectively social introductions and social conclusions before acquiring the status of wishes. In the sub-part about wishes, we have been concerned with rituals performed on special occasions because even there, the polite language is used. In the English context, for example, when someone stumbles people pretend not to look at him. In this respect, there is no ready-made utterance to address the one who stumbles. In the Rwandan milieu, there is a social obligation to address a verbal support to the one who stumbles. The used form is "komera, komera" (be strong, be strong). When someone sneezes, English people expect him to apologize for that action. They may also address him by a "God bless you" or by "ge-sund-heit". In Kinyarwanda, the wishing formula for such an action is "urakira" (may you be rich). The answer to the wish is "twese" (all of us). There are other rituals performed when people are eating or when they have been to visit a patient. In the first case, the form "good appetite" stands for wishing a good appetite to people who are ready to eat. In traditional Rwanda, the main concern was not on food, but on drinks. Today, however, things have changed, and there is a tendency to follow the English attitudes toward food. The used form is "(m)uryoherwe" (enjoy your meal). In the case when people have been to visit a patient, before leaving him, there are both in English and Kinyarwanda ready-made forms for such an occasion. Those forms wish to the patient a quick recovery, and people tell him not to lose faith and patience.

In the wishes' instances, there are also forms of thanking someone and forms of imploring somebody. In English, there is only one form of thanking from which any other forms derive. In Kinyarwanda there are direct means of thanking someone and indirect ways of expressing one's gratitude. The indirect means are used when the individual judges the service to be of great importance. It is worth mentioning that the Rwandan forms of thanking are very great in number. Rwandans are much more creative than English people about the thanking forms. English forms of imploring somebody are similar to the forms of requests. But in the Rwandan culture, there are the direct and the indirect ways of imploring somebody. The direct ways are similar to that of Kinyarwanda forms of requests. The indirect ones tend to disappear from the ordinary usage because they are somehow the only property of old people, especially old women.

Forms of address present two facets: the morpho-syntactic category and the lexical category. The morpho-syntactic category is concerned with one aspect, that of pronouns of address. In English, there is only one pronoun of address, "you, expressing at the same time the singular of intimacy and the plural of respect and deference. In Kinyarwanda, the distinction between singular and plural forms is marked by -u- and mu- markers in the context where they are subjects. -U- changes into -ku-, and mu- into -ba- in the case where they are direct objects. The lexical category comprises the naming principle and the non-naming principle. The naming principle is about the way names and titles are used in both English and Kinyarwanda. The English system of address is based on two patterns of TLN (little plus last name) and FN (first name). The two patterns present three variables:

- The reciprocal exchange of FN
- The reciprocal exchange of TLN
- The non-reciprocal pattern in which one person uses FN and the other TLN.

The Rwandan system is based on the distinction between RN (Rwandan name) and BN (baptismal name). But the distinction between RN and BN is not so evident because RN and BN tend to overlap in their use. In the English and the Rwandan contexts, the non-naming principle comprises titles, occupational titles and kinship terms of address. The refusal to name an individual depends on many variables such as the addressee's status, his age, and his sex.

In sum, when people talk with people, they make recourse to the verbal and the non-verbal language. That is that in everyday communication, the verbal and the non-verbal cues are simultaneously used. In a situation where politeness is of key importance, both the English and the Rwandan contexts share the same attitudes, those of adjusting themselves to the addressee. Indeed, the age, the sex, and the social status of the addressee are the great indicators of how language would function between individuals. It is to these three variables that people would most of the time conform. That is, any polite gesture, any polite request or apology, or any form of language has to be in relation to sex, age, and status.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BERTAUX, P. & LAROCHE-BOUVY, D. "Quelques remarques sur les termes d'adresse en Français et en Allemand" in Contrastes n°4-5, Paris, 1982.
- BOSMOJIAN, H.A. (ed.), The Rhetoric of Nonverbal Communication: Readings, Scott, Foresman & Company, 1971.
- BROWN, H.D. Principles of Language Learning and Teaching, Prentice Hall, 1975.
- BUGINGO, E. Indahiro z'abanyarwanda, Kigali, Imprimerie Nationale, 1975.
- DULAY, H., BURT, M., KRASHEN, S. Language Two, Oxford University Press, 1979.
- GAFARANGA, J. The Semantics of Locative Markers in English and Kinyarwanda: A Comparative Study, Ruhengeri, U.N.R., 1983.
- GARMADI, J. La sociolinguistique, Paris, PUF, 1981.
- GIGLIOLI, P. (ed.), Language and Social Context, Harmondsworth, Middlesex; Penguin Books, 1972.
- GOFFMAN, E. Relations in Public, New York, Harper & Row, 1971.
- GUIRAUD, P. Le langage du corps, Paris, PUF, 1980.
- HALL, E.T. • Beyond Culture, New York, Anchor Books, 1977.
- La Dimension Cachée, Paris, Seuil, 1971.
- The Silent Language, New York, Anchor Books, 1973.
- HUREL, E. Grammaire Kinyarwanda, Kabgayi: Imprimerie, 1959.
- HYMES, D. (ed.), Language in Culture and Society, New York, Harper & Row, 1971.
- JANICKI, K., "Contrastive Sociolinguistics Reconsidered", in Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics, Volume Eighteen, Washington, D.C., Poznan Center for Applied Linguistics, 1984.
- KAGABA, T. English and Rwandan Greetings: a Sociolinguistic Study, Ruhengeri, U.N.R., 1983.
- KARDINER, A. L'individu dans sa société, Paris, Gallimard, 1969.
- LABOV, W. - Le parler ordinaire: la langue dans les ghettos noirs des Etats-Unis, Paris, les éditions de Minuit, 1978.
- Sociolinguistic Patterns, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, 1981.
- LEECH, G. & SVARTVIK, J. A Communicative Grammar of English, London, Longman Group Ltd., 1975.

- MAURIER, H.K. Philosophie de l'Afrique noire, St. Augustin Bei Bonn: Verlag des Anthropos-Instituts, 1976.
- MORTENSEN, C.D. Basic Readings in Communication Theory, New York, Harper & Row, 1973.
- RETEL-LAURENTIN, A. & HOWATH, S. Les noms de naissance: indicateurs de la situation familiale et sociale en Afrique noire, Paris, Société d'études linguistiques et anthropologiques de France, 1972.
- RWIGAMBA, BARINDA, Approche générativo-pragmatique des Unités distinctives de la communication interactive en Kinyarwanda, Lubumbashi, UNAZA, 1982.
- SCHERER, K.R. & GILES, H. Social Markers in Speech, London, Cambridge University Press, 1979.
- STUBBS, M. Discourse Analysis: the Sociolinguistic Analysis of Natural Language, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1983.
- TRUDGILL, P. Sociolinguistics, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1983.
- VINAY, J.P. & DARBELNET, J. Stylistique comparée du Français et de l'Anglais, Paris, Didier, 1968.
- WHITELEY, H. (ed.), Language Use and Social Change, Oxford University Press, 1971.

APPENDIX

I. QUESTIONNAIRE FOR KINYARWANDA-SPEAKING PEOPLE

AMAZINA:

IMYAKA:

IGITSINA:

ICYO UKORA:

1. N'akahe kamaro ko gusuhuzanya mu mucu wa Kinyarwanda?
2. N'iyihe mpamvu abanyarwanda bakunda kuramukanya aho hahuriye hose?
3. Hali icyo bitwaye umuntu ahuye n'undi akamusuhuza gusa wenda ati: "Waramutse", atiriwe ahagarara ngo baramukanye, ngo amabaze amakuru?
4. Iyo umuntu aciye ku wundi ntacyo amuvugishije mubibona mute?
5. Iyo umuntu aguhamagaye izina lya Kinyarwanda cyangwa ilya gikristu, wumva hali atandukanirizo? N'irihe?
6. N'irihe muli ayo mazina yombi baguhamagara ukumva bakugiriye ikinyabupfura kurusha irindi? Sobanura.
7. Mbese ubundi hali abantu umuntu atagenewe kuvuga mw'izina? N'abahe?
8. Ubwo se byaba biterwa n'izihe mpamvu?
9. Abongabo se, umuntu yabahamagara cyangwa yabasuhuza ate?
10. a) N'iyihe mpamvu abana batinya kuvuga amazina y'ababyeyi?
b) Babahamagara se cyangwa babita ngwiki?
11. Ese umugabo n'umugore bahamagarana bate?
12. Haba hali indamutso zihariwe n'igitsina gabo n'izindi zihariwe n'igitsina gore, cyangwa ibitsina byombi birazihuza zose?
13. Ali igitsina gabo n'igitsina gore, abagenewe kuramutsa abandi mbere niba nde cyana cyane iyo umuntu w'igitsina kimwe ahuye n'uwikindi? N'ukubera izihe mpamvu se?

14. Ese ubundi igitsina kigomba kubaha kurusha ikindi ni ikihe?
Ni ukubera izihe mpamvu se?
15. a) Ali umusaza cyangwa umukecuru, uwo umuntu yakubaha kurusha undi ni nde? N'ukubera iki se?
b) Ali umusore n'inkumi se ukwiye icyubahiro kurusha undi ni nde?
Sobanura.
16. Ni ngombwa ko umuntu iyo agiye kuva mu rugo asezera abo ahasize, hanyuma yagaruka agasuhuza?
17. Ijambo "Abikambere" balyita umuntu w'ikihe gitsina?
Livugwa nande se?
18. Ijambo "Mubyeyi" balyita umuntu ungana iki?
Aba ali uwikihe gitsina?
19. "Bwana" balyita umuntu umeze ute?
20. Kuki se hali ubwo bavuga "Nyakubahwa" ubundi bakavuga "Bwana", byaba bitandukaniye he?
21. a) Njya mbona hali abantu bajya kuramutsa abandi bakavanamo ingoferu cyangwa bakayikoraho gusa cyangwa bakabaramutsa n'amaboko yombi, Byaba hali icyo basobanuye?
b) Ubwo se abo bantu bakorerwa ibyo baba bameze bate?
22. Ese ubundi gukuramo ingofere cyangwa kuyikoraho gusa cyangwa kuramukanya n'amaboko yombi hali aho bitandukaniye?
Sobanura.
23. Ko hali umuntu baramutsa bati "waramutse", undi bakamubwira ngo "mwaramutseho", byaba biterwa n'iki?
24. Ali imyaka umuntu afite, ali igitsina cye, ali n'uko ameze, mbese uko yifashije (statut social), ni ikihe muli ibyo gituma bamugilira ikinyabupfura kurusha ibindi? Sobanura.
25. Ese kubaha umuntu bitaniyehe no kumutinya?

II. QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLE

Name (optional):

Age:

Sex:

Profession:

Nationality:

1. What is the importance and usefulness of greetings in **the** English or the American context?
2. Is it necessary for English-speaking people to exchange greetings **whenever** they meet? Why or why not?
3. Is there anything wrong if one person passes another person without saying "Hello" to him? Explain.
4. Is there any difference between the first name and the last name? Which of the two shows respect and politeness?
5. Who are the people that one can't call by their names? What are the reasons of non-naming such persons and how do you name them?
6. Why do children avoid calling their parents by their names?
What are other means for calling them?
What are the reasons for such attitudes toward their parents?
7. How do a wife and a husband call each other?
Do they use their names or are there other ways to call each other?
8. Who between a male and a female is most of the time the initiator of greeting formulae especially when a male meets a female? Explain.
9. Which sex is bound to obey, that is, which sex is more submissive to the other sex? Why?

10. Is it necessary for one who leaves his home to say "Good bye" to those who remain there, and to greet them as soon as he comes back? Explain.
11. What's the difference between "Sir" and "mister"?
12. What's the difference between "Madam" and "Mrs"?
13. What are the main polite formulas to make an apology?
14. What are some of the main polite forms to ask for permission?
15. What are some basic polite gestures used by English or American people to show respect to their interlocutor?