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ВЕЖЛИВОСТЬ В КОНФЛИКТНОМ ДИСКУРСЕ

Данная статья посвящена изучению связи между использованием средств реализации тактики вежливости и урегулированием конфликта. Интерес к изучению конфликта появился еще в древние времена, однако, в современном мире знания о способах предупреждения и конструктивного решения конфликтов становятся все более актуальными. Объектом данного исследования являются средства, используемые коммуникантами для предупреждения и урегулирования конфликтных ситуаций, а именно средства реализации коммуникативной тактики вежливости, использованные в конфликтном дискурсе. На основе тщательного анализа аутентичных конфликтных ситуаций удалось выделить наиболее частотные средства реализации тактики вежливости, к которым прибегают коммуниканты в ситуациях конфликта. Кроме того, был проведен сравнительный анализ Британского и Американского вариантов английского языка, что позволило выявить очевидные культурные различия в использовании тактики вежливости в двух вариантах английского языка. Данное направление исследования представляется перспективным, в связи с растущей конфликтностью современного общества и возрастающей необходимостью приобретения компетенций, связанных с предупреждением и урегулированием конфликта. Данные, полученные в настоящем исследовании, применимы к различным сферам человеческой деятельности, способствуют пониманию роли вежливости в жизни человека и направлены на дальнейшее изучение данного концепта и распространение знаний о нем.

Ключевые слова: конфликтология, конфликтный дискурс, конфликтная ситуация, коммуникативная стратегия, тактика вежливости, теория вежливости, средства вежливости

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POLITENESS IN CONFLICT DISCOURSE

This article is devoted to the study of the relationship between the use of politeness tactics and conflict resolution. As early as in ancient times scholars got interested in the issue of conflict prevention and resolution, and in the modern world awareness of conflict prevention and resolution skills has become crucial. The present research looks into strategies of politeness used by opponents to prevent and resolve situations of conflict. The authors provide a detailed account of some commonly used politeness strategies opponents resort to in conflict situations, discuss peculiarities of their usage and compare their relevant frequencies in the British and American varieties of the English language. The comparative analysis revealed some striking differences in the use of politeness strategies by communicants to prevent and resolve conflict. The study of conflict prevention and resolution skills is a promising direction of research, due to the mushrooming proliferation of conflict in the modern world and the need for knowledge about the role of linguistic politeness in conflict settlement. The data obtained in this study are applicable to various areas of human activity, and contribute to understanding the role of politeness in human life. They are aimed at further studying this concept and disseminating knowledge about it.

Key words: conflictology, conflict discourse, conflict situation, communicative strategy, politeness tactic, theory of politeness, politeness strategy

Introduction

Conflict is an inseparable part of human life. Some people view conflict as an unpleasant situation which must be avoided. Others may see it as a phenomenon which necessitates management. Still, others consider conflict as an exciting opportunity for personal growth and use it to their best advantage. However, for most people the notion of

'*conflict*' often possesses a negative connotation.

In the modern world the interest towards conflict discourse is growing. The relevance of conflict management is undoubted. As a rule, people see only the observable aspect of conflict – angry words, actions of opposition, etc. But this is only a small part of conflict, for this reason people need some universal tactics to be able to prevent or to resolve conflict.

This research focuses on investigating the history of conflict research and different kinds of approaches and methods of dealing with conflicts. One area that has been researched into so far is methods that help people to be polite in conflict situations. So, the main aim of the research is to study what relevance strategies of politeness have for the process of communication and particularly for conflict prevention and resolution and how their usage depends on the sociolinguistic factors such as age, culture, mentality, level of education, etc. Nowadays people use polite formulas quite rarely, that is why the present research which aims to highlight politeness issues and raise awareness of the importance of politeness could be of interest.

Conflictology is a relatively new science which dates back to the previous century. Conflict has been studied in the context of psychology, sociology and sociobiology, philosophy, history, mathematics, pedagogy, politics and jurisprudence. However, linguistic conflictology still has many grey areas. Moreover, the present paper aims to highlight areas of intersection between politeness and conflict prevention and resolution which is a relatively new area of research.

Earlier studies of language put emphasis on formal and semantic aspects of usage and neglected the socio-cultural aspects which characterize everyday language. Later Searle (1969) was able to repair this leak in earlier paradigms by introducing a pragmatic approach into the study of language. In the course of producing utterances people perform communicative acts and though these acts certain social functions are performed. Politeness issues are essential for communicative success as an impolite person is perceived by others as rude, crude or uncooperative. Interest to politeness has grown considerably over the past few decades and nowadays cannot be ignored.

Various approaches to understanding communicative strategies are found in linguistics because linguists study them from different

perspectives. There is still no universal classification. The terms “strategy” and “tactic” are widely used by Russian linguists nowadays. One of the definitions of the strategy states that it is “a set of communicative actions that is pre-determined by the speaker’s communicative aim” (Raduk, 2013, p. 78).

Issers (2012, p. 110) defines the tactic as “one or two actions which contribute to the realization of the strategy”. According to this scheme the tactic is just a way of achieving the communicative aim.

One of the most complete classifications of communicative strategies is presented by O. S. Issers “Communicative strategies and tactics in the Russian language”.

Regarding the significance of the speaker’s goals strategies can be classified into core and peripheral (Issers, 2008, p. 105) because the speaker’s communicative aims could be more and less general.

Another classification is predicated upon the degree of the functional relevance of the strategy. Based on this criterion primary and secondary strategies (Issers, 2008, p. 106) can be singled out. Communicants act in accordance with the situation and their intentions.

Teaching communication skills is an important element of any modern syllabus of the English language. Much attention should be given to teaching communicative strategies conflict prevention and resolution skills. A crucial component of communicative competence is awareness of the importance of politeness strategies for conflict resolution. Knowledge of linguistic politeness as a strategy of speech behavior allows interlocutors to maintain a felicitous pattern of communication and prevent conflict. The present research focuses on realization of politeness strategies in conflict situations. Within the framework of the study a corpus of politeness strategies used in conflict discourse was subjected to comparative analysis in the course of which their overall pragmatic effect on the listener was revealed. Considerable attention was given to the statistical analysis of the distribution of strategies of politeness in English conflict communication.

The authors of this research set the following tasks:

- to investigate the history of conflict research;
- to study the areas of intersection between conflict and politeness;
- to describe existing approaches to conflict and conflict resolution;
- to study the use of politeness strategies in conflict situations;
- to compare the use of politeness strategies in the British and

American varieties of the English language and answer the question what relevance sociolinguistic factors have for the use of linguistic politeness and conflict.

The results of the research can be of interest to English language learners, particularly, those interested in conflict discourse and the issues of conflict prevention and resolution. Politeness strategies described in the present research can be applied by speakers to prevent and resolve conflict.

Materials and methods

For the purpose of the analysis of politeness strategies used in conflict discourse a corpus of 800 passages of politeness have been collected from authentic British and American materials and subjected to contextual, qualitative, quantitative and comparative statistical analyses. Comparative analysis was conducted to identify the differences observed in the use of politeness strategies in the British and American varieties of the English language. The materials were obtained from the British series “Peaky Blinders” which follows the exploits of the Shelby crime family in the aftermath of the First World War, “The Pursuit of Happiness”, an American biographical drama film, “Homefront”, an American action thriller film and “Pretty Woman”, an American romantic comedy.

Discussion

The topicality of the study lies in the necessity to reveal how strategies of politeness can be used in the process of communication and particularly in conflict situations. The question lies in the following: Can politeness be an effective tool of conflict prevention and resolution?

Asking indirect questions, indirect requests, apologizing, using appropriate titles in communication, using the right language, all this is considered polite behavior. Yet, there is no unanimity of opinion as to what politeness is and what significance it has for different cultures. Although many attempts have been made to approach the concept, no unified direction of research has been proposed and as Meier (1995) once stated there was a *disconcerting amount of divergence and lack of clarity concerning the meaning of politeness*.

The etymology of the term *politeness* is described by Sifianou (1992: 81) in the following way:

“Polite is derived from the Latin ‘politus’, past participle of ‘polire’

meaning 'to smooth'. Thus, 'polite' originally meant 'smoothed', 'polished', and subsequently 'refined', 'cultivated', 'well bred', and so on, when referring to people, and 'courteous', 'urban', etc. when referring to manners."

Contemporary research into politeness and politeness strategies is generally predicated upon the works by G. Leech ("Principles of Pragmatics"), R. Lakoff ("Language and Woman's Place") and P. Brown and S. Levinson's Theory of Politeness.

Most scholars agree that politeness can be used to avoid conflict. R. Lakoff (1975), for example, sees politeness as a form of behavior which has been "developed by societies in order to reduce friction in personal interaction". She first elaborated on Grice's maxims and proposed the following rules of politeness:

1) **Don't impose**: to satisfy this condition a social distance should be created and maintained between the speaker and the addressee;

2) **Give options**: the speaker gives the addressee freedom to express uncertainty over the speech act they perform;

3) **Make the addressee feel good – be friendly**: this assumption is concerned with "the equality rule" which claims that despite the speaker's superior status they communicate as if the addressee were their equal.

G. Leech (1983) saw politeness as "**strategic conflict avoidance**" which, in his opinion, could be measured in terms of the degree of effort put into the avoidance of conflict situations. G. Leech (1983) also adapted Grice's conversational maxims to politeness research and analyzed it in terms of maxims of politeness applied within the pragmatic framework. Leech attempts to explain indirectness in interaction regarding politeness as the impetus for indirectness in conveying meaning. He distinguishes between the speech act the speaker wants to perform and the way they adapt it to the communicative situation.

A coherent theory of linguistic politeness which not only provided a description of politeness strategies but also pointed to their universal character across five different languages was proposed by P. Brown and S. Levinson (2014).

Linguists determine 'politeness' as "*the performance of redressive action to minimize face threat*" (Brown & Levinson 1987, 61). The theory is based on the concept of 'face' which was first introduced into

social research by E. Goffman (2000) who defined '*face*' as a self-image that every person seeks to protect in the process of communication (Brown & Levinson 2014, 61). Thus, face is something that can be, for instance, lost or maintained. In communication interlocutors normally cooperate to maintain face.

The other issue that the present research is set to describe is conflict. The social conflict is a complex, little-studied phenomenon of social life. Its complexity is explained by the fact that at least 11 sciences (military science, art history, history, mathematics, pedagogy, politics, law, psychology, sociobiology, sociology, philosophy) have made it the focus of their research. Moreover, humanity clearly has not succeeded so far in social conflict avoidance, prevention and settlement, which indicates that there still are grey areas in the science of conflict. Understanding conflict is a prerequisite for its prevention and resolution. One of the most promising research methods found in the field is situational analysis of conflict.

Communicative contexts are variable and depend on many factors, including sociolinguistic. For this reason, people's behavior and the choice of linguistic means depend on the setting as well as their character, gender, education, the degree of their closeness, etc. Undoubtedly, human beings are not perfect creatures and they have their own opinions and beliefs and it is not surprising the conflict situations occur. However, the notion of "conflict" is quite difficult to describe as there are various types of conflict situations. Social conflict is the most acute way to resolve significant contradictions that arise in the process of social interaction, consisting in the opposition of participants and accompanied by experience of negative emotions in relation to each other. Interstate conflicts are a complex mental state caused by a prolonged struggle of motives, drives, and values that reflect conflicting connections with the social environment and delay decision-making.

To ensure analysis of real-life conflict situations the notion of 'conflict' has been profoundly researched into, its causes, dynamics, structure, levels and classifications of conflicts, in particular. The research is predicated upon the works by A. J. Antsupov and A. I. Shipilov (2000) and by E. Berne (2019).

The first conceptual ideas on the topic of conflict appeared in the 19th-20th century. It does not mean that the aspect had not been studied

before. Actually, since ancient times conflict has been a wide-spread thing in people's lives, but no proper attention has been given to it. However, later ancient philosophers got interested in the issue and pointed to the inevitable nature of conflicts. Initial research dates back to the 7th-6th centuries B. C. Chinese scholars believed that the yin-yang relationship formed the basis for everything in the world, and this type of relationship describes permanent confrontation which causes conflict among people (Antsupov & Shipilov, 2000, p. 11).

The 6th-5th centuries B. C. can be characterized by the first generalizations of the role of war as a social conflict, for instance, Heraclitus considered war as "the Father and the King of everything around". However, Plato believed it was the greatest evil. Numerous ancient thinkers were interested in the topic of conflict in its various manifestations. One of the first attempts to systematically analyse conflict was made by N. Machiavelli who did not take into account the prevailing divine views of that times and believed that conflict was "*a universal and continuous state caused by the vicious human nature*" (Antsupov & Shipilov, 2000, p. 12).

For the first time, conflict as a multi-level social phenomenon was studied by A. Smith in "An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations". He believed that conflict was based on the division of society into classes (capitalists, landowners, wage workers) and economic rivalry. A. Smith regarded class warfare as a source of social development, and social conflict, therefore, as a benefit for humanity.

Thus, many thinkers have paid close attention to conflict since the beginning of science. They pointed to both positive and negative aspects of social conflicts in society. Thus, the following conclusion can be made: the object of conflictology, which is a relatively new science, is conflict as a general concept, and the subject is causes, laws of occurrence, development and resolution of conflicts. The object of conflict resolution comprises three types of conflicts: social, intrapersonal, and conflicts involving animals (Antsupov, & Shipilov, 2000, p. 37). The major objectives of conflictology are the study of conflict, development of a theory of conflict, raising awareness of conflict avoidance, prevention and resolution, forecasting possible conflicts.

There is another approach to the study of conflict: Berne's (2019) theory of conflict that explains conflict, its causes and consequences.

This investigation is based on the analysis of three ego-states of an individual: *Parent, Child and Adult*. Every state has a set of its own behavioral patterns and feelings. For instance, Parent is a state in which the way a person thinks, feels and behaves resembles the way their parents did. Adult is able to perceive the reality objectively, which makes this state the most intelligent and reasonable of all. Child saves the patterns of behavior from the very childhood (Berne, 2019, p. 24).

When the scientist describes the so-called crossing transactions he touches upon the topic of conflict. Scheme 1 presents the most common situation which causes numerous difficulties in interaction. In psychoanalysis this type of transaction is called the classical transfer reaction (Berne, 2019, p. 32). The model of the transaction is Adult – Adult, for instance: “Do you know where my tie is?” So, the appropriate reaction is the following: “In the wardrobe on the top shelf, maybe.” However, if the respondent gets angry, the answer could be: “I haven’t touched your tie. It’s always my fault!” This reaction follows the model Child – Parent and there is an intersection of interests observed in this situation, which leads to conflict. The possible resolution depends on the agent because they can chose to react like Adult and to level the vectors or to react like Parent and to continue the conversation in this tone which will aggravate conflict.

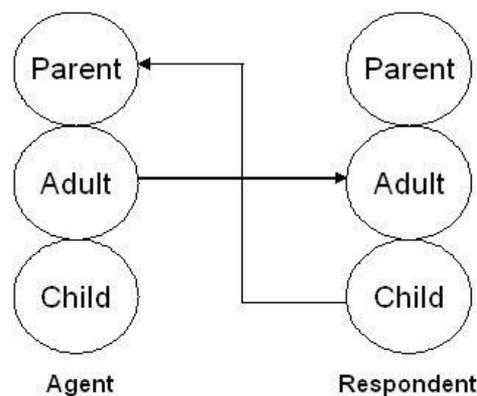


Diagram 1. E. Berne`s (2019) transactional analysis

E. Berne (2019) understood conflict as a conflict of interests during

transactions where the agent or the respondent chooses an inappropriate ego-state, thus changing the course of communication.

Correspondingly, communicative strategies (Issers, 2008, p. 106) can be divided into:

1. **Invective strategies, which include** threat and swearing;
2. **Courtly strategies are** characterized by extra politeness and etiquette behavior;
3. **Rational strategies which** refer to logic, intelligence rational behavior, here belong jokes and mockery.

Still another classification that describes the situation of conflict is based on the interlocutor' attitude: **cooperation, distancing and confrontation.**

1. **Confrontational strategies** are represented by manipulation (reproach or threat) and aggression (insult or disturbance, etc.);
2. **Distancing or the neutral strategy** can be actively neutral (the tactic of distancing, concession) or passively neutral (the tactic of silence or ignoring, etc.);
3. **Cooperative strategy** includes reconciliation (the tactic of topic change or agreement), cooperation (the tactic of support, persuasion, sympathy, suggestion or agreement) and compromise (the tactic of promise or reciprocity).

Results

The aim of the present research was to investigate the use of politeness strategies in conflict situations and their effect on conflict prevention and resolution. The table below shows the distribution of communicative strategies used in conflict situations obtained from the series "Peaky Blinders".

<i>Communicative strategy</i>	Sit. 1	Sit. 2	Sit. 3	Sit. 4	Sit. 5
Confrontational	15%	9%	-	7%	21%
Distancing or neutral	15%	-	16%	5%	14%
Cooperative	10%	27%	-	-	25%
Invective	-	-	-	-	-
Courtly	-	-	3%	-	7%
Rational-euritic	-	-	-	5%	5%

Depersonalization	25%	-	-	18%	18%
Off-record	5%	-	3%	-	-
Positive politeness	10%	-	29%	5%	7%
Negative politeness	-	-	3%	-	9%

Table 1. Distribution of communicative strategies used in conflict situations obtained from the series "Peaky Blinders"

The next table presents the results of the analysis of conflict situations obtained from the American sources.

<i>Communicative strategy</i>	'The Pursuit of Happiness' Situation 1	'The Pursuit of Happiness' Situation 2
Confrontational	19%	83%
Distancing or neutral	25%	8%
Cooperative	19%	-
Invective	-	-
Courtly	-	8%
Rational-eritic	-	-
Depersonalization	25%	-
Off-record	-	-
Positive politeness	19%	42%
Negative politeness	19%	-
	'Homefront' Situation 1	'Homefront' Situation 2
Confrontational	54%	13%
Distancing or neutral	-	-
Cooperative	31%	25%
Invective	-	-
Courtly	-	-
Rational-eritic	-	-
Depersonalization	-	13%
Off-record	-	-
Positive politeness	15%	-

Negative politeness	-	-
	'Pretty woman' Situation 1	'Pretty woman' Situation 2
Confrontational	17%	32%
Distancing or neutral	17%	3%
Cooperative	11%	18%
Invective	-	-
Courtly	5%	-
Rational-euritic	5%	-
Depersonalization	28%	26%
Off-record	-	-
Positive politeness	11%	12%
Negative politeness	-	-

Table 2. Distribution of communicative strategies used in conflict situations obtained from the American sources

Sample analysis

Tommy: -You said you wanted man called Shelby. You`ve got three of them.

Billy: - Right, I`d never heard of you, then I did hear of you, some little Didicoy razor gang. I thought to myself, so what? But then you **** me over, so now you have my undivided attention. By the way, which one am I talking to? Who`s the boss?

Arthur: - Well, I`m the oldest.

Billy: - Ha... clearly.

John: - Are you laughing at my brother?

Billy: - Right, he`s the oldest, you`re the thickest. I`m told the boss is called Tommy and I`m guessing that`s you cause you`re looking at me up and down like I`m a ****ing tart.

Tommy: - I want to know what you want.

Advisor: - There were suspicious betting patterns at Kempton Park. A horse called Monaghan Boy. He won by a length twice and then finished last with 3000 pounds bet on him.

Tommy: - Which one am I talking to? Which one of you is the boss?

Advisor: - I am Mr. Kimber`s advisor and accountant.

Billy: - And I`m the boss, OK? Right, end of parley, you fixed a race

without my permission. You are Gypsy scum what live off the war pensions of these poor old Garrison Lane widows! That's your lever! I am Billy Kimber, I run the races and you fixed one of them so I'm going to have you shot against a post!

Tommy: - Mr. Kimber. Look at it. That is my name on it. It's from the Lee family. You are also at war with the Lees, Mr. Kimber, am I right? The Lees are attacking your bookies and talking your money. Your men can't control them. You need help.

Advisor: - Perhaps, we should listen to what Mr. Shelby has to say. Before we make our decisions.

Tommy: - Right, the Lees are doing a lot of talking at the fairs. They have a lot of kin. They're saying the racetracks are easy meat because the police are busy with strikes. Now we have connections. We know how they operate. You have muscle. Together we can beat them. Divided- maybe not.

Advisor: - Mr. Kimber, perhaps, we should take some time for reflection. Possibly, make arrangements for a second meeting.

Tommy: - I admire you, Mr. Kimber. You started with nothing and built a legitimate business. It could be an honor to work with you, Mr. Kimber.

Billy: - Nobody works with me. People work for me.

Coin rattles on ground

Billy: - Pick it up, pikey.

John stands up.

Tommy: - Sit. Sit down.

Billy: - That's for your ceiling.

Tommy: - Thank you, Mr. Kimber.

Advisor: - We will be at Cheltenham.

Tommy: -As will I.

Billy and his advisor leave.

The opponents in the conflict situation are as follows:

Tommy Shelby is calm, intelligent, insightful; he is the leader of a gang.

He is willing to strike a compromise with Mr. Kimber.

Billy Kimber is intelligent, sarcastic and passionate.

The man is indignant that his opinion was ignored.

Arthur Shelby is passionate and straight-forward, likes to argue.

John Shelby is Tommy's younger brother, passionate, daring and

noisy.

Mr. Kimber's advisor is intelligent and calm. He makes his best to avoid the acute stage of the conflict.

The communicative strategies of politeness used in this conflict situation are as follows:

1. The prevailing strategy is cooperative. Mr. Kimber's advisor intends to resolve the conflict in a sensible way without resorting to aggressive action, that's why he uses the following strategies - '(Which one am I talking to? Which one of you is the boss?) I'm Mr. Kimber's advisor and accountant.', Mr. Kimber. Look at it. That is my name on it. It's from the Lee family. You are also at war with the Lees, Mr. Kimber, am I right? The Lees are attacking your bookies and talking your money. Your men can't control them. You need help.', Perhaps, we should listen to what Mr. Shelby has to say. Before we make our decisions.', Mr. Kimber, perhaps, we should take some time for reflection. Possibly, make arrangements for a second meeting.'

2. The second most frequent strategy in this conflict is confrontational. It is typical of a conflict situation, especially at the beginning of conflict. Billy Kimber is hostile towards Tommy and the Shelby's affairs. For instance, '... I'd never heard of you, then I did hear of you, some little Didicoy razor gang. I thought you myself, so what? But then you **** me over, so now you have my undivided attention. By the way, which one am I talking to? Who's the boss?', '... end of parley, you fixed a race without my permission. You are Gypsy scum what live off the war pensions of these poor old Garrison Lane widows! That's you lever! I'm Billy Kimber, I run the races and you fixed one of them so I'm going to have you shot against a post', etc.

3. Depersonalization in this case is used by three interlocutors: Tommy, Billy and his advisor. The advisor uses this strategy to avoid conflict - 'There were suspicious betting patterns at Kempton Park. A horse called Monaghan Boy. He won by a length twice and then finished last with 3000 pounds bet on him.' He does not tell them directly 'You set us up, you're to blame.'

4. Since Tommy understands that he is successful in cooperating with Mr. Kimber, he tries to behave with restraint and prevent conflict. That's why he uses the strategy of distancing: 'Mr. Kimber, look at it. That is my name on it. It's from the Lee family. You are also at war with the Lees, Mr. Kimber, am I right? The Lees are attacking your

bookies and talking your money. Your men can't control them. You need help.' His desire to cooperate, not to conflict can be seen.

5. Positive and negative politeness strategies are not abundant in this conflict situation.

6. Another interesting feature of this conflict situation is the usage of the rational-eritic strategy. It takes the form of a joke or mockery - 'You said you wanted man called Shelby. You've got three of them', 'Right, he's the oldest, you're the thickest. I'm told the boss is called Tommy and I'm guessing that's you cause you're looking at me up and down like 'i'm a ****ing tart', '(Tommy's words) Which one am I talking to? Which one of you is the boss?'

7. Mr. Kimber taunts the Shelby brothers by being over polite (the courtly strategy) - '... so now you have my undivided attention...', 'It could be an honor to work with you, Mr. Kimber.'

This part of the research allowed us to make a list of the most frequent communicative strategies used by opponents in conflict situations and prove the existence of a link between seemingly disparate concepts -- 'conflict' and 'politeness'.

Despite the relatively high number of **confrontational strategies** (direct expression of complaints and open aggression), used in both the British and American corpus, communicants also resorted to the use of cooperative strategies including politeness strategies. Special attention should be given to the use of politeness strategies. No instances of negative politeness strategies were observed in either of the corpora. Despite the relative frequency of negative politeness in some areas of human life, especially in business communication, where negative politeness prevails considerably over positive politeness (Lebedeva & Kuzhevskaya, 2019), in conflict situations positive politeness strategies were observed in both corpora. Among positive politeness strategies depersonalization prevailed, which allowed the speaker to disclaim responsibility.

The next stage of the research is the comparative analysis of the strategies used by British and American speakers. The research showed that British and American speakers have different perceptions of politeness. American speakers give much attention to warmth and friendliness. This is true about British speakers as well, but on the whole emphasis is often laid on not intruding and not interfering.

As for conflict behavior it varies for British and American speakers.

The graph below shows the differences.

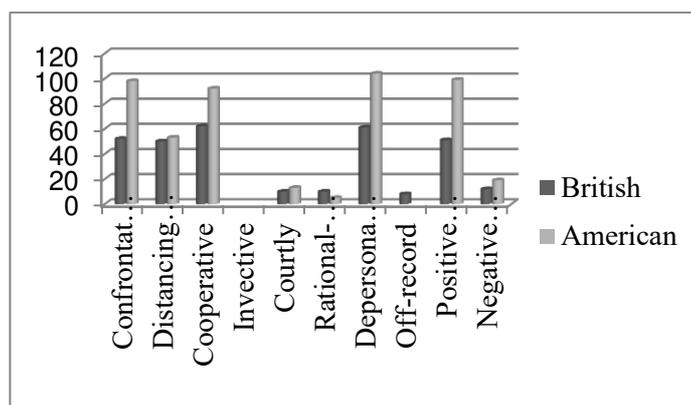


Diagram 2. Conflict behavior of British and American speakers

Based on the comparative analysis the following conclusions can be made:

1. Confrontational strategies are used more often in conflict situations by American speakers. They behave in a more aggressive way, often shout and use abusive language. The British are less aggressive in conflict situations, often reproach the opponent. However, if the opponent impinges on their values, the British also resort to aggression.

2. Mention should be made about the frequency of the strategy of distancing which proved to be common in both the British and American varieties. In other words, both British and Americans speakers tend to distance themselves from their opponents in order to avoid conflict.

3. Cooperative strategies are more common in American English which means that they tend to offer solutions to a problem, explain their point of view to resolve conflicts.

4. The frequency of jokes and mockery in conflict is not high, although using a joke could be a good strategy in a conflict situation. The frequency of courtly and rational-eritic strategies was not high either in both varieties of the English language.

5. Another communicative strategy whose frequency was rather low was off-record politeness which presupposes a high degree of

indirectness. The British rarely used off-record politeness, and American speakers do not use it at all.

6. Depersonalization is a frequent strategy in conflict situations. The British use this strategy twice as often as American speakers regardless their status, gender, education as well as distance between the opponents. This could be explained by the communicants' reluctance to express their dissatisfaction directly, they often rely on other people's opinions as an authority. The use of this strategy allows to disclaim responsibility.

7. Positive politeness strategies on the whole prevail in conflict situations in both varieties and depersonalization is one of them. Positive politeness is more common in the American variety.

Thus, the most frequent strategies used by opponents at the beginning of conflict are confrontational, depersonalization and positive politeness strategies. In addition, opponents use cooperative strategies, for example offer solutions to prevent conflict. Another point that deserves mentioning is that on the whole American speakers resort to the strategies described above more often than British speakers: conflicts occur more quickly and the transition from one stage of the conflict to another is dynamic. The explanation lies in the fact that the British normally behave with restraint and tend to conceal their emotions, whereas Americans do not hesitate to openly express themselves.

Conclusion

Politeness is an indispensable feature of successful communication which is immensely valued in most world languages. The present research aimed to highlight possible areas of intersection between the two seemingly disparate notions – linguistic politeness and conflict. The research proves that conflict and politeness are closely interrelated. Politeness manifests itself through the use of politeness strategies which allow communicants to avoid, prevent and resolve conflicts. Despite the inevitable character of conflict in most areas of human life, it is not always unproductive. In the past decades interest in conflict has grown considerably. Researchers seek to find effective tools to prevent and resolve conflicts and politeness proves to be one of them.

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ФОРМИРОВАНИЕ НЕГАТИВНОГО ИМИДЖА В БРАЗИЛЬСКОМ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОМ ДИСКУРСЕ

В настоящей работе рассматриваются языковые средства, используемые для формирования негативного образа политика в бразильском медиадискурсе, а также затрагивается социолингвистический аспект в контексте президентской предвыборной кампании. Внимание уделяется не только языковым средствам, но и их эффективности применительно к современному общественному и социальному строю. Актуальность исследования обусловлена тем, что мы сталкиваемся с новой посткоммуникативной реальностью и анализируем происходящие в ее рамках процессы, в частности в плоскости языка. Работа ставит своей целью выявить лингвистические средства разного уровня, включая макроуровень,