

A Critical Analysis of Haggling Encounters between Commuters and Drivers in Dhaka

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Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for Degree of
Masters of Arts in English

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To my parents

Abstract

Language is known as the mirror of a society. Every small encounter reflects interplay of several socio-political factors. As haggling encounters between commuters and drivers in Dhaka is a daily event, this conversation reflects power relationships and socio pragmatic aspects of Bangladeshi society. This paper is based on the bargaining conversations between the passengers and the drivers to set a mutual price in the transport sector. Haggling exchanges between the passengers and the drivers were secretly recorded and subsequently analyzed to bring out the power variables of haggling. The analysis of the data reveals the class struggle between the middle class and the working class. The passengers dominate the drivers because of their social and economic status. It also reveals that mostly the economic condition like high price of essentials force the drivers to ask the higher price. Overall, the research sheds light on social groups, pragmatics of the unequal relationship between different social classes and how social customs reflect in language.

Key words: *haggling encounters, face, power variable*

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Declaration

I hereby declared that this thesis is based on my original work except for quotations, and citations, which have been duly acknowledged. I also declare that it has not been previously or concurrently submitted at other institutions.

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Chapter1

Introduction

Haggling or bargaining is very popular in Bangladeshi culture. Most of the people like to buy their desired product from the grocery to cloth by haggling. In Bangladesh haggling is also found in the public transportation sector. City people like the people of Dhaka city fix the fare of both CNG auto-rickshaw and rickshaw by haggling. Though the fare of CNG auto-rickshaw is fixed by the Bangladesh government, most of the drivers do not follow it because of several reasons. As a result, the passengers have to haggle for a mutual price. Thus, haggling in public transportation becomes a regular event in the life of Dhaka city people.

As Dhaka is the capital city of Bangladesh, the city becomes busy from dawn to dusk. Citizen of Dhaka city uses different types of vehicle for transportation like private car, taxi, public bus, CNG auto-rickshaw, rickshaw, motorbike, and other vehicles. Among those vehicle public buses, CNG auto-rickshaw and rickshaw are very popular with the city people. Bus and rickshaw are very popular with the middle class and working class people of Dhaka because the bus and rickshaw are more economic than taxi or CNG auto-rickshaw but for emergency or for comfortable journey CNG auto-rickshaw is very popular to the citizen of Dhaka. Thus, rickshaw and CNG-auto rickshaw are frequently used by the city people. In this paper drivers refer to both CNG auto-rickshaw drivers and rickshaw pullers.

There is no fixed rate for rickshaw fare. Unlike rickshaw, the government has fixed the rate for CNG auto-rickshaw fare, but for many reasons the drivers usually do not follow the rate. As a result, the passengers of both rickshaw and CNG auto-rickshaw have to bargain. People are bargaining with drivers, is a very common picture of Dhaka city. Both parties try to convince

each other and want to set a mutual price and to do that they explain, plead, and argue with each other. Their conversations reflect the culture and custom of the Dhaka city.

Here, the commuters mean the passengers of both CNG auto-rickshaw and rickshaw. Rickshaw is very popular among all members of social classes like – upper middle class to the working class. Only the members of elite class usually do not use rickshaw as their regular means of transportation. Members of upper middle class, middle class, lower middle class and working class use rickshaw for transportation, because the fare of rickshaw is cheap and also it is available in the every area of Dhaka city. Though it is an assumption that one of the main reasons for traffic jam in Dhaka city is rickshaw, it is the only transport, which can move easily in the narrow roads or lanes of Dhaka city. Thus, students, teachers, executives and other professionals are found as the passengers of a rickshaw.

As the fare of the CNG auto - rickshaw is not very affordable for every professional; usually the lower middle class and the working class avoid it unless there is any urgency. Thus, most of the passengers of CNG auto-rickshaw are from upper middle class and middle class. CNG auto-rickshaw is more comfortable, fast, and safe than rickshaw and it is for long distance. Therefore, it is very popular among the middle class and upper middle class. Students, executives, teachers, housewives and other professionals use the CNG auto - rickshaw for traveling around the Dhaka city.

The drivers belong to the working class. As blue-collar professionals, their social status is obviously lower than their passengers. Most of the drivers are not well educated. Most of them are dropped out of schools. Among the drivers the rate of illiterate is high in rickshaw pullers.

Though most of the CNG auto-rickshaw drivers are not well educated, usually the rickshaw pullers are less educated than the CNG auto-rickshaw drivers.

The income of the drivers is not that much lower. Sometimes drivers can earn much higher than other blue-collar professionals. Thus, some rickshaw pullers are found as seasonal who come to Dhaka at a particular time of the year for earning some extra money. Some rickshaw pullers live Dhaka for six months, some live only for two or three months. Though the drivers earn comfortable salary than the other blue-collar professionals, in the society their social status is very low.

Most of the drivers live in slum because it is much economical. As the house rent is very high in Dhaka, working class people have no other option but to live in slums. Thus, their accommodation is not standard. They usually have the least modern facilities of living like education, medical facilities, fresh food etc. because nowadays everything becomes very costly. As a result usually the children of drivers do not receive the standard education. Medical facilities are also very costly for the working class. Thus, the standard of living of the drivers is very lower than the passengers.

The purpose of this study is to analyze the haggling encounters to understand how language reflects a society or, in other words, to know how public transportation haggling conversations contain the power relationship between the drivers and the commuters.

Problem statement

Haggling in the transport sector is a daily affair for the citizen of Dhaka city. People use different types of vehicle for transportation. The public transports like bus, CNG auto-rickshaw and rickshaw are the commonest and the most popular vehicles for public transportation among the

city people. The majority of the passengers of public transport are from upper middle class, middle class and working class. Though the fares of bus and CNG auto-rickshaw are fixed by government, most of the time the drivers of CNG auto-rickshaw do not follow the rate. As a result, passengers have to haggle with the drivers for fixing a mutual price as like as the passengers of the rickshaw because there is no fixed rule for rickshaw fare. Thus, every day the citizens of Dhaka city have to haggle with the CNG auto-rickshaw drivers and the rickshaw pullers. Though the haggling conversations between the rickshaw pullers or the drivers with the passengers are very common, no sociolinguistic research has been conducted yet in this area in Bangladesh. This study intends to analyze the conversations to know the social and linguistic diversity of Bengali culture.

Purpose statement

The goal of this study is to understand the Bengali culture by analyzing the haggling conversation in the public transportation sector and also to know the power relationship between the passengers and the drivers or rickshaw pullers by critically analyzing their interactions during bargaining. As language is considered as the mirror of a society, this very common, daily interaction may reveal some important points regarding Bengali culture and its society. The reader will get idea how haggling is conducted in the public transportation sector and what are the common feature of haggling.

Central research questions

In the subsequent analysis of the conversation of haggling in public transportation sector, the following central research questions will be addressed respectively:

1. How does the concept of face work in the transport - sector haggling interaction?

2. How does power relationship interact with the transport - sector haggling interaction?
3. What are the specific features of haggling encounters?

Limitation

Since discourse analysis as a field of sociolinguistic study is comparatively new in the Indian sub-continent and the concept of analyzing public sector haggling conversation is also uncommon, hardly any research has been done till now in this part of the world. The unavailability of materials in the libraries has been a major challenge in doing this research.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Interrelationships between language and society

Language and society are interrelated. Language is an important component of a society. No society can be found without a single language. A language is affected by its social variables like social classes, age, sex etc. Thus, the definition of language supports that language cannot be separated from society.

“A language is what the members of a particular society speak” (Wardhaugh, 2006, p 1). According to *Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics* (1987) language is the system of human communication by means of structured arrangement of sound (or their written representation) to form larger units. These two definitions say that a language needs at least two people and in a society language plays the most important role. “We live in a world of language.... according to the philosophy expressed in the myths and religions of many peoples, language is the source of human life and power” (Fromkin, Rodman & Hyams, 2004, P 3). Human life is controlled by language which indicates that the language is the most powerful component of a society.

The definition of society also suggests that society cannot be isolated from language. “A society is the largest form of human group. It consists of people who share a common heritage and culture..... Having a common culture also simplifies many day-to-day interactions” (Schaefer, 2009, P 53). Since language is the main tool for interaction in a society language and society are clearly interrelated.

According to Wardhaugh (2006) there are several possible relationships between language and society. These are:

1. Social structure may either influence or determine linguistic structure and/or behavior. For example, children speak differently from mature adults.
2. Second possible relationship is directly opposed to the first: linguistic structure and/or behavior may either influence or determine social structure.
3. Influence is bi-directional: language and society may influence each other.
4. There is no relationship at all between linguistic structure and social structure and that each is independent of each other.

But the sociologists do not support the last one because a language is not independent component rather it depends on people or society. A language can be dead with the death of a particular society and like this process a language can be born with the birth of a society. Thus, Schaefer (2007) says, "Language is in fact, the foundation of every culture. Language is an abstract system of word meanings and symbols for all aspects of culture. It includes speech, written characters, numerals, symbols and nonverbal gestures and expression" (p.59). He also claims that "Language is the foundation of every culture and the ability to speak other language is crucial to intercultural relations" (p.59).

According to sociologists and sociolinguists language does more than simply describe reality; it also serves to shape the reality of a culture. As a result, sociolinguists analyze languages to understand the hidden agenda of the society. There are different classic works which have been done by different renowned linguists in the early stage of the development of

sociolinguists as an academic field. These works have later helped others to develop different theory of sociolinguistics. One of the pioneers is William Labov. His *The Social Stratification of (r) in New York City Department Stores* (1972) is still considered as the classic example of sociolinguistic study. In this study Labov shows how a phonological variable can be pronounced differently in terms of social class differences.

To observe pronunciation differences among sales people in three NY City department stores, Labov selects Saks Fifth Avenue (with expensive items), Macy's (medium priced) and S. Klein (selling cheaper items). After analyzing the data, Labov concludes that members of the highest and lowest social groups tend not to change their pronunciation but members of middle social groups sometimes do because of their social aspirations. The results also show that the amount of 'r' use increases by social class and by formality of style. When people in middle – status group try to use a prestige form associated with a higher-status group in a formal situation they have a tendency to overuse the form. Thus, social class is a very important variable for a language because language can reveal a person's social and economic class. This classic study encouraged researchers to do further research on language and society.

Like social class, gender is also an important factor for analyzing language use in a given society. There is a hypothesis that male and female do not only have physical differences rather they also talk differently. There are different studies on this topic and researchers have different opinions on it. The question is if there is a difference between men's language and women's language then is it biological or does society have any influence on it?

Society and gender

It is a universal assumption that women use different words compared with men. There is a debate going on about this issue and different researchers have different theories on why language of women is different from that of men. While many researchers think that women are status conscious and that is directly reflected in their speech, Robin Lakoff claims that women are using language which reinforces their subordinate status (cited in Holmes, 2001, p. 284). In 1973, Lakoff provides features of 'women language' where she claims that women's speech is characterized by linguistic features such as the following:

- (a) Lexical hedges or fillers, e.g. *you know, sort of, well, you see.*
- (b) Tag questions, e.g. *She's very nice, isn't it?*
- (c) Rising intonation on declaratives, e.g. *it's really good?*
- (d) 'Empty' adjectives, e.g. *divine, charming, cute.*
- (e) Precise color terms, e.g. *magenta, aquamarine.*
- (f) Intensifiers such as *just* and *so*, e.g. *I like him so much.*
- (g) 'Hypercorrect' grammar, e.g. consistent use of standard verb forms.
- (h) 'Superpolite' forms, e.g. indirect requests, euphemisms.
- (i) Emphatic stress, e.g. *it was a BRILLIANT performance* (p. 286).

Lakoff's study raises a question - is women's language powerless language? In the summer 1947 William M. O'Barr and Bowman K. Atkins record over 150 hours of trials in a

North Carolina superior criminal court (O'Barr & Atkins, 1980). The speech patterns of three men and three women are examined and all the features of Lakoff's "women language" are found in the speeches. The results show that both men and women use Lakoff's "women language" but it varies in terms of social power and experience. The more experienced and socially powerful person uses less "women language". As a result, the researchers suggest that the phenomenon which is described by Lakoff would be better termed "powerless language" rather "women language" because both men and women use "women language" in their speech but it depends on situation. This fact also suggests that language represents the social status.

If women's language represents "powerless language" men's language is considered as "powerful or masculine language". S. F. Kiesling (2009) tries to find "how do men use language to be men?" He identifies four dominant, or hegemonic, discourses of masculinity of American society and the discourses are:

- (1) Gender difference: this point suggests that men and women as naturally and categorically different in biology and behavior.
- (2) Heterosexism: this sees to be masculine is to sexually desire women and not to men.
- (3) Dominance and power: the idea man is to be strong, authoritative, and in control, especially when compared to women, and also when compared to other men.
- (4) Male solidarity and exclusivity: this discourse believes in the bond among men. Men should be worked in the group.

According to Kiesling (2009), these are the ways the Americans expect men to perform and that is why the "language of men" is quite different from the "language of women". This also leads to

the answer of why “language of men” is quite casual or informal in terms of “women language”. That means the society creates the norms and all the humans are the actors on social stage.

One of the norms of almost every society is that women should be polite in conversation. A general assumption is that women are more polite in conversation rather than men. Holmes (1995) finds that male interaction is more competitive, aggressive and argumentative than female.

Holmes discusses various studies about male-female conversations in her paper and finds that females usually disagree indirectly rather than males. Studies show that the rate of modified disagreement in both same sex and mixed sex conversation is lower for male. That means males usually ‘boldly’ disagree with their conversational partners. That means the males directly disagree with in conversation and do not care about his partner’s feelings. As a result they use slangs, swearing and taboo words and sometimes it becomes impolite and insulting for the listener (s).

According to Brown and Levinson (1987) sometimes being polite means maximizing areas of agreement and minimizing disagreement but it is natural that people do not agree in all contexts and it is difficult to express disagreement without being impolite or being offensive. Data in Holmes, 1995 study seems to suggest that shows that women are more expert and know more strategies rather than men in minimizing disagreement. The females are more polite in disagreement. They usually modified the sentence and try to soft the disagreeing response.

The data also shows that girls are usually more careful and sensitive listeners than boys. They know when to speak without interrupting. In contrast boys are less careful; they randomly interrupt in the middle of the conversation.

In terms of agreement, women are more supportive than men. They are more supportive in a conversation by agreeing with each other in both same sex and mixed sex conversation. They provide each other with a great deal of positive, encouraging feedback. On the other hand, the data reveals an interesting point that the rate of agreement of men in a conversation is very low than the women.

As a result, Holmes sums up that is in conversation women are more polite rather than men. The question is why the women use more polite form of language rather than men? One very popular answer is for self-promotion (Gordon, 1997). Gordon in her research argues that many researchers think that women use more polite form of language because of their self-promotion. They want to prove themselves as more caring, sensitive and polite in the social context because most of the societies want to look at the women as sensitive, caring and polite and these qualities help the women to get better chance like marriage in their life. Gordon's research (1997) shows the opposite picture of this assumption. According to Gordon, women use more polite form not because of self-promotion rather self-protection.

It is generally accepted that men use less prestige speech forms than women and women use more prestige speech forms because of self-promotion. Gordon's research (1997) reveals that middle-class women use more prestige speech forms not for self-promotion rather it as a strategy to avoid the association of lower-class stereotypes.

Gordon (1997) cited in her study that researchers who think that women have less power and social status than men and that is why the women, especially the middle class women, use more polite form of language than the men and the main reason is self-promotion. To understand the real situation of the women of New Zealand, Gordon did her research on women's language.

To collect data Gordon selected three speeches which reflected three social classes of New Zealand. She invited people to listen to the recorded voices carefully and asked the participants to identify the voices with three photographs of girls, wearing three sets of dress according to social orders. With other questions, one question was common to every participant that “which girl would be most likely to sleep around?” and the result showed that the majority of the participants matched the girls with three social orders like they matched the voice which had good accent or educated with the photographs where the girl wore costly cloth. That means the girls with cultivated New Zealand accent should be from higher class or the elite class and wear costly dress, the girls with general New Zealand accent should be from middle class and wear moderate dress, and the girls with broad New Zealand accent should be from middle class and wear lower-class dress. And most of the participants thought that the girl from lower-class would be most likely to sleep around.

The result reveals that the people of the society have presupposition about men’s and women’s sexuality. People have negative beliefs about women who belong to lower-class or working class. By listening to a woman’s accent or speech and watching her dress, one can spot a woman who belongs to which class of the society. The problem is society admits men’s bold expressions (like swearing, taboo words etc.) which is known as “manly” but if women use the same types of expression then according to the society they belong to the lower-class or uneducated and the presupposition about lower-class women is they are sexually immoral.

Gordon clarifies that society has double standard regarding the sexual behavior of men and women. Social stereotype belief that lower-class women usually do not believe in sexual morality and Gordon’s (1997) survey in New Zealand proves this presupposition. Gordon’s research shows that because of society’s double standard, women use more prestige speech

forms to avoid the misconception which means it is not about self-promotion rather it is self-protection for women. Linguistic politeness can determine this type of assumption. Politeness in the speech is an important factor which reveals a society's custom. Every society has its own terms regarding politeness and it varies from country to country.

A society cannot be imagined without social encounters and every person lives in a world of social encounters either mediated contact with other participants or in face-to-face. Every sentence or utterance of a discourse can be analyzing the framework of politeness theory.

Politeness

According to Holmes (2001) politeness involves taking account of the feelings of others. A polite person always cares about others' feeling. The person usually makes others feel comfortable. In terms of linguistics, politeness involves speaking to people appropriately in the light of the relationship to you (Holmes, 2001). According to *Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics* (1987), in language study politeness is used as two ways:

- a) Politeness shows or indicates how languages express the social distance between speakers and their different role relationship.
- b) Politeness also indicates "Face-work"; that is, how language is used to establish, maintain, and save face during conversation.

Wardhaugh (2006) thinks politeness is socially prescribed and impoliteness depends on the existence of standards, or norms, of politeness.

The concept of politeness comes from Goffman's work on "face" in 1967. Brown and Levinson developed this concept in 1987 (Wardhaugh, 2006). Brown and Levinson define *face*

as “the public self-image that every wants to claim for himself” (cited in Wardhaugh, 2006, p. 276). They also differentiate between positive face and negative face. The desire to gain approval from others is the positive face such as the positive consistent self-image or personality (2006). The desire to be unimpeded by others in one action such as the basic claim to terrorists, personal preserves etc. is the negative face (2006).

Face

Human beings live in society where every person should be engaged in social interaction. A person should be involved in face-to-face or mediated contact with other participants. Both verbal and nonverbal acts are acted out by the person to interact with other members of the society and by these acts the person expresses his/her own point of view of the circumstances and he/she also evaluates the participants as well as his/her own self. This act out or the process is sometimes known as a “line”. To establish line, every person tries to maintain face. According to Goffman face is the positive social value of a person. He says: “The term face may be defined as the positive social value of a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact.” (Goffman, 1967, p. 299)

That means face is constructed or approved by the particular society because every society has its own norms and customs. Thus, when a person interacts with other participants, he/she tries to maintain “good face” because he/she tends to experience an immediate emotional response from others. As a result, the feelings of his/her are attached to it. The person feels good when the events establish a face for him/her which he/she might not be expected or the person feels hurt or insulted when he/she might not be successful to establish a face and this situation is

known as “losing the face”. Face is a combination of confidence and assurance. A person feels confident and self-assured when he/she understands that he/she is in face.

How to maintain face

Maintenance of face depends on mutual understanding of both the speaker and the participants. A person can simply follow his/her own social code of interaction to gain face or protect face. For example, the person who does not care about others and enjoys another’s humiliation is known as “heart-less” and the person who does not care about own face is also known as “shameless”. Goffman says:

this means that the line taken by each participant is usually allowed to prevail, and each participant is allowed to carry off the role he appears to have chosen for himself. A state where everyone temporarily accepts everyone else’s line is established. This kind of mutual acceptance seems to be a basic structural feature of interaction, especially the interaction of face-to-face talk. (p. 301)

The question is why does a person try to save his/her face as well as others’? The answer to this question is that the person may want to save his/her:

own face because of his emotional attachment to the image of self-status allows him to exert over the other participants, and so on. He may want to save the others’ face because of his emotional attachment to an image of them, or because he feels that his co-participants have a moral right to this protection, or because he wants to avoid the hostility that may be directed toward him if they lose their face. (p. 301-302)

Like social codes, each and every culture has its own strategies of face-saving practice and these strategies are expected to be known by the members of the society. According to Goffman, the person will have two points of view and these are a defensive orientation and the second one is protective orientation. By defensive orientation, the person tries to save his/her own face and by protective orientation the person tries to save others. As a result, usually “one may expect these two perspectives to be taken at the same time” (p.302).

The basic kinds of face-work

Goffman thinks there are two kinds of face-work and these are the avoidance process and the corrective process. The avoidance process is used for a person to prevent threats to his/her face; and to prevent, avoid contacts is the safest way. In this way, as defensive measures, he/she keeps off topics and away from activities that would lead to the expression of information that is conflicting with the line he is maintaining. At appropriate moments he/she will change the topic of conversation or the direction of action.

The strategies of protective maneuvers are almost same as defensive ones. Here, the person shows respect and politeness, making sure to expand to others any ritual treatment that might be their due. He/she employs discretion; he/she leaves unstated facts that might implicitly or explicitly disagree with and discomfit the positive claims made by others.

The corrective process

According to Goffman, four classic moves are involved to reestablish face or face threatening act. These moves are challenge, offering, accept and gratitude. Challenge is the first

move and by challenge the participants usually claim that the threatened claims have no real value and that the threatening event should be brought back into line.

The second move is offering where “a participant, typically the offender, is given a chance to correct for the offense and re-establish the expressive order” (p. 305). The third move comes after the first move (challenge) and the second (offering) have been made. Here, “the persons to whom the offering is made can accept it as a satisfactory means of re-establishing the expressive order and the faces supported by this order. Only then the offender can cease the major part of his ritual offering” (p. 305). And the last one is gratitude and by gratitude “the forgiven person conveys a sign of gratitude to those who have given him the indulgence of forgiveness” (p. 305).

The whole corrective process – challenge, offering, acceptance and gratitude is a form for interpersonal ritual behavior.

Making points

Making points - the aggressive use of the face-work - is when person treats face-work not as something he/she need be prepared to perform, but rather as something that others can be counted on to carry out or to accept, then an encounter or an undertaking becomes less a scene of mutual considerateness than a ground in which a contest or match his/her held (Goffman, 1967, p. 306). The participants think about his/her own face which means he/she does not care about protective point of view.

“Face” and society

According to Goffman face and social relationship are interconnected. Greeting and farewell are very important elements in a conversation. Goffman thinks “greeting provides a way of showing that a relationship is still what it was at the termination of the previous coparticipation, and, typically, that this relationship involves sufficient suppression of hostility for the participants temporarily to drop their guards and talk” (p. 309). That means greeting also shows the social relationship between participants. Like greeting, farewell also shares critical points in a conversation. Goffman states that “farewells sum up the effect of the encounter upon the relationship and show what the participants may expect of one another when they next meet” (309). To Goffman, a social relationship “can be seen as a way in which the person is more than ordinarily forced to trust his self-image and face to the act and good conduct of others” (309).

Brown and Levinson define *face* as ‘the public self-image that every wants to claim for himself’ (cited in Wardhaugh, 2006, p. 276). They also differentiate between positive face and negative face. The desire to gain approval from others is the positive face such as the positive consistent self-image or personality. (2006, p. 277). The desire to be unimpeded by others in one action such as the basic claim to terrorists, personal preserves etc. is the negative face (2006, p.277).

According to Brown and Levinson (1987) though face defers from society to society, the mutual image of knowledge of face and the social needs to adapt oneself to it in communication, are universal. They divide face into two categories and these are:

(a) Negative face: “the want of every ‘competent adult member’ that his actions be unimpeded by others” (p. 312) (for example, to freedom of action and freedom from imposition)

(b) Positive face: “the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others” (312) (for example, the desire of self-image be appreciated and approved by the others)

The definitions suggest that the negative face is more formal than the positive face. Brown and Levinson provide the list by which both faces could be threatened and they term it as “face threatening acts” or FTA.

Brown and Levinson (1987) discuss the actions which can be responsible for threatening negative face of participants:

1. Put some pressure directly:

- Orders and requests (when speaker expresses that he/she wants the participant to do, or desist from doing) Example: Give me the pen.
- Suggestions, advice (speaker indicates that he/she thinks the participant ought to do some act) Example: I think you should not do this.
- Reminders (the speaker indicates that the listener should remember to do some activities) Example: Remember, you have to go to the dentist.

- Threats, warning, dares; (the speaker indicates that he/she or on behalf of him/her or something will instigate actions against the listener unless he/she do the task)

Example: Don't dare to copy at the exam hall.

2. Put some pressure indirectly:

- Offers (the speaker indicates that he/she will provide or do a favor if the listener does what he/she is asked to): Example: You will get 15% off if you buy it today.
- Promises (the speaker commits himself/herself to a future act for listener's benefit): I promise that I'll not tell your secret to anyone.

3. Others:

- Complements, expressions of envy or admiration (the speaker indicates that he/she likes or would like something of listener's): You have a good sense of humor.
- Expression of strong (negative) emotions such as lust, anger, ignorant etc. (the speaker indicates possible motivation for harming listener or listener's goods): I will break his car.

Brown and Levinson (1987) also elaborate the acts that threaten the positive-face want, by indicating that the speaker does not care about his/her co-participant's feelings. The actions which can be responsible for threatening negative face:

1. Negative evaluation (indirect):

- Expressions of disapproval, criticism, contempt, complaints, accusations, insults etc. (the speaker indicates that he/she does not like the listener's want or belief or values etc.): I do not agree with your point.
- Contradictions or disagreements, challenges (the speaker indicates that he/she thinks the listener has some misconceptions about some issues): You are wrong, Rahim does not have iPhone.

2. Those acts that shows that the speaker does not care about his/her participant's positive face:

- Expressions of violent emotions (Speaker gives the listener possible reason to fear him/her or be embarrassed by him/her): I know the real picture of your work. You are an impostor.
- Irreverence, mention of taboo topics, including those that are inappropriate in the context (the speaker indicates that he/she does not care about the listener's value and does not fear the listener's fear): Don't you remember how your ex has done with you?
- Bringing bad news of participant or good news of speaker (the speaker indicates that he/she does not care about the listener's feelings): Hey, you know John get promoted, but I thought it was you.
- Raising of dangerously emotional or divisive topics (speaker talks about very sensitive issue): It is your fault that dad died!

- Blatant non-cooperation in an activity (e.g. frequent interruption in the middle of the conversation)
- Use of address terms and other status-marked identifications in initial encounters:
You thief!

Brown and Levinson (1987) suggest the actions which can be responsible for threatening negative face of speaker:

- Expressing thanks (Speaker accepts a debt, humbles his own face)
- Acceptance of participants thanks or apology (Speaker may feel constrained to minimize the listener's transgression by saying "it was nothing, don't mention it")
- Excuses (speaker shows that he/she thinks he/she had good reason to do an act which the participant has just criticized)
- Acceptance of offers (speaker is forced to accept a debt, and to encroach upon the listener's negative face)
- Response to participant's *faux pas* (is a socially stiff or untactful act, especially one that disregard accepted social norms, standard customs, or the rules of courtesy)
- Unwilling promises or offers (speaker unwillingly commits himself/herself to do some future acts)

According to Brown and Levinson (1987) the actions which can be responsible for directly threatening positive face of speaker:

- Apologies (Speaker apologies for his/her action): I am very sorry; I know it was my entire fault.
- Acceptance of a compliment (speaker may feel forced to denigrate the object of the listener's past complement, thus, damaging his own face; or he may feel constrained to complement listener in turn)
- Break down of physical control over body
- Self-humiliation, acting stupid, self-contradicting
- Emotion leakage (non-control of laughter or tears)

By providing politeness we can give face to others. According to Brown and Levinson (1987) there are two types of politeness; the positive politeness and the negative politeness.

Positive politeness is approach based. Here the speaker respects the participants and speaker wants participant's wants. It is more informal. In contrast, negative politeness is usually avoidance based. It is more formal than the positive politeness. Brown and Levinson (1987) states, "Negative politeness, on the other hand, is oriented mainly toward partially satisfying (redressing) H's¹ negative face, his basic want to maintain claims of territory and self-determination" (317). For example, if someone wants to know about the direction of a particular place like police station to a passerby, providing the information to that person is the negative

¹ H refers to participant

politeness. Here, the passenger usually unknown to that person, thus, the passerby will just provide the direction if he/she knows without giving any unnecessary information. By providing the information, the passerby satisfied the person's negative face.

According to Brown and Levinson (1987) three sociological variables are responsible for affecting conversation and these are- the social distance of speaker and participants, relative power of speaker and participants and absolute of impositions in the particular culture.

When we communicate we must be careful for both kinds of face and thus have a choice of selecting two types politeness strategies, positive politeness and negative politeness.

Positive politeness leads to moves to achieve solidarity through offers of friendship, the use of compliments, and informal language use. On the other hand, *negative politeness* leads to deference, apologizing, indirectness, and formality in language use. (Wardhaugh, 2006, p. 277)

In other words positive politeness strategies show the closeness, intimacy, and rapport between speaker and listener and negative politeness strategies show the social distance between speaker and listener. Thus it is an important component to analyze a discourse.

Analysis of any discourse (oral or written) is a part of critical discourse analysis or CDA. To analyze discourse, researcher should know the basics of discourse analysis. CDA is a part of sociolinguistics. Sociologists developed this particular area for understanding the society through language.

Understanding society through language

Discourse is simply the conversation (both oral and written). Jørgensen and Phillips (2002) define a discourse as a particular way of talking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of the world). Thus, analysis of a particular conversation is not only offers explanation of discourses of social context but it also explains the questions of why and how discourses work.

Analysis of discourse is not a single study rather it is a brunch of study which emerged in the early 1990s. Norman Fairclough, Teun van Dijk, Theo van Leeuwen, Gunther Kress and Tuth Wodak are the pioneers of CDA who discuss about theories and methods of discourse analysis and specifically CDA (Wodak and Meyer, 2001). The beginning of CDA network is marked by the start on of van Dijks journal *Discourse and Society* as well as through several books, such as *Language and Power* by Norman Fairclough published in 1989, *Language, Power and Ideology* by Ruth Wodak published in 1989 or Teun van Dijk's first book on *Racism, Prejudice in Discourse* published in 1984. Now, CDA has become a major field of linguistics to understand a society through language.

The field of discourse analysis is vast. CDA is not restricted only in educational institutions like discourse analysis (DA). According to Haque (2008), CDA looks at discourses not only from linguistics perspectives but also goes beyond the boundary. To fulfill the aim, a researcher should follow the principles of language analysis because these principles will guide the researcher to study on his/her selected area.

There are some principles of CDA which are the fundamental of CDA. The main principles of CDA as summarized by Fairclough and Wodak (1997, p. 271-80) are as follows:

- CDA addresses social problems
- Power relations are discursive

- Discourse constitutes society and culture
- The link between text and society is mediated
- Discourse does ideological work
- Discourse is a form of social action
- Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory

Language analysts think a language is nothing but the reflection of the society. Thus, researchers do not only concern about the language of education but also they pick their subject from very root level of a society. As a result, many interesting topics have been studied by the researchers. For example the narratives of the beggars or the haggling strategies of both customers and vendors of meat stall is considered as important topics because beggars or the haggling in the street is very common in almost every society of the world and common people are considered as the vein of a society. Thus, researchers have huge range to select their topics. Ayoola's *Haggling Exchanges at Meat Stalls in some Markets in Lagos, Nigeria* (2009) is one of those non-traditional studies.

Haggling Exchanges at Meat Stalls in some Markets in Lagos, Nigeria

Kehinde A. Ayoola, a Nigerian researcher has done research on the conversation between the meat vendors and customers of Lagos in Nigeria. Ayoola (2009) finds that certain discourse strategies such as humor, dysphemism and euphemism, cajoling, flattery and flirting have been used by both the customers and the meat vendors of Nigeria to achieve their goal of maximizing profit or bargain during buying and selling encounters. Haggling is considered as an important social traditional education among the Yoruba of southwestern Nigeria. The young Yoruba receives this social education from their elders. The research of Ayoola reveals service encounter

differs from society to society. Haggling is normal in the society of the Yuroba but it would be considered as unusual in western context.

Certain underlying factors like age, sex, appearance and demeanor influence the result of haggling. For example power is manifested in many ways in haggling. Well-dressed customers of both sexes are addressed more courteously but children, underprivileged members of the community and young ladies are dominated verbally by the male vendors.

Ayoola finds that different discourse strategies are exercised in haggling. The power of humor release tension between the buyers and the sellers. Humor and jokes reduce the distance between the customers and the vendors. Humor and jokes also open the way of mutual negotiation.

Dysphemism and euphemism are also used by the both vendors and their customers. The sellers exaggerate the quality of his/her products and the customers also understand it. For example, late in an evening when a customer described a dark red chunk of a beef as blackened as poly to get a lower price, the seller retorted that it was “straight from the slaughter slab”, it becomes dysphemism because at that time the piece of beef cannot be fully blackened as the customer claimed as well as it also cannot be possible that at that time the beef is “straight from the slaughter slab”. Here, both the customer and the vendor used dysphemism. Ayoola also provided an example of euphemism in his research.

| Turn | Speaker | Text |
|------|----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | Butcher: | (He lifts up the piece of beef as if it is too heavy) [This huge chunk of beef]! |

2 Customer: [Put it down quickly; don't let it break your arm]. (P 395)

Pleas, abuse, and swearing are commonly practiced in Lagos market. Pleas show the practice of power exercise between the customers and the sellers. Both vendors and customers sometimes have to plead with the other party during haggling exchanges. Abuses are another usual event occurs during haggling exchanges especially when such a customer does not agree with the price which is set by the vendors. The vendors abuse the customer by using slang or taboo words. This type of incident usually occurs with the economically poor citizen of the society.

Cajoling, flattery and flirting are other strategies in haggling exchanges. By using certain terms such as 'daddy', 'mummy', 'aunty', 'uncle', 'brother', 'sister', 'manager', 'director', 'chairman', 'first lady' both parties try to build up a positive relationship such as: my darling/husband, my mother's husband/lover etc.

The example of flattery and flirting could be:

| Turn | Speaker | Text |
|------|---------|------|
|------|---------|------|

| | | |
|---|-----------|---------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | Customer: | [Perhaps I should just go all way home with you]. |
|---|-----------|---------------------------------------------------|

| | | |
|---|---------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | Vendor: | [I dare not. I'm only a young lad. I plead]. (p. 396) |
|---|---------|-------------------------------------------------------|

Mood, ellipse, code-mixing, and code-switching and pidgin are under the category of linguistic choice. For greetings, sale request and haggling exchange, the interrogative mood is used. Imperatives are used for acceptance of offer, haggling trigger and sale closure. Not only interrogatives and imperatives but also declarative sentence types are used for communication of

haggling exchange and response to a ribald banter. For jesting or expressing anger, interjections are used.

Ellipsis or the leaving out of words or phrases from sentences are usually used in haggling exchanges.

Nigeria is a multilingual country and that is why both the vendors and the buyers use several languages such as English, Yoruba, pidgin, Igbo etc. during haggling exchanges. Code-mixing and code-switching depend on situation. To show respect or to dominate, both parties use code-mixing and code-switching. Pidgin is also used in Lagos metropolis. Ayoola's research shows the different strategies are used in haggling exchanges to achieve the ultimate goal of maximizing profit or bargain.

Like, Ayoola's study, A. Majid Hayati and M. Maniati Iranian researchers did research on narratives of Iranian beggars. The title of the study is *Beggars are Sometimes the Choosers*. In this study the researchers analyzed the speech of Iranian beggars during begging. The Iranian beggars use story as the main strategy for begging.

Beggars are Sometimes the Choosers

Narrative or storytelling is used for representing experience. People use personal narrative to represent themselves. Hayati and Maniati (2010) analyzed five Iranian beggars' narratives by using Labov's model of personal narrative and positioning theory and found that the beggars use the narrative as a strong tool to cover their identities while assuming and negotiating different positions.

Labov's model of personal narrative contains six categories and these are abstract- which tells the main point of the story; orientation tells the time, place, and people/character and their activities and situation; complication is the essence of narrative and answers the question what

happened? Next one is evaluation. Most experts think that evaluation is the most important element of a basic narrative. It indicates the point of narrative and gives the answer to the question of so what. After evaluation the next part is resolution. Resolution is the set of complicating actions that follow the most reportable event. And the last one is coda which usually a clause or clauses that appear at the end of a narrative.

Henrre and Van Langehove introduce the concept of position and positioning in 1999. This theory refers to the way people use action and speech to arrange social structure. Positions, storylines and speech acts, these three are the key points of positioning theory and which are known as the tri-polar structure. A position is “loose set of rights and duties that limit the possibilities of action” (cited in Hayati & Maniati, 2010, p. 43). There are always two sides in position and that is, if one is to be positioned as powerful, another must be position as powerless. Positions are also fluid, that means they may vary as the situation changes.

Storyline is the unfolding of the dynamics of a social episode tends to follow an already established pattern and is expressed as a ‘loose cluster of narrative conversation’. That means storyline and positions are connected and are consequent from the cultural context to which individuals belong. The last one is speech acts which are socially significant actions, intended movement or speech that is interpreted as socially meaningful. As a result the positioning theory in a conversation shows the relations between self and others while reconciling their specific experiences.

After analyzing the data, the researchers find that all the beggars (total five) use the narrative techniques in their speech and all the six points of the Labov’s model are available. Though the main intension of the beggars is begging but with techniques of storytelling they try to hide their profession. Instead of declaring themselves beggars, they present themselves as a

guest or brother of the audiences. The main motive behind them is creating a moral framework at the very first of the stories. After that the beggars create another two identities- the independent (audience) and dependent (beggars). Before the coda the beggars once again deny their real identity as by saying they are not associated with beggary and this is the most important to them because they are getting close to the main point of their request. At last they position their audience as people who are so generous and magnanimous that they deserve God's blessing. As a result the positioning theory shows how the beggars present themselves as competent members of society and what it means to be a beggar by their narratives.

Thus, narratives of beggars or the conversations of meat vendors and customers are not a minor subject in CDA. As a result, in CDA nothing is minor and ignorable; rather these subjects indicate a society's culture norms and forms, laws etc.

Chapter 3

Methodology

Introduction

This chapter deals with the theory and methods applied in this study. The research design, theoretical framework, data collection method, data analysis procedure and the problems of data collection are discussed in this chapter.

Research Design

This research is qualitative and analytical. Only linguistic data was collected for this paper. The data was collected from various area of Dhaka city. Total 18 conversations were collected in order to find the answers of the research questions.

Theoretical framework

This study has particularly employed Goffman's (1967) concept of face as theory. It has been used to analyze the public transport haggling conversations. The data was also explained by the local customs and norms of Bangladeshi context.

Data collection method

The data was secretly recorded by a cell phone from various area of Dhaka city. The main reason for secret recording was to capture the natural conversation. Most of the data was collected in day time. Total 18 conversations were recorded and from those, nine conversations were rickshaw pullers and passengers and other nine were CNG auto-rickshaw drivers and passengers.

Data analysis procedure

As mention in theoretical framework section, the data was analyzed by two ways one was from Goffman's framework on "face" and other one was from Bangladeshi context. The data was analyzed according to the research questions. The analyzed data was presented in findings section and finally the central research questions were answered.

Obstacles encountered

As the data was collected from roadside, sometimes the noise of vehicles, small talk of passersby, the advertisements of canvassers and the conversations of roadside vendors were made the recordings cacophonous to understand. Also the data was secretly collected and thus, some data were collected from natural distance from the participants. As a result, the sounds of those recording were not very clear.

Chapter 4

Findings and Discussion

In this section, the data will be critically analyzed to understand the haggling encounters in public transportation sector in Dhaka. The first part is the features of haggling. After that the conversations will be analyzed in terms politeness theory. The last section is the language and the society. This section is divided into three sub-sections: language and gender, religious terms in haggling encounter and the power variables in haggling encounters.

Features of Haggling

Haggling for CNG auto-rickshaw or rickshaw hiring has some special features which have been found in almost every sample. This features are- absence of greetings, Confirming distance and location, proposal, and hyperbole.

Absence of greetings

In haggling, like regular greetings like “hello” or “good morning” is absent rather the passengers directly start the conversations. Here the passengers usually ask the drivers or the rickshaw pullers if they want to go. For example-

(T1)যাঃ এই মামা যাইবা?

P: Hey “Mama”, will you go? (CNG-Sample 1, Turn 1)

(T 1) যাঃ মামা যাবেন?

P: mama, will you go? (CNG-Sample 5, Turn 1)

(T1) যাঃ মামা যাবেন?

P: mama, will you go? (Rickshaw-Sample 4, Turn 1)

Here, the passengers first ask the drivers or the rickshaw puller if they willing to go or not. As it is the beginning of conversation, it cannot be called as greetings. Some conversations start with location also, where the passengers mention the area of their desired destination. For example-

(T1)যাঃ যাবেন? বাড্ডা?

P: Will you go Badda? (CNG-Sample 2, Turn 1)

(T1)যাঃ ঐ উত্তরা যাবি?

P: Will you go to Uttara? (CNG-Sample 3, Turn 1)

(T1)যাঃ যাবেন ভাই, পাহুপথ?

P: Brother, will you go to Panthapath? (CNG-Sample 4, Turn 1)

(T1) যাঃ মামা, শ্যামলী হানিফ কাউন্টার।

P: mama, Shamoli, Hanif Counter. (CNG-Sample 6, Turn 1)

(T1) যাঃ মামা যাবেন? রামপুরা বাজার।

P: mama, will you go to Rampura Bazaar? (Rickshaw-Sample 6, Turn 1)

(T1) যা ১- সিদ্ধেশ্বরী যাবে? কালী মন্দির পার হয়ে তিন গলি পরে।

P 1: Will you go to Siddessory? It's 3 lanes from Kali Mondir. (Rickshaw-Sample 7, Turn 1)

(T1) যাঃ মামা যাইবেন সিদ্ধেশ্বরী?

P: Mama, will you go to Siddessori? (Rickshaw-Sample 8, Turn 1)

(T1) যা ১- যাবেন? শাহজাহানপুর?

P1: Will you go? Shajahanpur? (Rickshaw-Sample 9, Turn 1)

Sometimes the passengers ask if the rickshaw pullers or the drivers know the area where the passengers want to go. For example-

(T1) যাত্রীঃ শান্তিবাগ, চিনো?

P: Do you know Shantibag? (Rickshaw-Sample 9, Turn 1)

Thus, greetings in haggling for rickshaw or CNG-auto rickshaw are different from normal greetings.

Sometimes the passengers also start with address without asking if the rickshaw pullers or the drivers want to go or not. It is like open invitation or question. It happens especially in rickshaw stands or the CNG-auto rickshaw stands or in other words it happens where there are many rickshaws or CNGs. The passengers just announce their desired locations and waiting for a positive answer from the drivers or the rickshaw pullers. The tone can be assertive or interrogative. For example

(T1) যাঃ টিকাতলী

P: Tikatoli (Rickshaw-Sample 2, Turn 1)

(T1) যাঃ শান্তিনগর, চামেলী বাগ?

P: Shanti Nagor, Chameli Bag?

(T1) যাঃ বনশী।

P: Bonshri. (Rickshaw-Sample 5, Turn 1)

In Dhaka, people usually busy. There is no time for a long discussion usually in hot weather. Heat and humidity discourage people for a long conversation. And like the western culture, greetings are not compulsory in Bangladesh. Thus, the absence of greetings in public transportation haggling sector is not unusual in Bangladeshi context.

Though sometimes location or address comes without greetings, it is the most important feature of haggling conversation because the address should be clear to the drivers or the rickshaw pullers as they fix fare in terms of address. Thus the next feature is address (location).

Confirming distance and location

Address should be clear to the drivers or the rickshaw pullers because the fare depends on the location or the distance. Thus, in haggling conversation, the passengers provide the exact location. For example-

(T3) যাঃ শান্তিবাগ চিনো না? মালিবাগ মোড় থেকে সামনে। ঠিক আছে? চল্লিশ টাকা দিবো।

P: Shantibag, don't know? It is just after the Malibag Intersection. Ok? I'll pay forty takas.

(Rickshaw-Sample 1, Turn 3)

(T3) যাঃ ঐ হুমায়ূন সাহেবের বাড়ির সামনে। কে এন দাশ লেন।

P: In front of that Mr. Humayun's house. K N Das Lane. (Rickshaw-Sample 2, Turn 3)

The passenger clarified the address in Turn 5. He said-

(T5) যাঃ হ্যাঁ। হুমায়ুন সাহেবের বাড়ির এই পাশে। হ্যাঁ, কে এন দাশ লেন। কত?

P: Yeah. Beside of Mr. Humayun's house. Yes, K N Das Lane. How much? (Rickshaw-Sample 2, Turn 5)

(T3) যাঃ শান্তিনগর, চামেলী বাগ?

P: Shanti Nagor, Chameli Bag. (Rickshaw-Sample 3, Turn 3)

(T3) যাঃ এই এশিয়ান হাসপাতাল, ও না! এশিয়ান তো এর বাসা (পাশের ব্যক্তিকে ইশারা করে) আমার বাসা রামপুরা। রামপুরা বাজার, কত?

P: This Asian Hospital. Oh no! His house is in Asian (He points to next person) my home is at Rampura. Rampura Bazaar, how much? (Rickshaw-Sample 4, Turn 3)

(T3) যাঃ G-block এ নামবো। এই side এ।

P: At G-block. This side. (Rickshaw-Sample 5, Turn 3)

(T1) যাঃ মামা যাবেন? রামপুরা বাজার।

P: mama, will you go to Rampura Bazaar? (Rickshaw-Sample 6, Turn 1)

(T1) যা ১- সিদ্ধেশ্বরী যাবে? কালী মন্দির পার হয়ে তিন গলি পরে।

P 1: Will you go to Siddessory? It's 3 lanes from Kali Mondir. (Rickshaw-Sample 6, Turn 1)

(T3) যাঃ কালী মন্দির পার হয় তিন গলি পরে।

P: Cross the Kali Mondir then after three lanes. (Rickshaw-Sample 7, Turn 3)

The passenger had to clarify the address in Turn 5. He said:

(T5)যাঃ তিনটা গলি পরে, তিন গলি পরে।

P: Just after three lanes, three lanes. (Rickshaw-Sample 7, Turn 3)

(T1) যা ১- যাবেন? শাহজাহানপুর?

P1: Will you go? Shajahanpur? (Rickshaw-Sample 9, Turn 1)

(T3)যাঃ ধানমণ্ডি ১২।

P: Dhanmondi 12. (CNG-Sample 1, Turn 3)

(T1)যাঃ যাবেন? বাড্ডা?

P: Will you go Badda? (CNG-Sample 2, Turn 1)

(T1)যাঃ ঐ উত্তরা যাবি?

P: Will you go to Uttara? (CNG-Sample 3, Turn 1)

(T1)যাঃ যাবেন ভাই, পান্থপথ?

P: Brother, will you go to Panthapath? (CNG-Sample 4, Turn 1)

(T 3)যাঃ নীলক্ষেত।

P: Nilkhet. (CNG-Sample 5, Turn 3)

(T1) যাঃ মামা, শ্যামলী হানিফ কাউন্টার।

P: mama, Shamoli, Hanif Counter. (CNG-Sample 6, Turn 1)

Next feature is the proposal. Usually after greetings the drivers or the rickshaw pullers give their desired fare to the passenger for accepting.

Proposal

After getting the location the rickshaw pullers or the drivers provide their desired fare to the passengers. For example-

(T4)চাঃ ৩০০ টাকা।

D: 300 taka (CNG-Sample 1, Turn 4)

(T2)চাঃ ২৫০ দিয়েন।

D: Give 250. (CNG-Sample 2, Turn 2)

(T2)চাঃ যাব। ৪০০ টাকা।

D: Yes. 400 taka. (CNG-Sample 3, Turn 2)

(T2)চাঃ ৩০০ টাকা।

D: 300 taka. (CNG-Sample 4, Turn 2)

(T 4)চাঃ মামা ২০০ টাকা।

D: Mama 200 taka. (CNG-Sample 5, Turn 4)

(T2)চাঃ যাব। ২০০ দিয়েন।

D: Yes. Give 200 taka. (CNG-Sample 6, Turn 2)

(T6)রিঃ মামা ষাইটটা টাকা দিবেন।

R: Mama, give 60 taka. (Rickshaw-Sample 2, Turn 6)

(T5)রিঃ ষাইট টাকা দিবেন।

R: Give sixty takas. (Rickshaw-Sample 3, Turn 5)

(T2)রিঃ যাব। ৩০ টাকা।

R: Yes, 30 takas. (Rickshaw-Sample 6, Turn 2)

(T4)রিঃ ৬০ টাকা নিবো।

R: I'll take 60 takas. (Rickshaw-Sample 7, Turn 4)

(T8)রিঃ চল্লিশ টাকা দিয়েন।

R: Give 40 taka. (Rickshaw-Sample 8, Turn 8)

(T4)রিঃ ৮০ টাকা।

R: 80 taka. (Rickshaw-Sample 9, Turn 4)

Sometimes the passengers give proposal to the drivers or the rickshaw pullers. For example-

(T3) যাঃ শান্তিবাগ চিনো না? মালিবাগ মোড় থেকে সামনে। ঠিক আছে? চল্লিশ টাকা দিবো।

P: Shantibag, don't know? It is just after the Malibag Intersection. Ok? I'll pay forty taka.

(Rickshaw-Sample 1, Turn 3)

(T7)যাঃ আমি ৩০ টাকা করে যাই আপনাকে ৩০ টাকাই দিবো।

P: 30 taka is regular and I'll pay you 30 taka. (Rickshaw-Sample 5, Turn 3)

As a result both parties ask for price in haggling. After the proposal, the main bargaining begins. Here, both parties try to convince the others by providing different logics. After that the haggling may end by two ways- successfully or unsuccessfully. Sometimes the haggling ends silently. Thus, it has two meanings of silence; successful and unsuccessful.

Hyperbole is another unique feature of haggling encounters. In haggling conversations hyperbole is found.

Hyperbole

According to *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English* (2005), hyperbole is a way of speaking or written that makes something sound better, more exciting, dangerous, etc. than it really is.

Sometimes the passengers use hyperbole to advertise the area where they want to go to convince the drivers or the rickshaw pullers. For example, in Turn 7 of Rickshaw-Sample 4, the passenger overstated the description of his destination. He said:

(T7) যাঃ আহা, কেন যাবেন না? রাস্তা ফাঁকা, আর রামপুরা কত সুন্দর একটা জায়গা ! প্রাকৃতিক পরিবেশ, মনোরম এলাকা। চলেন না।

P: Aha, why? The road is free and Rampura is a very beautiful place! It is a place of natural beauty and it is so attractive. Won't you? (Rickshaw-Sample 4, Turn 7)

In this Turn, the passenger talked about Rampura. According to the passenger, Rampura is a “very beautiful place” and also it is a place of “natural beauty”. Thus, Rampura is very

“attractive”. The main reason behind this kind of description is that the passenger was trying to convince the rickshaw puller and that is why he just overstated the description of Rampura.

Rampura is one of the busiest areas in Dhaka city. Many corporate offices, departmental stores, restaurant, factories are situated in Rampura. It is also a residential area. Thus, it is very busy and crowded place. As a result Rampura is not that “very beautiful place” in real.

As a very crowded and commercial place, though Rampura is also a residential area, the trees are very rare here. Thus, it cannot be a place of “natural beauty”. The whole area becomes busy from dawn to mid night. Most of the roads of Rampura are narrow, as a result traffic jam is very common incident of Rampura. Thus, it is not that much “attractive” place to visit. As a result here the passenger’s statement becomes ironic.

The passenger overstated Rampura for convincing the rickshaw puller but sometimes it becomes so ironic that also gives comic relief.

The haggling encounters can be analyzed in terms of politeness theory. To understand the power variable in haggling, the conversations should be analyzed by politeness theory.

Positive Face Threatening Acts in Haggling

Those acts by which the speaker shows that he/she does not care about his/her participant’s or addressee’s positive face (feelings, wants etc.) or disapprove his/her want are known as positive face threatening acts. In transportation sector haggling conversations, positive face threatening acts like disapproval, use of taboo words, criticize etc. are also available.

Disapproval/ Rejection

Disapproval or rejection is very common in haggling. Both the passengers and the drivers or the rickshaw pullers directly refuse to go if the fare seems unfair. Turn 8 of Rickshaw-Sample 2, Turn 4 of Rickshaw-Sample 4, Turn 6 of Rickshaw-Sample 4, Turn 4 of CNG-Sample 2 and Turn 8 of CNG-Sample 4 are the examples of direct disapproval.

(T8)রিঃ না মামা।

R: No mama. (Rickshaw-Sample 2, Turn 8)

(T4)রিঃ না মামা যাব না।

R: no mama, I won't. (Rickshaw-Sample 4, Turn 4)

(T6)রিঃ না মামা।

R: no, mama. (Rickshaw-Sample 4, Turn 6)

(T4)চাঃ না।

D: No. (CNG-Sample 2, Turn 4)

(T8)চাঃ হয় না তো।

D: Not possible. (CNG-Sample 4, Turn 8)

All the direct disapprovals are from the rickshaw pullers and the CNG drivers. In these examples the rickshaw puller and the drivers just decline without providing any explanation because people are busy in Dhaka city. Both drivers and passengers do not have time for a long

discussion. Lack of patience, traffic jam, heat and humidity are the main reasons of the curt reply. Sometimes they also propose their price and claim that their price is “actual” to mean fair. In Turn 4 of Rickshaw-Sample 6, the rickshaw puller claims that he asked for the original fare while replying the passenger’s proposal of Turn 3. Here is the conversation:

(T3)যাঃ কি বলেন ৩০ টাকা। ২৫ টাকা।

P: 30 taka! What are you saying! 25 taka. (Rickshaw-Sample 6, Turn 3)

(T4)রিঃ ৩০ টাকাই ভাড়া।

R: 30 taka is the actual fare. (Rickshaw-Sample 6, Turn 4)

Though in Turn 4 the rickshaw puller claims that “30 taka is the actual fare”, he does not have any written proof because in Bangladesh there is no document for rickshaw fare. People fix the price by negotiation and for that they mainly look at the distance. The concept of distance is also unclear because usually in city area, there is no mile post or kilo meter post for knowing the distance. In Bangladesh, distance is measured by kilometers. As a result both the passengers and the rickshaw puller usually have no idea about the distance in terms of kilometers. Both the passengers and the rickshaw pullers have presupposition about the distance and they apply it to fix the fare. When the presupposition is not matched with anyone (rickshaw pullers or passengers) they start bargaining. Thus, the rickshaw puller used the term “actual” to prove that the passenger had no idea about the fare.

In this sample (Rickshaw-Sample 6) the rickshaw puller claims again and again that “30 taka” is “actual” or minimum fare. For example:

(T6)রিঃ মামা একজনেই ৩০ টাকা।

R: mama, one person is 30 taka. (Rickshaw-Sample 6, Turn 6)

(T8)রিঃ চলেন মামা, কিন্তু ৩০ টাকা।

R: let's go mama, but 30 taka. (Rickshaw-Sample 6, Turn 8)

(T12)রিঃ চলেন। মামা, ভাড়া কিন্তু ৩০ টাকা এখান থেকে।

R: ok. But mama, 30 taka is the real fare from here. (Rickshaw-Sample 6, Turn 12)

In Turn 6, the rickshaw puller claimed that "...one person is 30 taka" which shows that he might ask more because there were two passengers but he asked only thirty taka. Though it seems generous, actually the rickshaw puller directly refused the proposal of the passengers and to make a strong ground for his claim, he used this logic.

In Turn 12, though the rickshaw puller accepts the passengers' price, again he said that "...30 taka is the original fare from here". His statement shows that actually he could not agree with the passengers and he still believed his own proposal and this also indicates that the rickshaw puller directly opposed the passengers' proposal.

In Rickshaw-Sample 4 the rickshaw puller strictly refuses to go to a particular area in Turn 8. He said:

(T8) রিঃ ঐ দিকেই যাব না।

R: I won't go that way. (Rickshaw-Sample 4, Turn 8)

Sometimes rickshaw pullers avoid some particular area because of some probable reasons. One of the possible reasons is if that area is unknown to the rickshaw puller. New area is very confusing for a rickshaw puller because he does not know the fare. It is also not secured for an unknown rickshaw puller because he might be hijacked.

Another reason may be time. In Bangladesh most of the rickshaw pullers do not have their own rickshaws; they take rickshaw from agents or owners. They take rickshaws in daily basis. They can take rickshaws for a whole day or half day. The owners take money for a particular time. If someone misses the schedule and become late, that rickshaw puller must pay the double money for fine. Thus, if the area is very far from the rickshaw pullers own area most of the time they do not want to take passengers.

Passengers also directly oppose to the rickshaw pullers proposal and claim that their proposal is logical. In Turn 6 of Rickshaw-Sample 7, the second passenger said

(T6)যা ২- না মামা, ৪০ করে daily যাচ্ছি। ৪০ টাকা.....

P 2: no mama, I pay 40 taka every day. 40 taka.... (Rickshaw-Sample 7, Turn 6)

Here, the passenger said that she pays 40 taka every day which indicates that 40 taka is generally accepted by both the passengers and the rickshaw pullers. By replying this, she directly rejects the rickshaw puller's asking price.

Above examples show that how both the drivers or the rickshaw pullers and the passenger threaten each other's positive face by directly refusing the others' wants.

Criticizing

Criticism is one kind of negative evaluation and positive face threatening act. By criticizing the speaker indicates that he/she has another opinion on the listener's wants, acts, and beliefs. The speaker also shows that he/she does not approve or like the listener's one or more acts, wants, requests, desires, personal characteristics, beliefs and values. Criticism has been also found in haggling conversations. Most of the time the passengers criticize the drivers and the rickshaw pullers while haggling. In Rickshaw-Sample 1, the passenger criticized the rickshaw puller in Turn 5. The passenger said:

(T5) যাঃ (হাসি) চিনোই না আবার ভাড়া নিয়া কথা বল!

P: (laughter) you don't know the place but you're talking about the fare! (Rickshaw-Sample 1, Turn 5)

The rickshaw puller did not know the area where the passenger wanted to go but the rickshaw puller did not agree with the passenger's proposed fare rather he asked more. Thus, the passenger criticized the rickshaw puller. According to the passenger, it is illogical and funny to bargain when the place is unknown to the rickshaw puller. Here, the logic behind this criticism is if the rickshaw puller does not know the place then he must do not know the fare. As a result the rickshaw puller does not have any right to bargain.

Sometimes the rickshaw pullers blindly ask for more, because they think the passengers may not be fully honest in case of fare because haggling is like a battle for both parties and everyone tries to win. Thus, the rickshaw pullers sometime ask more even when they do not know that particular area.

Sometimes criticizing becomes so harsh and it also shows the power relationship of the society. CNG-Sample 3 contains this type of criticism. in Turn 5, the passenger said:

(T5)যাঃ তোদেরতো কখনো পোষায় না!

P: You guys will never be satisfied! (CNG-Sample 3, Turn 5)

Here, the passenger uses impolite term “toder” to say this sentence. In Bangladesh, there are three types of functions for pronoun “You”. One is used for showing respect and for example “You” or “Apni” for senior or wealthy or powerful citizens of the society; another one “You” or “Tumi” is used for equal status or for showing care for to the younger. It is frequently used by the senior citizen to the younger, but sometimes it is also used for abusing. And the last “You” or “Tui” is used for two purposes. One is for very much intimacy of the speakers. For example this “You” is frequently used by the friends. And the second is used for abusing. This “You” or “Tui” directly represent the master-servant relationship and the passenger of CNG-Sample 3 repeatedly uses this “You” or “Tui”.

In Turn 5, the passenger said, “You guys will never be satisfied”. In Bangladesh, though the government has fixed the fare, the drivers do not want to follow the rules because of many reasons. Those drivers, who do not have their own CNG-auto rickshaw, have to give extra fees to the owners though the government has fixed the fees. Thus, the drivers ask for extra money instead of following the meter. The passenger indicates the drivers’ attitude by saying- “you guys will not be satisfied” and he used most impolite way to say this statement. This statement also shows that the passenger has his own belief or presupposition about the CNG drivers. Here, he also separates himself from the driver. He creates a binary opposition between the passengers and the drivers. The passenger creates class division and separates himself from the working class by using plural “you”.

The passengers can also criticize in a light-headed humorous way. For example in CNG-Sample 4, the passenger asked in Turn 4 that:

(T3)যাঃ জেট ফুয়েল দিয়া চালান নাকি!

P: Do you use “Jet Fuel”! (CNG-Sample 4, Turn 3)

The passenger’s expression shows his sense of humor as well as his quick response of the driver’s want “300 taka” in Turn 2. According to the passenger 300 taka would be alright if the driver uses jet fuel as gas in his CNG auto rickshaw because CNG does not charge that much and it is very cheap gas for the vehicles. On the other hand, jet fuel is very expensive as it is used only in airplane. The passenger criticized the driver with his witty statement for driver’s demand.

Sarcasm

According to *Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary of Current English* (2005), sarcasm is a way of using words that are the opposite of what you mean in order to be unpleasant to somebody or make fun of them. The tone of the speaker also captures this sarcasm which is also found in haggling conversation. Sarcasm is mainly used for criticizing. For example in CNG-Sample 3, the passenger criticized the driver in Turn 5. He said-

(T5)যাঃ তোদেরতো কখনো পোষায় না!

P: You guys will never be satisfied! (CNG-Sample 3, Turn 5)

This statement of the passenger shows that he separates the CNG drivers in a different group by saying “You guys”. In a society people do not have same job and same social status. People have to choose different types of job for living. Thus, the school teachers have different social status

than a working class member like a rickshaw puller. In this statement, when the passenger said “you guys”, from this time he separated himself from the CNG-drivers. The passenger created a binary opposition. He made himself as representative of the civil society, and the driver as the representative of uneducated uncouth CNG-drivers.

The next phrase “will not be satisfied” also has inner meaning. For price hike and other reasons the CNG-drivers cannot follow the government’s rules. They ask for extra money from the passengers. Some hidden agendas of the CNG-owners like the owners ask for extra money for regular payment from the drivers make the drivers to break the rules and the passengers become the victims and they have to pay the extra money to the drivers. Sometimes the passengers have to pay almost double money to the drivers. Thus, the passenger criticized the CNG-drivers and though his statement has negative attitude, its meaning shows the whole picture of Bangladeshi CNG-auto rickshaw sector.

Satire

Satire is also found in haggling encounters. According to *Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary of Current English* (2005), satire is a way of criticizing a person, an idea or an institution in which you use humor to show their faults or weakness. Sometimes the passengers give satiric expression. For example in CNG-Sample 4, the passenger asked the driver if he uses “jet fuel” as gas of his auto-rickshaw. The passenger said in Turn 5:

(T3)যাঃ জেট ফুয়েল দিয়া চালান নাকি!

P: Do you use “Jet Fuel”? (CNG-Sample 4, Turn 5)

“Jet fuel” is very expensive fuel and is used in airplane. On the other hand, in Bangladesh, CNG is the cheapest gas among other gases like petrol, Oakton etc. and most of people of Dhaka city and Chittagong use CNG in their vehicles. As a result, logically the fare of CNG-auto rickshaw should be cheap but in reality it is just the opposite. The CNG-drivers do not follow the government’s declared price and they ask extra money.

The driver asked for 300 taka in Turn 4 and the passenger gave his answer in a satiric way. The passenger did not directly deny to pay rather he asked if the driver used “jet fuel” instead of “CNG”. According to the passenger only “jet fuel” could cost so high. With this statement the passenger released the tension of the situation by mocking the driver’s want.

Taboo Words and dysphemism

The use of taboo words in conversation that the speaker does not care about the listener’s positive face. It also reveals the lack of self-control or the violent emotions of the speaker. In haggling, taboo words are sometimes used. Passengers sometimes use taboo words when they become frustrated. In Turn 6 of CNG-Sample 2, the passenger said taboo words:

(T6)যাঃ ধুর ... (গালি)

D: (Taboo word) (CNG-Sample 2, Turn 6)

The passenger used the taboo word because he became frustrated. When he asked for the CNG, the driver was not interested but when the passenger was going to take the bus the driver wanted to take the passenger. The problem is public bus is much cheaper than the CNG auto-rickshaw. The passenger’s taboo word was the response for the driver’s want and this response expresses

the strongly negative feelings of the passenger towards the driver. As a result, this act threatens the driver's positive face.

Use of address terms

Use of offensive address terms or offensive other status-marked identifications in conversation is also a positive face threaten acts. Here, the speaker indicates that he/she has negative impression on the listener's profession or status, or the speaker may misidentify the listener's social or job status. In haggling conversation, sometimes the passengers use offensive address terms. For example in CNG-Sample 3, the passenger addressed the driver as a thief in Turn 3. He said:

(T3)যাঃ ঐ ব্যাটা চুরি করস নাকি! ১৫০ দিমু।

P: Are you a thief? I'll pay 150. (CNG-Sample 3, Turn 3)

The passenger gave his response after listening to the want of the driver in Turn 2, where the driver wanted 400 taka. The passenger did not approve the driver's proposal of 400 taka and thus the passenger gave a counter proposal of 150 taka but in the meantime he also used negative address term. He asked if the driver's profession was stealing.

A thief steals from others; he/she does not care about morality. According to the passenger 400 taka is illogical and the driver asked for 400 taka, because he did not care about any logic and did not have morality. People whose profession is stealing can only demand this kind of illogical price.

Addressing someone as a thief is very offensive. By addressing thus, a person shows that he/she has very negative attitude towards the addressee. By connecting someone's profession

with stealing, the speaker indicates that he/she criticizes the listener's profession. That also indicates that the speaker has very negative feelings and beliefs about the listener's social and economic class. In Bangladeshi context, most of the people hate stealing and a socially recognized thief has no social status. Thus, calling someone as a thief threatens the listener's positive face.

Negative Face Threatening Acts in Haggling

Negative face is the want of every 'competent adult member' that his/her actions be unhampered by others (Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 312) and those acts which threaten the negative face of a person are known as negative face threatening acts. Excuses, suggestion, request or pleading, offering, threat or warning and promise are the examples of negative face threatening acts. These acts are also used for saving a person's negative face. The acts which are used to save one's negative face are known as negative face threatening acts. That is why these acts are used for both saving and threatening one's negative face.

In haggling encounters, different types of negative face threatening acts and face saving acts like excuses, suggestion, request or pleading, offering, threat or warning and promise are found.

Excuses

Speaker's negative face can be offended by excuses (Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 315). By providing excuses, the speaker indicates that he/she thinks he/she had good reason to accomplish, or be unable to perform an act which the listener has just blamed or accused in other

words the speaker want to justify his/her acts and want to save his/her negative face. Both the passengers and the CNG drivers give excuses to each other in haggling.

The most common excuse of the CNG drivers is regarding the meter. In Bangladesh, every CNG auto-rickshaw which is used for fare is legally bound to the meter. The meter shows the information of total distance and the charge. Every CNG auto-rickshaw has the meter, but usually very few drivers follow the meter, rather they want a contract with the passenger to set the price. Because of the contract, they can set higher price rather than the actual fare which on the meter. Examples:

(T6)চাঃ মিটার এ পোষায় না।

D: Meter does not mean any thing. (CNG-Sample 1, Turn 6)

(T4)চাঃ স্যার, মিটারে পোষায় না।

D: Sir, meter cannot provide livelihood. (CNG-Sample 3, Turn 4)

The CNG drivers have to pay a regular fare to the CNG auto-rickshaw owners. They also have to pay the bill of CNG gas along with the regular fare. Though the government has declared the regular price of CNG, the owners usually do not follow the rules because of price hike. The living cost in Dhaka is very high and expenses are rising day to day. As a result, the drivers have no option but to set the fare by negotiating with the passengers. Thus, whenever passengers ask why the drivers do not follow the meter system, they give the excuse that “the meter cannot provide livelihood”.

The drivers also give the excuses of the price hike of their daily fare which is set by the owners. For example in sample 3 and sample 4 the drivers said that they had no other option than to set the higher price.

(T6)চাঃ স্যার, জমা বাড়াইছে কি করবো? খাইতে তো হবে। ৩০০ দিয়োন।

D: We have to pay double fee, sir. We have nothing to do. We must eat to survive. Give 300.

(CNG-Sample 3, Turn 6)

(T4)চাঃ দাম বাড়াইছে কি করুন?

D: All prices have gone high, what can I do?

(CNG-Sample 4, Turn 4)

Thus, the both the excuses of the drivers have the same point the - price hike. As a result by giving excuses, the drivers save their negative face.

The passengers also give reasoning to reduce the fare by revealing their profession, especially the students. Students of Bangladesh generally do not have high income and most of them depend on their parents. Thus, by disclosing their profession the passengers generally want that the driver should consider their condition and set lower price. In sample 1, turn 9, the passenger said:

যাঃ Student মানুষ, ২০০ দিনু।

P: I am a student, I'll give 200. (CNG-Sample 1, Turn 9)

The drivers also try to convince the student-passengers that they are aware of their situation and that is why they set a considerable fare. For example in sample 5, the driver said in turn 9-

(T 6)চাঃ মামা রাস্তায় জ্যাম। হাতিরঝিল দিয়া বাইর হওয়ায় লাভ নাই। আমি বেশী চাইনি। আপনি স্টুডেন্ট মানুষ তাই ২০০ টাকা।

D: Mama (common address form), there is traffic jam in the road. There is no benefit by taking Hatirjhil. I haven't asked for much. It is 200 taka, because you said you are a student. (CNG-Sample 5, Turn 6)

Here, the driver actually did give one explanation for his asked price rather he gave total three excuses. The first one is the traffic jam. The next one is the exit point of Hatirjhil and the last one is the passenger's job status.

Traffic jam is a regular affair in the capital of Bangladesh. Due to insufficient roads and lack of good traffic control system, traffic jam is a very common incident of everyday life of Dhaka city. As the traffic jam is unpredictable, it is quite impossible to know how much time it will take to reach any destination around the Dhaka. Thus, traffic jam is very common negative face saving strategy for the CNG drivers to convince the passengers for accepting the higher price.

The second excuse is also connected with the first one. Hatirjhil is a name of a place in the middle of the Dhaka city and it is also a very popular name of a project which is made for reducing the traffic jam. It contains different roads which are connected with different areas of Dhaka city. Thus, the project, Hatirjhil is made for reducing the distance but the project is still

under-construction. As a result, some exit points are still closed and that creates traffic jam on some entry and exit points of the Hatirjhil project. Thus the driver gave an excuse of Hatirjhil. According to the driver if he took the Hatirjhil, still he could not avoid the traffic jam.

The last excuse of the driver is that he told the passenger that he was well concerned about the income of a student and because he knew his passenger is a student, and that is why he asked for lower price. The driver's declaration also indicates that he might ask for higher price if his passenger was not a student.

Sample 6 of rickshaw conversation contains that passenger also gives excuses. In Turn 9 the passenger said:

(T9)যাঃ এইত ঝামেলা করছেন। ৩০ টাকা থাকলে কি এতো কথা বলতাম? পকেটে ২৫ টাকা আছে কিনা তাও জানি না।

P: you are troubling. If I had 30 takas, would I be spending this time? I have no idea whether I have 25 taka in my wallet. (Rickshaw-Sample 6, Turn 9)

Here the passenger said that he had limited money with him and that is why he asked for 25 taka instead of 30 taka. He also informed that he did not know if he had 25 taka or not. Here, the main purpose of the passenger is to convince the rickshaw puller by informing that he is in trouble and the rickshaw puller should consider his condition and should take him to his destination.

Suggestion

When the speaker thinks that the listener ought to (perhaps) do some acts, he/she gives suggestion or advice. According to Brown and Levinson, suggestion can threaten the listener's negative face. By this act the speaker puts some pressure on the listener for doing the job or acts.

The collected data shows that the haggling conversations contain suggestion and advice. Most of the time the passengers give the suggestion to the drivers and the rickshaw pullers to convince them. For example in sample 1 of CNG conversation, the passenger gave the suggestion that they should settle a mutual price which would serve both of their interests. In Turn 11 the passenger said:

(T11)যাঃ ২২০। আপনার আমার দুই থাক।

P: Ok, tk 220 then, lets settle in the middle. (CNG-Sample 1, Turn 11)

In Turn 10 the CNG driver asked for 250 taka. 220 taka was the reply from the passenger. In Turn 9 the passenger also agrees for 200 taka. Thus, he increased 20 taka in Turn 11 and that is why he said that 220 taka would be reasonable for both of them.

The passengers also give direction to the drivers. In Turn 5 of sample 5, the passenger defended himself by giving suggestion for direction.

(T 5)যাঃ ধুর মামা কিসের ২০০ টাকা। হাতির ঝিল দিয়ে বের হবেন। আধা ঘণ্টাও লাগবে না।

P: 200 taka! What are you saying? Take Hatirjhil and it won't take half an hour. (CNG-Sample 5, Turn 5)

In this turn, the passenger suggested to the driver to take Hatirjhil project because it will take less time than the regular route and the passenger also predicted that if they took the Hatirjhil, it would not take more than half an hour to reach their destination. Concept of time and money are interrelated in transportation haggling. As the CNG drivers do not care about the meter, they give excuses of traffic jam because traffic jam wastes lots of time of both the drivers and the passengers. Thus, time is very important for both of them. Therefore, the passenger said if the

driver took the Hatirjhil, it would take only half an hour. Thus, the driver should reduce the price and should agree to 200 taka.

To convince the rickshaw puller, the passengers sometimes praise their destination locations. Turn 5 of sample 4 of rickshaw haggling conversation shows that the passenger said-

(T5) যাঃ যাবেন না? কেন? রামপুরা তো খুব ভাল জায়গা।

P: you won't! Why? Rampura is a very nice place. (Rickshaw-Sample 4, Turn 5)

The place Rampura is a very busy area. It is not that much “nice” in reality, but the passenger tried to convince the rickshaw puller. The passenger became astonished when he heard that the rickshaw puller would not go to Rampura and that is why he said, “you won't! why?”. To convince him, the passenger praised Rampura and according to him, the rickshaw puller should go to Rampura as it is a “very nice place”. The passenger is probably highlighting the fact that the driver would find many passengers in Rampura.

To convince the rickshaw puller, the passenger also uses hyperbole in their speech. In Turn 7, the passenger said-

(T7) যাঃ আহা, কেন যাবেন না? রাস্তা ফাঁকা, আর রামপুরা কত সুন্দর একটা জায়গা ! প্রাকৃতিক পরিবেশ, মনোরম এলাকা। চলেন না।

P: Aha, why? The road is free and Rampura is a very beautiful place! It is a place of natural beauty and it is so attractive. Won't you? (Rickshaw-Sample 4, Turn 7)

Though Rampura necessarily not a “place of natural beauty” nor “so attractive” in reality, the passenger said this only to convince the rickshaw puller. He also said “the road is free” which

means that there is no traffic jam in the road. Here, the passenger suggests that the rickshaw puller should go to Rampura because the road is free. He praised Rampura only to make his speech more attractive.

Almost same statement is available in the Sample 6, Turn 7.

(T7)যা ২- আর রাস্তা তো ফাঁকা। কি সুন্দর ঠাণ্ডা বাতাস।

P 2: and the road is free. What an amazing cold air! (Rickshaw-Sample 6, Turn 7)

The passenger said that the road was free and this statement indicates that the rickshaw puller could move easily on the road and it would not take long to reach the destination. The passenger also added that the cold air was blowing which indicates that the cold air would help the rickshaw puller to drive more comfortably because it would give relief the driver from heat and humidity which is common in summer. The main purpose of this statement is to persuade the rickshaw puller to take him to his destination.

Sometimes rickshaw puller also makes suggestion to the passenger. In Turn 10 of Sample for one rickshaw puller gave a suggestion to the passenger that he could collect money from ATM booth. The rickshaw puller said:

(T10)রি ২- মামা বুথ থেকে তুলে নিয়েন। এই সামনেই আছে।

R 2: mama collect it from ATM booth. There is one on the way. (Rickshaw-Sample 6, Turn 10)

In Turn 9 the passenger said, “...I have no idea whether I have 25 taka in my wallet” and that is why the rickshaw puller suggested that the passenger could collect money from the ATM booth. This rickshaw puller was listening to the conversation with the passengers and the other

rickshaw puller and he gave this suggestion suddenly and only then the passengers noticed that someone was listening to their conversation very carefully. In Bangladesh, interruption in the middle of a conversation is not considered as impolite unlike in the western world. In Bangladeshi context, people frequently interrupt in the middle of the conversation and make comments. Thus, though the rickshaw puller interrupted in the middle of the conversation, he gave comments for replying the passenger's claim.

Pleading

Request or pleading is another negative face threatening act. By requesting or pleading the speaker puts direct pressure on the listener. Here, the speaker indicates that he or she wants the listener to do some acts or to resist some acts. Request is very natural in haggling. Both parties use this technique to convince each other. Different pretexts are used to make the request more realistic and appealing. For example, in Turn 8 of Sample 3 of CNG conversation, the driver used religious term to convince the passenger.

(T8)চাঃ একটু বাড়ান স্যার, রোজার মাস।

D: It is the month of Ramadan sir, please increase a little bit. (CNG-Sample 3, Turn 8)

Bangladesh is a Muslim majority country. The month of Ramadan is considered as Holy month in Bangladesh. Eid is the biggest festival here. Every Muslim wants to celebrate it by wearing new cloth and taking good meal. Thus, it is also costly. Therefore, the working class people like CNG drivers and rickshaw pullers want good tips from their passengers. Here, the driver requested the passenger that he should increase the price for the sake of Ramadan.

The passengers also plead to the CNG drivers in haggling. In Turn 9 of Sample 4 the passenger said:

(T9)যাঃ চলেন না ভাই, খুব জরুরী। ১ ঘণ্টা থেকে দাঁড়ায় আছি।

P: Please brother. It is urgent. I have been standing here for 1 hour. (CNG-Sample 4, Turn 9)

Here, the passenger requested the CNG driver by saying that he had been waiting for a long time. Though the passenger did not use “please” in Bangla, his tone and use of word “vai” (brother) indicate that he is pleading. The passenger made a family relationship with the driver by using “brother” in his speech. In Bangladesh, the term “brother” is used to show close relation with the participants. Thus, by using the term “brother” in the speech, the passenger wanted to convince the driver.

The passenger also mentioned time in his speech. Though he claimed that he had been waiting for one hour, he had no proof. The passenger used time to prove to the driver that he had been waiting enough and only the driver could help him.

Like the passenger of the CNG in Sample 4, passenger of the rickshaw also pleaded to the rickshaw puller to take him to his destination in Sample 6. He said in Turn 11-

(T11)যাঃচলেন না মামা।

P: Please mama, let’s go. (Rickshaw-Sample 6, Turn 11)

Like the passenger of the CNG, this passenger also did not use “please” in his speech rather his tone indicates that he pleaded to the rickshaw puller to take him to his destination. Here the passenger also makes family relationship with the rickshaw puller by using “mama” in his

speech. In Bangla, “mama” means maternal uncle and there is a very friendly relationship between the uncle and the nephew. Thus, the passenger used “mama” in his speech to show this relationship and asked for a help to the rickshaw puller.

In Turn 4 of sample 1, the rickshaw puller asked the passenger to increase the fare a little bit.

(T4)রিঃ বাড়ায় দেন।

R: Give more. (Rickshaw-Sample 1, Turn 4)

Here, the rickshaw puller did not reject the offer of the passenger rather he requested to increase the fare a little bit which means the rickshaw puller did not have any choice he was depending on the passenger’s decision. Thus, the speech of the rickshaw puller shows his pleading to the passenger to increase the fare a little bit.

Offers

According to *Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary of Current English* (2005), offers means to say that you are willing to do something for somebody or give something to somebody. Offer is also a negative face threatening act (Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 313). Here, the speaker puts some pressure (positive) on the speaker to accept or reject the presented offers. In haggling, both the passengers and the CNG-auto rickshaw driver or the rickshaw pullers give different types of offer to the each other.

Sometimes the passengers do not have any choice. For urgency, they have to accept the fare whatever the drivers want. In Turn 3 of CNG-Sample 6, the passenger said:

(T3)যাঃ ঠিক আছে। যা চান দিবো, শুধু যত তাড়াতাড়ি পারেন দিয়া আসেন।

P: Ok. I'll pay whatever you want, just take me there as early as you can. (CNG-Sample 6, Turn 3)

This speech of the passenger shows his urgency and it also suggests that he had no other option but to take the driver's offer. Thus, he said that he would pay anything to the driver. This speech indicates that the passenger offers the driver to ask any amount and he will grant it. This type of offer also shows the helplessness of the passengers and sometimes the haggling ends at this point. And also, still many drivers decline this offers!

Other types of offering are also to be found in the conversations. For example, the passengers inform the rickshaw puller that someone will get down on the middle of the way. Sample 6, Sample 7, and Sample 9 contain this type of offering.

(T5)যাঃ ২ মামা আমি সামনেই নামবো। পরে দুই জনেই যাবেন। ২৫ টাকা নিয়েন।

P 2: mama drop me there and then only two of you will go the rest of the way. Take 25 taka.
(Rickshaw-Sample 6, Turn 5)

(T6)যা ২- না মামা, ৪০ করে daily যাচ্ছি। ৪০ টাকা। দুই জন যাব, এক জন নেমে যাবে।

P 2: no mama, I pay 40 taka every day. 40 taka. Two of us will go, one will get down.
(Rickshaw-Sample 7, Turn 6)

(T2)যা ২- খিলগাঁও নাইমা যাইব একজন, খিলগাঁও।

P2: One will get down at Khilgao, Khilgao. (Rickshaw-Sample 9, Turn 2)

(T3)যা ১- খিলগাঁও নাইমা যাইব। কত?

P: will get down at Khilgao. How much? (Rickshaw-Sample 9, Turn 3)

In Bangladesh, maximum two adult persons can be accommodated in a rickshaw comfortably other than the puller. It is difficult for three or four persons to sit in a single rickshaw. The extra passenger (s) has/have to sit in the middle of other passengers or at the upper portion of the seat. Extra passenger also creates difficulty for the rickshaw puller. As rickshaw pullers peddle the rickshaw physically, extra passenger adds extra load for the rickshaw puller. Thus, the rickshaw pullers usually demand extra charge for the extra passenger.

The passengers also use same technique to convince the rickshaw pullers. Above examples show that passengers said someone would get down at the middle of their destinations. Here, the passengers' intention is to inform the rickshaw pullers that they will reduce the pressure because of them one will get down and then it will be easier for the rickshaw puller to pull the rickshaw. For example in Turn 5 of Rickshaw-sample 6, the second passenger said that he would get down and then "only two of you will go the rest of the way". Here, "only two of you" mean his co-passenger and the rickshaw puller. As a result the passenger offers a favor to the rickshaw puller and for that he only wants to convince the rickshaw puller for reducing the fare. Same incidents happen in Rickshaw-sample 9. The passengers inform the rickshaw puller that "one will get down". The passengers wanted that rickshaw puller would consider their offer and set a mutual price for the fare.

Some offers are not that much logical like the previous offers. For example in Rickshaw-sample 6 the passenger gave an offer in Turn 13. He said-

(T13)যাঃ ঠিক আছে ২৫ দিবো। আর আমার মোবাইল নাম্বারটা রাখেন। ঐ side এ গেলে ৫ টাকা নিয়া নিয়েন।

P: ok I'll pay 25 taka and keep my cell phone number. When you will go that area next time, collect 5 taka from me. (Rickshaw-Sample 6, Turn 13)

Though this offer seems logical, actually it is only for convincing the rickshaw puller. Usually no one will give a phone call for 5 taka because there are two logics behind this statement. The first one is that the passenger is not known to the rickshaw puller, and he does not know the passenger's time schedule. Thus, if he goes to that area in the future and gives a call to the passenger, the passenger might not be available at that time in that area. And the second one is usually people do not waste their cell phone balance and time for only five taka. As a result this offer is not that much serious like the other offers.

Threat/ Warning

The speaker indicates that he/she or somebody, or something will initiate sanction against the listener or the participator unless he/she does the act. Warning is a negative face threatening act (Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 313) and this act has also been found in haggling conversations.

Sometimes both the passengers and the drivers threaten or warn each other's. For example in CNG-sample 5 the driver said in Turn 8-

(T 8)চাঁঃগেলে চলেন।

D:It's your choice. (CNG-Sample 5, Turn 8)

Though "it's your choice" seems harmless, here the driver warned the passenger that if he did not take the chance, he would miss the CNG-auto rickshaw.

Though most of the time both the passengers and rickshaw pullers bargain for setting a mutual price, sometimes the rickshaw pullers do not say anything about the fare, rather they give chance to the passengers and tell, “give me, what the fare is” type sentence (it is occasionally found or exceptional) like the rickshaw puller of Rickshaw-Sample 5. Most of the time passengers do not say anything and they get that rickshaw, but some passengers are very conscious like the passenger of Rickshaw-Sample 5 and they want to set a mutual price. In Rickshaw-Sample 5, the passenger warns the rickshaw puller that he does not want any further trouble for fare and that is why he wants to set a mutual price. The passenger said in Turn 5:

(T5)যাঃ না তারপরও ঠিক করে যাব কারণ যায়া আমি ঝামেলা করতে চাই না।

P: No, again I'll want a mutual price because I don't want any trouble after reaching there.

(Rickshaw-Sample 5, Turn 5)

The passenger wants a mutual price because sometimes the rickshaw pullers do not take the fare after reaching the destination. They start bargaining. They may complain about the distance or other stuffs, and say that the fare is not fair but the point is why do the rickshaw pullers sometimes not set a price before starting the journey? The main reason is that the area is unknown to them. That is why they do not know the fare and ask the passenger give the “original fare”.

The passenger of Rickshaw-Sample 5 is well informed about this problem and that is the reason he warns the rickshaw puller by saying, “No, again I'll want a mutual price because I don't want any trouble after reaching there”. This also suggests “trouble” is quite common when passengers and drivers cannot battle for a fare!

Promise

Promise is another kind of negative face threatening act. By promising, the speaker commits himself/ herself to a future act for the listener's profit. Sometimes promise is also found in haggling conversation. For example the passenger promises to the rickshaw puller in Turn 7 of Sample 6. He said-

(T7) যা ২- মামা সত্যি সামনে নামবো। আর রাস্তা তো ফাঁকা। কি সুন্দর ঠাণ্ডা বাতাস।

P 2: Mama, swear I'll get down on the road and the road is free. What an amazing cold air!

(Rickshaw-Sample 6, Turn 7)

The passenger gave his word to the rickshaw puller to convince him to take lower price from them. Sometimes the passengers say that someone will get down, but in reality it may not happen. If one passenger gets down, it will help the rickshaw puller because some weight will be reduced and the rickshaw puller will pull the rickshaw more freely. Thus, the second passenger promised the rickshaw puller that he would really get down on the road and it was his promise but for that the rickshaw puller should reduce the fare.

Haggling and culture

Language and gender

Though researchers think that there are some differences between men's language and women's language, the data shows that there is no such big difference in men's language and women's language in transportation haggling conversation. For example, like males, females also use same addressing terms "mama" or "brother" in haggling. The passengers of below examples are females:

(T1) যাঃ এই CNG -আলা ভাই যাবেন? (CNG-Sample 8, Turn 1)

P: Hello, CNG-brother will you go?

(T1) যাঃ মামা, নিউমার্কেট? (CNG-Sample 9, Turn 1)

P: New-market, mama?

(T6) যা ২- না মামা, ৪০ করে daily যাচ্ছি.....

P 2: no mama, I pay 40 taka every day..... (Rickshaw-Sample 7, Turn 6)

All the above examples show that like males, female passengers also use the same addressing term.

Another similar feature is both male and female passengers use short terms or fragments and almost same phrases in haggling. Thus, without listening to the voice it is quite impossible to distinguish between males and females by reading haggling conversation transcripts. The below table show the expression of both male and female passengers:

| Similarities | Male passengers | Female passengers |
|------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Same expressions | (T1) যাঃ টিকাতলী P: Tikatoli (Rickshaw-Sample 2, Turn 1) | (T1) যাঃ শান্তিনগর, চামেলী বাগ? P: Shanti Nagor, Chameli Bag? (Rickshaw-Sample 3, Turn 1) |
| Same phrase | (T5) যাঃ কত? P: How much? (Rickshaw-Sample 2, Turn 5) | (T3) যাঃ ১- কত? P 1: How much? (Rickshaw-Sample 7, Turn 3) |

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Same phrase | (T2)যা ২- খিলগাঁও নাইমা যাইব একজন, খিলগাঁও। P2: One will get down at Khilgao, Khilgao. (Rickshaw-Sample 9, Turn 3) | (T6)যা ২-দুই জন যাব, এক জন নেমে যাবে। P 2: Two of us will go, one will get down. (Rickshaw-Sample 7, Turn 6) |
| Same way of giving description | (T3)যাঃ ঐ হুমায়ূন সাহেবের বাড়ির সামনে। কে এন দাশ লেন। P: In front of that Mr. Humayun's house. K N Das Lane. (Rickshaw-Sample 2, Turn 3) | (T1) যা ১- সিদ্ধেশ্বরী যাবে? কালী মন্দির পার হয়ে তিন গলি পরে। P 1: Will you go to Siddessory? It's 3 lanes from Kali Mondir. (Rickshaw-Sample 7, Turn 1) |
| Same use of pronoun | (T1)যাঃ এই মামা যাইবা? P: Hey "Mama", will <u>you go</u> ? (CNG-Sample 2, Turn 3) | (T1) যাঃ গুলশান যাবে?.. P: Will <u>you go</u> to Gulshan?.. (CNG-Sample 7, Turn 3) |
| Same use of pronoun and address term | (T1)যাঃ যাবেন ভাই, পাঙ্পথ? P: <u>Brother, will you go</u> to Panthapath? (CNG-Sample 4, Turn 1) | (T1) যাঃ এই CNG -আলা ভাই যাবেন? P: Hello, CNG- <u>brother will you go</u> ? (CNG-Sample 8, Turn 1) |

The above examples show that both male and female passengers use almost same phrase like “**one will get down**” for offering in haggling. Like that phrase the females also use same pattern to tell the address. Both male and female passengers use short form and small phrase like “how much” in haggling conversation. Also, both the male and female passengers use same pronoun and address term like “Brother, will you go” in public transportation haggling interaction.

One thing is uncommon that sometimes male passenger uses slang and more colloquial form of language like the local form of “go” (যাইবা) in public transportation, but female does not and this finding may support some researchers’ claim that women use more prestige form of language rather than male.

Religious Term

Bangladesh is a Muslim majority country. As a Muslim majority country, religious term especially Islamic terms are commonly used in conversation. People use religious terms to convince others or to gain sympathy. These terms are also available in haggling.

In Turn 8 of CNG-conversation, the driver tries to convince the passenger by using religious term. He said-

(T8)চাঃ একটু বাড়ান স্যার, রোজার মাস।

D: It is the month of Ramadan sir, please increase a little bit. (CNG-Sample 3, Turn 8)

Ramadan is a month of Islamic calendar. It is the ninth month and this month is known as a month of fasting. According to whole Muslim world, the fasting is compulsory for every adult Muslims excluding some especial conditions like illness, traveling etc. In this month the Muslims have to fast from dawn to dusk and while fasting they desist from consuming food,

drinking liquids, smoking, and engaging in sexual relations (wiki). The whole month is very sensitive for two reasons; one is for forgiveness as this month is also known as a month of forgiveness. According to Islam, if the Muslims follow the rules of Ramadan strictly, Allah will give reward by providing forgiveness for committing sins. The other reason is for Eid-al- Fitr.

The first day of next lunar month, Shawwal is known as Eid-al-Fitr or “festivity of breaking the fast”. It is the most celebratory occasion for the Muslim and the Muslim of Bangladesh celebrate it very gorgeously. The people who came from village go back to their village for celebrating the Eid with their relatives. No matter how rich or poor, everyone tries to buy new dress and cook good food for their family. Everyone wants to celebrate the Eid with their family members. As a result, the whole month is very sensitive for the Muslims of Bangladesh.

The working class people look forward to this month because they can ask for extra money or tips because of the Ramadan and most of the time they are not refused because it is a custom for the every economically capable person to help the poor. This month is an opportunity for working class people to increase their income for festival purposes.

Price hike is another reason for asking tips. For working class people, it is very difficult to celebrate Eid with their regular income as on Eid day, it is a social custom to wear new cloths and eat rich foods and the price of new cloths, and food ingredients are high for the working class people because they had very limited income. Children always wait for new cloths and festive food from their parents in Eid day. Thus, the working class people have no other option but asking for tips from the rich. Thus, the driver told the passenger to consider the month of Ramadan and increase a little bit as festival bonus.

The drivers also use religious terms for showing sympathy to their passengers. In CNG-Sample 6, the driver said in Turn 6-

(T6)চাঃ ইন্নালিল্লাহ... চলেন, আল্লাহ-ভরসা।

D: Innalillah....(RIP). Let's go. God will be with us. (CNG-Sample 6, Turn 6)

“Innalillah...” is the short form of “Inna lillahi wa inna ilayhi raji'un” which means “Surely we belong to Allah and to Him shall we return”. It is commonly recited by the Muslims when a person has a calamity in life, especially upon hearing news that a Muslim has passed away. The driver recited the short form of this phrase after getting the news that the passenger had lost his grandfather. By reciting the phrase, the driver showed his sympathy and condolence to the passenger because it is the social custom of Bangladesh.

The other phrase “God will be with us” is one kind of hope which is frequently used by the drivers. Usually, this phrase is used for two purposes, for wishing traffic jam free road and for wishing good luck.

The passenger explained his condition in Turn 5 that he had to reach the bus counter as soon as possible but in Dhaka city it is quite impossible to move freely in the working days because of traffic jam in the roads. Thus, the driver hoped, if God is with them they could reach at time at the bus counter.

In Bangladesh, road is full of different types of vehicle like rickshaw, auto-rickshaw, private car, van, bus, truck, container carrier, motor cycle, bicycle and even trolley which is physically driven by two or more pullers. As a result, it is very difficult to drive in the Dhaka city though some VIP roads are prohibited for rickshaw, cycle van and trolley.

The traffic system of Dhaka is also not improved for some reasons like insufficient roads. Most of the roads are narrow and most of these roads are two ways. As a result, the traffic jam is very natural in Dhaka city. Not only traffic jam, road accidents also happen regularly in Dhaka city. Thus, those who believe in God, wish him or others that God will help them to reach their destination safely.

Power variable in haggling

Language and power are interrelated. Language is like a mirror of the society. Thus, every conversation has deeper meaning and haggling conversation is not an exception. Haggling conversations reveal the power relationship between different classes of people like the relationship between the CNG-drivers or rickshaw pullers and the passengers. Their conversations show the picture of their social and economic status. The conversations show the kinship policy of Bangladeshi society.

Address form:

In haggling, both the passengers and the rickshaw pullers or drivers use familial terms or familial relationships like “মামা” (mama), and “ভাই” (brother) in their haggling discourses. Mainly the passengers use these terms to address the rickshaw pullers or the drivers. Though, mama is commonly used nowadays, it is not a very old term rather it has been popular for last 10-15 years.

In Bangla, “mama” means “maternal uncle”. In Bangladesh, usually the nephew and the niece are very fond of their maternal uncle and the relation between the maternal uncle and his

nephew and niece is very friendly. As a result “mama” as an addressing term seems to be innocuous but in reality it becomes a synonym of working class. Recently, the meaning of “mama” has been changed. People frequently use “mama” to address people who belong to the working class like tea stall holders, small grocery shop owners, cleaners, guards, peons etc. Thus, the term “mama” directly shows the social and economic differences between the passengers and the rickshaw pullers or the CNG-auto rickshaw drivers.

In haggling conversations, passengers frequently use “mama”. For example:

(T1)যাঃ এই মামা যাইবা?

P: Hey “Mama”, will you go? (CNG-Sample 1, Turn 1)

(T 1) যাঃ মামা যাবেন?

P: mama, will you go? (CNG-Sample 5, Turn 1)

(T1) যাঃ মামা, শ্যামলী হানিফ কাউন্টার।

P: mama, Shamoli, Hanif Counter. (CNG-Sample 6, Turn 1)

(T1) যাঃ মামা যাবেন?

P: mama, will you go? (Rickshaw-Sample 4, Turn 1)

(T1) যাঃ মামা যাবেন? রামপুরা বাজার।

P: mama, will you go to Rampura Bazaar? (Rickshaw-Sample 6, Turn 1)

(T6)যা ২- না মামা, ৪০ করে daily যাচ্ছি.....

P 2: no mama, I pay 40 taka every day.....(Rickshaw-Sample 7, Turn 6)

(T1) যাঃ মামা যাইবেন সিদ্ধেশ্বরী?

P: Mama, will you go to Siddessori? (Rickshaw-Sample 8, Turn 1)

(T5) যা ২- মামা যাওয়া-আসার ভাড়া চাই নাই!

P2: mama I didn't want the fare of both up and down! (Rickshaw-Sample 9, Turn 5)

These examples show that the passengers frequently use “mama” to address the rickshaw pullers and the CNG drivers. The above examples indicate that most of the time the passengers use mama at the beginning of the conversation. Rickshaw-Sample 7 and Rickshaw-Sample 9 are exception where the passengers did not use mama at the beginning but the passenger used it as an addressing form.

Though, “mama” means “maternal uncle”, here it also indicates the social status differences between the passengers and the working class. Working class people have limited income. Thus, whenever a passenger addresses a rickshaw puller or a CNG-driver “mama” it shows the class and economic differences between these two persons. Now, “mama” becomes the synonym of “working class”.

The interesting point is the rickshaw pullers and the CNG-auto rickshaw drivers also use “mama” to address the passengers. For examples-

(T2)রিঃ টিকাতলী? টিকাতলী মামা কোথায় নামবেন?

R: Tikatoli? Mama, where is your destination in Tikatoli? (Rickshaw-Sample 2, Turn 2)

(T4)রিঃ না মামা যাব না।

R: no mama, I won't. (Rickshaw-Sample 4, Turn 6)

(T6)রিঃ মামা একজনেই ৩০ টাকা।

R: mama, one person is 30 taka. (Rickshaw-Sample 6, Turn 6)

(T5)চাঃ মামা আসেন।

D: Mama, let's go. (CNG-Sample 2, Turn 5)

(T 2)চাঃ কই মামা?

D: where mama? (CNG-Sample 2, Turn 5)

In Bangladeshi social context, if the maternal uncle is younger than the nephew or the niece, he usually uses “mama” to address them. The examples show that the rickshaw pullers and the CNG-auto rickshaw drivers also address the passenger with “mama”. Here, the age is not the prime factor because most of the drivers and the rickshaw puller were older than the passengers. The reason may be linked with the social context. Like the younger maternal uncle, the drivers and the rickshaw pullers use “mama” because of their social and economic inferiority.

Besides “mama”, “brother” is also used in haggling to address the rickshaw pullers and the CNG drivers but not frequently as like as “mama”. Though, “brother” is more neutral term than “mama”, most of the time people use “mama”. For example, “brother” is found in only one sample. In Turn 1 of CNG-Sample 4, the passenger addressed the driver as “brother”.

(T1)যাঃ যাবেন ভাই, পাছপথ?

P: Brother, will you go to Panthapath? (CNG-Sample 4, Turn 1)

Unlike “mama” brother is more neutral. Normally, “brother” does not contain any hidden meaning like “mama”. In Benglai culture, usually the relationship between brothers is very friendly. Thus, sometimes two best friends claim themselves as brothers. The term “brother” hides the social and economic distances between the speaker and the listener. Thus, by addressing someone as “brother” the speaker tries to build a positive relationship with the addressee.

Meaning of “You” in haggling

In Bangla language, there are three meanings of pronoun “you”. Each “you” has separate meaning. In a conversation, the pronoun “you” can reveal the relationship between the speaker and the listener and also indicates the social and economic status of them.

In Bangladesh, there are three types of functions for pronoun “You”. One is used for showing respect and for example “You” or “Apni” for senior or wealthy or powerful citizens of the society; another one “You” or “Tumi” is used for equal status or for showing care for to the younger. It is frequently used by the senior citizen to the younger, but sometimes it is also used for abusing. And the last “You” or “Tui” is used for two purposes. One is for very much intimacy of the speakers. For example this “You” is frequently used by the friends. And the second is used for abusing. This “You” or “Tui” directly represent the master-servant relationship. All three types of “you” are available in haggling conversation.

“You” as showing respect

Passengers use “you” as a formality. This “আপনি” or “you” is used usually in two conditions; one is for formality (when speak with unknown person) and another is for showing respect (when speak with senior or wealthy or powerful person). Usually the rickshaw pullers and the CNG-drivers are unknown to each other. As a result, passengers use this type of “you” in conversations. For example:

(T1)যাঃ যাবেন? বাড্ডা?

P: Will you go Badda? (CNG-Sample 2, Turn 1)

(T1)যাঃ যাবেন ভাই, পান্থপথ?

P: Brother, will you go to Panthapath? (CNG-Sample 4, Turn 1)

(T 1) যাঃ মামা যাবেন?

P: mama, will you go? (CNG-Sample 5, Turn 1)

(T3)যাঃ ঠিক আছে। যা চান দিবো, শুধু যত তাড়াতাড়ি পারেন দিয়া আসেন।

P: Ok. I'll pay whatever you want, just take me there as early as you can. (CNG-Sample 5, Turn 3)

(T1) যাঃ মামা যাবেন?

P: mama, will you go? (Rickshaw-Sample 4, Turn 1)

(T7)যাঃ আমি ৩০ টাকা করে যাই আপনাকে ৩০ টাকাই দিবো।

P: 30 taka is regular and I'll pay you 30 taka. (Rickshaw-Sample 5, Turn 7)

(T1) যাঃ মামা যাবেন? রামপুরা বাজার।

P: mama, will you go to Rampura Bazaar? (Rickshaw-Sample 6, Turn 1)

All the above examples show that the passengers use “you” for formality or showing respect to the drivers and the rickshaw pullers.

“You” is used for showing distance

Though the second type of “you” or “তুমি” is used for showing care to the younger, it is also used for showing power. When someone uses this “you” to his/her older then it is for showing that the person is socially or economically more powerful than the addressee. In haggling conversations some passengers use this “you” in conversations. For example:

(T1) যাঃ এই মামা যাইবা?

P: Hey “Mama”, will you go? (CNG-Sample 1, Turn 1)

(T1) যা ১- সিদ্ধেশ্বরী যাবে? কালী মন্দির পার হয়ে তিন গলি পরে।

P 1: Will you go to Siddessory? It's 3 lanes from Kali Mondir. (Rickshaw-Sample 7, Turn 1)

Both above examples show that the passengers use second type of “you” or “তুমি” (tumi). Both driver and rickshaw puller were older than the passengers. Thus, it indicates that the

passengers might be unintentionally used “you”, but the social class differences influence them to use this “you”.

Age difference is also a factor to use “tumi”. The next example shows that the passenger is older than the rickshaw puller and she addressed the rickshaw puller with “tumi”. She said-

(T1) যাত্রীঃ শান্তিবাগ, চিনো?

P: Do you know Shantibag? (Rickshaw-Sample 1, Turn 1)

Here, the passenger used her age to address the rickshaw puller as “tumi”.

Power abusing by using “you” or “tui”

Sometimes the passengers use their social and economic status to abuse the working class by using third type of “you” or “তুই” (tui). CNG-Sample 3 shows how a passenger used “tui” in conversation to show that he belongs to higher society. The conversation started with-

(T1)যাঃ ঐ উত্তরা যাবি?

P: Will you go to Uttara? (CNG-Sample 3, Turn 1)

Using third type of “you” or “tui” is informal for haggling conversation and it is also very much impolite. It shows the arrogance of the speaker. Though most of the time the passengers and the drivers or the rickshaw pullers are unknown to each other, “tui” is not acceptable in terms of social politeness. It shows that the speaker does not care about the listener rather he/she is very much conscious about his/her own status. Using “tui” in a semi-formal or formal conversation also indicates that the participants belong to two different social classes. For example in this sample the driver used “apni” or the first type of “you” in the conversation. He said:

(T6)চাঃ স্যার, জমা বাড়াইছে কি করবো? খাইতে তো হবে। ৩০০ দিয়োন।

D: We have to pay double fee, sir. We have nothing to do. We must eat for living. Give 300.

(CNG-Sample 3, Turn 7).

Here, the driver addressed the passenger with “sir” and that shows that the CNG-driver approved the passenger’s superiority. The tone of the driver was so polite which also indicates that the driver gave respect to the passenger because of the social distance between them.

The term “sir” is colonial term. It was introduced by the British colonizers. This colonial attitude is still existed in Bangladesh. The driver addressed the passenger as “sir” because passenger was more powerful in terms of socially and economically than him. As a result, the driver accepted the passenger’s impolite attitude.

The data shows that most of the time the passengers use impolite tone and impolite language in conversation. They use their social and economic superiority in haggling.

Conclusion

The analysis part shows that in public sector haggling encounters, most of the time the commuters use dysphemism, sarcasm etc. in their speech. It indicates that the commuters play the dominator role in haggling encounters and it shows the class struggle between the middle class and the working class. Their class differences are reflected in the bargaining encounters. Economy, education and more over the status - passenger make the commuter superior to the driver. Though, it is also found that sometimes the passengers do not have choice but accept the drivers' proposed fare, mostly the economic condition and other factors like price hike of everything force the drivers to ask the higher price.

As this paper is based on limited data, some issues cannot be explained clearly. A focused group interview of both commuters and drivers will be helpful to understand the real situation of the drivers. To understand the real picture of the Bangladeshi class distinction, further research should be needed in this sector.

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Appendix A

Rickshaw Samples

Sample 1

Rickshaw puller's age: 19 (Approximately)

Passenger's age: 25+

Sex: Female

Occupation: Teacher

(T1) যাত্রী: শান্তিবাগ, চিনো?

P: Do you know Shantibag?

(T1)রিক্সা: মালিবাগ চিনি।

R: I know Malibag.

(T3) যা: শান্তিবাগ চিনো না? মালিবাগ মোড় থেকে সামনে। ঠিক আছে? চল্লিশ টাকা দিবো।

P: Shantibag, don't know? It is just after the Malibag Intersection. Ok? I'll pay forty taka.

(T4)রি: বাড়ায় দেন।

R: Give more.

(T5) যা: (হাসি) চিনোই না আবার ভাড়া নিয়া কথা বল! না, চল্লিশ টাকা।

P: (laughter) you don't know the place but you're talking about the fare! No, forty taka.

(Haggling was successful)

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|----------------------------------------------------------|
| Legend: P: Passenger R: Rickshaw puller T: Turn |
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Sample 2

Rickshaw puller's age: 35+ (Approximately)

Passenger's age: 21+

Sex: Male

Occupation: Student

(T1) যা: টিকাতলী

P: Tikatoli

| |
|----------------------------------------------------------|
| Legend: P: Passenger R: Rickshaw puller T: Turn |
|----------------------------------------------------------|

(T2)রিঃ টিকাতলী? টিকাতলী মামা কোথায় নামবেন?

R: Tikatoli? Mama, where is your destination in Tikatoli?

(T3)যাঃ ঐ হুমায়ূন সাহেবের বাড়ির সামনে। কে এন দাশ লেন।

P: In front of that Mr. Humayun's house. K N Das Lane.

(T4) হুমায়ূন সাহেবের বাড়ির সামনে...

R: In front of Mr. Humayun's house....

(T5) যাঃ হ্যাঁ। হুমায়ূন সাহেবের বাড়ির এই পাশে। হ্যাঁ, কে এন দাশ লেন। কত?

P: Yeah. Beside of Mr. Humayun's house. Yes, K N Das Lane. How much?

(T6)রিঃ মামা ষাইটটা টাকা দিবেন।

R: Mama, give 60 taka.

(T7) যাঃ পঞ্চাশ টাকা।

P: 50 taka

(T8)রিঃ না মামা।

R: No mama.

(Haggling was unsuccessful and the passenger went to another rickshaw puller)

(T1) যাঃ টিকাতলী

P: Tikatoli

(T2)রিঃ টিকাতলী গেটের গোড়ায়?

R: In front of Tikatoli Gate?

(T3)যাঃ না না। কে এন দাশ লেন। হুমায়ূন সাহেবের বাড়ি।

P: No no. K N Das Lane. House of Mr. Humayun.

(T4)রিঃ আয়েন।

R: Let's go.

(T5) যাঃ কত?

P: How much?

রিঃ ষাইট টাকা।

R: 60 taka.

(T5) যাঃ পঞ্চাশ...

P: 50

(Haggling was successful)

Sample 3

Rickshaw puller's age: 40+ (Approximately)

Passenger's age: 21+

Sex: Female

Occupation: Student

(T1) যাঃ শান্তিনগর, চামেলী বাগ?

P: Shanti Nagor, Chameli Bag?

(T2)রিঃ কই যাবেন?

R: Where will you go?

(T3) যাঃ শান্তিনগর, চামেলী বাগ?

P: Shanti Nagor, Chameli Bag.

(T4)রিঃ শান্তিনগর, যামু।

R: Shanti nagor, ok.

(T4) যাঃ কত?

P: How much?

(T5)রিঃ ষাইট টাকা দিবেন।

R: Give sixty taka.

(Haggling was unsuccessful and the passenger went to another rickshaw puller)

(T1) যাঃ শান্তিনগর, চামেলী বাগ?

P: Shanti Nagor, Chameli Bag?

(T2)রিঃ আয়েন।

R: Let's go.

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|----------------------------------------------------------|
| Legend: P: Passenger R: Rickshaw puller T: Turn |
|----------------------------------------------------------|

(T3) যাঃ কত? পঞ্চাশ টাকা।

P: How much? Fifty taka.

(Haggling was unsuccessful and the passenger went to another rickshaw puller)

(T1) রিঃ কই যাবো?

R: Where will you go?

(T2) যাঃ শান্তিনগর, চামেলী বাগ?

P: Shanti Nagor, Chameli Bag?

(T3) রিঃ চলেন।

R: Let's go.

(T4) যাঃ কত? চল্লিশ টাকা, চল্লিশ টাকা

P: How much? Forty taka, forty taka.

(Haggling was successful)

Sample 4

Rickshaw puller's age: 45+ (Approximately)

Passenger's age: 25+

Sex: Male

Occupation: Call Center Executive

(T1) যাঃ মামা যাবেন?

P: mama, will you go?

(T2) রিঃ যাব।

R: yes.

(T3) যাঃ এই এশিয়ান হাসপাতাল, ও না! এশিয়ান তো এর বাসা (পাশের ব্যক্তিকে ইশারা করে) আমার বাসা রামপুরা। রামপুরা বাজার, কত?

P: This Asian Hospital. Oh no! His house is in Asian (He points to next person) my home is at Rampura. Rampura Bazaar, how much?

(T4) রিঃ না মামা যাব না।

R: no mama, I won't.

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|----------------------------------------------------------|
| Legend: P: Passenger R: Rickshaw puller T: Turn |
|----------------------------------------------------------|

(T5) যাঃ যাবেন না? কেন? রামপুরা তো খুব ভাল জায়গা।

P: you won't! why? Rampura is a very nice place.

(T6)রিঃ না মামা।

R: no, mama.

(T7) যাঃ আহা, কেন যাবেন না? রাস্তা ফাঁকা, আর রামপুরা কত সুন্দর একটা জায়গা ! প্রাকৃতিক পরিবেশ, মনোরম এলাকা। চলেন না।

P: Aha, why? The road is free and Rampura is a very beautiful place! It is a place of natural beauty and it is so attractive. Won't you?

(T8) রিঃ ঐ দিকেই যাব না।

R: I won't go that way.

(T9)যাঃ ও! ঐ দিকেই যাবেন না!

P: oh! You won't go that area!

(Haggling was unsuccessful)

Sample 5

Rickshaw puller's age: 50+ (Approximately)

Passenger's age: 25+

Sex: Male

Occupation: Student

(T1) যাঃ বনশ্রী।

P: Bonshri.

(T2)রিঃ কোন জায়গা?

R: which area?

(T3)যাঃ G-block এ নামবো। এই side এ।

P: At G-block. This side.

(T4)রিঃ যা দিয়া যান তাই দিয়েন।

R: give me the regular fare.

| |
|----------------------------------------------------------|
| Legend: P: Passenger R: Rickshaw puller T: Turn |
|----------------------------------------------------------|

(T5)যাঃ না তারপরও ঠিক করে যাব কারণ যায়া আমি ঝামেলা করতে চাই না।

P: No, again I'll want a mutual price because I don't want any trouble after reaching there.

(T6)রিঃ আপনি যা দিবেন আমাকে.....।

R: give me what you wish.....

(T7)যাঃ আমি ৩০ টাকা করে যাই আপনাকে ৩০ টাকাই দিবো।

P: 30 taka is regular and I'll pay you 30 taka.

(T8)রিঃ ঠিক আছে।

R: alright.

(Haggling was successful)

Sample 6

Rickshaw puller's age: 30+ (Approximately)

Passenger's age: 25+

Sex: Male

Occupation: Call Center Executive

(T1) যাঃ মামা যাবেন? রামপুরা বাজার।

P: mama, will you go to Rampura Bazaar?

(T2)রিঃ যাব। ৩০ টাকা।

R: Yes, 30 taka.

(T3)যাঃ কি বলেন ৩০ টাকা। ২৫ টাকা।

P: 30 taka! What are you saying! 25 taka.

(T4)রিঃ ৩০ টাকাই ভাড়া।

R: 30 taka is the actual fare.

(T5)যাঃ ২ মামা আমি সামনেই নামবো। পরে দুই জনেই যাবেন। ২৫ টাকা নিয়ন।

P 2: mama drop me there and then only two passengers will go the rest of the way. Take 25 taka.

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|----------------------------------------------------------|
| Legend: P: Passenger R: Rickshaw puller T: Turn |
|----------------------------------------------------------|

(T6)রিঃ মামা একজনেই ৩০ টাকা।

R: mama, one person is 30 taka.

(T7)যা ২- মামা সত্যি সামনে নামবো। আর রাস্তা তো ফাঁকা। কি সুন্দর ঠাণ্ডা বাতাস।

P 2: Mama, swear I'll get down on the road and the road is free. What an amazing cold air!

(T8)রিঃ চলেন মামা, কিন্তু ৩০ টাকা।

R: let's go mama, but 30 taka.

(T9)যাঃ এইত ঝামেলা করছেন। ৩০ টাকা থাকলে কি এতো কথা বলতাম? পকেটে ২৫ টাকা আছে কিনা তাও জানি না।

P: you are troubling. If I had 30 takas, would I be spending this time? I have no idea whether I have 25 taka in my wallet.

(T10)রি ২- মামা বুথ থেকে তুলে নিয়েন। এই সামনেই আছে।

R 2: mama collect it from ATM booth. There is one on the way.

(T11)যাঃ ধুর বুথে কি ২৫ টাকা পাওয়া যায়! আর বুথে সমস্যা, টাকা নাই। চলেন না মামা।

P: aw! Who said ATM has 25 taka! ATM is troubling and with zero balance. Please mama, let's go.

(T12)রিঃ চলেন। মামা, ভাড়া কিন্তু ৩০ টাকা এখান থেকে।

R: ok. But mama, 30 taka is the real fare from here.

(T13)যাঃ ঠিক আছে ২৫ দিবো। আর আমার মোবাইল নাম্বারটা রাখেন। ঐ side এ গেলে ৫ টাকা নিয়া নিয়েন।

P: ok I'll pay 25 taka and keep my cell phone number. When you will go that area, collect 5 taka from me.

রিঃ (হাসি)।

(T13)R: (smile loudly)

(Haggling was successful)

Sample 7

Rickshaw puller's age: 30+ (Approximately)

Passenger's age: 21+

Sex: Female

Occupation: Student

| |
|----------------------------------------------------------|
| Legend: P: Passenger R: Rickshaw puller T: Turn |
|----------------------------------------------------------|

(T1) যা ১- সিদ্ধেশ্বরী যাবে? কালী মন্দির পার হয়ে তিন গলি পরে।

P 1: Will you go to Siddessory? It's 3 lanes from Kali Mondir.

(T2)রিঃ চলেন।

R: let's go.

(T3)যা ১- কত?

P 1: How much?

(T4)রিঃ ৬০ টাকা নিবো।

R: I'll take 60 taka.

(T5)যা ১- ৬০ বলে (পাশের জনকে)। ৬০ তুই দিবি?

P 1: he is asking for 60 taka (telling to next person). Will you pay 60?

(T6)যা ২- না মামা, ৪০ করে daily যাচ্ছি। ৪০ টাকা। দুই জন যাব, এক জন নেমে যাবে।

P 2: no mama, I pay 40 taka every day. 40 taka. Two of us will go, one will get down.

(Haggling was unsuccessful)

Sample 8

Rickshaw puller's age: 35+ (Approximately)

Passenger's age: 22+

Sex: Male

Occupation: Student

| |
|----------------------------------------------------------|
| Legend: P: Passenger R: Rickshaw puller T: Turn |
|----------------------------------------------------------|

(T1) যাঃ মামা যাইবেন সিদ্ধেশ্বরী?

P: Mama, will you go to Siddessori?

(T2)রিঃ সিদ্ধেশ্বরী কোন জায়গায়?

R: Where at Siddessori?

(T3)যাঃ কালী মন্দির পার হয় তিন গলি পরে।

P: Cross the Kali Mondir then after three lanes.

(T4)রিঃ কি?

R: What?

(T5)যাঃ তিনটা গলি পরে, তিন গলি পরে।

P: Just after three lanes, three lanes.

(T6)রিঃ যাব।

R: I'll.

(T7)যা ২- কত?

P 2: how much?

(T8)রিঃ চল্লিশ টাকা দিয়োন।

R: Give 40 taka.

(Haggling was successful).

* (Here a third person dealt with fare on behalf of other passengers)

Sample 9

Rickshaw puller's age: 35+ (Approximately)

Passenger's age: 23+

Sex: Male

Occupation: Student

(T1) যা ১- যাবেন? শাহজাহানপুর?

| |
|----------------------------------------------------------|
| Legend: P: Passenger R: Rickshaw puller T: Turn |
|----------------------------------------------------------|

P1: Will you go? Shajahanpur?

(T2)যা ২- খিলগাঁও নাইমা যাইব একজন, খিলগাঁও।

P2: One will get down at Khilgao, Khilgao.

(T3)যা ১- খিলগাঁও নাইমা যাইব। কত?

P: will get down at Khilgao. How much?

(T4)রিঃ ৮০ টাকা।

R: 80 taka.

(T5)যা ২- মামা যাওয়া-আসার ভাড়া চাই নাই!

P2: mama I didn't want the fare of both up and down!

(Haggling was unsuccessful)

Appendix B

CNG auto-rickshaw Samples

Sample 1

CNG driver's age: 35 (Approximately)

Passenger's age: 22+

Sex: Male

Occupation: Student

(T1)যাঃ এই মামা যাইবা?

P: Hey "Mama", will you go?

(T2)চাঃ কই যাবেন?

D: Where?

(T3)যাঃ ধানমন্ডি ১২।

P: Dhanmondi 12.

(T4)চাঃ ৩০০ টাকা।

D: 300 taka

(T5)যাঃ মিটার কই?

P: where is your meter?

(T6)চাঃ মিটার এ পোষায় না।

D: Meter does not mean any thing.

(T7)যাঃ কম কত?

P: How much less?

(T8)চাঃ ২৮০ দিয়েন।

D: Give 280.

(T9)যাঃ Student মানুষ, ২০০ দিমু।

| |
|-----------------------------------------------------|
| Legend: P: Passenger D: CNG Driver T: Turn |
|-----------------------------------------------------|

P: I am a student, I'll give 200.

(T10)চাঃ ২৫০।

D: 250

(T11)যাঃ ২২০। আপনার আমার দুই থাক।

P: Ok, tk 220 then, lets settle in the middle

(T12)চাঃ চলেন।

D: Let's go.

Sample 2

CNG driver's age: 40 (Approximately)

Passenger's age: 20+

Sex: Male

Occupation: Student

(T1)যাঃ যাবেন? বাড্ডা?

P: Will you go Badda?

(T2)চাঃ ২৫০ দিয়েন।

D: Give 250.

(T3)যাঃ ২০০।

P: 200.

(T4)চাঃ না।

D: No.

(The passenger is willing to take a bus)

(T5)চাঃ মামা আসেন।

D: Mama, let's go.

(T6)যাঃ ধুর ... (গালি)

D: (Taboo word)

(Haggling was unsuccessful)

| |
|-----------------------------------------------------|
| Legend: P: Passenger D: CNG Driver T: Turn |
|-----------------------------------------------------|

Sample 3

CNG driver's age: 30 (Approximately)

Passenger's age: 40+

Sex: Male

Occupation: Business

(T1)যাঃ ঐ উত্তরা যাবি?

P: Will you go to Uttara?

(T2)চাঃ যাব। ৪০০ টাকা।

D: Yes. 400 taka.

(T3)যাঃ ঐ ব্যাটা চুরি করস নাকি! ১৫০ দিমু।

P: Are you a thief? I'll pay 150.

(T4)চাঃ স্যার, মিটারে পোষায় না।

D: Sir, meter cannot provide livelihood.

(T5)যাঃ তোদেরতো কখনো পোষায় না!

P: You guys will never be satisfied!

(T6)চাঃ স্যার, জমা বাড়াইছে কি করবো? খাইতে তো হবে। ৩০০ দিয়োন।

D: We have to pay double fee, sir. We have nothing to do. We must eat for living. Give 300.

(T7)যাঃ শুধু তোমাদেরই খাইতে হয় আর আমরা হাওয়া খাই! ২৫০ দিবো।

P: What about us? Don't we eat? We are living by nothing? I'll pay 250.

(T8)চাঃ একটু বাড়ান স্যার, রোজার মাস।

D: It is the month of Ramadan sir, please increase a little bit.

(T9)যাঃ তো কি হইছে? ঠিক আছে চল্ ২৮০।

P: So what? 280, alright?

(T10)চাঃ আসেন স্যার।

Legend:

P: Passenger

D: CNG Driver

T: Turn

D: Ok, sir. Let's go.

(Haggling was successful)

Sample 4

CNG driver's age: 35+ (Approximately)

Passenger's age: 30+

Sex: Male

Occupation: Service Holder

(T1)যাঃ যাবেন ভাই, পান্থপথ?

P: Brother, will you go to Panthapath?

(T2)চাঃ ৩০০ টাকা।

D: 300 taka.

(T3)যাঃ জেট ফ্যুয়েল দিয়া চালান নাকি!

P: Do you use "Jet Fuel"?

(T4)চাঃ দাম বাড়াইছে কি করুম?

D: All prices have gone high, what can I do?

(T5)যাঃ আপনাদের তো সব সময় বাড়ে, কমে না!

P: High price is always for you. Did you ask for lower price ever?

(T6)চাঃ একটু কম দিয়োন।

D: Ok. Give some less.

(T7)যাঃ একটু আর কত? ২০০?

P: How much? 200?

(T8)চাঃ হয় না তো।

D: Not possible.

(T9)যাঃ চলেন না ভাই, খুব জরুরী। ১ ঘণ্টা থেকে দাঁড়ায় আছি।

P: Please brother. It is urgent. I have been standing here for 1 hour.

| |
|-----------------------------------------------------|
| Legend: P: Passenger D: CNG Driver T: Turn |
|-----------------------------------------------------|

(T10)চাঃ চলেন।

D: Let's go.

(Haggling was successful)

Sample 5

CNG driver's age: 35 (Approximately)

Passenger's age: 20+

Sex: Male

Occupation: Student

(T 1) যাঃ মামা যাবেন?

P: mama, will you go?

(T 2)চাঃ কই মামা?

D: where mama?

(T 3)যাঃ নীলক্ষেত।

P: Nilkhet.

(T 4)চাঃ মামা ২০০ টাকা।

D: Mama 200 taka.

(T 5)যাঃ ধুর মামা কিসের ২০০ টাকা। হাতির ঝিল দিয়ে বের হবেন। আধা ঘণ্টাও লাগবে না।

P: 200 taka! What are you saying? You'll take Hatirjhil. It won't be taking half an hour.

(T 6)চাঃ মামা রাস্তায় জ্যাম। হাতিরঝিল দিয়া বাইর হওয়ায় লাভ নাই। আমি বেশী চাইনি। আপনি স্টুডেন্ট মানুষ তাই ২০০ টাকা।

D: mama there is traffic jam in the road. There is no benefit by taking Hatirjhil. I haven't claimed much. It is 200 taka, because you are a student.

(T 7)যাঃ মামা মিটারেতো ১০০ -ও উঠবো না। একটু কম নেন।

P: mama it won't show 100 taka in the meter. Take some less.

| |
|-----------------------------------------------------|
| Legend: P: Passenger D: CNG Driver T: Turn |
|-----------------------------------------------------|

(T 8)চাঃ না মামা। আমি স্টুডেন্ট নিয়া যাই। নীলক্ষেতে তো বই কিনবেন। এইখান থাইকা ২০০ টাকা। গেলে চলেন।

D: No mama. I take student. You will only buy books from Nilkhet. 200 taka is fixed from here. It's your choice.

(T 9)যাঃ চলেন। কমালে ভালো করতেন।

P: ok. It'll be good if you reduce some.

(Haggling was successful)

Sample 6

CNG driver's age: 35 (Approximately)

Passenger's age: 20+

Sex: Male

Occupation: Student

(T1) যাঃ মামা, শ্যামলী হানিফ কাউন্টার।

P: mama, Shamoli, Hanif Counter.

(T2)চাঃ যাব। ২০০ দিনেন।

D: Yes. Give 200 taka.

(T3)যাঃ ঠিক আছে। যা চান দিবো, শুধু যত তাড়াতাড়ি পারেন দিয়া আসেন।

P: Ok. I'll pay whatever you want, just take me there as early as you can.

(T4)চাঃ বাস ধরবেন? কয়টায়?

D: You want to catch a bus? When?

(T5)যাঃ জানি না। যেটা পাই। আমার দাদা মারা গেছেন।

P: I don't know, I'll take whatever comes first. My grandpa has passed away.

(T6)চাঃ ইন্নালিল্লাহ... চলেন, আল্লাহ-ভরসা।

D: Innalillah....(RIP). Let's go. God will be with us.

(Haggling was successful)

| |
|-----------------------------------------------------|
| Legend: P: Passenger D: CNG Driver T: Turn |
|-----------------------------------------------------|

Sample 7

CNG driver's age: 28 (Approximately)

Passenger's age: 50+

Sex: Female

Occupation: Housewife

(T1) যাঃ গুলশান যাবে? আড়ং?

P: Will you go to Gulshan? Aarong?

চাঃ যাব। ২০০ টাকা দিয়োন।

D: yes. Give 200 taka.

যাঃ কি বল? খুব বেশী হলে ৭০-৮০ টাকা হয়।

P: what are you saying? 70-80 taka is the highest fare.

চাঃ ১৫০ দিয়োন।

D: Give 150.

যাঃ না, ১০০।

P: No, 100.

চাঃ আচ্ছা ১২০।

D: Ok, 120.

যাঃ ১০০ হলে চল।

P: 100, ok?

চাঃ আসেন।

D: Lets go.

(Haggling was successful)

| |
|-----------------------------------------------------|
| Legend: P: Passenger D: CNG Driver T: Turn |
|-----------------------------------------------------|

Sample 8

CNG driver's age: 28 (Approximately)

Passenger's age: 25+

Sex: Female

Occupation: Service holder

(T1) যাঃ এই CNG -আলা ভাই যাবেন?

P: Hello, CNG-brother will you go?

(T2) চাঃ কই যাবেন আপা?

D: Where sister?

(T3) যাঃ রাজারবাগ।

P: Rajarbag.

(T4) চাঃ ২৫০ টাকা দিয়োন।

D: Give 250 taka.

(T5) যাঃ না। ১২০ দিব।

P: no. I'll pay 120.

(T6) চাঃ অনেক জ্যাম।

D: There is huge jam in the road.

(T7) যাঃ চলেন না। এই রোদে দাঁড়িয়ে আছি। আচ্ছা, ১৫০ টাকা দেই?

P: Please. The weather is very hot, and I am standing here for long time. Ok I'll pay 150?

(T8) চাঃ আসেন।

D: Lets go.

(Haggling was successful)

| |
|-----------------------------------------------------|
| Legend: P: Passenger D: CNG Driver T: Turn |
|-----------------------------------------------------|

Sample 9

CNG driver's age: 35+ (Approximately)

Passenger's age: 22+

Sex: Female

Occupation: Student

(T1) যাঃ মামা, নিউমার্কেট?

P: New-market, mama?

(T2) চাঃ যাব।

D: I'll.

(T3) যাঃ কত?

D: How much?

(T4) চাঃ ২০০ টাকা।

D: 200 taka.

(T5) যাঃ ১২০।

P: 120.

(T6) চাঃ ১৫০ দিয়োন।

D: Give 150.

(T7) যাঃ চলেন।

P: Let's go.

(Haggling was successful)

| |
|-----------------------------------------------------|
| Legend: P: Passenger D: CNG Driver T: Turn |
|-----------------------------------------------------|