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Understanding online advice-giving evaluations through the politeness evaluation model

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Abstract: One of the most popular online sites where advice interactions routinely occur is Reddit. As a predominately public platform, Reddit users presumably extend beyond only registered contributors. Thus, it is important to examine Reddit advice outside of the interactional or discursive level (e.g., exploring perceptions from other audience types). To bridge this gap, an experiment was designed based on a previous study on Reddit advice-giving, which investigated how audiences might perceive and evaluate the quality of advice-giving formulations. This experiment contained both qualitative and quantitative measures. Both components of the experiment yielded significant and interesting findings, with each meriting an in-depth discussion on their own. This paper reports on the qualitative aspects of the experiment, where results show that evaluations of advice invoke various aspects of Spencer-Oatey and Kádár's (2021. *Intercultural politeness: Managing relations across cultures*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) politeness evaluation model, highlighting the particular pragmatic issues that are important for the advice interaction. These results also show that the manipulation of rhetorical moves used during Reddit advice-giving have an effect on the saliency of different face sensitivities, with implications for how linguistic forms as realized in rhetorical moves might be connected to higher level pragmatic concepts (e.g., face), and cognitive perceptions of warmth and competence.

Keywords: experimentation; facework; pragmatics; advice; moral order

1 Introduction

Reddit can be described as a collection of thousands of discussion forums – or subreddits – each with their own focus or theme. Users of Reddit (henceforth,

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redditors) pick and choose which subreddits to join, which is often motivated by their own personal interests. It has been argued that advice exchanges are particularly welcome on Reddit due to the platform's characteristics (Carpenter et al. 2018). It is therefore unsurprising that advice is one of the most popular types of interactions on the platform (for instance, "relationship_advice" is one of the most popular subreddits, with 14 million subscribers as of 2024). Yet although Reddit advice is so pervasive, there is still little known about how it works.

As Reddit advice interactions are mostly in the written form, the language of advice undoubtedly plays an important part in our perceptions of the advice, and therefore our subsequent responses to and evaluations of the advice itself. All of these factors highlight the need to better understand how users orient themselves to advice within this platform, while also underscoring the importance, ubiquity, and value of online advice interactions for many people.

Although there has been much good work done on online advice (e.g., Kouper 2010; Locher 2006; Placencia 2012; Sindoni 2020; Stommel and te Molder 2015; Yuan and Jin 2024), Feng et al. (2018) have observed that the work done has been mostly descriptive. In other words, research has primarily focused on analyzing the structure, content, and linguistic elements as seen within a body of data, with little attention paid to how the online environment might constrain or facilitate interactions. Put simply, there needs to be more work done on understanding the relationships between user interaction, language choices, and the online environment where these interactions take place. At the same time, Herring (2019) has also called for more robust and empirically-informed understandings of computer-mediated communication (henceforth, CMC) that is not only textually and contextually informed by linguistic research, but also other disciplines.

Androutsopoulos and Stær (2018) have noticed an increasing usage of mixed-method designs to explore CMC data, which they attribute to the turn from medium-focused to user-focused analyses. Oftentimes, these mixed-method approaches are based on the concept of triangulation (e.g., Dayter and Rüdiger 2022; Lutzky and Kehoe 2022). Baker and Egbert (2016) outline triangulation as the use of multiple methods, analysts, or datasets to explore a phenomenon from more than one perspective.

To bridge the gaps outlined by Feng et al. (2018) and Herring (2019), I adopt an experiment, informed by interdisciplinary work in communication studies and psychology, to test the perceptions of how linguistic formulations affect participant perceptions and evaluations of online advice. Fuoli and Hart (2018) have noted that although experimentation is not yet commonly seen in discourse analytic work, it is helpful to pinpoint phenomena observed in naturally occurring interactions. The experiment in this study was designed to triangulate the findings and results found in Lu (2024), which investigated Reddit advice-giving through move analysis

(cf. Swales 1981, 1990). The experiment incorporates both qualitative and quantitative measures, which will be outlined in more detail in subsequent sections. This paper will report specifically on the qualitative results and how the findings can help us better understand the pragmatics of online advice-giving.

2 Literature review

2.1 Audience design

Owing to the often public nature of online platforms, the relationship between various interlocutors within online social platforms is important. On X (formerly Twitter), for example, audiences have been shown to judge and hold broadcasters accountable for the content they publish (Draucker 2015). Similarly, Luo and Hancock's (2020) study revealed that audiences judged self-praise speech acts within Facebook status updates negatively. The work done on this area has predominately drawn from Bell's (1984) framework of audience design. In this seminal study, Bell (1984) argued that our linguistic choices are strongly influenced by our tendency to adapt to the potential audiences of our spoken utterances. Bell (1984) claimed that a speaker has several types of potential audiences, which may or may not be ratified (i.e., acknowledged by the speaker), addressed (i.e., directly spoken to), and/or known (i.e., the speaker has an awareness of). These audience types are conceived of as the addressee (listeners who are known, addressed, and ratified), the auditor (listeners who are not directly addressed, but are known and ratified), the overhearer (non-ratified listeners who the speaker has an awareness of), and the eavesdropper (those that are non-ratified, who the speaker is also unaware of). Bell (1984) further argued that our language choices may be influenced by how we might adapt to these potential audiences.

Tagg and Seargeant's (2014) study on Facebook has further developed the concept of audience design within online platforms. They argue that strategies related to audience design were of utmost importance for social media users, as they tend to "tailor their posts to the expectations of their imagined readership" (Tagg and Seargeant 2014: 162). These strategies included more traditional linguistic strategies, such as considerations of register, tone, and style, but also the use of Facebook's affordances (e.g., tagging, the @ and # signs, groups, and status updates).

Unger (2020) has claimed that Reddit is similar to discussion forums. The public nature of most discussion forums has been argued to influence interactional behaviors because there are a potentially limitless number of unrated audiences. These unrated audiences can take the role of auditors, overhearers, and eavesdroppers. Moreover, their judgments have been claimed to be as important as

other forum members (Arendholz 2013). Scholars have argued that contributors to polylogal online contexts, like discussion forums, are aware of these imagined, passive audiences (Bou-Franch and Blitvich 2014; Lee 2014; Marwick and Boyd 2011).

All these studies point to the pressing need for researchers to also bear in mind the perceptions from unratified audiences (e.g., those that view the interactions on a forum, but do not post). Unfortunately, this aspect has received very little attention, perhaps because of the difficulty of ascertaining who the unratified audiences of a discussion forum are, as well as robustly measuring their attitudes. If we were to take this together with Nielsen's (2006) 90-9-1 rule of participation inequality, where it is theorized that 90 % of participants online are unratified audiences who only observe but do not contribute, 9 % are occasional contributors, while 1 % are the dominant contributors, then understanding the perceptions of this majority group of online users is all the more important. Yet, with very few exceptions (e.g., Gauducheau and Marcoccia 2021; West 2015), discussions of these audiences are mostly theoretical, with little empirical evidence that helps us understand how the vast majority of CMC users might feel, think, or influence CMC practices.

2.2 Online advice and its perceptions

Language scholars have done much good work in striving to understand advice in online contexts. For instance, Locher's (2006) seminal study examined how advice-seekers linguistically oriented toward the technological affordances of the online context where they sought advice. Similarly, Stommel and te Molder (2015) also explored how the affordances of an online chat counseling platform influenced how advice interactions progressed on the site. The body of research conducted thus far on online advice has shown that users often do orient toward the features and affordances of the online platforms in which the advice interaction occurs, with much of the features of the advice formulations themselves bearing strong similarities to what has been observed in offline contexts.

The paradigms and methodological frameworks involved in these studies are typically conversation and discourse analytical approaches (e.g., Kouper 2010; Lindholm 2017; Locher 2006; Morrow 2006, 2012; Placencia 2012; Stommel 2016; Vepsäläinen 2022). Descriptive approaches such as these are important in examining how authentic online advice interactions take place, yet we still have room to explore advice from other perspectives. Specifically, adopting methods that can also account for indirect participants of the interaction (i.e., the 90 % of online users that observe, but do not contribute) seems to be important but missing in our current understanding of online advice.

Capturing evidence of how participants perceive advice is difficult, especially in digital contexts where a person can view an advice interaction but leave no visible record of their opinion. Nevertheless, Spencer-Oatey and Xing (2003) have argued for the value of perception data and the dangers of overrelying on the analyst. Responses and perceptions to online advice have only been accounted for in a handful of linguistic studies (see Harrison and Barlow 2009; Morrow 2006; Page 2012, for examples). In most of these studies, perceptions of advice are evidenced when the advice recipient explicitly reports back their attitudes. Relying solely on explicit reporting back by the advice recipient can be overly limiting. For example, the data in Morrow's (2006) work on advice interactions within an online discussion forum indicated that there were very few instances of explicit negative perceptions of advice, and zero evidence of positive perceptions.

More research on how advice is perceived, along with understanding what dimensions these evaluations take place, is sorely needed. Descriptive linguistic analyses of advice formulations are very useful, yet they fall short of helping us understand how these formulations affect our perceptions of the appropriateness, usefulness, or value of the advice itself. Moreover, because viewership of online advice can presumably extend beyond the advice recipient, it is therefore also important to look beyond the speaker-addressee dyad. Outside of linguistics, there has been some work done that explores advice perceptions. For example, Feng and MacGeorge (2010) and MacGeorge et al. (2004), within communication studies, have attempted to theorize and test the factors that affect our perceptions of advice through surveys. There is, therefore, the potential to approach the study of advice perceptions from an interdisciplinary perspective, drawing on the linguistic features of advice as outlined by linguists, while also utilizing methodologies used to study advice perceptions from other disciplines.

3 Methods

In an earlier study, Locher (2006) outlined advice-giving moves (i.e., units of communicative function; see Swales 1981, 1990) that were prevalent in an online advice column. Empirical evidence from a more recent study inspired by Locher's (2006) work further suggested that the prevalence and reaction toward advice-giving moves on Reddit were correlated to audience roles within the advice interaction (Lu 2024). Although compelling, the results of Lu (2024) also indicated a need to further understand how moves might affect auditor and overhearer perceptions of advice more precisely. Similarly, the findings of Lu (2024) could have been influenced by additional factors such as time of post, user identities, and so on.

Fuoli and Hart (2018) and Hart (2020) have argued that experiments are useful in ascertaining perceptions of texts, providing empirical evidence, and verifying findings from more commonly used linguistic methodologies (e.g., move analysis). The capacity of experiments to measure participant perceptions of advice is particularly advantageous. At the same time, experiments can be meticulously controlled by the researcher to minimize other potentially confounding factors. Bearing in mind its methodological advantages and the fact that it is a relatively novel way of examining perceptions of advice-giving moves, the results of the move analysis in Lu (2024) were thus used as the basis for designing an experiment to explore the following research questions:

- RQ1.** How do the type of moves used in giving advice affect perceptions of the advice?
- RQ2.** How do participants perceive the pragmatic meaning of upvotes within Reddit advice-giving?

3.1 Experiment design

A scenario-based between-subjects single-factor experiment was designed. Due to time and research constraints, two moves from Lu’s (2024) study were chosen to be tested as the main independent variables. The two moves tested were the “background” move and the “encouragement” move. These two moves were selected because they naturally co-occurred together in the same text within Reddit, ensuring a good standard of ecological validity, and maximizing authenticity to the corpus. Explanations and examples of these two moves are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: The two tested moves in the experiment.

Advice-giving move	Explanation	Examples from my data
Background	When commenter provides descriptive information about themselves.	<i>“Source: I work in disaster response and recovery.”</i> <i>“As a straight Christian man ...”</i> <i>“[Age/Gender], went from Chem Eng to Illustrator”</i>
Encouragement	When commenter gives compliments and encouragement.	<i>“I’m proud of your effort and know you got this!”</i> <i>“I wish you the best of luck, life is what you want it to be so go make it happen!”</i>

The experiment was designed, and data was collected through Qualtrics (www.qualtrics.com). In total, there were four experimental conditions: the background move condition, the encouragement move condition, the “all moves” condition, and the “no moves” condition. Participants were evenly and randomly assigned to one of the four conditions. In all four conditions, the participants read a stimulus text that included two parts: one advice-seeking post, and one advice-giving reply. The text was designed to imitate the appearance of the default desktop version of Reddit by including a post title, using the same font as Reddit, and having fictionalized usernames for both the advice-seeker (nicknamed Adviceseeker22) and the advice-giver (nicknamed Advicegiver101).

The fictionalized advice scenario was identical in all four conditions. Advice-seeker22 provides a description of their current relationship with their son, then mentions how their son has become very upset with them and left home, provides a self-assessment, and finally asks for advice. The content and format of this scenario was designed based on a genuine advice post observed in Lu's (2024) corpus of Reddit advice interactions. The choice of this particular advice post and advice category (a family advice scenario) was due to the fact that the “background” and “encouragement” moves both often naturally co-occurred within advice responses to family advice scenarios in that corpus.

The fictionalized response post by Advicegiver101 was therefore also based on a genuine reply to the advice post, where the “background” and “encouragement” moves co-occurred naturally. This advice-giving reply post was manipulated in each of the four conditions. The background move condition included the “background” move as the initial move, the encouragement move condition included the “encouragement” move as the initial move, the “all moves” condition included both the “background” and the “encouragement” move in the positions where they most naturally occurred in the corpus, while the “no moves” condition did not contain any of these aforementioned moves (i.e., served as the baseline).

An example of one of the experimental conditions is presented in Figure 1. This condition was designed to test the effect of the “background” move. The “background” move was inserted in the first line of the advice-giving reply, underlined in the following example: “As a parent of an 18 year old teenager myself, I want to say that the feeling of disconnection from parents is a common and normal thing for every teen”. The experimental conditions and their respective text prompts can be found in Figures A5-A8 in the appendices.

Posted by adviceseeker22

Losing my son

My son is 18, the oldest of four. While he was growing up, we've always gave him plenty of room to find his own way. Currently, and understandably so, he leans more on his friends rather than me and my spouse.

Tonight, he got upset and left the house, writing a long text saying that we don't really know him. He's right. We've been so busy taking care of our younger children, our marriage, and work and I think we should have really tried to put more effort in building a deeper connection with him.

I feel lost and embarrassed about losing touch with my child, living under the same roof. How can I salvage my relationship with my son?

advicegiver101

As a parent of an 18 year old teenager myself, I want to say that the feeling of disconnection from parents is a common and normal thing for every teen. But if you feel that you've not been spending enough time with your son, then you should definitely try to spend more time with him. We all know teens can be emotional and irrational and lash out at parents. It's still important to put in some effort to show that you care and are open to spending more time with him, while also giving him space.

Figure 1: The background move condition.

3.2 Procedures

A four-page survey was administered. The first page provided background information about the researcher, the study's purpose, the approximate time needed to complete the study, and how the data will be used. This same page also asked for participants' consent to join the study, while also confirming that they were at least 18 years old, and a native-level English speaker before being allowed to proceed.

On the second page, participants were informed that they would be reading two texts and then answering questions based on the reading. They were told that the two texts were posts from an online forum, and text one was written by a user named Adviceseeker22 asking for advice, while text two was written by a user named Advicegiver101, giving advice. They were also told that the advice situation involves a relationship issue between a parent and their teenage child.

Once participants proceeded to the third page of the survey, one of the four stimulus text conditions were presented. Regardless of the condition, the survey items they were presented with were identical. Participants responded to 12 Likert scale-type questions, and two open-ended short response questions. The Likert scales, designed to invoke evaluations of the version of the advice and the advice-giver they were assigned to in the survey, were adapted from work in

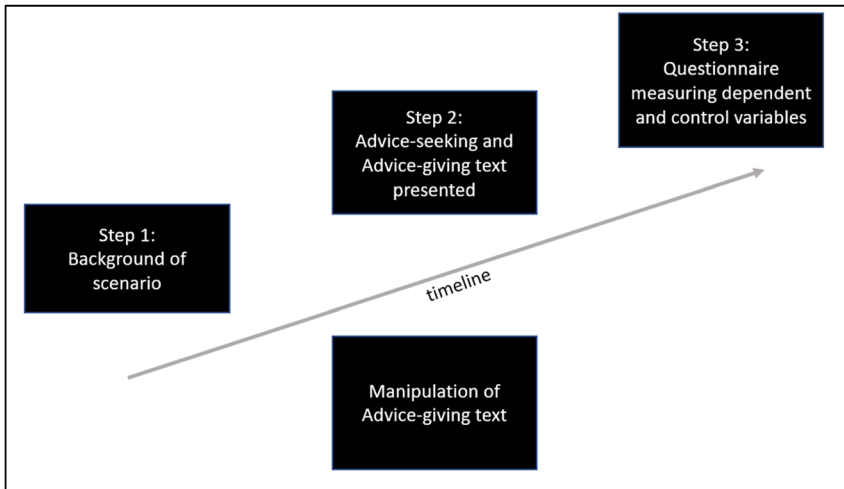


Figure 2: Experimental procedure.

social psychology pertaining to warmth and competence (Cuddy et al. 2008), and in communication studies regarding advice message factors (Feng and MacGeorge 2010; MacGeorge et al. 2004). The two open-response questions aimed to qualitatively elicit both instanced and wider attitudes and beliefs about advice and as a way to screen out inattentive participants. Participants were also invited to choose to either use Reddit's upvote or downvote icon to evaluate the given advice. This paper's focus is on the results of the two open-ended short response questions. A more detailed discussion of the other elements of the experiment will be outlined in a forthcoming paper.

The fourth and final page of the survey asked participants about their familiarity with Reddit, and if they have given advice in an online forum before. Participants were also asked to provide demographic information including age, gender, education level, and occupation before the survey finished. A visualization of the experiment procedure is shown in Figure 2.

3.3 Participant recruitment

Participants were recruited through the online crowdworking platform Prolific (www.prolific.co). Participants were each compensated at a rate equivalent to £6.50 per hour for completing the study. Palan and Schitter (2018) have described how the qualities of Prolific's participant pool allows for generating more robust data.

Participants from Prolific have also been argued to be more honest in their responses (Peer et al. 2017).

3.3.1 Pilot study

Because similar studies have not been conducted before, a pilot study was administered to ensure that survey instructions were coherent and transparent, the stimuli texts were effective, the question items were clear, reliable, and valid, and the platform used to design and run the survey functioned as expected. Additionally, a pilot study would provide data for what would be an appropriate sample size.

15 participants were recruited for each of the four conditions in the pilot study, which was conducted in November 2020. A review of responses indicated that participants were able to get through the survey with no problems. A post-hoc analysis conducted with R revealed an effect size of 0.23, which is considered relatively small (Cohen 1977). A power analysis conducted on R indicated that 45 participants would be needed for each of the four conditions to detect effects reliably.

3.3.2 Participant characteristics

Informed by the pilot study results, a further 180 participants were recruited in April 2021 for the full experiment. The 180 participants were automatically assigned, through Prolific, to one of the four conditions, with 45 participants per condition. Participants all self-identified as native-level English speakers. 73 % were female, 26 % were male, and 1 % were unspecified. 4 % of the participants were between 18 and 20 years old, 32 % were between 21 and 29 years old, 35 % were between 30 and 39 years old, 16 % were between 40 and 49 years old, 8 % were between 50 and 59 years old, and 5 % were 60 years old or older. 39 % of the participants had heard of but never used Reddit before, 36 % had read a post on Reddit before, 9 % read and wrote posts on Reddit on a regular basis, 8 % had read and written a post on Reddit before, and 7 % had never heard of Reddit. 62 % of the participants had never given advice on an online forum, while 38 % had this experience. Participants also provided their education levels and occupations.

3.4 Implementing the politeness evaluation model

The 180 participants' responses to the two open-ended responses (360 datapoints in total) yielded significant and interesting findings, meriting an in-depth discussion. In

the subsequent parts of this paper, I will report on the results from the open-ended responses of the experiment by painting a general picture of the findings, followed by a more detailed discussion of how the composition of the moves in the different experimental conditions were associated with a prevalence of certain types of participant responses.

The first open-response question can be seen in Figure 3. This question intended to prompt participants to tap into their wider (i.e., context-spanning) perceptions and attitudes about advice. On the other hand, the second question (see Figure 4) intended to provide an opportunity for participants to reveal their evaluations of the specific advice given in the experiment's scenario. Example responses to these items in this paper are unedited save for anonymization.

Vepsäläinen (2022) has noted that advice-seeking on Reddit often involves a moral dilemma. Spencer-Oatey and Kádár's (2021) politeness evaluation model therefore seemed to be an apt framework to analyze the responses, because the model is suitable for analyzing both instanced and wider social and moral attitudes.

Spencer-Oatey and Kádár (2021: 81) theorize that the evaluation of a behavior or the person performing the behavior is formed through appeals to "two interconnected elements: individuals' interpersonal sensitivities and concerns, and the underpinning socio-moral order". The first element – individuals' interpersonal sensitivities and concerns – is monitored through rapport management, which is comprised of three interlinked dimensions: face sensitivities, sociality rights and obligations, and interactional goals (Spencer-Oatey 2008), while the second element pertains to the socio-moral order.

Spencer-Oatey and Kádár's (2021) conception of face pays particular attention to how intentional or unintentional acts of facework carry the potential to affect face sensitivities; for instance, threatening or losing face, gaining face, or preserving face. They suggest that there is an array of face types, and each type has its own sensitivities. A summary of face types can be found in Spencer-Oatey and Kádár's

In up to three sentences, please describe what you think characterizes good advice.



Figure 3: Question item related to what generally constitutes good advice.

In up to three sentences, please describe what you think about the given advice.



Figure 4: Question item related to participant evaluations of the advice in the scenario.

(2021: 162) book. My analysis of the participants' open-ended responses will draw on the notion of face types to provide a more granular understanding of the face concerns relevant to advice-giving.

Sociality rights and obligations refers to what is supposed to happen between people in context. Often this supposed nature is formed due to repeated instances of occurrence (e.g., having the same or similar interactions regularly). Spencer-Oatey (2008: 15) argues that these expectations usually come from contractual/legal agreements and requirements, conceptualizations of roles and positions, as well as behavioral conventions, styles, and protocols.

Interactional goals refer to the objectives of a social interaction. Spencer-Oatey describes interactional goals as follows:

People often (although not always) have specific goals when they interact with others. These can be relational as well as transactional (i.e. task-focused) in nature. These 'wants' can significantly affect their perceptions of rapport because any failure to achieve them can cause frustration and annoyance (Spencer-Oatey 2008: 17).

Advice-giving may seem to have a very straightforward interactional goal at first (i.e., giving advice), but in reality, it can have both transactional and relational properties. I draw from this notion in my own understanding of the interactional goal of advice as well.

Spencer-Oatey and Kádár (2021) have also argued that evaluations of politeness behaviors invoke an underpinning socio-moral order. The socio-moral order involves two extremities along a continuum; with social rules on one end, and morality on the other. The moral order is described by Kádár and Haugh (2013: 6) as "a set of expectancies through which social actions and meanings are recognizable as such, and consequently are inevitably open to moral evaluation". Understanding the moral order involves understanding how an interpersonal exchange forms and makes evident broader context-spanning norms and expectations. These in turn shape the moral order, or the social rules which we are all expected to adhere to. In other words, evaluations of the moral order are grounded in something common, yet outside of an individual context.

On the other end of the spectrum, the concept of social order is an attempt by Spencer-Oatey and Kádár (2021) to decouple evaluations of norms and expectations that do not necessarily invoke morality. Spencer-Oatey and Kádár (2021: 165) describe social rules as "local protocols and simply facilitate social interaction through a shared understanding of group etiquette", while moral rules are defined as "behavior that is more wrong and more punishable, with the wrongness being more authority independent".

Spencer-Oatey and Kádár's (2021) politeness evaluation framework has not been used, as far as I am aware, to analyze evaluations of advice-giving. Nevertheless, my experiment's question item "In up to three sentences, please describe what you think characterizes good advice", prompts participants to tap into their perceptions of the socio-moral order of advice-giving, i.e., conventions and etiquette (social order), and also what they believe are right and wrong (moral order). Moreover, responses to this item could also indicate the types of face that are ideal, as well as deepen our understandings of the interactional goal(s) of advice-giving. On the other hand, responses to the experiment question "In up to three sentences, please describe what you think about the given advice" can be analyzed in relation to how well participants believed that Advicegiver101 has adhered to face sensitivities, sociality conventions, interactional goals, and the socio-moral order within the context of this particular online advice-giving scenario. Data captured from both of these questions can therefore be analyzed under the politeness evaluation model.

3.5 Analyzing the open-ended responses

The analysis of the open-ended responses started with an inductive approach, where the data was scrutinized without any preconceptions of how it would or should be coded. Instead, categories were coded and labeled as they emerged, which were then recoded into recurrent themes. The early stages of my coding are therefore similar to what Charmaz (2014) describes as initial coding, where the first round of coding occurs during the initial readthrough of the data. During the initial coding stage, lexical signals were used to identify coding labels, i.e., lexis carrying similar semantic meaning or recurrent lexical items. During subsequent rounds of coding, the coding labels and categories that emerged from the initial coding were further grouped into thematic categories.

4 Results

An overview of the categories and themes observed in my data, along with examples from the participant responses that exemplify each theme, can be seen in Table 2. A discussion of each of the elements in the table follow.

Table 2: Overview of the auditors’ and overhearer’s evaluations of advice.

Category	Sub-category	Theme	Examples from the open-ended responses
Face sensitivities			
	Autonomy face	Non-imposing	Thinking about the person rather than pushing your personal values on them
		Flexibility	It should offer a variety of solutions so the advice seeker can act on the one that would help most.
	Competence face	Experienced	Advice that comes from someone with personal experience
		Inclusion face	Empathetic
	Sympathetic		Good advice has encouragement, support and positivity
	Receptive		Be a sounding board for the person you are giving advice too.
	Reliability face	Honest	Honesty and sincerity are the best qualities/charac- teristics for advice giving.
		Sociality rights and obligations	
		Novel	It's not ground-breaking. It's obvious advice that anybody could have given.
		Specific	I think the advice given was too generalised. It talked about problems all parents may experience and did not focus on specific worries of the advice seeker.
Interactional goals			
	Transactional	Practical	Ideally it will contain practical suggestions for action (or inaction).
		Sensible	Offered a sensible suggestion.
	Relational	Simple	generally easy to follow.
		(see face sensitivities – Inclusion face)	
Socio-moral order			
	Fairness	Impartial	The ability to be impartial and still have a good case to say what you think.
		Non-judgmental	It shouldn't be judgmental or patronising.

4.1 Face sensitivities

4.1.1 Autonomy face

Ting-Toomey (2005: 81) defines autonomy face as “our need for others to acknowledge our independence, self-sufficiency, privacy, boundary, nonimposition, and control issues”. Being non-imposing was noted as an important characteristic of good advice by participants, as shown in the excerpts that follow.

- *Not imposing yourself on the individual and making it seem its about you.*
- *Thinking about the person rather than pushing your personal values on them*
- *Good advice offers an alternative method without being coercive*
- *It is thoughtful and reflective rather than brash and imposing.*

A few participants mentioned certain linguistic features to avoid when giving advice in order to preserve the advice-seeker’s autonomy face, as suggested in the following examples.

- *Does not say do this/do that and does not say any other way is wrong.*
- *There is no “should”, “you may consider” for example could possibly be a more constructive form of wording.*

On the other hand, flexibility was often mentioned as a strategy that helps to preserve or enhance one’s autonomy face. Participants stated that ideal advice should provide options to the advice-seeker while giving them the autonomy to select from these options, as the responses that follow suggest.

- *Not instructive but rather provides options to the seeker.*
- *It should offer a variety of solutions so the advice seeker can act on the one that would help most.*
- *It’s important for advice seekers to make the choice themselves, knowing all their options.*

The following participant’s comment highlights why flexibility is valued for good advice.

- *Leaving some room for interpretation and flexibility allows the advice to be helpful in concept without being too prescriptive. Providing a framework of approach instead of rigid instructions allows for improvisation in unexpected results and also acknowledges that the advice seeker might know better.*

In the previous comment, the participant argues that improvisation is important for an advice-seeker, a trait that can be facilitated by providing the advice-seeker

multiple paths to follow. In addition, this comment suggests that the positive face needs of the advice-seeker can be attended to (*“acknowledges that the advice seeker might know better”*).

4.1.2 Competence face

Participants also made comments which suggested sensitivity to competence face. Competence face relates to our concerns and desires for our intelligence, skills, expertise, leadership, and problem-solving skills to be acknowledged (Ting-Toomey 2005).

The domains of warmth and competence have been presented in psychology as the fundamental dimensions of how we judge other people (see Abele and Wojciszke 2007; Cuddy et al. 2011; Cuddy et al. 2008; Fiske et al. 2006; Fiske 2018; Wojciszke 1994). Warmth relates to judgments of perceived positive or negative intent (e.g., how trustworthy or sincere we perceive others). Competence pertains to judgments of perceived ability, or how effective a person is at carrying out a task. When judging others, it is argued that we align our judgments along these two dimensions, which in turn influence our perceptions of that individual. Advice interactions seem to be no different, as Porath et al. (2015) note that we use our perceptions of a person's warmth and competence to guide whether we will seek advice from them.

Competence face has clear affinities with the psychological domain of competence. Participants viewed experience as an important factor in giving good advice, as the following examples seem to indicate.

- *Also beneficial if the person giving advice has similar experiences.*
- *Advice that comes from someone with personal experience*
- *Someone that has experience or has experienced the same thing*
- *ALSO advice that stems from personal experience, even if not well rounded, would be good.*

Some participants further suggested professional expertise as important, as the following excerpts indicate.

- *Have some experience either practical or professional*
- *A professional view*
- *Good advice would be based on knowledge of the problem, preferably professional, and may direct the advice seeker to where they might get expert help with their problem.*

4.1.3 Inclusion face

Inclusion face is related to one's desire to be likeable, agreeable, friendly, and cooperative (Ting-Toomey 2005). Just as competence face overlaps with the psychological dimension of competence, inclusion face also has strong affinities with the psychological dimension of warmth.

Firstly, being empathetic and/or sympathetic were often mentioned by participants as an ideal attribute. Empathy “concerns the faculty to understand and identify the mental states of others, as well as the potential to simulate their affective states” (Bates 2021: 127). Thus, responses were coded for empathy only when the participants' responses included the lexeme empathy, or when they mentioned that the advice-giver should reorient their perspective to that of the advice-seeker. Responses that indicate empathy as an important attribute are seen as follows.

- *Putting yourself in some elses shoes,*
- *Has enough empathy to be able to put their selves in right situation to be able to give advice.*
- *For advice to be meaningful and worthwhile it must come from a place of empathy and kindness – the advice giver must recognise and understand the position of the advice seeker and try to put themselves in their shoes.*

Sympathy, on the other hand, is defined more broadly as emotional identification (e.g., Pudlinski 2005), and affective awareness of another's feelings. Examples of sympathy being invoked are seen in the following excerpts.

- *Being understanding and compassionate*
- *Good advice acknowledges the situation of the seeker and validates their feelings.*
- *Helpful, sympathetic comments*
- *Good advice has encouragement, support and positivity.*
- *Someone that is caring, understanding and doesnt put someone else down*

Cuddy et al. (2011: 75) mention friendliness, trustworthiness, empathy, and kindness as characteristics connected to warmth perceptions. Thus, an advice-giver, by being empathetic and/or sympathetic to the advice-seeker, can enhance other people's perceptions of their warmth qualities and simultaneously enhance their own inclusion face, which seems salient for advice-giving interactions.

Participants also often mentioned receptiveness as an ideal trait for an advice-giver. Receptiveness is defined in this study as the perception of whether the advice-giver has listened to the advice-seeker's problem. Some examples of receptiveness being discussed as a positive attribute can be seen in the following excerpts.

- *Listens to what the person is saying.*
- *Good advice is when the problem has truly been listened to*
- *Be a sounding board for the person you are giving advice too.*
- *It listens carefully to the problem*

4.1.4 Reliability face

Reliability face relates to our need to be seen as trustworthy, dependable, reliable, loyal, and consistent (Ting-Toomey 2005: 81). Many participants mentioned honesty – a characteristic that affected perceptions of reliability face – as an ideal characteristic of an advice-giver, as can be seen from the following examples.

- *Honest and tell the truth of what you think.*
- *Something that you honestly feel would work*
- *Honesty and sincerity are the best qualities/characteristics for advice giving.*

In these examples, honesty is mentioned as both a personal attribute (i.e., an aspect of a person's character), and also as an interpersonal attribute (i.e., not filtering one's advice). Andrei and Zait (2014) have used honesty as a measure for warmth in their experiment. Thus, like inclusion face, it seems that reliability face has overlapping qualities with warmth judgments.

4.2 Sociality rights and obligations

The open-ended responses have also provided insights into what is to be expected in an advice-giving situation. Participants repeatedly mentioned that advice-giving should be novel and/or specific.

4.2.1 Novelty

Many participants believed that ideal advice needs to be insightful and provide new knowledge. At the same time, the responses suggested that the given advice presented in the experimental stimuli was lacking in novelty. Examples discussing this are shown as follows.

- *It's not ground-breaking. It's obvious advice that anybody could have given.*
- *It seems to be a fairly obvious solution to the problem.*
- *The advice was a pleasant reassurance of the original poster, but didn't introduce novel thought*

One recurring criticism of the advice was that participants often felt it was too generic, as the following examples indicate.

- *Whereas the original post was thoughtful and reflective, the advice is generic and cliched, not addressing the human dynamics in the original post but imposing general assumptions.*
- *I feel the advice given was quite generic and most people would give similar advice if asked to.*
- *Advice giver appears to be trying to help, but the advice seems generic/vague for what could be a momentous event for parent/child.*
- *The advice is good but is not tailor-made for the parent and teen.*

These responses suggest that Advicegiver101 was expected to heed the nuances of the advice request but failed to do so – a violation of the sociality rights and obligations expected of an advice-giver.

4.2.2 Specificity

Specificity is another expectation in advice-giving. According to the participants, when advice is perceived as more specific, the advice-giver is perceived to have also put more effort into advising. The following excerpts demonstrate that participants felt dissatisfied with the specificity of the advice.

- *However, it doesn't include any specific suggestions as to what advice seeker22 might do to rebuild the parent/child relationship. Some ideas about what parents and child might do together could be helpful (e.g. doing a sporting activity together, going out for a drink, asking the child about their interests, getting to know their friends)*
- *The advice isn't particularly detailed, nor does it give any practical examples of what could be done.*
- *I think the advice given was too generalised. It talked about problems all parents may experience and did not focus on specific worries of the advice seeker.*

The following response (emphasis mine) clearly encapsulates the notion that good advice is expected to be neither generic nor broad, exposing the perceived sociality rights and obligations of advice-givers.

- *Considering the individual situation that someone is asking for advice about is very important – **there is rarely a blanket statement that can help every situation***

4.3 Interactional goals – transactional

Offering information can be considered the task-oriented goal of advice-giving. While offering information, the advice-giver needs to not only be mindful of relevant face sensitivities (in particular, autonomy face, competence face, inclusion face, reliability face, as my data has suggested), but they also ultimately need to offer information that is viewed as high quality and task-fulfilling (i.e., demonstrating utility). To this end, participants also provided evaluations related to the perceived task fulfillment of the advice.

4.3.1 Practicality

According to many participants, good advice should be practical. These notions are related to the level of effort, both physically and cognitively, that the advice-seeker needs to exert if they were to implement the advice. The following excerpts highlight some of the participant attitudes on the idealization of advice.

- *Ideally it will contain practical suggestions for action (or inaction).*
- *Advice should be practical, relevant and achievable.*
- *Good feedback also entails giving advice that is realistic and achievable*

4.3.2 Sensible

Participants also often used the word “sensible” to describe the advice given. Sensible is defined as being based on reasoning as opposed to emotions, so a focus on the sensibility of advice-giving can be considered related to the transactional goal. The excerpts that follow highlight some of these comments.

- *It is sensible advice*
- *Offered a sensible suggestion.*
- *Seemed like a sensible approach to take.*

4.3.3 Simplicity

Finally, many participants also believed that good advice should be simple to implement. The following excerpts highlight this ideal quality.

- *Generally easy to follow.*
- *Not too complicated*
- *Something that defines the route of the problem the person has and has an easy and simple approach to a solution*

The notion that advice should be simple in order to meet its transactional goals is closely linked to autonomy face concerns, as the response that follows clearly highlights.

- *Simple and clear – If the advice is too long winded/hard work the advice seeker may feel like it is too much effort and not bother to even consider the advice.*

Furthermore, the following excerpt underscores how simplicity is a desired attribute (“easy to understand”), along with concerns about reliability face (“trustworthy source”), again highlighting that face sensitivities, as well as interactional goal orientations, do permeate along many dimensions of these advice evaluations.

- *Good advice is easy to understand, easy to apply to your own situation and should be from a trustworthy source.*

4.4 Interactional goals – relational

Besides offering information, advice can also take on the role of emotional support. Emotional support is related to an advice-giver’s demonstration of their warmth qualities, as well as their attempts to cater to the inclusion face of themselves and/or the advice-seeker. Many participants evaluated the advice positively in achieving its relational goals. Examples which discuss the relational goal fulfillment of the advice are shown as follows.

- *The advice shows empathy with the affected person and seeks a positive approach without pointing any blame of her.*
- *The wording is very empathetic and attempts to assure the advice seeker that this problem is a normal one.*
- *It is emphatic and is given in a compassionate voice that I would hope to hear if in the same situation.*

As these replies suggest, discussions of relational goals also often go together with discussions of inclusion face. Perceptions of relational goal fulfillment via catering to inclusion face sensitivities were generally regarded positively, as the following excerpts highlight.

- *She (advicegiver101) seems like she understands what the mother (advice seeker22) is going through*
- *Appeared to be considerate of the feeling of the person posting*
- *Advicegiver101 sounds like they understand the situation*

4.5 The advice goal continuum

Interestingly, some participants separated the relational and transactional goals, while also emphasizing the value of one over the other. In the following responses (emphasis mine), these participants evaluated Advicegiver101's attempts at fulfilling the interactional goal of advice-giving as unsatisfactory, due to a perceived overfocus on the relational goal.

- *There is nothing in the advice given which someone could not work out for themselves. **It is more about making the questioner feel better about themselves than about resolving the real problem.***
- *It is reasonable advice, but fairly obvious in nature. It will, however, help to reassure Adviceseeker that there are some simple things they can do which might help the situation. **The advice is more of a help to Adviceseekers emotional state than practical help with the relationship issues she has.***
- *It was quite broad and I felt like the advice giver was just trying to make the advice seeker feel better rather than actually giving much advice*

These responses offer additional evidence that interactional goals are scalable, and provide further support to Lu's (2024) argument that relational goals are less important for certain audience types (e.g., auditors and overhearers).

4.6 The socio-moral order

Commonly discussed moral foundations in the literature include care-harm, fairness-cheating, loyalty-betrayal, authority-subversion, and purity-degradation (Graham et al. 2018; Haidt and Kesebir 2010; Spencer-Oatey and Kádár 2021). My results suggest that fairness is an important moral concept related to advice-giving, which can be linked to participant appeals to impartiality and being non-judgmental.

4.6.1 Impartial

First, fairness can be achieved through impartiality, as the following responses suggest.

- *Without being coercive or judgemental by being impartial.*
- *The ability to be impartial and still have a good case to say what you think.*
- *They remain impartial*

This impartiality further involves showing an even-handed understanding to all parties involved in the advice problem, as suggested in the following excerpts.

- *It should be open and fair and reflect both sides of the problem.*
- *Can show they can understand different points of view without only pointing to one sides point of view.*
- *Neutral when giving the advice so they aren't biased towards one side or the other.*

4.6.2 Non-judgmental

Secondly, these previous participants also believed it is important that advice is ideally non-judgmental, as the subsequent excerpts indicate.

- *Providing non-judgmental advice*
- *It shouldn't be judgmental or patronising.*
- *Does not apportion blame for past events.*

The following participant explains why being non-judgmental is such an important quality when giving advice, arguing that this can increase the chance for advice uptake (emphasis mine).

- *Non judgmental – This **will make it more likely** the adviceseeker will take the advice on board.*

The next excerpt highlights the interplay between these two traits in forming the moral conception of fairness.

- *Good advice should not be judgmental, it should be open and fair and reflect both sides of the problem.*

4.7 Politeness evaluations related to each condition

The between-subjects design of my experiment allows me to also identify which evaluations were made in response to which advice text manipulation, while my coding of the politeness evaluation themes were based on instances of occurrence, which, combined, allows for cross comparison. The next and final section of this article will outline evaluations that are associated to the manipulations of the advice text (e.g., whether the participants were exposed to the “no moves” condition, background move condition, encouragement move condition, or “all moves” condition). The sunburst charts in Figures A1-A4 in the appendices depict the relative frequency of evaluation types across the four experimental conditions.

I will explore how these manipulations may have affected the participants' evaluations of the advice. To do this, I use the “no moves” condition as a baseline from which the evaluation of the advice related to the manipulated moves can be

considered (Figure A1). It is these datapoints which I compare the evaluations observed in the other three conditions against.

4.7.1 Perceptions of the background move condition

In the background move condition, the “background” move was inserted into the advice text as the initial move (see Figure A6 in Appendix). Overall, the frequency of responses in this condition indicates that the addition of the “background” move has made competence face sensitivities more salient to participants. Of the 45 participants exposed to this condition, 14 comments related to competence face were observed, whereas only three comments related to competence face appeared in the “no moves” condition. The propensity of comments related to competence face suggests that the “background” move positively enhanced competence face evaluations, as the excerpts that follow demonstrate.

- *I also think the advice comes from a place of experience given that the one giving the advice has relatable knowledge of the issue.*
- *The person giving said advice is qualified because both people are similar in having an 18 year old son.*
- *Their understanding immediately shows that they are not alone and that the advice comes from personal experience and that therefore the advice has potential to work if its listened to.*
- *The given advice is suitable to advice seeker22 because the advice provider can relate because he/she also has an eighteen year old teenager. He/she may have experienced this situation and may have applied the same advice.*
- *The advice feels useful because they are also a parent so they can relate.*
- *Based on own experiences so it feels like the advice comes from the heart*
- *As the person giving advice has a teenage child they can relate what the person having the problem is going through.*

One participant even explicitly claimed that the “background” move is important (emphasis mine).

- *Adviser also in the same situation, so he can give **best** advice.*

4.7.2 Perceptions of the encouragement move condition

In the encouragement move condition, the “encouragement” move was placed as the initial move in the advice text (see Figure A7 in Appendix). Participants exposed to this condition tended to focus more on the relational goals of advice-giving in their evaluations. Of the 45 participants exposed to the encouragement move condition, there were 25 comments that mentioned themes related to inclusion face, much

higher than what was observed in both the “no moves” condition (10 comments) and the background move condition (12 comments). The following responses suggest that this version of the advice has catered well to both the inclusion face sensitivities and the relational goal requirements of advice.

- *The advice was lighthearted and informal. The informality of it could make the advice more relatable.*
- *The advice giver seems friendly and understandable.*
- *I think it is delivered kindly and has good points that can be followed*
- *It is gentle and supportive and in some ways validating that the parent is not awful and the fact that they even care to ask for advice shows that they are acting in their child's best interest to the best of their ability.*
- *Helpful and offering praise for what they have done.*
- *It's a very reassuring and measured response where it shows value to the advice seeker as well as the issue at hand.*
- *I think it's a good starting point – it reassures and comforts the advice seeker, which might prompt them to actually follow the advice and/or to seek additional help and follow any additional steps.*

As some of these responses discuss the advice-giver (e.g., *friendly and understandable; gentle and supportive*), and some discuss the advice-seeker (e.g., *validating that the parent is not awful [...]; shows value to the advice seeker*), it would seem that the inclusion face of both the speaker and addressee are enhanced when the “encouragement” move is present. Other responses provided evidence of the saliency of the “encouragement” move by indicating the move’s positioning in the advice, as well as evaluating its pragmatic function positively, as seen in the following examples (emphasis mine).

- *Advicegiver101 seems competent as **he starts off with a very kind and caring tone.***
- ***The advice started well giving complimentary remarks** to the advice seekers problem.*
- *I think it's practical. **Love the fact it starts with praise** and then explains what could be done.*

4.7.3 Perceptions of the “all moves” condition

The fourth condition – the “all moves” condition – presented both the “encouragement” and “background” moves together. The “background” move was placed as the initial move, while the “encouragement” move was placed as the final move, due to these being the positions in which they most naturally occurred in Lu’s (2024) corpus

(see Figure A8 in Appendix). Evaluations of this condition's advice displayed similarities to what was observed in those exposed to the background move condition and the encouragement move condition. Of the 45 participants exposed to the "all moves" condition, there were 13 responses related to evaluations of competence face. This was a similar frequency to how often competence face evaluations were invoked in the background move condition (14 comments), and more prevalent than what was observed in the encouragement move condition (5 comments) and "no moves" condition (3 comments). Excerpts discussing sensitivity to competence face are shown in the following examples.

- *I think the advice given was fair, kind and from also e who had experience*
- *Think the advice is good and comes from a place of knowing because advice-giver101 is also a parent.*
- *I think its good advice coming from someone that knows what they're talking about.*

At the same time, participants exposed to the "all moves" condition also often made evaluations related to inclusion face. There were 18 comments related to evaluations of inclusion face in the "all moves" condition. This is not as frequent as what was observed in the encouragement move condition (25 comments), but was nonetheless more frequent than in the background move condition (12 comments) and the "no moves" condition (10 comments). The following examples show how participants evaluated the inclusion face sensitivities of this condition's advice.

- *I think it is kindly worded to help the advice seeker feel encouraged.*
- *Appeared to be considerate of the feeling of the person posting*
- *Supportive and understanding.*
- *I think it is very compassionate advice.*
- *Friendly and caring whilst still reassuring the mother.*

In terms of the potential interaction between the two moves, the following comment provides evidence that the presence of both moves can create an additive effect.

- *Initially i thought the advise seemed harsh but ultimately it was softened that we are all the same, teenagers act like this.*

This participant evaluates the initial parts of the advice (where the "background" move was positioned) as "harsh", while also indicating that the advice was softened by the end (where the "encouragement" move was positioned), adding to the growing evidence of a correlation between evaluations of warmth and competence (e.g., Judd et al. 2005 as cited in Fiske et al. 2006).

5 Discussion

Variations have been observed in how frequently the different themes within the politeness evaluation model are invoked in the open-ended responses between each experimental condition. Because the advice stimuli in each condition was the same save for the manipulation of these moves, we can mainly attribute these variations to the effect of these moves.

More broadly, we now have empirical evidence of the pragmatic functionality of these two moves from a qualitative perspective. First, the “background” and “encouragement” moves do not seem to have an observable influence on perceptions of most components of the politeness evaluation model. For example, evaluations relating to the socio-moral order are mentioned by participants with a similar frequency, regardless of which condition they were placed in. Instead, these two moves seem to be most salient in affecting perceptions of face sensitivities.

Based on these findings, I theorize that the “encouragement” move serves to enhance perceptions of warmth, which in turn makes salient perceptions of inclusion face, which in turn is related to the relational goal requirements of advice. Similarly, the “background” move serves to enhance perceptions of competence, which in turn makes salient perceptions of competence face, which in turn is related to the transactional goal requirements of advice.

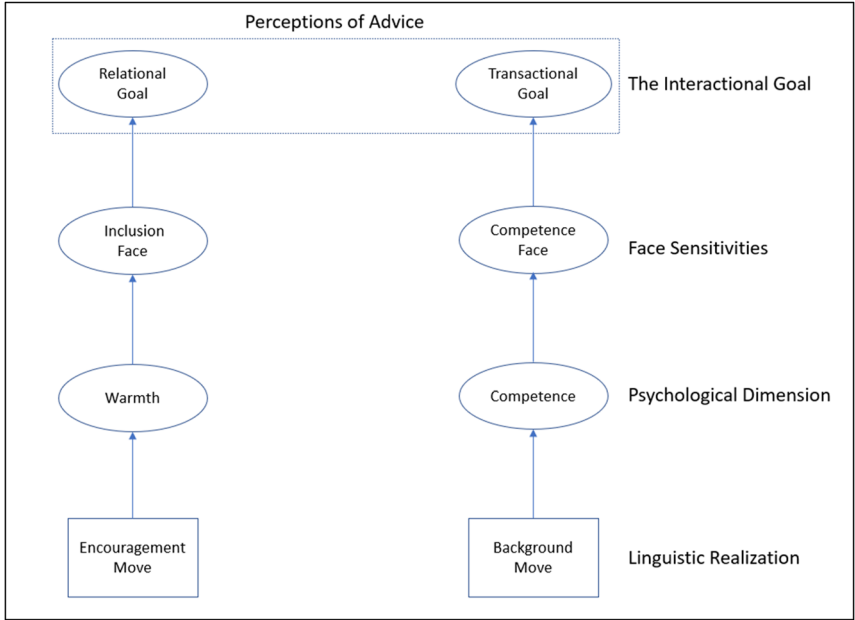


Figure 5: Conceptual map of the latent relationship of the two tested moves.

which in turn makes salient perceptions of competence face, which in turn is related to the transactional goal requirements of advice. We can therefore view the linguistic realization of these moves as having an effect that resonates across different conceptual levels of the interaction (e.g., psychological dimensions, the pragmatic functions of the realization, and the overall goal of the text). My proposed conceptual map of the latent relationship of these two moves is seen in Figure 5.

The experiment's qualitative results outlined in this paper have provided a partial answer to RQ1 (How do the type of moves used in giving advice affect perceptions of the advice?), adding more nuance to our understanding of advice as a social interaction. More specifically, the analyses of the qualitative open-ended responses offer an account of how auditor and overhearer evaluations of advice can be interpreted within the politeness evaluation model framework. We now have evidence of the face types that are salient to evaluations of advice, the aspects of sociality that are important to advice-giving, a more fine-grained understanding of the interactional goals of advice-giving, as well as what socio-moral values might underpin this type of interaction. Furthermore, I have also shown how the presence or absence of particular moves make certain features of the advice more salient and marked for evaluation, which seem to impact the manner, type, and frequency of evaluations.

Applying Spencer-Oatey and Kádár's (2021) model to the open-ended responses in this experiment has provided important evidence about whether certain moves affect evaluations of advice-giving, which qualities of the advice are more salient in evaluations of advice-giving, and which politeness factors are important in advice-giving. Although face and advice have been studied closely together in the past (e.g., Harrison and Barlow 2009; Lindholm 2017; Locher 2006), the work done has mostly focused on analyzing if and how face concerns are managed as embedded within utterances, and how the management of these concerns affect the interactions as they unfold. In other words, past work on advice and face has predominately paid attention to the speaker's acts of facework, and reactions from the addressee. My work has added to this body of research by suggesting that not only are face sensitivities salient and important to Reddit advice-giving, but that it is also important to look at the face considerations of those in other audience roles (cf. Bell 1984). My results strongly suggest that evaluations of politeness factors from the auditor and overhearer are increasingly important, can be studied, and should not be neglected.

Overall, these findings add to our understanding of advice by providing empirical evidence that the way we formulate advice does influence how our advice is perceived. By drawing on the body of descriptive work done on online advice formulations within linguistics to inform an experimental interdisciplinary approach to investigating advice perceptions, the work done here has added to the

small body of work done on understanding advice perceptions. Whereas evidence of how advice was perceived in previous linguistic research relied on evidence within the interactions themselves, the methods adopted in this study have allowed us to test and pinpoint how linguistic forms within advice-giving formulations are associated with our evaluations, and along what dimensions these evaluations take place, using theories and ideas from both psychology and communication studies.

6 Conclusions

This is also one of the first studies where an experimental approach has been used to complement move analysis in order to investigate not just advice itself, but also perceptions of the advice. Using a selection of results from a corpus-based move analysis project as a basis for more fine-grained exploration through experimentation has provided a linear, robust and triangulatory approach to data analysis that can be adopted for future studies.

As more and more advice interactions take place publicly online, judgments pertaining to advice effectiveness should not only emphasize the perspective of the advice-seeker. In other words, the importance of online auditors and overhearers will continue to grow. Therefore, we need to also consider the perceptions of the larger online audience observing these advice interactions. For example, alongside the advice recipient, the extended online viewership on Reddit can also evaluate the advice given. Therefore, evaluations made by this group can be just as important as those made by the addressee, and must also be taken into account. To date, evaluations, responses, and perceptions of advice have been notoriously difficult to precisely target. The work done here has extended our knowledge in this direction, with theoretical implications about the role of the auditor and overhearer during online advice-giving. Adopting experimental approaches provides a robust and precise way to pinpoint perceptions of advice, while at the same time allowing us to further our understanding of how advice operates beyond the speaker-addressee dyad.

Participants in the experiment were required to be a native-level English speaker. Thus, the responses in the experiment may potentially be influenced by this one language's wider speech community and the cultural factors that surround this group. Additionally, as a single-factor experiment, this study focused on one advice topic (family relationships). How evaluations of advice-giving formulations might be influenced by topic variation (i.e., seeking health advice, monetary advice, etc.), may be something worthwhile to explore. We also cannot overlook whether or not the interactional preferences of advice-giving, as well as how advice is perceived, might vary in other languages or within other cultural contexts and situations. We also

cannot be certain whether what is seen in this project would also occur within intercultural advice interactions; for instance, between an English-speaking advice-seeker and a Mandarin Chinese-speaking advice-giver.

Appendix

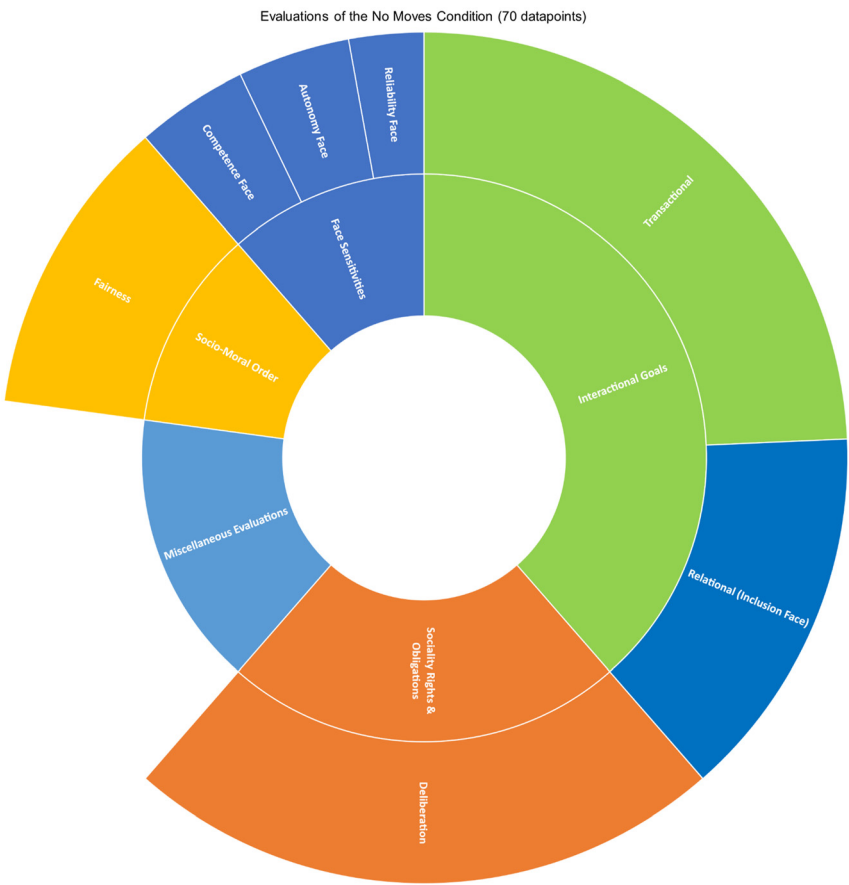


Figure A1: Instances of evaluations of the “no moves” condition.



Figure A2: Instances of evaluations of the background move condition.



Figure A3: Instances of evaluations of the encouragement move condition.

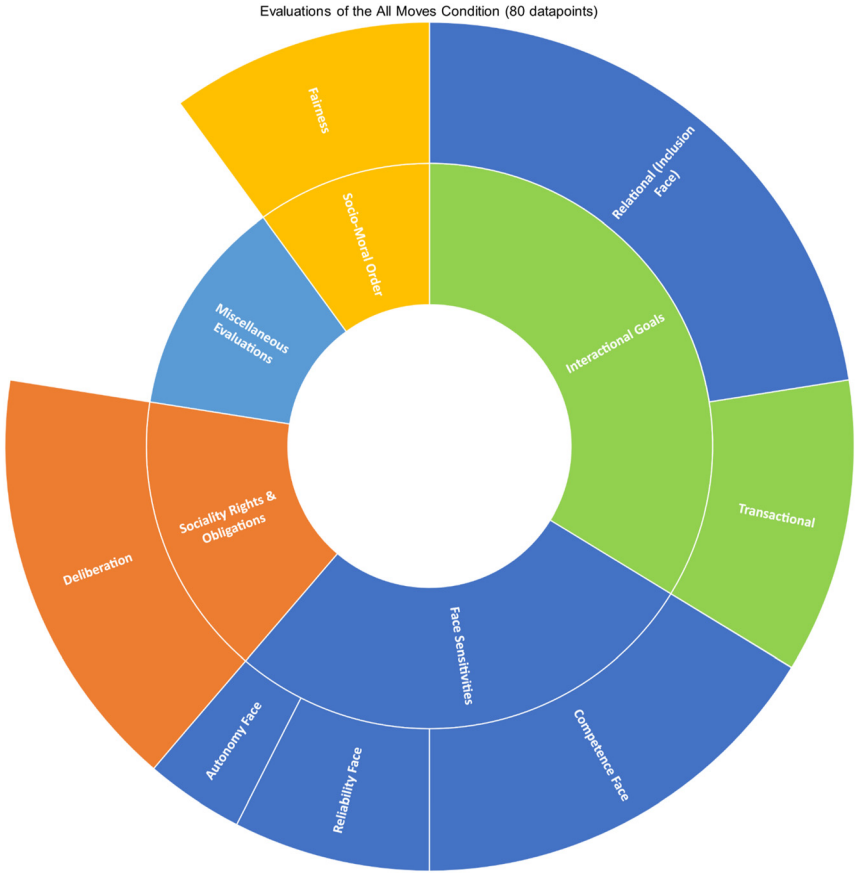


Figure A4: Instances of evaluations of the “all moves” condition.

Posted by adviceseeker22

Losing my son

My son is 18, the oldest of four. While he was growing up, we've always gave him plenty of room to find his own way. Currently, and understandably so, he leans more on his friends rather than me and my spouse.

Tonight, he got upset and left the house, writing a long text saying that we don't really know him. He's right. We've been so busy taking care of our younger children, our marriage, and work and I think we should have really tried to put more effort in building a deeper connection with him.

I feel lost and embarrassed about losing touch with my child, living under the same roof. How can I salvage my relationship with my son?

advicegiver101

I want to say that the feeling of disconnection from parents is a common and normal thing for every teen. But if you feel that you've not been spending enough time with your son, then you should definitely try to spend more time with him. We all know teens can be emotional and irrational and lash out at parents. It's still important to put in some effort to show that you care and are open to spending more time with him, while also giving him space.

Figure A5: "No moves" condition stimuli.

Posted by adviceseeker22

Losing my son

My son is 18, the oldest of four. While he was growing up, we've always gave him plenty of room to find his own way. Currently, and understandably so, he leans more on his friends rather than me and my spouse.

Tonight, he got upset and left the house, writing a long text saying that we don't really know him. He's right. We've been so busy taking care of our younger children, our marriage, and work and I think we should have really tried to put more effort in building a deeper connection with him.

I feel lost and embarrassed about losing touch with my child, living under the same roof. How can I salvage my relationship with my son?

advicegiver101

As a parent of an 18 year old teenager myself, I want to say that the feeling of disconnection from parents is a common and normal thing for every teen. But if you feel that you've not been spending enough time with your son, then you should definitely try to spend more time with him. We all know teens can be emotional and irrational and lash out at parents. It's still important to put in some effort to show that you care and are open to spending more time with him, while also giving him space.

Figure A6: Background move condition stimuli.

Posted by adviceseeker22

Losing my son

My son is 18, the oldest of four. While he was growing up, we've always gave him plenty of room to find his own way. Currently, and understandably so, he leans more on his friends rather than me and my spouse.

Tonight, he got upset and left the house, writing a long text saying that we don't really know him. He's right. We've been so busy taking care of our younger children, our marriage, and work and I think we should have really tried to put more effort in building a deeper connection with him.

I feel lost and embarrassed about losing touch with my child, living under the same roof. How can I salvage my relationship with my son?

advicegiver101

I think you're a great parent for caring so much about your son's feelings and trying to make things right! I want to say that the feeling of disconnection from parents is a common and normal thing for every teen. But if you feel that you've not been spending enough time with your son, then you should definitely try to spend more time with him. We all know teens can be emotional and irrational and lash out at parents. It's still important to put in some effort to show that you care and are open to spending more time with him, while also giving him space.

Figure A7: Encouragement move condition stimuli.

Posted by adviceseeker22

Losing my son

My son is 18, the oldest of four. While he was growing up, we've always gave him plenty of room to find his own way. Currently, and understandably so, he leans more on his friends rather than me and my spouse.

Tonight, he got upset and left the house, writing a long text saying that we don't really know him. He's right. We've been so busy taking care of our younger children, our marriage, and work and I think we should have really tried to put more effort in building a deeper connection with him.

I feel lost and embarrassed about losing touch with my child, living under the same roof. How can I salvage my relationship with my son?

advicegiver101

As a parent of an 18 year old teenager myself, I want to say that the feeling of disconnection from parents is a common and normal thing for every teen. But if you feel that you've not been spending enough time with your son, then you should definitely try to spend more time with him. We all know teens can be emotional and irrational and lash out at parents. It's still important to put in some effort to show that you care and are open to spending more time with him, while also giving him space. I think you're a great parent for caring so much about your son's feelings and trying to make things right!

Figure A8: "All moves" condition stimuli.

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