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# Politeness Strategy and Social Power in Animal Farm

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**Abstract**

Politeness strategies as a reflection of social power: A study of Animal Farm by George Orwell a pivotal difference with regard to prior studies is that this paper does not concern itself primarily with ideological and political questions but rather examines the function of linguistic politeness as a medium for asserting power. This research used a descriptive qualitative method to analyze data from the dialogues, utterances, and commands of characters through Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness as well as Bourdieu's concepts of symbolic power. The results found four politeness strategies which are bald-on-record, positive politeness, negative politeness and off record strategy. The analysis also illustrates how language is both a means of and an end to conserving symbolic, political, informational, and institutional authority. Communicative practices also evolve with changing relations of power across the narrative. They begin as a source of solidarity and trust, before becoming tools for manipulation and rationalising inequalities. As authority becomes total, indirect statements are incrementally replaced by explicit and blunt expressions. Hence, in Animal Farm polite language plays a role not only to work on the interpersonal or the social level but also as rhetoric for persuasion and manipulation of power over others by certain characters within an unequally organized society.

**Keywords:** Animal Farm, Discourse Analysis, Politeness Strategies, Pragmatics, Social Power

## INTRODUCTION

Language has a crucial part in human contact as it is utilized to transmit information, develop connections, display attitudes and control social distance. In daily life individuals tend to select their words carefully to make sure that their message is acceptable and will not cause unneeded controver speakers to protect face in conversation. This indicates, therefore, that politeness does not only refer to being courteous in a broad sense but also refers to the use of language which is appropriate to the occasion, the listener and the speaker's goal. Politeness, as described by Leech (2014), is a concept connected to the preservation of

harmony in communication, particularly in situations when speakers are required to communicate messages that might impact the sentiments or position of others.

Politeness is also related to power. Language may be used in social interaction to establish authority, to keep control and to manipulate the responses of other people. As Bourdieu (1992) says, language may be exercised as symbolic power since the speakers with stronger social positions are typically in the position to have their words regarded as genuine. Fairclough also demonstrates that language is not neutral, as it may reflect and reinforce social power in actual interactions. In this view, politeness is not only a question of good manners but a practical technique of managing power dynamics in contact.

According to recent research, politeness is still applicable in present-day communication contexts. Fathi (2024) states that the idea of Brown and Levinson remains relevant to explain how speakers deal with face in various settings. The use of politeness methods in Pakistani morning programs is determined by the social setting and the communication aims (Farzana Khan et al., 2022). Similarly, Suryana, Zahra and Asikin (2024) found that politeness methods on a YouTube channel were employed to minimize social distance and develop rapport. More recently, Sudar et al (2025) found that context and connection greatly influence linguistic politeness in student-lecturer communication via technology-assisted engagement. These studies demonstrate that politeness is not merely a theoretical idea, but also a real feature of daily and institutional communication.

Research in multilingual cultures also backs up the link between language choice and social standing. Seli, Arma, and Syafitri (2021) show that the language choice that used by community members is impacted by solidarity, status, and politeness. This means that the language used is related to social interactions and positioning of the speakers in a community. In other words, individuals do not choose language forms at random. Rather, people select language forms on the basis of social significance, interpersonal ties and the image they wish to project.

Literature is also connected with language and power. Social conflict, authority and resistance are commonly represented in literary writings via conversation and character interaction. That is why literature is a good source to study how language functions in social life. One powerful illustration of this is George Orwell's Animal Farm. The narrative reveals how language is used to dominate people, to rationalize actions, and to wield power. It also provides a social framework in which the dominant characters use the language to establish their place and to manipulate others' emotions.

Recent studies still quote Animal Farm extensively because of its close relationship with rhetoric, ideology and political control. As noted by Sharhan, Hussein, and Younus (2022), the prevailing ideology of the book is represented in the language and speech of the governing characters. Al-dihaymawee (2025) also pointed out that the political language in Animal Farm is a tool of control and persuasion. Azizan, Nasir and Osman (2025) further illustrate that identity and power are constructed via linguistic choices in the book. These results show that Animal Farm is still useful for exploring how language facilitates dominance and social structure.

But most previous studies of Animal Farm focus on ideology, discourse and political control in general. Studies on politeness techniques as a language strategy used by the

characters to retain dominance and affect others are few. Meanwhile, current work on civility has been focused on political discourse, classroom engage

ment, and internet communication, not literary discussion. This presents an obvious gap: the employment of politeness methods in Animal Farm has not been examined in sufficient length as a manner of showing how social dominance is constructed and sustained in the book.

Based on this gap, the current research utilizes the politeness theory of Brown and Levinson and the notion of symbolic power of Bourdieu to analyze the language employed by the characters in Animal Farm. The current research aims at analyzing the occurrence of politeness techniques in the utterances of the characters and their relation to social power in the tale. In doing so, the research seeks to demonstrate that politeness is not just a manner of speaking respectfully but also a technique of influencing people, mitigating orders and facilitating dominance in social interaction.

Therefore, this research attempts to find out the politeness techniques performed by the characters in George Orwell's Animal Farm, explain how the social power is reflected in their use of language, and explain the correlation between the politeness methods and the social power in the book.

Based on the background of the study, The research questions are as follows:

1. What are the politeness methods of the characters in Animal Farm?
2. How do the characters in the story use language to express social power?
3. How do politeness skills relate to social power in Animal Farm?

## METHOD

This study employs a descriptive qualitative research design because the focus of the study is to analyze language use, especially politeness strategies and social power reflected on the utterances of the characters in Animal Farm by George Orwell. Since the data are analyzed as words, dialogues and expressions and not as numbers, qualitative research is considered to be appropriate. Creswell (2015) defines qualitative research as a process of exploring and understanding the meaning of a social or human problem through detailed analysis and interpretation. Hence this method is suitable for studying the representation of politeness strategies and social power in literary discourse.

The novel Animal Farm by George Orwell is the main source of data for this study. The data consist of dialogues, conversations, commands and statements produced by the characters which contain politeness strategies and show social power relations. Besides, the analysis is also supported by the books, journals, and previous studies related to pragmatics, politeness theory, and discourse analysis.

The researcher uses documentation method in collecting the data. Sugiyono (2021) documentation is a data collection technique from written documents, books, archives and others recorded that are related to the research topic. First, the researcher reads the novel carefully repeatedly to understand the context of the interactions between the characters. Secondly, the researcher finds utterances which have politeness strategies according to the theory by Penelope Brown and Stephen C. Levinson (1987). Third, the identified utterances are classified into four types of politeness strategies; bald on-record, positive politeness,

negative politeness, and off-record strategies. The researcher also indicated the social relationship and power position between the speakers and hearers in every interaction.

The data were analyzed using descriptive qualitative analysis. Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña (2014) state that data condensation, data display, and drawing conclusions are the data analysis of qualitative data. In this work, the analysis is performed in several steps. The researcher classifies the collected utterances according to the types of politeness strategies. Second, the researcher interprets the meaning and function of each strategy within the context of the conversation. Third, the researcher analyses the employment of politeness strategies as a mirror of social power, dominance, manipulation and authority among the characters. Finally, conclusions are drawn from the findings of the study.

The researcher uses theoretical triangulation to ensure the validity of the data by comparing the results with the relevant theories and previous studies about politeness strategies and social power. Data interpretation uses triangulation to enhance the credibility and validity of qualitative research findings (Denzin, 2017). The researcher also carefully rechecks the data and interpretations to ensure consistency and accuracy in the analysis

## FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This section presents and discusses the findings of the study based on the qualitative analysis of *Animal Farm*. The findings focus on the use of politeness strategies, the representation of social power and symbolic violence, and the relationship between language and power throughout the novel.

Utilizing qualitative data reduction and analysis frameworks, this section presents the study's findings in three main segments: a descriptive analysis of linguistic politeness approaches, a critical examination of societal power structures and symbolic domination, and a macro-level synthesis of their interrelationship.

### 1. Politeness Strategies Used by the Characters

Characters in Animal Farm utilize diverse linguistic strategies to manage social distance, foster solidarity, and assert authority. The following sub-sections analyze the operation of these strategies across different chapters.

### 1.1 Bald-on Record Strategy

The data show that the speakers use bald-on record method when they give the messages immediately, plainly and without mitigation. Brown and Levinson (1987) mention that this method is usually adopted when efficiency, haste or authority comes before the necessity of saving the hearer's face. Similar findings have been shown in recent work where utterances on the record and bald are more likely to be used in contexts of immediate compliance, specific instruction or clear hierarchical ties between the speaker and hearer Nurditasari et al. (2023). This trend can be seen throughout Animal Farm as direct language is used in ideological teaching, points of crisis and in exchanges with uneven power relations.

> *"Never listen when they tell you that Man and the members of the animal community have a common interest."*

Old Major employs this unmitigated imperative to instill an unquestioned ideological boundary. By opting for the unquestioned temporal negator "never," the utterance leaves zero room for modification, negotiation, or alternative interpretation. The lack of softeners serves to

maximize the pragmatic force of the prohibition, establishing an uncompromising revolutionary mindset among the members of the animal community before his passing.

*"Whatever goes upon two legs is an enemy. Whatever goes upon four legs, or has wings, is a friend."*

The textualization of the Seven Commandments constitutes a macro-structural execution of the bald-on record approach. Written in a direct manner onto the barn wall, these legal codes employ unquestioned syntactic structures to eliminate lexical ambiguity. This blunt structural clarity is pragmatically essential for an audience with limited literacy skills, ensuring that the foundational laws of the cooperative system are perceived as fixed, universal, and non-negotiable.

*"Mollie! Look me in the face. Do you give me your word of honour that that man was not stroking your nose?"*

Clover's confrontation of Mollie illustrates a dramatic shift to the bald-on record approach due to behavioral deviance. The imperative "Look me in the face" strips away all relational softeners to in a direct manner threaten Mollie's negative face. Clover intentionally maximizes communicative pressure to compel an honest confession, prioritizing group compliance over individual social comfort.

*"No more delays, comrades! There is work to be done. This very morning we begin rebuilding the windmill."*

Following the destruction of the windmill, Napoleon abandons conversational padding to issue a stark, urgent directive. The phrasing comprehensively removes the members of the animal community' agency to rest or hesitate. While the inclusion of the positive linguistic politeness token "comrades" lingers, the dominant pragmatic force remains firmly bald-on record, establishing a state of labor emergency that demands immediate collective submission.

**1.2 Positive Politeness Strategy**

The data show that positive politeness methods are often used to decrease social distance, promote solidarity and build the collective identity of the animals. Brown and Levinson (1987) said that positive politeness is aimed at pleasing the hearer's positive face by highlighting common ground, shared values and group participation. Similarly, recent studies have found that good politeness is often implemented through the use of inclusive language, in-group identifiers, and acts of solidarity that build interpersonal connection and collective identity Febriyani et al. (2023). This is clear throughout Animal Farm, especially in the words of Old Major and Squealer.

*"Comrades, you have heard already about the strange dream that I had last night."*

Old Major strategically introduces the in-group identity marker "comrades" to establish an immediate egalitarian baseline. This linguistic tool minimizes the existing age and status gap between the speaker and the diverse audience. By framing the interaction as a shared experience among equals, the listeners' psychological defenses are lowered, making them highly receptive to the revolutionary ideology that follows.

*"And remember also that in fighting against Man, we must not come to resemble him."*

The application of the inclusive pronoun "we" acts as a significant collective alignment mechanism. Rather than lecturing from an external position of authority, Old Major deliberately

embeds himself within the student cohort. This approach fosters deep group solidarity and repositions an otherwise daunting political rebellion into a unified, shared historical mission.

*"Now, comrades, let us return to the matter of work. Is there not another word to be said?"*

The hortatory formula "let us" operates as a classic positive linguistic politeness tool that reframes a direct labor command into a cooperative joint venture. Instead of issuing a top-down, unilateral mandate, the speaker implies that the elite and the laboring animals are laboring side-by-side toward an identical communal destination, effectively softening the inherent burden of the labor instruction.

*"No one believes more firmly than Comrade Napoleon that all members of the animal community are equal."*

This utterance constitutes a highly manipulative iteration of positive linguistic politeness. Squealer deliberately attaches the egalitarian title "Comrade" to "Napoleon" at the exact historical juncture where Napoleon is centralizing dictatorial power. By invoking the foundational mythos that "all members of the animal community are equal," Squealer constructs a false sense of ideological continuity, using the language of solidarity to obscure an ongoing political coup.

**1.3 Negative Politeness and Off-Record Strategies**

Negative politeness seeks to save the hearer's face through hedging, indirectness and reduction of imposition. Off-record methods depend on implication and indirect meaning to hide the speaker's real intention. Such methods are often used when speakers want to avoid direct confrontation or to minimize the potential threat of their comments. Recent studies also discover that off-record tactics are often employed to avoid face-threatening acts, whereas negative politeness strategies are used to reduce the imposition on the hearer and keep social harmony Nuramdani et al. (2023). Both techniques appear in Animal Farm in the cases of political sensitivity, ideological control and uneven power relations, when the protagonists try to persuade others indirectly or to protect themselves from possible societal consequences.

*"Surely there is no one among you who wants to see Jones come back?"*

Squealer executes a significant off-record maneuver by reframing a coercive political threat as a rhetorical question. Instead of in a direct manner ordering the members of the animal community to accept the pigs' material monopolies, he forces them into a binary logical corner. The underlying implication is clear: any critique of elite privilege equates to inviting a counter-revolutionary invasion, forcing compliance through fear without ever issuing a direct command.

*"It is for your sake that we drink that milk and eat those apples."*

This off-record statement comprehensively flips the reality of resource exploitation. On the surface, it reads as a biological explanation regarding the pigs' dietary requirements. Pragmatically, however, it functions to induce collective guilt. Squealer reinterprets an act of structural inequality as an act of elite sacrifice, subtly pressuring the members of the animal community to voluntarily consent to their own deprivation.

*"You would not rob us of our repose, would you, comrades?"*

Squealer employs a heavily loaded question tag ("would you") to soften the pigs' violation of the anti-bed commandment. Rather than telling the members of the animal community to stop complaining, this negative linguistic politeness structure positions the pigs

as vulnerable victims whose essential rest is being threatened by the laboring animals. The indirectness forces the members of the animal community into an emotional deadlock, making further criticism seem cruel and uncooperative.

*"It appears to me that that wall looks different. Are the Seven Commandments the same as they used to be, Benjamin?"*

Clover's reliance on off-record approaches shows the growing climate of fear under totalitarian rule. Instead of launching a direct accusation of state forgery against the ruling elite, she pathologizes her own literacy skills and frames her suspicion as a vague sensory anomaly. This comprehensive indirectness protects her from state retaliation while subtly prompting Benjamin to investigate the systemic changes.

**2. Representation of Social Power and Symbolic Violence**

The linguistic choices within Animal Farm reflect evolving power dynamics, mapping how a collaborative society transforms into an oppressive hierarchy through ideological hegemony and systemic control.

**2.1 Symbolic Power**

Symbolic power works by using language, myths and symbolic systems to build a social reality that dominant groups experience as natural and legitimate. In Bourdieu's terms of symbolic power, domination is reproduced through the interaction of habitus, capital, distinction and social arenas, which slowly influence the perceptions and behaviors of people. As a result, those who are subject to power tend to view the values, norms, and classifications imposed by dominating groups as normal, natural, and unquestioned rather than as means of domination Irsyadi & Dzulqarnain (2023). Thus, symbolic power is an efficient way for dominating actors to shape group consciousness and induce obedience without resort to direct physical force.

*"Man is the only real enemy we have. Remove Man from the scene, and the root cause of hunger and overwork is abolished."*

Old Major exercises immense symbolic power by fundamentally reconstructing the members of the animal community' cognitive worldview. Before this intervention, the members of the animal community viewed their suffering as an unalterable condition of nature. By using language to isolate "Man" as the singular source of all systemic misery, Old Major builds a brand-new social classification, altering collective consciousness and laying the ideological foundation for the coming revolution.

*"Ah, that is different! If Comrade Napoleon says it, it must be right."*

Boxer's reaction shows the unquestioned internalization of symbolic power. Here, the institutional authority of the speaker comprehensively replaces the need for factual evidence or empirical proof. Napoleon's title alone has become an unquestioned measure of objective truth, demonstrating that his authority is no longer maintained through external coercion, but through the voluntary intellectual submission of the laboring animals.

**2.2 Political Power**

Political power is the ability of individuals or organizations to influence decision-making processes, control institutional structures, and affect the allocation of resources in society. According to Haugaard (2023) political power is maintained not only by coercion but also by authority. Authority rests upon the assumption that a political system and its leaders are legitimate. Elites in authoritarian regimes maintain their position by manipulating public opinion,

dominating the decision-making process and restricting the emergence of alternative sources of power, assuring sustained obedience from subordinate populations. Political power is thus an important tool that dominating individuals use to legitimize their power and enforce their control over the community.

*"It was always the pigs who put forward the resolutions. The other members of the animal community understood how to vote, but could never think of any resolutions of their own."*

Political asymmetry is highly visible during the weekly assemblies. While the structural framework of the meeting appears democratic, granting every animal an equal vote, the pigs maintain unquestioned monopoly over agenda-setting and policy formulation. True political power rests not in the voting process itself, but in the structural capacity to determine what options are eligible to be voted upon.

*"Napoleon had accepted, through Whymper, a contract for four hundred eggs a week."*

Napoleon's unilateral economic dealing reflects a comprehensive centralization of political power. The decision in a direct manner impacts the bodies and labor of the hens, yet it is finalized without any internal debate or democratic consultation. By acting as the sole representative of the farm's resources, Napoleon shifts the state from a cooperative enterprise into a corporate dictatorship.

*"In April, Animal Farm was proclaimed a Republic, and it became necessary to elect a President. There was only one candidate, Napoleon."*

The presidential election constitutes the ultimate performance of empty state democracy. The state adopts the formal labels of a "Republic," yet by presenting Napoleon as the sole eligible candidate, the voting process is reduced to a meaningless ritual. This illustrates how political systems use democratic facades to institutionalize and legitimize autocratic control.

**2.3 Cultural and Informational Power**

Cultural and informational power is the power to restrict access to literacy, history, current events and language in ways that allow a society to influence what it remembers, what it forgets and what it accepts as reality. Talbot (2023) believes that information is intimately related to power since people who have access to specialized knowledge may influence understanding, shape views, and establish what is considered valid knowledge in a community. Thus knowledge and information monopolists have a huge advantage in determining what social reality is, but individuals with restricted access are dependent on dominating players for their interpretation and guidance. Hence cultural and informational power successfully operate as vehicles of elite authority, permitting control of the production, circulation and validation of knowledge.

*"The pigs had taught themselves to read and write from an old spelling book."*

The unequal distribution of knowledge on the farm stems from this initial literacy gap. By monopolizing reading and writing, the pigs capture unquestioned control over the community's intellectual property. They possess the exclusive cultural power to translate, interpret, and modify the principles of Animalism, leaving the illiterate members of the animal community entirely dependent on the elite for information.

*"It has all been proved by documents which he left behind him and which we have only just discovered."*

Squealer repeatedly references invisible “documents” to establish a false aura of bureaucratic objectivity. Because the laboring animals lacks the literacy skills to audit these records, the mere mention of text serves to silence all critical thought. Information control succeeds by dictating what counts as valid evidence and who is granted the authority to verify it.

**2.4 Official Power**

Official power is the formal authority that is embodied in laws, regulations, institutional arrangements, and officially recognized positions, and that enables individuals or organizations to control the behavior of others. Cummings (2025) contends that institutional arrangements maintain power by determining who has the right to make, interpret, and alter the laws that govern society. Dominant players can take over these institutions, legalize their interests by formal regulations and organizational structures and therefore reinforce their position within the existing social order. In this way official power becomes an important tool in the hands of the rulers to turn personal desires into institutionalized authority, and this is very much mirrored in the political growth of Animal Farm.

*“The Seven Commandments were written on the wall. They would form an unalterable law by which all the members of the animal community must live for ever after.”*

The inscription of the Seven Commandments institutionalizes formal law on the farm. Because these laws were authored exclusively by the pigs, they provide the governing elite with immediate legal authority. Personal desires are transformed into official state doctrines, giving the elite a significant legal weapon to demand unquestioned compliance.

*“No animal shall kill any other animal without cause.”*

When the regime alters the foundational law of the farm by appending the codicil “without cause,” it illustrates how official power can manipulate legal frameworks to legitimize state violence. The addition provides an official justification for the purge of political dissidents. By presenting the state execution as a legally sanctioned act, the regime effectively prevents public protest and neutralizes legal accountability.

**2.5 Symbolic Violence**

Symbolic violence is when the subordinated people slowly come to internalize the ideology of the dominating group and begin to accept their own inferiority as normal, reasonable, and inevitable. In MCCARTHY (2025), symbolic violence is conceptualized as functioning through recognition and misrecognition, where the values, rules, and hierarchies advanced by dominant groups are taken for granted as common sense by the groups who are subjected to them. This means that inequality is frequently perceived as an individual fault rather than as the consequence of asymmetrical power relations, and individuals accept and even reinforce the structures that oppress them. Thus symbolic violence is a subtle but efficient kind of control, in that it secures the cooperation of the subjugated without the need for overt force.

*“With their superior knowledge it was natural that they should assume the leadership.”*

This consensus shows symbolic domination at work early in the narrative. The laboring animals does not view the pigs’ political monopoly as a form of systemic inequality. Instead, they rationalize it as a natural outcome of intelligence. By viewing their own subordination as

logical, the members of the animal community become active participants in building the very hierarchy that exploits them.

*"Whatever happened she would remain faithful, work hard, carry out the orders that were given to her, and accept the leadership of Napoleon."*

Clover's internal monologue exposes the deep psychological prison of symbolic domination. Despite recognizing that the original dreams of the revolution have been systematically betrayed, her response is to double down on personal obedience. Loyalty to the dictator is treated as a moral obligation, illustrating how dominant ideologies compel individuals to willingly accept conditions that actively disadvantage them.

*"All members of the animal community are equal but some members of the animal community are more equal than others."*

This final amendment constitutes the ultimate realization of symbolic domination on the farm. The text retains the revolutionary vocabulary of "equality" while rewriting it to legally protect systemic inequality. The laboring animals accepts this logical contradiction as a legitimate law. This illustrates how cultural and linguistic domination can force a population to consent to their own disenfranchisement, normalizing oppression as the final law of society.

**3. The Intertwined Relationship Between Politeness and Social Power**

In the final chapters, the pigs gradually abandon polite language as their power becomes absolute. With Napoleon controlling the laws, resources, and use of force, there is no longer a need to maintain a polite appearance. Communication becomes direct and authoritarian, reflected in commands such as "Get out quickly!" and "Fools!", as well as the revision of the farm's laws. This finding supports Suparno et al. (2023), who argue that politeness is influenced by power and social status. In *Animal Farm*, politeness initially helps build unity and legitimacy, but it disappears once Napoleon secures full control. It is replaced by clear symbols of oppression, such as the whip and the slogan "Four legs good, two legs better!", showing that politeness can be used strategically to gain power before being abandoned when domination is firmly established.

In the middle chapters, linguistic politeness becomes a tool of manipulation. As Napoleon and his supporters gain more power, positive politeness is used to hide growing inequality. Squealer employs terms such as "Comrade Napoleon" and "our choice" to present exploitation, including the pigs' privileges and the hens' sacrifices, as actions for the common good. At the same time, negative politeness and indirect language, such as the question "Would you rob us of our repose?", are used to discourage criticism. During this stage, politeness functions as a form of symbolic control, making unfair policies appear acceptable and encouraging the animals to accept their oppression while believing they remain united.

In the final chapters, the pigs abandon polite language as their power becomes fully established. Once Napoleon controls the laws, resources, and use of force, there is no longer a need to maintain a polite image. Communication becomes direct and authoritarian, shown in commands such as "Get out quickly!" and "Fools!", as well as the alteration of the farm's laws. This finding supports Suparno et al. (2023), who argue that politeness is closely related to power and social status. In *Animal Farm*, politeness is initially used to gain trust and legitimacy, but it disappears when Napoleon secures absolute control. It is replaced by open symbols of oppression, such as the whip and the slogan "Four legs good, two legs better!", demonstrating

that politeness can function as a strategy for obtaining and maintaining power before being discarded once domination is complete.

## CONCLUSION

The study revealed that the characters in Animal Farm used different politeness strategies, such as bald-on record, positive politeness, negative politeness and off-record strategies. The results indicate that politeness is not only used to maintain social relationship but also a tool for persuasion, control and dominance. Moreover, the analysis suggests that language embodies social power especially in the speeches of the dominating characters, such as Napoleon and Squealer. Thus, politeness strategies and social power are closely related in that language is used to organize interpersonal relations and to maintain authority within the social structure of the novel. It is hoped that future researchers will study similar issues in other literary works from other theoretical perspectives.

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