

**POLITENESS PRINCIPLES AND FACE ACTS AMONG  
ENGLISH AND YORUBA INTERACTANTS**

AREMU, Moses Adebayo

Department of English,

University of Ilorin, Nigeria.

E-mail: [aremu207@yahoo.co.uk](mailto:aremu207@yahoo.co.uk)

**Abstract**

The contact of English with the multilingual Nigerian environment has led to different variations in the use and usage of the language in the Nigerian social context. In the same vein, the use of the language in the Nigerian socio-cultural context has resulted in a fillip, not only in the employment of the indigenized variety of the language, but also in the growth and the utilization of the face-acts and politeness principles among Nigerian interactants. It has been discovered through this research that the politeness and face-acts phenomena have become commonplace among participants of varied social, regional and occupational backgrounds. This paper has hence been used to analyze the politeness principles and face acts in the Nigerian English and Yoruba usages. Sampled data were gathered through the participant's observation and oral interview. The sampled data were analysed using Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) politeness principles expanded by Thomas (1995, 2000) and Bach and Harnih's (1979) mutual contextual belief as theoretical framework.

**Introduction**

The utterance, which we utter, is often garnished with certain embellishments, which can make our statement to be a Kernel's Shell, hard to crack, by the decoders. It also has the quality of being ambivalent and indeterminate in locution. Hence, in understanding the meaning of an utterance, the knowledge of the mutual contextual beliefs, (MCBs), intention of the speakers, the presupposition, the non-verbal cues, the speech acts involved, among other things, help the decoder to understand the import of such expressions.

This paper is focused on explaining the politeness and face acts in Nigerian English and Yoruba and on the pragmatic sense of Nigerian English and Yoruba use and usage. Several scholars have carried out research on the politeness and face act phenomena in language use. Examples of such include Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987), Lakoff (1975), Leech (1983), Adebija (1989), and Odebunmi (2002). This work is significant since it attempts to comprehensively discuss the politeness and face act phenomena in Nigerian

English and Yoruba languages. Although Adebija (1989) discusses politeness in Nigerian English (NE), Yoruba and Ogori, it does not explain some of the novel contemporary use of politeness in NE and Yoruba. Besides, the paper attempts to expand the research in not only NE usage, but it equally attempts to extend research in meaning construction and comprehension in ESL.

### Theoretical Framework

Our analysis of politeness principles in Nigerian English and Yoruba was based on the theoretical framework of Bach and Harnish's (1979) mutual contextual belief and politeness phenomena of Leech (1983), Brown and Levinson (1987) and Thomas (1995, 2000). Politeness principles were developed as a kind of development on Grice's Cooperative Principles (CP). According to Thomas (2000), politeness theory could be seen as a sub-discipline of pragmatics. Leech and Short (1987:290) explain that:

The pragmatic analysis of language can be broadly understood to be the investigation into that aspect of meaning which is derived not from the formal properties of words and constructions, but from the way in which utterances are used and how they relate to the context in which they are uttered.

Thomas (2000) explains that there are five separate but related phenomena under politeness. These are: (a) Politeness as a real world goal (b) Deference (c) Register

(d) Politeness as surface level phenomena  
(e) Politeness as illocutionary phenomena.  
Politeness as a real-world goal refers to

politeness being interpreted as a genuine desire to be pleasant: Deference, according to Thomas (2000:1150) refers to respect which we show to others by virtue of the higher status, greater age, and so on. For instance, deference leads to the use of honorifics like "Prof", "Dr", "Sir", and "Madam" in the English Language. Registers refer to the systematic variation in relation to social context (Lyons 1977:584) According to Adebija (1989), politeness principle is an oil for lubricating the channels of communication. A polite speaker often tactfully employs language in order to make his or her statements acceptable to the decoders. Lakoff (1975:53) says that to be polite is saying the socially correct things.

Leech (1983) observes that politeness is sometimes relative to people and their culture, expressed through language use. He also identifies seven maxims of politeness namely: (i) tact maxim, (ii) generosity maxim, (iii) approbation maxim, (iv) modesty maxim, (v) Sympathy maxim and (vi) Pollyanna principle.

Politeness Principles (PP) states that: "Minimize the expression of impolite belief and maximize the expression of polite beliefs". Similarly, "Tact maxim" states that: one should "minimize the expression of beliefs which imply cost to another, and maximize the expression of beliefs which imply benefits to another". One can employ "minimizers" to reduce the implied cost to others.

Examples: (i) I am a bit tired

(ii) He has just arrived.

The tact maxim, according to Odebunmi (2005) has application to Searle's directives and commissives, while generosity occurs in impositives and commissives. The approbation maxim could be discovered in expressives and assertives. On the other hand, modesty maxim states thus: "Minimize the expression of praise of self, maximize the expression of dispraise of self" (Leech 2005). Agreement maxim states that: "Minimize the expression of disagreement between self and other; maximize the expression of agreement between self and others (Thomas, 1995:165).

In the same vein, the sympathy maxim explains why congratulations and condolences are courteous speech acts, while condolences express beliefs which are negative with regards to the hearer (Leech 1983:138). Pollyanna principle states that people will always look at the bright side of life rather than the gloomy or obscure side of life thus resembling that heroine of Eleanor Porte's novel titled Pollyanna" (Leech 1983:147 cited in Odebunmi 2005:5). People always choose to discuss pleasant rather than unpleasant issues. Pollyanna principles can be realised through the use of euphemisms and relexications (Odebunmi, 2005:5) and through the use of minimizers such as "a bit", "a little", "a few", etc in order to reduce the degree of badness of something (Odebunmi, 2005).

Politeness principle often moves along with "face". "Face", according to Brown and Levinson (1987) can be defined as the public self-image that all rational adult members of a speech community possess. Brown and Levinson

(1987) explain that there are three types of politeness principle (PP) which are: (a) Negative Politeness, (b) Positive politeness, (c) Off-record politeness. Positive politeness refers to the expression of solidarity while negative politeness refers to the expression of restraint. Off-record politeness refers to the avoidance of unequivocal impositions.

Odebunmi (2003:78) explains that "face" is the emotional and social feelings of self which an individual has, and expects others to recognize. Examples of such are (i) feeling of respect or deference in situation of social distance as in relationship between a child and his father, a boss and his subordinate, feeling of friendliness, camaraderie or solidarity in social closeness (Odebunmi 2003:2005). Odebunmi (2003) classifies "face" into: (1) Face saving acts (FSAS) and face Threatening Acts (FTAS). A face saving act is an act that happens when a person desires respect from others. On the other hand, Face Threatening Act occurs when an individual desires independence to act without imposition by others. On the other hand, when a person enjoys no face – saving act, the person suffers from Face Threatening Acts (FTAS). Adegbija (1989) explains the politeness phenomena in English, Yoruba and Ogori. Odebunmi (2003, 2005) explains the face-acts in hospital interactions in the western part of Nigeria.

Face-Acts and politeness principles can be deduced from interactions between patients and medical personnel, (Odebunmi, 2003). In his research carried out in the western part or Nigeria,

Odebunmi (2003) explains that the following statements have face acts:

S/N	STATEMENT	MEANING
01	The patient is suffering from Hansen's disease	The patient is suffering from leprosy
02	He has retroactive condition	He is HIV positive
03	He is 333 positive	He is HIV positive
04	Prepare the patient for laparotomy	Prepare the patient for medical operation
05	Give him placebo	Give him any drug to assuage his psychological problem

According to Odebunmi (2003), patients see the medical doctor as a solver of his or her health problem. Hence, the Pollyanna tendency of ethical positivity echoes the ethical expectations of the doctor by the patient especially in the positive area of care giving, sympathizing, assuring, reassuring, etc” Hence, no medical doctor would like to expose the secret of an incurable like HIV and AIDS. As a result, the medical doctor employs the Pollyanna principle so as to say unpleasant things in a pleasant way. Instead of saying that “Ade has HIV” the medical doctor may say “Ade has retroactive condition” Odebunmi (2003) also states that medical personnel use clips, acronyms, blends and peculiar medical expressions in their

language such as; “The woman must do ultrasonic scanning” instead of saying that: “The woman must do pregnancy test”. Medical personnel often use medical jargons as face-acts. (Odebunmi 2003). In the same vein, Yusuf (2004) also states that proverbs help their users to say unpleasant things in an ameliorated way.

### Methodology

The methods of gathering the data for this work were based on participant's observation and oral interview. This researcher conducted an oral interview of people such as students of Emmanuel Alayande College of Education (Lanlate Campus), The Polytechnic, Ibadan (Adeseun Ogundoyin Campus), Eruwa. Also, some artisans, doctors, and some bus conductors in Ibadan, one of Nigeria's largest cities, were orally interviewed. Purposively sampling technique was used in selecting our respondents. Eight Nigerian English expressions and twelve Yoruba expressions were randomly selected as data. Some of the speeches of the respondents were surreptitiously recorded for analysis. The socio-pragmatic tools of mutual contextual beliefs (Bach and Hanish,, 1979) and politeness principles of Brown and Levinson (1987), Leech(1983) and Thomas(1995) were employed in analysing the randomly selected data. The following Fig 1 and 2 are our gathered data:

**Fig 1: Politeness in Yoruba usage**

S/N	YORUBA	NIGERIAN ENGLISH	MEANING
01	Oba ti wo aja	The king has climbed the ceiling	The king has die

Omo naa nfe 'wo	The boy pilfers	The boy stole	<b>Mrs. X:</b> When you see that man tell him to bring our gratification for the assistance rendered him. Do you understand?
Won ti ja ododo omidan naa	The girl has been deflowered	The girl has been disvirgined	
O l'arun opolo	He has mental neurosis	He is mad	<b>Mr. Y</b> (Bowling): Yes! I understand Sir
Owo po lowo mi loni dakun	I have much money today please	Please, I have not much with me today please	<b>Ex 15:</b> (A doctor talking to a nurse in the hospital)
Omo nla ni omo naa	He is a peculiar child	He is an im	<b>Dr. X:</b> From the test carried out on this patient, it has been discovered that he has "XYZ disease". You can give him any <u>camo</u> .
O ti je eso	She has been put in the family way	She has been impregnated	
O ta teru nipa	He kicked the bucket	He died	<b>Ex 16: Mr. B:</b> (Talking to a road side mechanic who helped him to repair the engine of his vehicle).
Fun mi ni obi mi	Give me my kolanut	I want to receive my bribe	
O ti fera ku	She is with child	She is pregnant	
O ri sinu idanwo na	He sunk in that exam	He fell through in that exam	<b>Engineer:</b> Please, I will give you your money next Thursday.
O ngbe mi mora	He is firmly embracing me	He is deceiving me	<b>The motor mechanic:</b> No problem. You can go.

### Fig 2: Politeness in Nigerian English usage

The following Ex13 - Ex20 revealed sampled of politeness in Nigerian English usage found in our gathered data.

Ex 13: A policeman "Give me my kola!"

A driver: Kola! Okay. I understand. (offers him ₦ 20) Have it.

Ex 14: (A Permanent Secretary talking to his clerk)

Ex 17: **Mrs. X:** (talking to a teenager who is a nephew to her husband)

"Uncle, kindly help me fetch water from the well"

**Ayo:** (a teenager) Okay. I will do it.

Ex 18: (two teachers are discussing in a school compound)

**Mr. X:** "What is the performance of students in your subject?"

**Mr. Y:** "Many of them sunk in that paper".

**Mr. X:** (surprised) sunk!

**Mr. Y:** “Yes! No single student is left out. They all sunk. I think that you can understand?”

Mr. X: Yes, I can

Ex 19: (A nurse and a medical doctor in a private hospital)

**Dr X:** where is the patient who was on this bed?

**Mrs. Y** (a nurse) “He has been DAMA”

Ex 20: (To a young girl who is a member of his church)

**Pastor Y:** Sister, will you come to the night vigil tomorrow?

**Sade:** Daddy, I will come sir.

### **Analysis of Politeness and Face-Acts in Nigerian English and Yoruba**

Nigerian English occurs as a result of the contact of English with the legions of mother tongues in the region. In Yoruba language, politeness and face-acts phenomena occur with effects on the use and usages of Nigerian English. Yoruba people of the Southwestern Nigeria enjoy making use of euphemisms, proverbs and indirect statement to be tactful in their speech. Examples of such are found the above Ex 1-12

Also, the politeness and face-act phenomena can be deduced from Nigerian English and Yoruba in Yoruba invective poetry, proverbs, metaphor, besides others. The mother-tongue interference makes the

politeness principles common-place in Nigerian English.

In example 1 above, the statement “The king has climbed the ceiling” has face-saving act in the categories of generosity, approbation and sympathy maxims.

**Background:** The statement “The king has climbed the ceiling” is having the socio-cultural background that the king travels from the physical world to the ancestral world. Hence, the statement, “The King has climbed the ceiling” has the assertive and commissive acts (Searle, 1969). Besides, it has sympathy maxim and is also expressed through a Pollyanna principle. The speaker prefers to say or describe an unpleasant occurrence like death in a pleasant way. Instead of saying, “The king has died”, he says that “The king has climbed the ceiling.

**Example 2: “The girl has been deflowered”**

**Background:** A virgin is often regarded among African as a beautiful flower.

Hence, the statement “The girl has been deflowered” means. “The girl has been dis-virgined.” Nigerians also say: “The girl has been put in the family way”

Face-Acts Involved: the statement has a politeness of face-act phenomenon in the category of Pollyanna principle. This Pollyanna principle is realized through the use of euphemism by saying an impolite statement of rapping a girl in a polite way.

**Example 3: “Owo po lowo mi loni”**

“I have much more money today”.

**Background:** The Yoruba believe that it is bad and ominous to say something negative to oneself. Hence, they often employ politeness principle when they want to say that they have become hard-up or insolvent.

**Face-saving Acts (FSA):** The above statement has a face saving act in the category of Pollyanna principle. Hence, a Yoruba man says: “Owo po lowo mi” meaning “I have much more money with me today that I have little to give out”. This indirectness in speech occurs as a result of the situational and contextual usage, which is controlled by socio-cultural norms, ethos and beliefs. When a Yoruba man says: “Please, I have much today, I am sorry”, he means that he is hard-up. By saying this, FSA has been employed.

**Example 4:** “Omo nla ni omo yen”, meaning “He is a peculiar child” instead of saying that: “He is an imp/ a terrible child”.

**Face-Saving Act (FSA) :** the face-act involved is in the category of Pollyanna principle. The speaker wants to say an unpleasant thing in a pleasant way, Instead of saying that “He is an imp” or “He is a terrible child” he says that “He is a peculiar child”.

**Example 5:** “Fun mi ni obi mi” meaning “Give me my kolanut”.

**Background:** It is a common knowledge that “He who brings kolanut brings peace” In Nigeria; kolanut is often used to entertain visitors. It is also a common knowledge that the giving of bribe is bad.

**Face-Saving Acts (FSA):** The statement, “Give me my kolanut” has an implied meaning: “Give me my bribe”, or “Give me my egunje”, or “Give me my settlement”, or “Give me my kickback” or “Give me my gratification”. The FSA involved is in the category of Pollyanna principles. The impolite attitude has been described in a polite way with the employment of euphemism, indirectness, idioms and slang like: “Kola”, “gratification”, “egunje”, “settlement” (Thomas, 1995, Brown and Levinson, 1978, 1987).

**Example 6:** “O ta teru nipa” means “He kicked the bucket”.

**Face-Saving Acts (FSA) :** The above statement has a Pollyanna principle because an unpleasant thing has been expressed in a pleasant way. Instead of saying that: “He died”, the speaker says that: “He kicked the bucket”.

**Example 7:** “Omo yen ti fera ku” means “The girl has been put into the family way”

**Face-Saving Act :** It has a politeness principle in the category of Pollyanna principle or sympathy act. An unpleasant thing like “unwanted pregnancy” has been expressed in a pleasant way.

**Example 8:** “O ti sorun nu” or “He has packed up”

**Face-Saving Acts (FSA):**It is in the category of sympathy act and Pollyanna principle. There is a FSA in that statement because an unpleasant occurrence like death has been expressed in a pleasant way.

**Example 9:** (a) Constable X (collecting bribe from a driver): “Take it”

(b) Driver Y (Giving out bribe to a policeman): Thank you.

**Background:** Some policemen in Nigeria often collect bribe in an indirect way. Constable X is a policeman in the western part of Nigeria who took a bribe from a driver. Instead of saying “Bring it”, he (constable X) said: “Take it” He said this in order to serve as a face-saving tact. The Nigerian police law stipulates that it is a criminal offence to take bribe. In order to create a face-saving Act (FSA) constable X said “Take it” instead of saying “Bring it” Only a meticulous person can detect this tactful use of expression. The Nigerian police often use the politeness principles in their expressions. FSA involved is in the category of Pollyanna principle and Tact maxim. The tact Maxim states that: “Minimize the expression of impolite expression and maximize the expression of polite expression. Constable X has employed Pollyanna principle in the statement. “Take it” since he didn’t want to utter the impolite expression “Bring it” since it is an unlawful habit and heinous crime to say so. The Nigerian police use the politeness principles of the category of tact maxim ... and Pollyanna principle in their language. The police jargons like “egunje” “gratification”, ‘settlement” and “kola” are employed to replace the word “bribe”. The word “bribe” is often avoided in the language of Nigerian police since it is against the law to take bribe.

**Example 10:** Student X: “Bawo ni idanwo yen?” meaning “How was that exam?”

Student Y: “Oju ojo ko dara: / The weather is bad”.

**Face-Saving Act (FSA)** involved is in the category of Pollyanna principle. Instead of saying the unpleasant thing: “I failed”, student “Y” says: “The weather is bad”.

**Background:** It is a common knowledge that when the weather is bad, there will be poor productivity. Hence, the pragmatic tool in the statement: “The weather is bad” is a metaphor. When someone says that: “the weather is bad” this means “The condition is terribly bad”.

**Example 11:** ‘The boy sunk in those papers”.

**Background:** When someone sinks, it means that the person is in a hopeless situation. The statement “the boy sunk in that paper” presupposes that “The boy failed in that exam. Face Saving Acts (FAS): involved in the statement 11: “The boy sunk ...“ is the politeness principle in the category of Pollyanna principle. The politeness principle states that one needs to minimize the expression of impolite, and maximize the polite expression (Thomas 1995, Brown and Levinson 1978, 1987 and Odebunmi 2003). The speaker doesn’t want to say an unpleasant thing (failure in an exam) but rather prefers to say it in a pleasant manner.

**Example 12:** “Kola fe gbe mi mora” or “Kola wants to embrace / hug me”

**Background:** The background knowledge resolves round the youthful platonic love among the epicurean Nigerian youths. When a boy embraces a girl, the action may be to hoodwink that girl. Hence, the statement “O fe gbe mi mora or “He wants



to embrace me” means “He wants to deceive me”. Indirectness has been used here as a politeness principle in the category of tact maxim.

**Example 13:** A policeman “talking to a driver)

A policeman: Give me my kola!”

A driver: Kola! Okay. I understand. (offers the constable ₦ 20) Have it.

**Background:** There exists the Shared Social Knowledge (SSK) between participants, that kolanut is often given in African society as gift. Hence, the speaker has employed the politeness and face-act principles to request for his “gratification” The word “kola” from Ex. 13 above is a short form of the word kolanut, which refers to “bribe”.

**Example 14:** (A permanent Secretary talking to his clerical officer).

Mr. X: When you see that man, tell him to bring our gratification for the assistance rendered him. Do you understand?

Mr. Y (Bowling): Yes! I understand Sir.

**Explanation:** In the above discourse, Mr. X has employed both MCB and presupposition to assume that his clerical officer has understood the meaning of the word “gratification”. The face-act used is the form of Pollyanna principle since the speaker wants to be polite in speech. Hence, the word “bribe’ was called “gratification”

**Example 15:** (A medical doctor talking to a nurse)

Dr. X: “it was discovered that the patient has XYZ disease. Hence, just give him any camo”.

Mrs. Y: Yes Sir!

**Explanation:** The medical personnel often use politeness principles in their speech (Odebunmi, 2003) so as not to hurt their patients’ feelings. Hence, the word “AIDS” has been referred to as “XYZ disease” while the word “camo” is coined from the word “camouflage” The nurse has been directed to give the patient any drug as a camouflage, since he has an incurable disease.

**Example 16:** Mr. B: (A man talking to a road-side mechanic).

Mr. B: Engineer! Please, I will give you your money next Thursday.

Mr. A: No problem. You can go.

**Explanation:** Mr. B in Ex 16 above has used a face act by giving deference to that road side mechanic. The mechanic has tactfully been called “an engineer” by Mr. B so as to gain an unusual favour from him. The polite tokens given to the mechanic made him to agree to help Mr. B.

**Example 17:** A woman talking to a teenager who is a nephew to her husband)

Mrs. X: “Uncle, kindly help me fetch water from the well”

Ayo: (A teenager) Okay. I will help you do it.

**Background:** In the western Nigerian social context, a woman must not be rude in speech not only to her husband but also to husband's relatives

**Explanation:** In Ex. 17 above, Mrs. X has used face act in the category of deference in order to be polite in speech to Ayo. The MCBs and shared cultural knowledge (SCK) which exist between the participants in the discourse made Mrs. X to use a face act in the category of honorifics for Ayo despite the fact that the speaker (Mrs. X) is older than him.

**Example 18:** (Two teachers are discussing in a school compound)

Mr. X: "What is the performance of students in your class?"

Mr. Y: "Many of them sunk in that paper".

Mr. X: (surprised) sunk!

Mr. Y: "Yes! No single student is left out. They sunk. I think you understand?"

Mr. X: Yes, I can

**Explanation:** In the above discourse, Mr. Y has used face-act in the category of euphemism so as to be polite in his speech. The word "sunk" has been used symbolically to mean "failed" in that context.

**Example 19:** (A nurse, and a medical doctor in hospital)

Dr X: where is the patient on this bed/

Mrs. Y (a nurse) "He has been DAMA".

**Explanation:** In the above discourse, the nurse, Mrs. Y, has used the face act in the category of Pollyanna principle since he wanted to be polite in her speech. The word DAMA is an acronym formed from "Discharged Against Medical Advice". In Nigerian Social context, medical personnel use face-acts so as not to offend their patient by being polite to them (Odeunmi, 2003).

**Example 20:** (A Pastor to a young girl in his church)

Pastor A: Sister, will you come to the night vigil tomorrow?

Sade: Daddy, I will come sir.

**Explanation:** In Western Nigerian Social context,, politeness and face act phenomena are used in religious discourse. In the above text, "Pastor A" has called Sade, a girl who he pastors as "sister" so as to give her deference. There exists a Shared Religious Belief (SRB) between these participants that honorific expressions must be used to speak to a fellow Christian. The employment of this will cement a mutual relation between the participants in the religious discourse.

## Conclusion

Politeness principles and face acts create a fillip or boost to the employment of Nigerian English and Yoruba Language in a heterogeneous and multilingual Nigerian social context. Metaphors, euphemisms, slang and idioms are employed as politeness principles in an ESL Nigerian context. Nigerians of diverse

socio-cultural, regional, occupational and social backgrounds always employ politeness principles in the categories of (a) Tact Maxim, (b) Generosity Maxim and Pollyanna principles in their day-to-day interactions. Among the Yoruba, women use politeness principles in rendering their invective poetry.

**Example:** “Emi ni mo niya oko mi, bo wu mi ma du lorun”, means, “I own my mother-in-law, if I wish I can strangle her”. The tact maxim, which has been used here, is that the poet wants to express a face-act in order to make her mother-in-law happy that she loves her. The face-act used here is in the category of generosity maxim, which has assertive and commissive acts of Searle (1969).

Nigerians are always tactful in their speech by making use of politeness principles because Africans (Nigerian inclusive) often want people to praise them. These politeness principles abound in the day-to-day interactions among Nigerians most especially in the use of honorifics. For instance, the Yoruba women are culturally bound to call the brothers, sisters, nephews and nieces of their husbands thus: (i) “akowe which means “secretary” or “educated person” (ii) “Oko mi” – which means “my husband”, besides others. The person referred to by a married woman as “my husband” does not merit to be called so. But, the socio-cultural beliefs and ethics of the people regard a married woman who calls the younger brother or sister of her husband by his or her name as “uncultured” “uncivilized”, “rude”, or “immodest” or “impolite person

As a result, in the family set-up, courtesy demands that people, especially women, should always employ politeness in the categories of (i) tact maxim (ii) generosity maxim (iii) modesty maxim and (iv) Pollyanna principles in their daily interactions with co-interactants. It must be noted that: when a Nigerian is called “Engineer”, that person may be a mere road-side mechanic, and when a Nigerian is referred to as “Doctor” that does not mean that the person holds a PhD degree or has studied medicine. Nigerians employ politeness principles in their communication with their co-workers, extended family members, friends, and neighbours, in order to show respect and deference. The reasons for the common use of politeness principles by Nigerians are as a result of the social, cultural and situational factors. By and large, the employment of face-acts and politeness principles among Nigerians not only creates a fillip in the development of Nigerian English but it also helps in the globalization and empowerment of the language.

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