



Facework and Ideology in Welcome Speech

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Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis across Disciplines
<http://cadaad.net/journal>
Vol. 5 (1): 92 – 111
ISSN: 1752-3079

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Abstract

This study examines the welcome speech made at the opening of the first World Chinese Conference held in Beijing in July 2005 by extending facework analysis from interpersonal to institutional settings, in order to reveal the strategic use of facework for ideological purposes. Departing from generic structure, speech act theory and facework, the paper shows that the generic function of welcome speech as a speech act of extending welcome is strategically explored by the speaker to achieve the primary speech act (Searle 1975) of justifying Chinese language teaching/learning by means of redressing potential face needs. Specifically, the strategies of demarcation of self and others, self-face support, and other-face support (positive and negative) are used at various stages of the speech for the justification of teaching/learning Chinese as a foreign language as well as the establishment or restoration of rapport. It is argued that (1) an extension of facework and speech act theory is needed for analyzing speech in institutional context; (2) the form-function tension in facework research could only be satisfactorily accounted for by referring to social contexts.

Keywords: Facework, Ideology, Welcome speech, Chinese language teaching/learning

1. Introduction

Historically, pragmatics was established as a research paradigm to solve ‘unsolvable’ problems discarded by syntax and semantics, and accordingly pragmatic research mainly examines talk-in-interactions if not dyadic interactions. However, language evolves with new features in modern age: the distinction between spoken and written communication is blurred, and the concept of monologue is challenged from Bakhtin’s perspective of dialogism. Given the change of and new insights into language and communication, it is necessary to extend the study of communication to larger interactional situations on a discursive level. The present study examines a ‘written speech’ in institutional settings by extending speech act theory and facework for discourse analysis.

The basic assumption of the present study is that ‘face’ also figures prominently on the discursive level in pseudo-interactions where communication is largely ‘monologic’ with no immediate response from the recipients. The discursive level of face has been partially addressed in Geyer

(2008): ‘current politeness research is moving away from earlier categorical models based on sentence-level analysis, advancing a new view of politeness as a discursive phenomenon’ (p. 1), and ‘there seems to be a growing consensus ... that politeness is in essence a discursive phenomenon’ (p. 5). As Locher (2008) observes, ‘there can’t be any communication without an interpersonal aspect to it’ (p. 514). In modern age, the interpersonal aspect of communication takes on new features, with the speaker assuming tentative interlocutors and hearer(s) providing delayed feedbacks. This is especially the case with public speeches in institutional settings, where speeches are designed to reach diverse groups of hearers through various mediated channels such as TV, newspaper and internet. Chilton (1990) notes that Brown and Levinson’s framework can be extended to communication involving ‘collective but diverse audiences’ (p. 221), and be modified to acknowledge different interpretations by both researchers and speakers. The present study departs from such observations and critically draws on current paradigms to examine how facework is strategically employed in a welcome speech in the social context of teaching Chinese as a foreign language. Specifically, the research addresses the following questions:

- Who does the speaker represent? How is self-face managed?
- Who are the recipients of the speech? How are their faces addressed?
- What strategies are used in doing facework?
- And what are the ideological implications of these strategies?

The paper first reviews the theoretical background of facework, in particular its relationship with Brown and Levinson’s (1987) politeness principle, and then outlines the analytic framework of the study. Before analyzing the data, the specific social context of speech is introduced as an important factor in strategy selection. The results and discussion of the data analysis are then presented, followed by conclusion and implications.

2. Theoretical Background

2.1 Face

Face became a metaphorically-used theoretical concept in pragmatics since Goffman (1967) and Brown and Levinson (1987). Though Brown and Levinson claimed they borrowed the term ‘face’ from Goffman (Brown and Levinson 1987: 61), as noted by many scholars (e.g. Mao 1994), their conceptualization of ‘face’ is actually quite different. Goffman (1967) defined ‘face’ as ‘the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact’, ‘an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes’ (p. 5). Brown and Levinson (1987), on the other hand, defined face as ‘basic wants’ (p. 62) and recognized two aspects of face-positive face and negative face. Negative face represents ‘the want of every ‘competent adult member’ that his actions be unimpeded by others’ (p. 62), and positive face ‘the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others’ (p. 62). As noted by Mao (1994: 453), while Brown and Levinson (1987) foreground the psychological and internal aspect

of face, for Goffman (1967), face also has its impersonal constraints, subject to social evaluations and judgements.

The difference, however, has more implications, and therefore needs to be treated with caution. By defining face in terms of approved social attributes, Goffman foregrounds the social and collective aspect of face, implying social constraints on individuals' conducts and behaviours. In this sense, the definition is most likely to work in certain societies or communities where social hierarchy plays a significant part in social norms or where social order has a pre-determinant nature¹. On the other hand, face as individual's basic wants, as defined by Brown and Levinson (1987), emancipates people from pre-existing rules or norms, thus representing an unequivocal right. One implication of the definition appears to be that people work out how to do facework at the start of every interaction. Brown and Levinson's (1987) formula $W_x = D(S, H) + P(H, S) + R_x$ justifies the implication. W_x , the weightiness of a face-threatening act (FTA), can be calculated by the symmetrical Distance between Speaker and Hearer, Power of Hearer over Speaker, and R (ranking) of the FTA. Based on the calculation, Speaker chooses strategies to do FTAs. But as commented by Locher (2008), people do not enter into communication by 'inventing norms and expectations from scratch every time' (Locher 2008: 522).

In the present study, face is defined as a socially-constraint and yet self-performative image under constant process of negotiation during face-to-face or mediated interaction. This definition allows for consideration of social norms and context in facework analysis, as well as instantiated use of politeness strategies.

2.2 Facework and Politeness

Face undergoes a constant process of negotiation during any process of interaction, and a person may be *in face*, *in wrong face* or even *out of face* (Goffman 1967: 8). Besides, face is largely reciprocal in nature; thus self-face and other's face can be 'constructs of the same order' (Goffman 1967: 6). Facework refers to 'the actions taken by a person to make whatever he is doing consistent with face' (Goffman 1967: 12), and facework practices can be habitual, standardized or characteristic to each person, subculture, and society (Goffman 1967: 13). Goffman analyzes facework in terms of orientation and function, that is, facework towards self or other, and facework for avoidance or correction. By avoidance, Goffman refers to the facework addressing the face in a preventative manner; by correction, Goffman means work done to restore face threatened.

The word 'facework' does not appear in Brown and Levinson's work, but their extensive list of strategies actually represents redressive actions to avoid FTAs. Face 'can be lost, maintained, or enhanced and must be constantly attended to in interaction' (Brown and Levinson 1987: 61) Redressive strategies for FTAs are politeness-oriented, be it positive or negative, or off-record (Brown and Levinson 1987). As noted by Metts (2000), what is defined as preventative or avoidant function of facework by Goffman (1967) figures prominently in Brown and Levinson's (1987) discussion of negative politeness strategies, though they also contribute to facework analysis by introducing positive

politeness strategies. Nevertheless, there is also the question of ‘whose face’. In his explanation of facework, Goffman (1967) covers both self-face and other-face, which are considered as constructs of the same order (p. 6). A person may want to save his/her own face as well as others’, though the two wants may ‘differ in quality and direction’ (Goffman 1967: 6). However, for Brown and Levinson (1987) the face redressed is H’s face. Though Brown and Levinson (1987) claimed that some speech acts are intrinsically threatening to H’s face and some to S’s face, their extensive list of strategies aims at only H’s face. Positive politeness is ‘oriented toward the positive face of H, the positive self-image that he claims for himself’ (Brown and Levinson 1987: 70); negative politeness ‘is oriented mainly toward partially satisfying (redressing) H’s negative face, his basic want to maintain claims of territory and self-determination’ (Brown and Levinson 1987: 70). Their neglect of the face of S seems to indicate that one can do little about one’s own face if threatened as a H, because according to their principle, once the threatened H gets the turn to be a S, s/he could perhaps only rationally recalculate the Wx on the basis of the enlarged D and choose the off-record strategy to avoid FTA to others, which runs contrary to intuition and of course rarely happens in real life. Besides, if one accepts that face is a basic want, it becomes confusing to see why people may initiate a self-FTA (such as apology) against their wants and pitifully rely on the rationality of the other interlocutor who may be unlikely to approve such self-threatening acts and which may bring embarrassment to both of them (Brown and Levinson 1987: 286).

The above discussion indicates that politeness and facework cannot be fully equated (Watts 2003). Geyer (2008) argues that ‘facework ... encompasses a wider range of practices than polite behaviour’, and ‘a speaker’s display of his or her own positive self-image may be regarded as facework but not necessarily as politeness’ (p. 7). Locher (2008) also notes that ‘polite linguistic behaviour is actually only one very small aspect of relational work’ (p. 521). Based on these observations, the present study thus attempts to critically combine the two frameworks in order to investigate the strategies of facework in welcome speech. Such a position does not exclude politeness; rather, politeness is considered as an essential part of doing facework.

3. Method

3.1 Frame and Generic Structure

The data are analyzed against both the frame of welcome speech and the domestic and international social context of Chinese language teaching/learning, as advocated by the Chinese government. Frames are ‘structures of expectation based on past experience’ (Tannen 1993: 53) and ‘can contain expectations about action sequences, but also role and identity issues’ (Locher 2008: 521). The frame for welcome speech thus includes the following aspects: (1) the generic structure of a welcome speech, normally comprising a welcome message, a brief description of the occasion, a reason for welcoming the people, and goodwill, as shown in table 1; and (2) as the presenter of the welcome speech, the speaker represents the institution or organization holding the conference rather than him/herself.

Table 1. Generic structure of welcome speech (based on Goodwin, ND)

Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3	Stage 4
Welcome message	Brief description of the occasion	Reason for welcoming people	Goodwill

3.2 Context

Before the analysis of the discourse, context, as an essential factor in the coding of facework, needs to be considered. One of the most criticized aspect of Brown and Levinson is that they fail to consider the role of context in politeness. Such neglect is surprising, given that the pragmatic study of language examines language in context. The notion of context actually plays a prominent role in the examination of facework in public speech. Locher (2008), drawing on Baumann et al.'s (2006) example, demonstrates that in performing FTAs speakers not only need to consider immediate context or situational context, but also previous social relationships with interlocutors. Chilton (1990) also argues that an out-of-context description of politeness is at best a classification of linguistic formulations; it is in-context analysis that justifies the strategic and tactical import.

3.3 Facework

Drawing on the work of Goffman (1967) and Brown and Levinson (1987), facework is analyzed from the following aspects, self-face and other-face. By self-face, I mean the facework employed by the speaker to build up an image for both him/herself and the institution s/he stands for. By other-face, I mean how facework, politeness in particular, is performed for addressees or auditors. Discourses for other-face are further analyzed on the basis of positive face, negative face, and off-record facework.

4. Data Analysis

4.1 The Context

Recent years see a rapid increase in the number of Chinese language learners, in particular since the establishment of Confucius Institute worldwide for promoting Chinese language and Chinese culture learning. The first Confucius institute was established in the year 2004. According to the official website of Hanban (the Office of Chinese Language Council International), the confucius institutes

devote themselves to satisfying the demands of people, to strengthening educational and cultural exchange and cooperation between China and other

countries, to deepening friendly relationships with other nations, to promoting the development of multi-culturalism, and to construct a harmonious world.

(http://english.hanban.edu.cn/kzxy_list.php?ithd=xyzc)

Hanban is the executive body of the Chinese Language Council International, a non-governmental and non-profit organization affiliated to the Ministry of Education of China. Until April 2009, 326 Confucius institutes have been established around 81 regions and countries.²

The establishment of Confucius institutes reflects a renewed interest in Chinese language and culture both in China and the world; however, the issue is hotly debated, historically and currently, domestically and internationally. Confucius or Confucianism in china experienced the following phases of development: Han Dynasty to May 4th movement: Confucianism as foundations of feudalist society; May 4th movement to culture revolution: the beat-down of Confucianism; culture revolution till now, a rejuvenation in Confucianism. But Confucianism has also become a topic of debate ever since its rejuvenation. In china, some scholars go so far as to initiate the Children Reading Classics Movement; other scholars, however, openly criticise such actions as political Confucianism. Even though Hanban claims that Confucius institute has nothing to do with Confucianism and the use of Confucius in the name of the institutes only represents Chinese culture, the institute itself still receives criticisms internationally, such as advocating Chinese politics, increasing china's soft power.

Against such social background, the first World Chinese Conference was held in July in the year 2005. The conference was hosted by Ministry of Education, Ministry of Finance, the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office of the State Council, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the State Development and Reform Commission, the Ministry of Commerce, the Ministry of Culture, the State Administration for Radio, Film and Television, the State Press and Publication Administration, the Information Office of the State Council and the State Language Commission. The aim of the conference was to promote the prosperity and development of worldwide Chinese language teaching, and advancing the spreading of Chinese language. The theme of the conference was 'Chinese language development in a multi-cultural worldwide structure'. The opening welcome speech was made by Chen Zhili, president of World Chinese Conference and state councillor. Given the social context, discourses by Chinese officials concerning Chinese language teaching are potentially face-threatening, for both domestic and overseas audiences. The need for cautious expression is well recognized, even by Chinese speakers themselves (Paradise 2009). It is thus necessary to investigate what strategies are used to mitigate the potentially threatening act of promoting Chinese language learning.

4.2 Frame and Generic Structure

On the basis of the generic structure of welcome speech, the data is analyzed to find out any possible structural particularities. Stage 3 (see table 2) seems to be outstanding in terms of generic structure, involving a long exposition of how Chinese government encourages Chinese people to learn foreign languages. This seemingly out-of-place information is actually an off-record strategy and a detailed analysis is provided later. It is to be explained that this

structural organisation further implies that the welcome speech has two illocutionary acts: welcoming and justifying. On the face of it, the opening speech is extending a welcome; however, a closer examination reveals that the primary speech act (Searle 1975) is to justify Chinese language teaching/learning, as shown in the analysis below.

Table 2. Stages in the welcome speech

Stage 1 (para 1)	Stage 2 (para 2)	Stage 3 (para 3-7)	Stage 4 (para 8-9)	Stage 5 (para 10-12)
Welcome message	Brief description of the occasion	Outline of missions and responsibilities	Reason for welcoming people	Goodwill

4.3 Self vs. Others

The identification of self and others are complicated by the mode of communication in media. The speaker seldom speaks for him/herself and the number of listeners multiplies. According to Bell (1991), four kinds of audiences are involved in communication in media: addressees, auditors, overhearers, and eavesdroppers. Addressees are the second person known, ratified and addressed by the speaker; auditors are third persons known, ratified but not addressed; overhearers are known to be there but not ratified; eavesdroppers are peripheral participants whose presence is not even known (p. 91). The identification of 'self' and 'other' is facilitated by the use of address terms and vocatives in the speech. The speaker begins to address her audience through a series of vocatives: distinguished guests, friends, ladies and gentlemen. As to who her implied audience are and whether they include those present and/or a mediated audience becomes clear from the greeting that follows. The speaker extends her sincere welcome to those present through third-person reference forms 'participating guests and friends' (前来参加这次盛会的 各国来宾和朋友们), which indicates the inclusion of a mediated audience as well as those present. As the speech continues, both those present and those absent auditors are specified in one way or another as 'others'. Different from the presentation of 'other' whose images or identities emerge gradually, the presentation of 'self' is specified unambiguously from the right start: 'On behalf of the Chinese government and Chinese people, I would like to congratulate the opening of the conference'. The speaker takes her position as a representative of Chinese government and Chinese people, through which a political relationship between herself, the Chinese government, and the Chinese people is proposed or presupposed. The table below shows the major persons and institutions mentioned in the speech. It can be seen that multiple-faces are to be addressed in making a public speech. Bull et al. (1996) noted that politicians 'defend three superordinate categories of face-their own face, the face of the party which they represent, and the face

in relation to supporting significant others'. The present study thus takes speaker's face and the face of the party represented as self-face, and the face of those involved in the issue, including the both the ratified and non-ratified, as other's face.

Table 3. Self and Other ratified in the speech

Self	Other	
I, the Chinese government, Chinese people, China, [Educational institutes worldwide ³]	Addressees	Auditors
	You, friends, guests, politicians, minister of education, officials in charge of language education, college presidents, teachers of Chinese, sinologist, Workers at the forefront of Chinese language teaching	Them, foreign companies and enterprises, other countries, other regions, international organizations, other governments, educational institutes, media, tourists

4.4 Self-face

Self-face enhancement discourse is employed to argue for the Chinese language as one of the world's most important languages and the significance of the language in terms of culture, entrepreneurship, government, and education. The position or identity of the Chinese language is also interrelated with the image of Hanban and the Chinese government, and thus the promotion of the Chinese language could be explained as an enhancement of the face/image of Hanban and the Chinese government. Self-face management, according to Imahori and Cupach (2005), always involves dialectical tension between supporting self-face vs other-face: supporting self-face may threaten other-face, if the particular values or norms are inconsistent with others. For those with favorable opinions of Chinese, the statement can be regarded as a strengthening agreement; for those with negative opinions, they may be seen as justifying the contribution of Chinese and thus may arouse opposition or disagreement; and for those in-between, they are influential in their opinion formation.

(1)

汉语是世界上使用人口最多的语言之一⁴。

Chinese language is one of the most populous languages in the world.

(2)

汉语作为各国了解中国的重要工具和文化载体，受到了越来越多的国家政府、教育机构、企业以及传媒的重视。汉语作为一种重要的商业语言的实用价值和潜在价值也正在提升，不少国家出现了学习汉语的热潮。

Chinese, as an important tool for other countries to know China and a cultural carrier, has received attention from more national governments, educational institutions, enterprises and media. Chinese, as an important business language, is also gaining practical value and potential value. Many countries are witnessing a craze for learning Chinese.

(3)

中国是具有五千年悠久历史和灿烂文化的文明古国，汉语作为中国的重要组成部分和传承载体，是中华民族对世界文化多样性的重要贡献。

China has a long history and a splendid culture of five thousand years of ancient civilization. Chinese, as an important part of China and a heritage carrier, represents a great contribution of the Chinese people to world culture diversity.

4.5 Other-face: Positive Facework

4.5.1 Greeting

Beginning a welcome speech with greeting seems to require little explanation, as this is the social norm. But such a move on the part of the president of World Chinese Conference could still be explained as a positive face support, aiming to set the harmonious atmosphere for the conference. Moreover, given the social context, the greeting carries further meanings. According to Goffman (1967), in any encounter, social relationship can be said to comprise three aspects: social relationship prior to the encounter, social relationship being negotiated, and social relationship ended in (p. 41). The process of negotiating social relationship is characterized by attempts or efforts to maintain the prior relationship, if any unanticipated or undesirable disruption occurs or will occur. In this sense, greeting message during interaction could be considered as indicating that 'a relationship is still what it was at the termination of previous coparticipation' (p. 41). In other words, any interaction draws on previous interactions, through which intertextuality is established and social relationship is maintained. The greeting thus can be interpreted intertextually as that 'our relationship is as before' despite some divergent opinions regarding the theme or purpose of Chinese language teaching.

4.5.2 Emphasizing cooperation

One frequently used strategy for positive face management is presenting both parties in the language learning/teaching activity as cooperators, including asserting awareness of H's needs and wants, providing offers and promises, asserting joint ventures (Brown and Levinson 1987).

Asserting awareness of H's needs is one of the most frequently used strategies in positive face enhancement. The speaker talks from the perspective of H by highlighting that it is the learners that want to learn Chinese, rather than the Chinese government who wants to teach Chinese. This perspective also makes presuppositions about H through nominalisation, thus rendering the controversial issue of whether there does exist demand for the Chinese language as indisputable, as shown in the extracts below.

(4)

与会的各国政要、教育部长、主管外语教学的政府官员以及大学校长、汉学家、汉语教师等聚集一堂，围绕‘多元文化架构下的汉语发展’这一主题，共同探讨第二语言教育与多元文化的关系，探讨汉语教学的**国际需求**，发展趋势、政策措施、以及如何进一步加强合作，很有意义。

Presented at the conference are foreign officials, the Minister of Education, government officials in charge of foreign language teaching, university presidents, scholars, and Chinese teachers, who will discuss and explore together questions such as second language education in a multicultural world, the **international demand** for Chinese language teaching, trends, policies and measures, as well as how to further strengthen co-operation around the theme of ‘The Development of Chinese in a Multicultural World’. This has great significance.

(5)

进入新世纪以来，我国对外汉语教学工作又有了新的巨大的发展，2004年中国政府制定了对外汉语教学的五年规划，我们称之为‘汉语桥’工程，意在满足世界各国、不同地区、不同层面对汉语教学的需求。

In the new century, China's foreign language teaching has significant new developments. In 2004 the Chinese government formulated a five-year plan for foreign language teaching, which we call ‘Chinese Bridge’ project, intended to **meet Chinese language learning needs** in the world's different countries and different regions at different levels.

(6)

第二，加强与对外汉语教学的师资培养工作，努力满足世界各国对汉语教师的需求。

Second, strengthening foreign language teacher training, in an effort to **meet the world demand** for Chinese language teachers.

(7)

汉语学习的迅速发展和国际化，不仅是中国进一步扩大开放，加强世界联系和交往的需要，也是世界其他国家与中国加强经济贸易、文化、教育等交流现实的需求。

The rapid development and internationalization of Chinese language learning is not only a **necessity** for China to further expand opening up, strengthen contacts and exchanges between the world needs, but also the real **needs** for other countries to strengthen economic and trade, cultural and educational exchanges with China.

In this welcoming speech, two sections (see excerpt (8) and (9)) are concerned with the obligations or services of Hanban, one about the major contents of the Chinese Bridge Project, the other about major works to be done for Chinese education. These contents and works are presented in the form of regulations or guidelines, emphasizing the H's needs (需求) and clarifying the S's concerns accordingly. This strategy establishes a positive relationship between Hanban and American primary and middle school Chinese learners, Confucius institutes abroad, HSK takers, international communities and other countries concerned. Besides, by showing awareness of responsibility and duty, the positive self-face is also enhanced, establishing a willing and helpful image for the Chinese government and Chinese people.

(8)

工程的主要内容包括⁵：The projects mainly include:

一是包括对外汉语教学资源，为国外汉语教学**提供实质性的帮助**。

Firstly, providing resources and substantive assistance for foreign Chinese teaching.

二是大力支持在海外建设孔子学院，使其作为海外学习汉语的教学基地，为海外汉语提供零距离的教学**服务**。

Second, **providing strong support** for the establishment of the Confucius Institute abroad, making it the teaching base for overseas Chinese learning, and providing zero-distance assistance for overseas Chinese teaching.

三是推广和完善汉语水平考试，也就是HSK考试，目前我们已经在世界34个国家设立了151个考点。

The third is to promote and improve the Chinese language proficiency test, that is, HSK examination. We now have set up 151 examination sites in 34 countries.

四是加大了汉语教师的培养和派遣力度，我们向各国派遣教师和志愿者，还利用请进来和走出去的办法派遣汉语教师。

Fourth, increasing efforts in teacher training and dispatch. We send teachers and volunteers to other countries, but also invite and learn from foreign teachers.

(9)

今后，我们将一如既往地以真诚和积极的态度，加强与世界各国在汉语方面的教学与合作，努力为有需求的国家和地区提供帮助，我们将进一步加大对外汉语教学的经费投入，不断增强服务意识，为对外汉语教学工作**提供更加优质有效的服务**。为此，我们将重点抓好以下几项工作：

In the future, we will, as always, with sincere and positive attitude, strengthen cooperation with other countries in the Chinese language teaching, provide assistance for countries and regions in need, further increase funding for Chinese language teaching, and continuously enhance the sense of service, so as to provide more high-quality and efficient service for foreign language teaching. To this end, we will focus on the following tasks:

进一步加强海外孔子学院的建设，孔子学院以非学历教育为主，面向社会各界人士开展汉语教学和传播中华文化活动。

First, further strengthening the construction of overseas Confucius Institute. Confucius Institute features non-academic education, and carries out Chinese language teaching and spreads Chinese cultural for different people in society.

加强与对外汉语教学的师资培养工作，努力满足世界各国对汉语教师的需求。我们将制定和实施汉语教学规划对志愿者的扶持。

Second, strengthening foreign language teacher training, in an effort to meet the world demand for Chinese language teachers. We will develop and implement the Chinese teaching plan to assist and support the volunteers.

充分利用信息技术，以多媒体、网络教学为主，设计出精品教材，开发和完善对外汉语教材体系。

Third, making full use of information technology, designing quality textbooks featuring multimedia, web-based instruction, developing and improving foreign language teaching system.

加强同世界各国和多变国际组织在推广汉语教学方面的合作，为他们提供中文项目的开发提供各种帮助。

Fourth, strengthening cooperation with countries in the world and multilateral international organizations in the promotion of Chinese teaching, and assisting them in Chinese project development.

Excerpts (10) and (11) also illustrate the efforts made by the Chinese government to show that S is addressing H's needs.

(10)

作为汉语的母语国，我们对于积极推进汉语教学，帮助世界各地学习者更快更好地学习汉语，有着义不容辞的责任。推动汉语教学的发展也将有利于让世界各国了解中华文明，了解中国人民对于世界和平与共同发展的渴望以及为之付出的努力，让中华文明所包含的知识和智慧造福于全人类。

As the native country of Chinese, we have a compelling **responsibility** to actively promote Chinese language teaching, to help learners around the world learn Chinese faster and better. To promote the development of Chinese language teaching will also allow the world to understand Chinese civilization and the Chinese people's aspiration and efforts for world peace and common development, and benefit the humanity with the knowledge and wisdom of Chinese civilization.

(11)

中国政府高度重视对外汉语教学。早在1987年就成立了由教育部、财政部、外交部、国家发展和改革委员会、商务部、文化部、广电总局、新闻出版总署、国家语言文字工作委员会、国务院侨办和国务院新闻办等11个部门组成的中国国家对外汉

语教学领导小组，负责统筹协调领导对外汉语教学工作，并逐步加大了经费投入的力度。

The Chinese government attaches great importance to foreign language teaching. As early as in 1987, we set up the China National Leading Group for Teaching Chinese to Foreigners consisting of the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, National Development and Reform Commission, Ministry of Commerce, Ministry of Culture, Radio and Television General Administration of Press and Publication Administration, the State Language Work Committee, the State Council Overseas Chinese Affairs Office and the State Council Information Office and other 11 departments for coordinating and leading foreign language teaching, and gradually increased the financial input.

Excerpt (12) includes both H and S in the activity. This statement rearticulates that learning language and culture is a reciprocal undertaking and thus establishes a cooperative and mutual beneficial relationship between the two parties.

(12)

我们希望通过双边和多边的交流与合作，互相学习对方的语言文化，进一步增进相互的理解和友谊，携手共建语言之桥，促进世界和平和发展。

Through bilateral and multilateral exchanges and cooperation, we hope to learn from each other's language and culture, further enhance mutual understanding and friendship, and jointly build a bridge of language to promote world peace and development.

4.5.3 Praise and Acknowledgement

Another strategy used for positive face enhancement is praise and acknowledgement of H's efforts and supports. Through paying tribute to other nations, their Chinese teaching institutes, sinologists, and workers at the forefront of Chinese language teaching, the speaker not only enhances their positive face, but also establishes a further cooperative relationship with them. Two points are noteworthy here. First, towards to the end of the speech, a minute change occurs in the identification of 'self' (see excerpt 14). The speaker now is speaking on behalf of Chinese government and different educational institutes worldwide to pay compliments to all those working in Chinese language teaching. The inclusion of different educational institutes as 'self' strategically proposes a harmonious bilateral relationship between Chinese government and Confucius institutes worldwide; more importantly, such an expansion of 'self' indicates enhancement of the bilateral relationship. Second, the use of 'you' in excerpt 15 directly addresses all those working in the field of Chinese language teaching as if all of them were co-present. Such a strategic use of pronoun indicates a desire to enhance the positive face of others.

(13)

女士们、先生们，汉语教学的发展离不开各国的重视和支持，离不开各国的汉语教学机构的开拓和进取，

离不开汉语学家的潜心研究，更离不开汉语教学家的关心和支持。

Ladies and gentlemen, the development of Chinese language teaching is inseparable from the attention and support of other countries, the innovation and development of Chinese teaching institutions in the world, the concentrated study of Chinese scholars, and the care and support of Chinese language educators.

(14)

在此，**我代表政府、各国教育机构**对在汉语教学第一线的工作人员们表示感谢。

Here, on behalf of the Government, the educational institutions worldwide, I would like to express thanks to workers working at the forefront of Chinese language teaching.

(15)

你们的辛勤付出，是年轻人与13亿人交流的工具，开启了中华之门的知识钥匙，

你们拉近了所在国和交流国的距离，增进了两国的交流和友谊。

Your hard work represents a communication tool for the young people to communicate with 1.3 billion people, a key to open the door to the Chinese knowledge. You have narrowed the distance between the native country and the exchange country, and enhanced exchanges and friendship between the two countries.

4.6 Negative Facework: Seeking Justification

Apart from positive face support which are expected to exist in welcome speech, negative face support is also found, which further demonstrates not only the ambivalent face involved in the issue of Chinese language teaching/learning, but the ideological purpose of the speech as justification of Chinese language teaching/learning. Specifically, the strategy employed is to state the potential FTA as a general rule. The speaker draws on the *Universal Declaration on Culture Diversity* by UNESCO to justify teaching and learning Chinese as one instantiation of the obligations advocated by the declaration. The strategy is employed to redress the negative face of audiences with different viewpoints.

(16)

联合国教科文组织实施世界文化多样化宣言行动计划重点的内容之一就是‘提倡在尊重母语的情况下，在所有可能的地方实现各级教育中的语言多样化，鼓励自幼学习多种语言。’

One focus of the implementation of Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity Action Plan by UNESCO is ‘to encourage multi-language learning at an early age and materialize linguistic diversity at all levels of education, wherever possible, on the premise of respecting the mother language’.

(17)

女士们、先生们，世界是一个不同民族、多元文化组成的整体，联合国教科文组织2001年通过的《世界文化多样性宣言》中明确指出，文化多样性是交流核心和创新的源泉，对人类来讲，就像生物多样性维持生物平衡一样必不可少。推进汉语教学是促进世界多元化的有机部分，也是促进共同发展的重要途径。

'Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity' adopted by UNESCO in 2001 clearly states that cultural diversity is the core of exchange and the source of innovation, and is as essential for humanity as biodiversity is for the maintenance of biological equilibrium. To promote Chinese language teaching is an integral part of the promotion of the world's diversity, but also an important way to promote common development.

4.7 Off-record Facework

Facework is also performed in an off-record manner, which implies the speaker's awareness of potential FTA to H's negative face, especially the overhearers and eavesdroppers. To illustrate that teaching/learning Chinese is not to be considered a FTA, the speaker avoids direct strategies and speaks in an out-of-place manner by illustrating the role of foreign languages in China, the government's encouragement, and the citizens' enthusiasm in the whole of paragraph three. This paragraph argues for the importance of language in the present world with the illustration of how important foreign languages, such as English, French, Japanese, German, etc. are for China and the Chinese government. At the first sight, the whole paragraph seems irrelevant in a speech about Chinese teaching/learning. However, flouting of the maxim of relevance is actually an implicit way to argue that Chinese is important to the world, just as foreign languages are important to China. The off-record strategy is employed to avoid threatening the negative face of the audience who may consider teaching Chinese as a form of imposition or advocating of soft power. The whole exposition thus can be seen as implicitly arguing for teaching Chinese language and culture.

5. Conclusion

In this study, I examined the facework strategies used in the welcome speech of the first World Chinese Conference. The analysis indicates that the welcome speech performs two illocutionary acts: welcoming and justifying. The analysis of the data in its social context demonstrates that welcoming is a secondary speech act, while justifying Chinese language teaching is the primary speech act (Searle 1975). Through the use of various facework strategies, the speaker attempts to establish a favourable self-image of being always ready to address the concerns and needs of worldwide Chinese language learners, and meanwhile endeavours to redress potential FTAs on possible recipients through both positive and negative facework. As Fill (1986, as cited in Bell 1991) noted, politician addresses the diversity of audiences in media speech by performing divided illocutions. And given the fact that self-face and other-face are actually construct of the same order (Goffman 1967: 6), it can be concluded that the ambivalent self-face and

other-face are manipulated ultimately for the ideological purpose of justifying Chinese language teaching/learning.

Several implications can be drawn from the study:

- Facework is not confined to face-to-face interactions, but could be extended to mediated situations on an institutional level, though as commented by Goffman (1967), face in such situations are 'attenuated' and 'gleaned' (p. 33); accordingly, the notion of 'face' is extended from personal or individual face to the image of an institution.
- The notion of context takes a prominent role in examining facework in institutional settings. Context and facework are in a dialectical relationship where the context influences the facework strategy selection and the facework represents an attempt to change the status-quo.
- Multiple-faces are ambivalent in mediated public interactions, and self-face vs. other-face tension (Tracy 1990) is complicated to the extent that self-face is to be maintained or enhanced without sacrificing the positive or negative face of any part involved.
- The unit of speech act could be expanded to a macro level of discourse, which allows for a detailed analysis of the various stages or sequences of realizing a specific speech act.

Notes

- ¹ Ting-Tooney's (2005) explanation of power distance is of relevance here. Power distance refers to 'the way a culture deals with status differences and social hierarchies'. 'Small power distance cultures tend to value equal power distributions, symmetrical relations, and equitable rewards and costs based on individual achievement. People in large power distance cultures tend to accept unequal power distributions, asymmetrical relations, and rewards and sanctions based on rank, role, status, age, and perhaps even gender identity' (p. 75).
- ² <http://english.hanban.edu.cn/hbsm.php>
- ³ An expansion of self occurs near the end of the speech, which will be explained later.
- ⁴ Translations are mine.
- ⁵ Only partial quotation is included in excerpts (7) and (8). Please refer to the appendix for the complete version.

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Appendix: Translation of the Speech

- 1 Distinguished guests, friends, ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of the Chinese government and Chinese people, I would like to extend congratulations to the opening of the conference and sincere welcome to participating guests and friends!
- 2 This conference is an important high-level international symposium on Chinese language held by the Chinese government. Presented at the conference are foreign officials, the Minister of Education, government officials in charge of foreign language teaching, university presidents, scholars, and Chinese teachers, who will discuss and explore together questions such as second language education in a multicultural world, the international demand for Chinese language teaching, trends, policies and measures, as well as how to further strengthen co-operation around the theme of ‘The Development of Chinese in a Multicultural World’. This has great significance. That friends are gathered

- in Beijing shows your concern and support for cultural diversity and the development of Chinese language.
- 3 Language, as mankind's most important communication tool plays an irreplaceable important role in international exchanges. As a member of the international community, China's development is inseparable from the world; the world's development also needs China. Therefore, the Chinese Government attaches great importance to foreign language teaching. We encourage the public, especially young people, to learn from the achievements of all civilizations of human society through learning and using the languages of other nations in the world. Foreign language teaching occupies an important position in various education programs from primary school to university. Children start to learn English as early as the third grade in primary school, and are even exposed to English in some kindergartens. Besides English, China's universities teach more than 40 foreign languages including French, Spanish, Japanese, German, Arabic, etc. In many Chinese cities, the public enthusiasm for learning foreign languages is also on the rise with the increase of international contacts. For example, after Beijing's successful bid to host the 2008 Olympic Games, the Beijing municipal government called on the public to learn foreign languages, and launched a learning English movement in order to well host this world sports event. Statistics shows that in the whole society of China, the number of people learning a foreign language has reached 200 million people. Foreign language learning has promoted China's exchanges with foreign countries, and deepened our understanding of the multicultural world.
 - 4 Chinese language is one of the most populous languages in the world. In recent years, with the further expansion of China's opening up and sustained and rapid economic growth, China's exchanges and contacts with the world are becoming increasingly extensive and intensive: when more Chinese tourists are touring around the world, more and more foreign companies and enterprises also come to invest and set up factories in China, and more people are coming to China to work and travel. Chinese, as an important tool for other countries to know China and a cultural carrier, has received attention from more national governments, educational institutions, enterprises and media. Chinese, as an important business language, is also gaining practical value and potential value. Many countries are witnessing a craze for learning Chinese. It is understood that the number of Chinese language learners around the world has reached more than 10 million. The rapid development and internationalization of Chinese language learning is not only a necessity for China to further expand opening up, strengthen contacts and exchanges between the world needs, but also the real needs for other countries to strengthen economic and trade, cultural and educational exchanges with China. One focus of the implementation of Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity Action Plan by UNESCO is 'to encourage multi-language learning at an early age and materialize linguistic diversity at all levels of education, wherever possible, on the premise of respecting the mother language'. China has a long history and a splendid culture of five thousand years of ancient civilization. Chinese, as an important part of China and a heritage carrier, represents a great contribution of the Chinese people to world culture diversity. As the native country of Chinese, we have a compelling responsibility to actively promote Chinese language teaching, to help learners around the world learn Chinese faster and better. To promote the development of Chinese language teaching will also allow the world to understand Chinese civilization and the Chinese people's aspiration and efforts for world peace and common development, and benefit the humanity with the knowledge and wisdom of Chinese civilization.
 - 5 The Chinese government attaches great importance to foreign language teaching. As early as in 1987, we set up the China National Leading Group for Teaching Chinese to Foreigners consisting of the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, National Development and Reform Commission, Ministry of Commerce, Ministry of Culture, Radio and Television General Administration of Press and Publication Administration, the State Language Work Committee, the State Council Overseas Chinese Affairs Office and the State Council Information Office and other 11 departments for coordinating and leading foreign language teaching, and gradually increased the financial input. In the new century, China's foreign language teaching has significant new developments. In 2004 the Chinese government formulated a five-year plan for foreign language teaching, which we call 'Chinese Bridge' project, intended to meet Chinese

language learning needs in the world's different countries and different regions at different levels. The projects mainly include:

Firstly, providing resources and substantive assistance for foreign Chinese teaching. For instance, *Great Wall Chinese* for adult learners and *Chengo* for American primary and middle school students have been warmly welcomed.

Second, providing strong support for the establishment of the Confucius Institute abroad, making it the teaching base for overseas Chinese learning, and providing zero-distance assistance for overseas Chinese teaching. At this conference, we will also award 22 Confucius Institutes around the world.

The third is to promote and improve the Chinese language proficiency test, that is, HSK examination. We now have set up 151 examination sites in 34 countries. Fourth, increasing efforts in teacher training and dispatch. We send teachers and volunteers to other countries, but also invite and learn from foreign teachers.

- 6 Ladies and gentlemen, the world is an integrity with different ethnics and multi-cultures. 'Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity' adopted by UNESCO in 2001 clearly states that cultural diversity is the core of exchange and the source of innovation, and is as essential for humanity as biodiversity is for the maintenance of biological equilibrium. To promote Chinese language teaching is an integral part of the promotion of the world's diversity, but also an important way to promote common development.
- 7 In the future, we will, as always, with sincere and positive attitude, strengthen cooperation with other countries in the Chinese language teaching, provide assistance for countries and regions in need, further increase funding for Chinese language teaching, and continuously enhance the sense of service, so as to provide more high-quality and efficient service for foreign language teaching. To this end, we will focus on the following tasks:

First, further strengthening the construction of overseas Confucius Institute. Confucius Institute features non-academic education, and carries out Chinese language teaching and spreads Chinese cultural for different people in society.

Second, strengthening foreign language teacher training, in an effort to meet the world demand for Chinese language teachers. We will develop and implement the Chinese teaching plan to assist and support the volunteers.

Third, making full use of information technology, designing quality textbooks featuring multimedia, web-based instruction, developing and improving foreign language teaching system.

Fourth, strengthening cooperation with countries in the world and multilateral international organizations in the promotion of Chinese teaching, and assisting them in Chinese project development.

- 8 Ladies and gentlemen, the development of Chinese language teaching is inseparable from the attention and support of other countries, the innovation and development of Chinese teaching institutions in the world, the concentrated study of Chinese scholars, and the care and support of Chinese language educators.
- 9 Here, on behalf of the Government, the educational institutions worldwide, I would like to express thanks to workers working at the forefront of Chinese language teaching. Your hard work represents a communication tool for the young people to communicate with 1.3 billion people, a key to open the door to the Chinese knowledge. You have narrowed the distance between the native country and the exchange country, and enhanced exchanges and friendship between the two countries. Through bilateral and multilateral exchanges and cooperation, we hope to learn from each other's language and culture, further enhance mutual understanding and friendship, and jointly build a bridge of language to promote world peace and development.
- 10 This conference is the largest international exchange event in the world's Chinese language teaching field in terms of size and influence. It is also a convergence for friends and friendship. Through this conference, we hope to promote the development of Chinese language teaching around the world, further strengthen the foreign language and cultural exchanges and cooperation, exchange Chinese language teaching policies, experience and scientific research results around the world, let the world understand the measures taken

by the Chinese government in support of the world's Chinese language teaching, strengthen communication, exchange, understanding and cooperation with other countries, enhance understanding and friendship, so as to jointly promote the multi-cultural development of humanity.

11 Finally, I wish friends here a happy life in China! I wish the World Chinese Conference a complete success!

12 Thanks!

(Retrieved 18 Oct 2009 from <http://www.edu.cn/20050721/3144220.shtml>)