

Face-threatening Acts in Chinese Courtroom Discourse

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The courtroom is a site of power struggle. In order to realize their goals and show their power or authority, courtroom subjects use various language resources and strategies, among them face-threatening acts figure prominently. Employing Brown and Levinson's politeness strategies, this paper analyzes face-threatening acts used by different subjects in the courtroom. It is found that: the more powerful a subject is, the more impolite s/he tends to be, i.e. s/he tends to employ more face-threatening acts. As the most powerful subjects in the courtroom, judges perform face-threatening acts most frequently in various ways. The three major types of face-threatening acts used by the judges are appellation (word(s) used to call a subject), reiteration of instruction (discourse used to restate a previous instruction), and dissatisfaction (expression used to show dissatisfaction with a subject's performance). By contrast, other subjects' face-threatening acts are not only smaller in quantity, but also less threatening to the addressees' faces.

Keywords: Chinese courtroom discourse, face-threatening act, politeness strategy, face-saving theory

1 Introduction

Politeness is the cornerstone of the social order, and the premise of mutual cooperation between people. In their extensive essay ‘Universals in Language Usage: Politeness Phenomena’, Brown & Levinson (1978) systematically explored the politeness phenomena, which attracted great attention in the linguistic circles. Since then, politeness has been widely studied. Representative works include the politeness principle put forward by Leech (1983) and study of politeness in classrooms by Cazden (1988). In China, politeness has been studied from different perspectives (Hu and Dai 2009, Liu 2009, Ran 1996, Ran 2003, Ran and Yang 2011). However, previous studies mainly focus on everyday discourse; few have involved institutional discourse, especially courtroom discourse. Lakoff (1989) argues that politeness theories should be used to analyze different genres of discourse, especially institutional discourse, to expand the breadth and depth of research. Chinese scholars have already studied politeness in the courtroom (Gu 1990; Jiang 2011, Liao 2003, Liao 2011) However, thus far, no scholar has employed Brown & Levinson’s (1978, 1987) face-threatening act model to analyze (im)politeness in Chinese courtroom discourse. By analyzing the face threatening acts of the courtroom subjects, we can have a better understanding of how the courtroom subjects (especially the powerful ones) maintain their face and power while debating, questioning, and cooperating with each other. This paper is a preliminary attempt in this regard.

2 Face-threatening Acts

Goffman (1967: 5) defines face as ‘the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact’. Brown and Levinson (1978: 66) expand Goffman's theory of face and define it as ‘the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself’. For them, face is ‘something that is emotionally invested, and that can be lost, maintained, or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction. Since face is so sensitive, it is in the mutual interests of both participants in the interactions to try to maintain each other’s face. When threatened, people will try to maintain their faces, which at the same time threatens others’ faces, so it’s best to use politeness language in communications. Accordingly, Brown and Levinson put forward the face-saving theory to explain the politeness behaviour of the competent adult members of a society. Brown and Levinson (1978: 67) distinguished two components of face, ‘positive face’ and ‘negative face’, which are two related aspects of the same entity and refer to two basic desires or ‘wants’ of any individual in any interaction. Positive face is “the positive consistent self-image or ‘personality’ (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants”; negative face is “the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction, i.e. to freedom of action and freedom from imposition”(ibid).

In social interactions, FTAs (face-threatening acts, i.e. acts that inherently damage the face of the addressee or the speaker by acting in opposition to the wants and desires of the other) are

at times inevitable based on the terms of the conversation. So in communications, we use various polite strategies to avoid FTAs or mitigate the face-threatening level in order to avoid awkward situations or worsening of relations. These politeness strategies are used to formulate messages in order to save the hearer’s face when FTAs are inevitable or desired. Brown and Levinson (1978: 74) outline five main types of politeness strategies: bald on-record, negative politeness, positive politeness, off-record (indirect), and don’t do the FTA. Bald on-record strategies usually do not attempt to minimize the threat to the hearer’s face, although there are ways that bald on-record politeness can be used in trying to minimize FTAs implicitly. Positive politeness strategies seek to minimize the threat to the hearer’s positive face. Negative politeness strategies are oriented towards the hearer’s negative face and emphasize avoidance of imposition on the hearer. Off-record strategies use indirect language and remove the speaker from the potential to be imposed. Figure 1 shows the framework of politeness strategies.

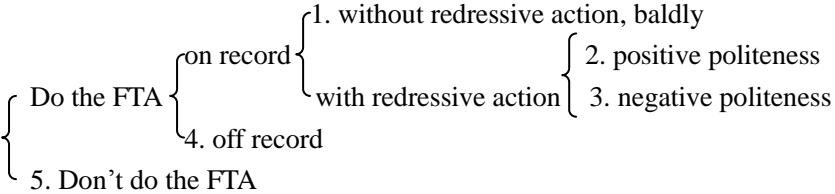


Figure. 1 Strategies for doing ‘face threatening acts’ (1978: 74)

In the analysis of data, we found that almost all the FTAs in the eight trials are on record and there are few off record strategies. Furthermore, the aim of this study is to find out the features of

FTAs in the courtroom. So we will mainly focus on the three on-record strategies. Thus the analytical framework of this study is as follows:

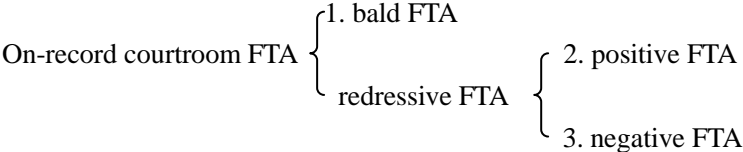


Figure. 2 FTA strategies in Chinese courtroom

3 Data description

From May 2006 to January 2007, the author observed and audio-recorded eight trials with permission from the courts, totalling audio-recordings of approximately 24 hours. The audio-recordings were transcribed into written form, resulting in a data set of more than 200,000 words. Of the eight trials, five were tried at Nanjing Intermediate People’s Court (NIPC) while the remaining three at Jiangning District People’s Court of Nanjing (JDPC). Furthermore, four of the eight trials are criminal, three are civil, and the last one is administrative. **These eight trials were selected because they represent the three major types of trials in China and their recordings were comparatively complete and of good quality.** Table 1 provides general information about the eight trials.

Table. 1 General information about the eight trails

| Number | Type | Description | Place |
|---------|----------|-------------|-------|
| Trial 1 | Criminal | Murder | NIPC |

| | | | |
|---------|----------------|----------------------------------|------|
| Trial 2 | Criminal | Murder | NIPC |
| Trial 3 | Criminal | Theft | JDPC |
| Trial 4 | Criminal | Theft | JDPC |
| Trial 5 | Civil | Real estate purchase dispute | NIPC |
| Trial 6 | Civil | Debt dispute | NIPC |
| Trial 7 | Civil | Property management fee dispute | NIPC |
| Trial 8 | Administrative | Occupational injury confirmation | JDPC |

4 FTAs in Chinese Courtroom Discourse

In order to have a general picture of FTAs performed by the subjects in the eight trials, let's have a look at the numbers of FTAs, words, and turns of the judges and other courtroom subjects. See Table 2 for the figures.

Table 2 FTAs, words, turns of the judges and other courtroom subjects

| Courtroom subject | FTAs | Words | Turns |
|-------------------|----------|---------------|--------------|
| Judges | 847(61%) | 60,303 (30 %) | 1,007 (44%) |
| Other subjects | 535(39%) | 140,275 (70%) | 1,297 (56 %) |
| Total | 1,382 | 200,575 | 2,304 |

Table 2 shows that: There are altogether 1,382 FTAs in the eight trials, 847(61%) of which were performed by the judges. The rest 535(39%) were attributed to other courtroom subjects. Compared to words spoken (60, 303 words, 30%) and turns taken (1, 007 words, 44%), FTAs performed by the judges

account for a much larger proportion. This shows that the judges tend to perform more FTAs than other courtroom subjects.

It should be noted that an FTA is identified according to the meaning expressed or the function performed, instead of the number of words used. So, an FTA can be a word, a phrase, a clause or a sentence. Let's first have a look at FTAs performed by the judges.

4.1 FTAs of the Judges

The three major types of FTA strategies used by the judges in the eight trials are: appellation, reiteration of instruction, and dissatisfaction. Let's consider them in turn.

4.1.1 Appellation

Appellation refers to the expressions used by the judges to call other subjects. The judges frequently use "legal appellation" (Liao 2003: 242) to call a subject. For example:

Extract 1

审判长： 被告人什么时候来浦口打工的？

被告： 今年过年以后。

JUDGE: **Defendant**, when did you come to work in Pukou?

Defendant: After the Spring Festival this year.

(Translated by the author, the same below)

In the above extract, the judge calls the defendant *b à g ào r én* 'defendant', which is his 'title' or 'role' in the trial. This type of appellation is neutral and impersonal, showing the distance between the judge and the defendant. It's impolite because it threatens the defendant's negative face. In the eight trials, all the

other subjects (except the court clerk) were frequently called by the judges in this way.

Another important strategy used by the judges is to call the names of other subjects directly. For example:

Extract 2

- 审判长: 刘永刚, 你什么时间向杜小花要的钱?
原告: 这个钱, 在写过借条后一个礼拜开始我就要了。
JUDGE: **Liu Yonggang**, when did you ask Du Xiaohua to pay your money back?
Plaintiff: The money, one week after she wrote the IOU, I asked her to pay the money back.’

In the above extract, the judge calls the plaintiff by his name *liú yǒng gāng*¹. As we know, usually, if A calls B’s name directly in a conversation, it shows that A and B have a close relationship or A is more powerful than B, e.g., A is superior to B. However, the judge should not have (or at least show) a close relationship with any other subject in the courtroom according to law; so calling someone’s name directly is a strategy for the judge to show the distance between him/her and the addressee, which threatens the latter’s negative face and thus is impolite. This way of appellation is frequently used to call the plaintiff, the defendant, the appellant, and the appellee, but is never used to call the prosecutor, the court clerk, and the lawyer of opposing parties. This shows that, ideologically, the judge considers the latter (i.e. the prosecutor, the court clerk, and the lawyer of opposing parties) to be closer to them in terms of

¹ For confidentiality, the names of courtroom subjects are pseudonyms

social distance.

In addition to the above two ways, the judges also call other courtroom subjects *nǐ* ‘you’ frequently. For example:

Extract 3

审判长： 你对他的资质有质疑？

上诉人： 对，资质没有年审。

JUDGE: **You** doubt about his qualifications?

Appellant: Yes. The qualification has not passed annual inspection.

In Extract 3, the judge calls the appellant *nǐ*. Notice that both of the two Chinese characters *n ń* and *nǐ* can be translated as ‘you’ in English, but the difference is that the use of the former shows the addresser’s politeness to and respect for the addressee, but the latter doesn’t have this implication. The *nǐ/n ń* distinction is like *tu/vous* dichotomy in French. Usually, the speaker makes the choice between them according to the social statuses of, power relations and distance between the interlocutors [19: 75]. So the frequent use of *nǐ* by the judge to call other subjects shows that the judge doesn’t mean to be polite. By doing so, the judge wants to send the signal that s/he has higher social status and is more powerful than the addressee. It is worth noting that the judge never uses *nǐ* to call the prosecutor. As a matter of fact, the judge only uses the legal appellation *gōngsù r ń* ‘prosecutor’ to call the prosecutor. The reason may be that among all the other subjects in the courtroom, the prosecutor has the closest social distance to the judge.

It should be noted that the other subjects never use *nǐ* to call the judge. They use *n ń*, *fǎguān* ‘judge’, and *fǎguān d ńr ń* ‘your honor judge’ to call the judge.

4.1.2 Reiteration of Instruction

Reiteration of instruction refers to the discourse used by the judge to reiterate an instruction that has been made before. For example:

Extract 4

- T1 审判长： 还有没有问题要问？
- T2 原告： 我认为你借这个钱，又不是数字很小，对不对。你现在想逃避，这是不可能的，在法院，你现在▲²
- T3 审判长： ▼我·现·在·问·你·有·没·有·问·题·要·问·？
- T1 JUDGE: Do you have other questions to ask?
- T2 Defendant: I think you borrowed this money, which is not a small sum, right? You now want to escape, it is not possible. In court, you now ▲
- T3 JUDGE: ▼ I now ask you do you have other questions to ask??

Extract 5

- 上诉人： 当时他的先生王建华并不知情，如果说他知道，在一审的时候▲
- 法官 1： ▼提醒你一下，你在这里讲事实和发表观点，请注意一下，不要再停留在应该在诉讼当中说明的问题。刚才审判长已经反复讲了，就是不要再重复；这是第一个问题，第二个问题就是，你前面已说过的观点，就不要再重复了，

² ▲ indicates the discourse being interrupted, ▼ means the interrupting discourse.

简明扼要，扼要一点。

Appellant agent: At that time her husband Wang Jian didn't know. If he had known, in the first trial▲

Judge 1: ▼Remind you that when you state fact and express views, please note, don't repeat what should be explained in the proceedings. Just now the presiding judge repeatedly told you not to repeat. This is the first point. The second is, don't repeat the opinions that you have already expressed. Be brief and concise.

In Extract 4, the judge asks the plaintiff whether or not he has questions to ask in T1 (T=Turn). The plaintiff doesn't ask a question, but expresses his opinion instead in T2. In T3, the judge interrupts him abruptly and then reiterates his instruction, i.e. he requires the plaintiff to ask questions, but not to express his opinion. In Extract 5, the agent of the appellant tries to explain something but is interrupted by a judge. The judge then goes on to reiterate the instruction made by the presiding judge before, i.e., don't repeat what has been said and try to be concise. Interestingly, the judge requires others not to repeat and try to be concise, but his own utterance is full of repetitions and redundancies, and is not concise at all (also see Liao 2003: 202).

Sometimes if a subject is not 'obedient', more than one judge will reiterate the instruction to keep the subject 'under control'. For example:

Extract 6

T1 审判长：有没有问题要问？

T2 原告：借这么多钱，你躲是躲不掉的▲

4.1.3 Dissatisfaction

Dissatisfaction refers to various ways used by the judge to express his/her dissatisfaction with a subject's performance, including order, evaluation, delay, correction, prohibition, criticism, warning and scolding, etc. For example:

Extract 7

上诉人：实际上从刚才我们所讲的庭审笔录和一审判决书已经证明了，这个债务是杜小花▲

▼（手机铃声）

审判长：▼手机关了。

Appellant agent: In fact the trial transcript and the first instance verdict have proved that the debt is Du Xiaohua▲

▼（mobile phone ringing）

JUDGE: ▼Switch off your mobile phone.

Extract 8

原告：他们门口的人都知道。

审判长：那个，这样，你讲的意思不太明确。法庭问一下，能不能证明在诉讼前你向杜小花家里要钱的时候，而当时王建华还是杜小花的丈夫？

Plaintiff: Their neighbours all knew this.

JUDGE: Well, **your meaning is not quite clear**. The court asks you, can you prove that before the case, when you asked Du Xiaohua to pay your money back, Wang Jianhua was still Du Xiaohua's husband?

Extract 9

上诉人：她讲的和事实是有出入的。当时▲

审判长：▼你等会再说。

Appellant: What she said is different from the fact, at that time▲

JUDGE: ▼Wait for a while.

Extract 10

审判长: 你具体讲一讲, 你什么时候迁出的?

被上诉人: 大概是 02 年的 7 月份吧。

审判长: 不要大概▲

被上诉人: ▼是 02 年的 7 月 5 号。

JUDGE: Specifically, when did you move out?

Appellee: About in July 2002.

JUDGE: No about▲

Appellee: ▼It was on July 5, 2002.

Extract 11

被上诉人: 我的户口是这样。我▲

审判长: ▼好, 你不要再讲话了。
我没有问你你不要再讲话了

Appellee: My household account is like this. I▲

JUDGE: ▼Ok. Speak
no more. If I don't ask you, don't speak any
more.

Extract 12

被告: 我忘了。

审判长: 你说你这是什么态度啊!

Defendant: I, I forgot.

JUDGE: What's your attitude!

Extract 13

上诉人: 人家跟你什么关系啊? 那么好啊? 先把钱给你,
然后过两年再问你要房子。啊是的啊?

审判长: 发言要经过法庭的允许。已经第二次随便发言
了噢!

Appellant: Did he have an intimate relationship with you? Was he so generous? He paid you the money first, and asked you to hand over the apartment two years later. Is that right?

JUDGE: **You should get permission from the court to speak. This is the second time you speak without permission!**

Extract 14

审判长: 有没有给他看, 你是说他不开门, 你没办法给他看, 是不是这个意思?

被 告: 他看不看是他的权利, 跟我没关系。他▲

审判长: ▼这又不是吵架, 我问你有没有给他看。你讲一句就行了, 什么看不看是他的权利, 跟我没关系。

JUDGE: Did you show it to him? Did you mean he refused to open the door, so you couldn't show him, right?

Appellee agent: Whether he read it or not is his right, and has nothing to do with me. He▲

JUDGE: ▼**This is not a quarrel. I asked you whether you showed it to him or not. Just answer the question. It's pointless to say "whether he read it or not is his right, and has nothing to do with me."**

In the above extracts, the judges express their dissatisfaction with other subjects' performance in different ways: order in Extract 7, evaluation in Extract 8, delay in Extract 9, correction in Extract 10, prohibition in Extract 11, criticism in Extract 12, warning in Extract 13 and scolding in Extract 14. All of the above ways belong to the first type of FTA, bald FTA (without

redressive action). Furthermore, the degree of the threat to the face of the addressees increases successively from Extract 7 to Extract 14, which means that the way in Extract 7 constitutes the least threat to the addressee while that in Extract 14 poses the biggest threat, with those in the other extracts falling in between.

4.2 FTAs of Other Subjects

Other subjects in the trials also perform FTAs. First, let's consider the FTAs of the prosecutors. Generally speaking, the prosecutors' FTAs mainly involve two strategies: appellation and dissatisfaction. For example:

Extract 15

公诉人：你当时为什么想到马上跑回店里去拿刀子？

被告：因为他们人多，所以我拿刀。

Prosecutor: Why did **you** immediately go back to the store to get a knife?

Defendant: Because they had several people, so I got the knife.

Extract 16

公诉人：被告人目无法律，漠视他人的生命权利和健康权利，其行为严重践踏了刑法所保护的最基本的人权。

Prosecutor: The defendant ignored the law and disregarded others' right to life. His behaviour seriously violated the fundamental human rights protected by the Criminal Law.

In Extract 15, the prosecutor uses *nǐ* to call the defendant. Actually, the prosecutors call the defendants in this way most of the time, especially at the stage of court investigation. In Extract

16, the prosecutor calls the defendant *b àg àor én* ‘defendant’, which is his role or title in the trial. This type of appellation is used mainly when the prosecutors read the indictment or summarize their opinion.

The prosecutors also use some strategies to express dissatisfaction with the performance of the defendants. Education and criticism are the two most important ways. For example:

Extract 17

公诉人：按照你的文化程度，你应当知道盗窃的是违法的，你为什么还要这样做？

被告：当时人也是给逼的，钱用完了，饿的没办法了。

Prosecutor: **Considering your education level, you should know that theft is illegal, why did you do this?**

Defendant: I was forced to do so. I had no money and I was so hungry.

Extract 18

公诉人：你当时为什么想到马上跑回店里去拿刀子？

被告：因为他们人多，所以我拿刀。

公诉人：你也太不冷静了。

Prosecutor: Why did **you** immediately go back to the store to get a knife?

Defendant: Because they had several people, so I got the knife.

Prosecutor: **You are too irritable.**

In Extract 17, the prosecutor educates the defendant, saying that he should know that theft is illegal. In Extract 18, the prosecutor criticizes that the defendant is ‘too irritable’. The above extracts

show that the prosecutors exert their control over the defendants by such FTA strategies as *appellation* and *dissatisfaction*.

Other subjects in the trials also perform FTAs. For example:

Extract 19

T1 被上诉人: 我刚才不讲了么,借的时候我就到她家找她要钱了,他怎么会不知道呢?我就找她要钱了,他怎么会不知道这个事情呢?

T2 上诉人: 你如果知道这个事的话,那还是请你提供证据来证明这个事情。因为在法庭上面是要讲证据的。

T3 被上诉人: 你这个讲话讲的,该我▲

T4 上诉人: ▼其他我就不讲了。

T5 被上诉人: 现在,我到她家要钱的时候,他肯定知道的▲

T6 上诉人: ▼而且,你跟她是,而且你自己讲的,她拿你的钱你也没有报案。知道吧。

T7 被上诉人: 是这样子啊。她借我的钱▲

T8 上诉人: ▼你必须拿出证据来证明。

T1 Appellee: Just now I said, after she borrowed my money, I went to her home to ask for the money back. How couldn't he know? I asked her to pay the money back. How couldn't he know this?

T2 Appellant agent: **If you know the matter, please provide evidence to prove it, because in the court trial we should prove our statements with evidence.**

T3 Appellee: What do you mean? Should I▲

- T4 Appellant agent: ▼ I don't want to say anything else.
- T5 Appellee: Now, when I went to her home to ask for the money back, he must know ▲
- T6 Appellant agent: ▼ Besides, she and you are, you said, she stole your money, but you didn't report to the police, you know.
- T7 Appellee: The fact is, she borrowed my money ▲
- T8 Appellant agent: ▼ **You must produce evidence to prove it.'**

The opposing parties (defendant/plaintiff, appellant/appellee, etc.) perform FTAs to each other; see Extract 19 above and Extract 20 below. In Extract 19, the appellee wants to prove something without producing evidence in T1. The appellant agent takes advantage of this weakness of the appellee and asks him to produce evidence in T2. In the following turns (from T3 to T7), the two speakers enter into a short debate, but the appellee still produces no evidence. So in T8, the appellant agent insists on asking the appellee to produce evidence, with a very firm tone. Notice the high value modal verb *b k̄ū* 'must'. In this extract, the appellant agent asks the appellee to produce evidence twice in order to prove that what the appellee says is groundless, which is face-threatening to the appellee.

Extract 20

上诉人：我想问一下那个——杜小花，你这个钱，你借的 153,000 元钱，你这个钱，家庭用的，用在家庭生活的什么地方？

被上诉人：我跟你讲，我在六合法院还是讲的这个话，我没有拿这笔钱。还知道，我再跟你讲，我没有拿这笔钱。**你没有资格问我。**我没有拿，你要我讲什么呢？

Appellant agent: I would like to ask – Du Xiaohua, the money, the ¥153,000 that you borrowed, the money, your family used, which aspects was it used in your family life?

Defendant: I tell you. I also said this in Luhe Court. I didn't take the money. Do you know? I tell you again, I didn't take the money. **You don't have the right to ask me this question.** I didn't take the money, what can I say?

In Extract 20, the appellant agent wants to ask the defendant a question (i.e. in which aspects of family life did she use the ¥153, 000 she had borrowed?). The defendant says she didn't borrow the money and the appellant agent had no right to ask her this question. The defendant's deny of the appellant agent's right to ask the question indirectly reduces the reliability of what the latter has said and thus damages his negative face.

The defendants or the defense attorneys in criminal trials sometimes perform FTAs to the prosecutors. For example:

Extract 21

公诉人：第 11 次呢，偷了什么东西？

被告：**我忘了。**

Prosecutor: The 11th time, what did you steal?

Defendant: **I forgot.**

In Extract 21, the prosecutor asks what the defendant stole in his eleventh stealing. The defendant says that he forgot, which

shows that he is not cooperative with the prosecutor and attempts to challenge his authority. Notice that in later turns, under the cross-questioning of the prosecutor, the defendant did ‘remember’ something at last.

Occasionally, the judge’s face is threatened. For example:

Extract 22

T1 审判长： 他说业主委员会没有召开业主大会，他说是以上门的形式征求业主意见的。我说他们的就是业主的意见有没有以书面的形式提供给你呢？他说没有。

T2 被上诉人： **我认为这个和本案没有关系。**

T3 审判长： **有没有关系由本院，法庭来定，问你什么你就答什么。**

T1 JUDGE: He said the Property Owners Committee did not convene the meeting of owners, he said they collected opinions from the owners by way of going to their homes. I asked ‘have theirs, i.e. the property owners’ views, been provided in writing to you?’ He said no.

T2 Appellee: **I think this is not related to the case.**

T3 JUDGE: **Whether it is related to the case or not is decided by the court. Just answer questions that we ask you!**

In Extract 22, the judge instructs the court clerk to note down some facts in T1, but in T2 the appellee cuts in and claims that what the judge has just said is not related to the case, which is a great challenge to the judge’s face and authority, because if the appellee were right, i.e., what the judge has just said is not

related to the case, it means that the judge is incompetent, or at least is not meticulous enough. Notice how the judge reacts to such a face-threatening act. In order to save her face and guard her authority, the judge claims that it is the court (the judges), not anyone else, that decides whether or not what she has said is related to the case. The judge then requires the appellee only to answer questions when asked and not to cut in on others' conversation or express his opinion casually.

5 Conclusion

Various FTA strategies are used by the subjects in the courtroom. The more powerful a subject is, the more impolite s/he tends to be, i.e. s/he tends to perform more face-threatening acts. As the most powerful subjects in the courtroom, judges use face-threatening acts most frequently. By contrast, other subjects' face-threatening acts are not only smaller in quantity, but also less threatening to the addressees' faces. The three major types of FTA strategies used by the judges in the eight trials are: appellation, reiteration of instruction, and dissatisfaction. Appellation refers to the expressions used by the judges to call other subjects. Legal appellation, name and *nĩ* 'you' are the three most important forms of appellation. Reiteration of instruction refers to the discourse used by the judges to reiterate an instruction that has been made before. Usually before the judges reiterate the instruction, they interrupt other speakers first. This is an important strategy for the judges to guard their authority and power. Dissatisfaction refers to various ways used by the judges to express dissatisfaction with a

subject's performance, including order, evaluation, delay, education, correction, prohibition, criticism, warning and scolding, etc. The FTA strategies used by the prosecutors are mainly appellation and dissatisfaction. Other courtroom subjects also perform FTAs, but less frequently and systematically.

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