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A Cross-cultural Study of Politeness Strategies in Requests and Refusals of Requests:

The Case of Algerian Arabic and British English

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to:

My dear parents, for their endless love and support

My beloved husband for his love and encouragement

My precious daughter 'Mayar'

My sister and my brothers

My second family especially, my mother-in-law for her understanding and taking care

of my child whenever I was busy preparing this work

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Abstract

This study is a cross-cultural comparative/contrastive analysis of the politeness strategies used in the realization patterns of two speech acts: requests and refusals to requests in British English and Algerian Arabic. Relying on the theory of linguistic politeness proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987), this research aims to find out the possible similarities and/or differences in the performance of these two speech acts by Algerian Arabic natives and British natives. Furthermore, it aims to test the different politeness strategies chosen by the speakers of both languages according to the particular social variables of social power, social distance and ranking of imposition. The hypothesis made is that different considerations of distance, power, and rank of imposition by the two types of investigated speakers with different linguistic and cultural backgrounds would result in different politeness strategies in the realization of requests and refusals to requests. The data of this research are elicited via a Discourse Completion Task. The obtained data are analysed quantitatively and qualitatively. The results reveal that both respondent groups use the same range of politeness strategies. However, while the native speakers of British English prefer negative politeness strategies, the native speakers of Algerian Arabic prefer positive politeness. The latter group has also proved to be more direct in making requests and refusals than the first one. Moreover, whereas social power seems to count most in British English, considerations of social distance are of more importance in Algerian Arabic. In addition, not only are the Algerian requests and refusals influenced by socio-cultural conventions but also by religious beliefs. These findings are a contribution to the studies on cross-cultural communication, which strive to find solutions to possible communication breakdowns with regards to polite language, an important element in human interaction.

Key words: politeness strategies/ requests/ refusals / British English/ Algerian Arabic

List of Abbreviations

CP: Cooperative Principle

D: Social Distance

(D [S, H]): Social Distance between Speaker and Hearer

DCT: Discourse Completion Task

FTA: Face Threatening Act

H: Hearer

MP: Model Person

NSBE: Native Speakers of British English

NSAA: Native Speakers of Algerian Arabic

P: Social Power

(P [S, H]): Social Power of Speaker and Hearer

PP: Politeness Principle

R: Rank of Imposition

S: Speaker

W(x): Weightiness of Speech Act

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General Introduction

Statement of the Problem

For purposes of smooth communication, people rely considerably on good interpersonal relationships. Polite behaviour, accordingly, stands out as an essential communicative action which serves to assure harmony in social interaction and to promote interpersonal relationships not only between members of the same society but also between people from different societies. In most societies, politeness has always been associated with the manifestation of good manners, respect and etiquette. As regards language, linguistic politeness is by no means less important for grounding social harmony. However, although the significance of politeness may not be denied in all cultures and languages, its manifestation from one culture to another may reveal significant differences. That is to say, politeness is a phenomenon which is deeply embedded in culture in the sense that it relates considerably to the cultural and the social conventions of people of the same society. Therefore, what is described as a polite behaviour in one culture can be understood as less polite or even impolite in another culture. Cultural differences can also be revealed in linguistic politeness because different languages have their own particular ways of expressing politeness.

What linguistic politeness consists of is best dealt with through the lenses of pragmatics. It is a very important aspect of language use in the sense that people often try to mould their utterances, or modify them, in accordance with their communicative intentions, on the one hand, and their socio-cultural norms, on the other hand. Linguistic politeness may, then, be said to refer to the careful and subtle ways words are put together to communicate

intentions and maintain social interrelationships at the same time. Such choices made at the level of the linguistic expression are referred to as politeness strategies.

Interest in linguistic politeness resulted in a myriad of empirical studies mainly based on the investigation of the realization patterns of certain speech acts either within or across different languages and cultures. However, no such investigation has been carried out to compare the politeness strategies employed in the performance of speech acts in relation to Algerian Arabic and British English. Arabic and English are very different languages, and with regard to the rapid growth of cross-cultural communication, speakers of both languages happen to come into contact either face-to-face or via the media. Thus, knowing what constitutes polite language according to either culture is deemed necessary in order to avoid any possible communication breakdowns.

To arrive at these aims, a model of politeness strategies proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987) is adopted. They claim that there may be up to five different ways to perform a speech act and which may be ordered from the least polite to the most polite. They add further that the choice amongst these strategies depends on three important variables: the social power of the interlocutors, the social distance between them and the rank of imposition of the speech act. Their claim that these five strategies are universal and can be found in different cultures has been the starting point of many researches including this study.

In Algeria, people use two different linguistic codes as their mother tongues. The first one, Algerian Arabic, is the code used by the overwhelming majority. The second one is Berber which is the mother tongue of a minority of the Algerian population. However, the use of Algerian Arabic or Berber is often restricted to informal settings. In addition to both mother tongues, Modern Standard Arabic is also used by almost every Algerian individual

since it is the official language taught at schools and used in formal settings. French is also widely used by the Algerians as a result of Algeria's history as a French colony. In formal settings, Modern Standard Arabic and French are used. Thus, it is quite normal that Algerian everyday language contains a mixture of three codes: mother tongue, Modern Standard Arabic and French. Linguistic politeness in Algeria is consequently manifested by means of this interplay between languages.

Aims of the Study

The present study deals with the five strategy theory of Brown and Levinson (1987) as a basic framework to the analysis of requests and refusals to unravel the possible similarities and differences in two different cultures and languages: Algerian Arabic and British English.

The first aim is to investigate whether or not speakers of Algerian Arabic use the same set of strategies of politeness used by British people in performing two speech acts: requests and refusals to requests. Because linguistic politeness is embedded in social conventions, the second aim of this research is to investigate the circumstances and the social variables which may lead to the choice of one strategy rather than the other and to decide on the most influential factor among these in each culture. The third aim is to draw the implications of the study for cross-cultural communication.

Research Questions

This study attempts to find answers to the following questions:

- In performing the speech acts of requests and refusals to requests, do speakers of Algerian Arabic use the same range/number of politeness strategies identified in English by Brown and Levinson (1987)?

- Among these politeness strategies, which one is the most elaborated in both cultures?

- To what extent do power, distance, and rank of imposition affect the choice among these strategies if they ever exist?

- Among the social factors (power, distance and weight of imposition), which one is the most determinant?

- What are the possible culture-specific features which characterize requests and refusals to requests in each language?

Research Hypothesis

The hypothesis upon which the present research is grounded runs as follows:

Different considerations of distance, power, and rank of imposition by the two types of investigated speakers with different linguistic and cultural backgrounds would result in different politeness strategies in the realization of requests and refusals to requests.

Methodology

To verify the hypothesis made in this thesis and to accomplish the research aims, a discourse completion task (DCT) is used. The DCT contains fourteen different socio-cultural situations each of which is described in terms of the social distance of the interactants, the social distance between them and the ranking of imposition of the speech act. The first eight situations are meant to elicit requests whereas the last six ones are meant to elicit refusals to requests. The choice of these two speech acts in particular is justified by their frequent occurrence in everyday speech, their nature which usually entails the use of polite formulas and the possibility of comparing the present findings to those obtained from other studies.

The informants of this study comprise two groups:100 native speakers of Algerian Arabic and 100 native speakers of British English. Both groups' responses to the DCT are analysed quantitatively and qualitatively in the light of Brown and Levinson's framework of politeness (1987).

Structure of the Study

This thesis consists of seven chapters. The first chapter gives account of two basic theories of language use which constitute the underpinnings on which linguistic politeness theory is based: Speech act theory and the cooperative principle. The second chapter tackles the notion of politeness in general, then the scope is narrowed down to focus on linguistic politeness, its different definitions, the different approaches within which it is conceptualized, and the different modals which were used to account for it within or across different cultures. The third chapter expounds on the most articulated theory of politeness which was suggested by Brown and Levinson (1987). It gives a detailed account of the politeness strategies, sub-strategies and the variables that determine strategy choice which together make up the backbone of this investigation. The fourth chapter is devoted to the cross-cultural perspectives of different politeness phenomena including politeness definition, face, politeness strategies, and the social variables. The fifth chapter is devoted to a description and discussion of the methodology followed in this thesis. It justifies the choice of the research method adopted and the research instrument used in the collection of data. It also explains the procedures to be followed in the analysis of the data. In the sixth chapter of this research, a detailed quantitative and qualitative analysis to the requests made by both participant groups is made. In the seventh chapter of the thesis, the refusals yielded by the DCT are also analysed quantitatively and qualitatively in order to shed light on patterns of linguistic politeness in the two different cultures under study.

The thesis ends up with a conclusion summarising the results and raising the implication for cross-cultural communication as far as polite linguistic behaviour is concerned.

Chapter One

The Speech Act Theory and the Cooperative Principle

Introduction

In the course of communication, people use combinations of words, prosodic features, gestures and facial expressions to produce meanings. These combinations range from a single phoneme (like /m/to show agreement and/ʃ/to order silence) to stretching pieces of language. The way people combine their words to other linguistic and extra-linguistic features may differ from one person to another and from one language to another. However, there always exist some sets of rules which inform the natural and smooth ongoing use of language. In all languages, some of the words combinations may be employed to convey direct meanings and to mean literally what is said; some other combinations may be used to convey something other than the literal meanings of the words depending on different contextual factors. Nonetheless, people still manage to comprehend meanings and the communication goes on.This may be true even in cases of inter-language/intercultural contact. This chapter is an attempt to review theories which account for the natural and smooth ongoing use of language: how people generate and fathom meanings even when what is meant is less than or is not what is said. For this reason, first, a historical account on how language use evolved is provided. Second, reference is made to Austin's Speech Act theory on how to do things with words. Third, Searle's elaboration of Speech Act theory is explained to account for the use of indirect speech. Last but not least, an account of Grice's theory of cooperation and implicatures in conversation is given. How politeness relates to these underpinnings of language use is also explained.

1.1.Ordinary Language: A Historical Account

In the past, the lion's share in the study of aspects of language was devoted to the form of linguistic constructions rather than the meaning they convey or the ways they are used in real life contexts. Consideration and examination of meaning, reference, denotation and language use were a proper concern of linguistic philosophers who, unsurprisingly, were ad infinitum influenced by philosophical trends and doctrines (Nieli, 1987; Parker Ryan, 2012).

The end of the First World War, for example, witnessed some striking developments in science, logic and mathematics. According to Parker Ryan (2012), Philosophers like Frege (1918) and Carnap(1937) then believed strongly that the principles lying beneath logic and mathematics should be the steer which guides the analysis of all aspects of knowledge including language. Moreover, they believed that the development of a logical, thereby an ideal, language deeply rooted in principles of mathematics and logic (often associated with Russel (1903) was necessary. On this view, the meaning of linguistic propositions could be arrived at via a logical analysis of their atomic constituents which should be a representation of the atomic facts of the real world. That is to say, meaning was equated with atomic facts which represent reality and which are often expressed by the use of sentential operators that themselves hold logical and/or mathematical values (words such as 'and', 'or', 'not', 'if….then' and so on). It was this rummaging around and ideal language that led to associate ordinary language with vagueness, opacity, and obscurity of reality. In short, ideal language philosophers see ordinary language as non-ideal and in need of reform (ParkerRyan, 2012).

According to Nieli (1987), around the 1920's, views about language were mainly the product of a school of thought known as logical positivism, an extension of the Russelian logical atomism. In addition to adapting previous ideas about an ideal language, the positivists

were highly influenced by the work of Wittgenstein (1921), which was written in the form of philosophical statements (theses). The main claim in this work is the so-called 'picture theory', the belief that ideal language propositions are not but a mere reflection, a picture of the real world i.e., that a correspondence does exist between the propositions' constituents (words) and real world situations. Added to this is the claim that unless the sentences people produce picture reality or state some facts, they are meaningless (Nieli, 1987).

Springing out of this realm of thought during the thirties is the verification principle which holds that all meaningful sentences are either true or false and that the truth or falsehood of linguistic propositions is arrived at solely through empirical verification (observing, testing, experimenting…etc.). Thus, according to this view, all sentences that cannot be empirically verified, that is, all the linguistic constructions whose truth or falsehood could not be confirmed are insignificant or, more precisely, meaningless as indicated by the following quote from Ayer (1935):

> We say that a sentence is factually significant to any given person, if, and only if, he knows how to verify the proposition which it purports to express—that is, if he knows what observations would lead him, under certain conditions, to accept the proposition as being true, or reject it as being false. (p.6)

Although the ideas of Wittgenstein weighed a lot for the ideal language proponents, they were soon rejected by Wittgenstein himself. Taking a philosophical stance, he realized that the search for an ideal language was misleading. It resulted in a mistreatment of ordinary language which is, in his view, as ideally perfect as it is and which does not need any reform. He also initiated the idea that the philosophy of an ordinary language should be neither about representing the world nor can it be understood through empirical verification. Wittgenstein

rather assumed that when thinking about ordinary language, it is its use that should be considered in the first place. The meaning of linguistic propositions is, on this line of thought, determined by their ordinary use(s) (Neili, 1987).

Wittgenstein's later arguments about language were the steering wheel which turned the attention of many philosophers (e.g.Wisdom,1953; Ryle,1953; andStrawson,1959)towards ordinary language use. Not only did the proponents of the ordinary language view accept the Wittgensteinian thought, but they managed to build up new claims out of it, resulting in the emergence of different theories of ordinary language and/or its use. Ordinary language use is often associated with the works of different philosophers including Ryle (1953), Strawson (1959), Wisdom (1953), Austin (1962), Searle (1969), and Grice (1975)… The theories of the latter three, however, are deemed revolutionary advances in dealing with language use.

1.2.Speech Act Theory

During the second half of the twentieth century, the focus of linguistic studies shifted from viewing language as means to describe the world to studying how real ordinary language is used.

Speech Act Theory, associated with Austin (1962) and Searle (1969), emerged as one of the most significant theories which account for how language is used, not solely to describe the world, but also to communicate particular intentions. This theory also explains the interrelationships between language users and their intentions in addition to how these intentions get communicated. The core components, the core meaning, the truth and falsehood of the uttered linguistic stretches are a minor concern in this theory because how to achieve goals using language is all that matters (Austin,1962; Searle,1969 ;Yule,2006; and Sbisa,2009).

1.2.1. Speech Acts according to Austin

To shed more light on how ordinary language is used, Austin (1962) starts by questioning the long standing and prevailing idea that the sole purpose of an utterance is to describe some state of affairs, and that utterances of this kind can be verified as true or false with reference to the real world. According to Austin, a large number of ordinary utterances do not fit these criteria, yet they are, by no means, nonsensical as assumed by many philosophers. Furthermore, he finds that many utterances that are considered as merely descriptive are not devoted to describing states of affairs in the full literal sense of the word although they can be either true or false:

> It has come to be seen that many specially perplexing words embedded in apparently descriptive statements do not serve to indicate some specially odd additional feature in the reality reported, but to indicate (not to report) the circumstances in which the statement is made or reservations to which it is subject or the way in which it is to be taken and the like. (1962, p.3)

Prior to Austin's challenging work, sentences of this type were misleading when referred to as descriptions, but Austin prefers to dub them constatives instead. Constatives are utterances for which it is possible to attach a truth or falsehood value. They amount to a great deal of everyday stretches of words, but, for Austin, they constitute only one type of what he proposed as a preliminary twofold classification of ordinary utterances. The second type Austin puts forward includes utterances like:

a. 'I do' (take this woman to be my lawful wife)
b. 'I name this ship The Queen Elizabeth'

c. 'I give and bequeath my watch to my brother' (as occurring in a will)

d. ' I'll come tomorrow'(ibid. p.5)

In saying 'I do' in a marriage ceremony (example 1), the speaker is neither describing nor reporting on the situation but he is, rather, doing something, namely indulging in marriage. Similarly, in the second example, the speaker is not stating or telling the ship's name but he is naming it. The third example illustrates how, via writing few words, one can do something namely, moving a property from one person to another. In the fourth case, the speaker is not stating that he would come tomorrow; what he is conveying by issuing these words is that he is making a promise. Utterances of this kind are, according to Austin, far from being constatives in the sense that:

a. They do not 'describe' or 'report' or constate anything at all, are not 'true or false'; and

b. The uttering of the sentence is, or is part of the doing of an action, which again would not normally be described as saying something.(1962, p.5).

So, as Austin finds it the case, there exists a number of everyday utterances, the issuing of which is not just a matter of producing pieces of speech (saying), but is a matter of doing something or more precisely, a matter of performing certain acts (like, marrying, naming, bequeathing, promising, requesting…, etc.). Hence, they are called performatives in opposition to constatives.

To make plain the distinction between utterances of both types, Austin postulates more features with which performatives are endowed. First, the performance of actions, which is the very heart of performative utterances, includes but is exhausted by, the issuing of the words since other mental or even physical actions may enter into play. Additionally and more

importantly, to be performed felicitously, speech acts ought to be executed in the appropriate circumstances for which Austin chooses the term felicity conditions. Felicity conditions are "the things which are necessary for the smooth or 'happy' functioning of a performative." (Austin, 1962, p.14)

According to Austin (1962), there exist three broad conditions to which the utterance must adhere if it is to be deemed a happy one. The first condition (the A condition) has a conventional aspect; it is bound to conventions in some way or another. It is made up of two sub-conditions:

(A. 1) There has to be an accepted conventional procedure of uttering certain words in certain circumstances.

(A. 2) The persons uttering those words must be the accepted ones. (1962, p.15)

The second one (the B condition) has to do with the actual appropriate way whereby the utterance is performed.

(B. 1) The procedure must be executed by all participants both correctly and…

(B.2) Completely(1962, p.15)

The last one (theΓ condition) is of an abstract nature; it has to do with the intentions, feelings, or thoughts which the speaker bears while performing the act of speech.

(Γ. 1) where the procedure is designed for persons having certain thoughts or intentions, the persons in question must indeed have those thoughts.

(Γ. 2) where a subsequent conduct is part of the procedure,
the persons must conduct themselves accordingly. (1962,
p.15)

So, while constatives can be either true or false, performatives can be happy or unhappy, felicitous or infelicitous. Infelicity occurs whenever a particular utterance does not conform to the above conditions. If the first two conditions, referred to by means of the Latin letters A and B, are violated, the act inherent in the utterance is said to misfire. If adherence to the last condition denoted by the Greek letter Γ is infringed, an abuse to the act takes place. The explanation of the difference in the letters choice is, thereby, reached.

Another interesting feature which Austin attaches to the performative utterance is that it can be one of two types, either explicit or implicit. Explicit performatives are utterances which contain a verb that explicitly indicates the type of the act to be performed by uttering the words. This verb can be accompanied with the word "hereby". Hence, utterances like "I (hereby) name this ship Queen Elizabeth", "I (hereby) bequeath my watch to my brother", and "I (hereby) promise I'll come tomorrow"…., etc. are but a few examples of explicit performatives for which the force of the act is rendered unambiguous by means of verbs like "name", "bequeath", and "promise". Implicit performatives, on the other hand, do not contain such a force indicating verb. In other words, the force of the utterance is hidden and can be arrived at only via a process of presupposition, inference and consideration of the surrounding context. In the appropriate context, the utterance "I'll come tomorrow" can be an act of promising though there is no verb that indicates so. In other words, even if the verb "promise" is omitted, its meaning can still be conveyed. The utterance "Go!" is another example illustrating implicit performatives for there is no force indicating verb. However, with reference to context, its meaning can be disambiguated and it can be identified as a command,

advice, request or something else. Austin (1962, p.61-62) claims that "any utterance which is in fact a performative should be reducible, or expandable, or analyzable into a form with a verb in the first person singular present indicative active (grammatical)" and he, further, adds that it is "this sort of expansion [which] makes explicit that the utterance is performative, and which act it is that is being performed."(p.62)

In his quest for ways of clarifying how to do things with words, Austin surprisingly found that the more distinctive features he attributed to performatives, the more nails he put in the coffin of the constative/ performative dichotomy. Consequently, he thought "Perhaps indeed there is no great distinction between statements and performative utterances". There are two main reasons lying behind the rejection of the constative/ performative distinction. First, like performatives, constativesdo also rely on felicity conditions in order to be completed. In other words, constatives are subject to the types of infelicities identified by Austin as misfires and abuses. As an example, Austin considers the utterance "All John's children are bald" as uttered when John has no children and claims that it is just as unhappy as "I give and bequeath my watch to my brother" as occurring in the will of someone who does not own a watch. Both utterances are infelicitous because of an infringement of the condition A2 that the circumstances and persons must be appropriate, as specified in the procedure of stating and bequeathing respectively. So, the distinction between the true/false paradigm and the happy/unhappy paradigm is abandoned likewise.

The second reason Austin provides is that there are some utterances which are used to state or assert but are neither true nor false. Besides, there are other utterances that are used for these particular purposes yet are similar to performatives in the sense that they are reducible, expandable or analyzable into a form with a verb in the first person singular present indicative active with the possibility of inserting the "hereby" device:

> […] we have found, however, that it is often not easy to be sure that, even when it is apparently in explicit form, an utterance is performative or that it is not; and typically anyway, we still have utterances beginning 'I state that…' which seem to satisfy the requirements of being performative, yet which surely are the making of statements, and surely are essentially true or false. (p.91)

Austin states that there are many instances of constatives which could be rendered as performatives. He then concludes that constatives are but a special type of performatives and suggests that his twofold performatives/constatives distinction be superseded by a general theory accounting for how to do things with words, his seminal theory of speech acts. This is never to suggest however that Austin's endeavor so far is useless. While he abandons the constative/performative distinction, Austin sticks firmly to the basic ideas that saying is (or is part of) doing, and that to do something with words necessitates as a prerequisite the existence of some appropriate circumstances, a claim that is stated in his own words, "the total speech act in the total speech situation is the only actual phenomenon which, in the last resort, we are engaged in elucidating." (147)

First of all, Austin starts by explaining the complexity of 'saying' which is, on every occasion, the doing of something. He suggests that in issuing a single utterance, the speaker does three different things at the same time. In other words, the speaker performs three simultaneous acts. According to Austin (1962), first, the interlocutor performs a locution, or a locutionary act which involves:

a-   The uttering of certain noises (the production of a phone)
b-   The uttering of certain words which belong to a certain vocabulary and which conform to a certain grammar with a certain intonation, etc., (the production of a pheme)

c-   The uttering of a certain phemewith a definite sense or reference, i.e., with a certain meaning. (the production of a rheme)

So, as described by Holtgrave(2002, p. 11), the production of a locution entails the different "dimensions of language" corresponding to phonetics, syntax and semantics which were the traditional proper concern of linguists. However, although Austin associates the last phase of the locutionary act with meaning as sense and reference, many other scholarssuggest that these two dimensions are not enough for understanding the locution's meaning. Rather, this level should point to "tasks such as assigning reference, resolving deixis, and disambiguating the utterance-inscription lexically and/or grammatically." (Huang 2009, p. 1007) an example Austin (1962, p. 101) gives is:

E.g. 'shoot her!'(meaning by 'shoot' shoot and referring by 'her' to her.)

Second, the speaker performs an illocutionary act which refers to what is done with the words, that is to say, the function assigned to the locutionary act. It can be accounted for by considering the purpose lying behind its issuing in the first place because, as argued by Yule, "we don't just produce well-formed utterances with no purpose. We form an utterance with some kind of function in mind" (1996, p.48). Examples of such functions include: promising, warning, requesting, ordering, advising, declaring, and stating...etc. The functions of illocutions may be referred to as the illocutionary force or the communicative force of the utterance. Austin proposes that illocutionary acts are conventional in the sense that they conform to conventional felicity conditions. So for an illocution to be accomplished, there must be a conventional procedure for the performance of the utterance, the participants and the circumstances have to be the appropriate ones, the procedure must be carried out both correctly and completely, the participants are expected to have the appropriate thoughts, feelings and intentions, and they must behave in appropriate way(s) subsequently. In the

following way Austin (1962, P.102) illustrates both a locution and an illocution produced simultaneously. As an example:

a- "shoot her!" (locution)

b- He urged (or advised, ordered, etc.) me to shoot her (illocution)

Austin also points to two important aspects of the illocutionary act. First, a single linguistic expression may be used on different occasions and in different contexts to fulfill a set of different functions. That is the same locution may acquire different communicative forces depending on the context in which it is uttered. Thus, the locution "the gun is loaded" may have different illocutionary forces if uttered in different circumstances; it may be once a threat, once a warning, once a statement, etc. Conversely, the same illocutionary force may be accomplished via different linguistic tokens. There are absolutely many different ways for performing an act of requesting (Brown & Levinson 1987).

Austin (1962, p. 152-60) attempts to offer a classification of speech acts on the basis of their illocutionary force:

1- **Verdictives:** They correspond to giving a verdict. They include acts such as acquitting, convicting, ruling, placing, grading, diagnosing, analyzing, finding, reckoning, rating, etc.(p.152)

2- **Exercitives:** This category corresponds to exercising power, rights or influence. These are acts such as appointing, degrading, demoting, dismissing, naming, ordering, commanding, directing, granting, nominating, choosing, claiming, begging, announcing, recommending, repealing, etc.(p.154)

3- **Commissives:** Acts like promising, undertaking, planning, etc.(p.156)

4- **Behabitives:**The acts ofshowing attitudes or social behaviouramong which we find apologizing, thanking, deploring, commiserating, criticizing, daring,etc.(p.159)

5- **Expositives**: fitting an utterance into the course of an argument or conversation. These encompass acts like affirming, denying, stating, describing, defining, reporting, informing, etc. (p.160)

Moreover, not to be confused with the other two facets of the utterance, Austin posits few features specific to the illocutionary act. In his view, every illocution has three distinguished effects which are summarized by Sbisà (2009, p.233) as follows:

> 1. The securing of uptake: this effect amounts to bringing about the understanding of the meaning and of the force of the locution and unless it is achieved, the illocutionary act is not actually carried out;

> 2. The production of a conventional effect: the act brings about a state of affairs in a way different from bringing about a change in the natural course of events (e.g. the act of naming a ship 'Queen Elizabeth' makes it the case that this is the ship's name, and that referring to it by any other name will be out of order, but these are not changes in the natural course of events);

> 3. The inviting of a response or sequel: the act invites a certain kind of subsequent behavior: if the invitation is accepted, a certain further act by some of the participants will follow.

Thus, there is yet another action the speaker performs simultaneously with the locutionary and the illocutionary acts. This third dimension of what is done with words is known as the perlocutionary act or the perlocution. The perlocution is far different from the

locution and illocution in the sense that it refers to neither the primary meaning of the utterance as is the case with the first, nor does it refer to the force or function intended in issuing the utterance as is the case with the latter. This act refers to the effects achieved by issuing an utterance. It is best accounted for as the nonlinguistic consequences an interaction has on the feelings, thoughts, or actions of the listeners. Thus, effects such as convincing, persuading, deterring, surprising, misleading, etc. are just a few examples of the perlocution. According to Sbisà (2009, p. 233),"The performance of a perlocutionary act does not depend on the satisfaction of conventional conditions, but on the actual achievement of a certain goal or […] on the speech act's having actually caused certain extralinguistic consequences". Such consequences, however, are not determinate and not always intentional (Holtgraves, 2002) since they may not occur even if the speaker intends to achieve them and they, conversely, may occur when not intended at all (Austin, 1962, p. 105). For Example:

a- "shoot her!" (Locution)

 b- He urged (or advised, ordered, etc.) me to shoot her (illocution)

c - He persuaded me to shoot her. (perlocution) (p.105)

In short, speech act theory holds the idea that when people speak (or write),they do not just produce some non-purposeful linguistic constructions. When making utterances, they do quite a lot of things. First the speakers perform locutions which themselves consist of three sub acts: phonetic, phemic and rhetic. That is to say, they produce some vocal constructs which belong to a certain nomenclature of vocabulary governed with certain syntactic rules, all of which have certain defined meanings. Second, and more importantly, the interlocutors perform illocutions which, as designated by the name, have nothing to do with the linguistic signs and their combinations and meanings. It has to do with the purpose set in minds as the

function of these signs; the force the speakers, hence, attribute to the signs. Finally, because words are alive and have functions, they certainly do produce changes in the surrounding world. The changes which the utterances produce in the feelings, thoughts, and actions of the audience are known as perlocutions. Hence, saying is, invariably and on every occasion, the doing of these three simultaneous acts.

1.2.2. Speech Acts according to Searle

It was the American scholar Searle (1969, 1979) who took the lead in dealing with language as action after Austin's death. He extended and elaborated on different aspects of the theory of speech acts namely the felicity conditions and the taxonomy of speech acts, in addition to his notion of indirect vs. direct speech acts.

Taking a similar stance as Austin in dealing with language use from an action perspective, Searle (1969) sets about considering the necessary conditions for the felicitous performance of speech acts. Not only does he think of the felicity conditions as rules governing the performance of acts, but he also claims that they should be thought of as constitutive rules in the sense that together they constitute the illocutionary force of an utterance (Searle, 1969).In his view, it is not possible for an act to obtain a force if such conditions fail to be fulfilled. Searle proposes that before all, adherence must take place to some general conditions such as the participants' understanding of the language which, in turn, has to be meaningful as opposed to nonsensical linguistic constructions. Then there are other basic conditions (neo-Austinian conditions) which Searle (1969, p.63) categorizes under four classes:

a- The propositional condition: Searle argues that utterances have both a propositional meaning or content and an illocutionary force then, he adds that the propositional

condition states that the illocutionary force must be specified or, in other words, predicated by the content of the utterance. For example, for a promise to be performed, a future event must be specified. To utter "I promise I did it" cannot absolutely be an act of promising.

b- The preparatory condition: this condition relates to the beliefs and the desires of the speakers. The act of promising cannot be performed if the addressee doesn't want it done or if he does not desire the thing being promised.

c- The sincerity condition: this condition serves to specify the necessary psychological state which the speaker must have to perform a speech act. The speaker must intend to perform the act in the first place otherwise, it will be abused.

d- The essential condition: this condition says what the speaker intends via his utterance in a particular context. That is to say, it specifies the illocutionary point of the utterance. It is this condition that connects the content of the act with the context and the illocutionary point the speaker decides on for his utterance.

Searle (1979) gives clues to distinguish the illocutionary force from the illocutionary point believing that the former is included in the latter. For example, many speech acts with different forces like requests, orders, commands, instructions and so forth fall under the same illocutionary point (purpose) which is to get other people to do something. It is Searle's belief, among others, that the illocutionary point is a basic criterion for classifying illocutionary acts. In his view, there are basically five illocutionary points explained as follows,

> if we adopt the illocutionary point as the basic notion on
> which to classify uses of language, then there are a rather
> limited number of basic things we do with language: we
> tell people how things are, we try to get them to do things,
> we commit ourselves to doing things, we express our

feelings and attitudes and we bring about changes through

our utterances. Often, we do more than one of these at

once in the same utterance.(1979, p. 29)

Although Austin's taxonomy of the illocutionary acts has received much attention (Sbisà, 2009), Searle's work on this particular area remains the most influential one which many linguists and pragmatists have adopted and used as a basis for further investigations. For Searle (1979, p.9-12), Austin's attempt to group the illocutionary acts was weak in the sense that it was an arbitrary non-principled classification of English illocutionary verbs rather than of illocutionary acts. This, according to Searle (ibid.), resulted in a fuzzy classification allowing for a great deal of overlaps between its different classes in addition to many instances of heterogeneity within the same class.

What Searle proposes instead is a new fivefold classification of illocutionary acts. For this classification he chooses four basic criteria of the illocution alongside the felicity conditions: (1) the illocutionary point or the purpose of the act expressed by the essential condition, (2) the direction of fit between words and the world, (3) the expressed psychological state, and (4) the propositional content (Searle, 1979). The five types of the illocutionary acts proposed by Searle are as follows explained.

a. **Assertives**. This class is also known as representatives, and it is a new representation of Austin's constatives. It includes those speech acts which commit the speaker to the truth of his utterance when referring to a particular state of affairs. Such utterances are therefore assessable on the true /false dimensions. The psychological state expressed is belief (that); that is, the world is described as believed or as seen by the speaker. So, assertives include those speech acts in which the speaker attempts to describe the world. Hence, the words

are directed to fit the world. Examples of such acts include asserting, claiming, concluding, reporting, stating, etc.

b. **Directives.** The illocutionary point of these is the speaker's attempt to get his hearer do something. These attempts range from modest ones (like invitations) to fierce ones (like orders). They express the psychological state of wanting or desiring that the hearer does a future action. In so doing, the speaker is making the world fit the words via the hearer. Examples are acts of asking, requesting, ordering, commanding, begging, praying, inviting, permitting, advising, defying, challenging, and so on.

c. **Commissives**. This class encompasses illocutions whose point is to commit the speaker to some future course of action. The speaker thereby expresses his intention to alter the world via his words. So, commissives represent a world to words fit. However, although they seem similar to directives regarding the world to word match, commissives are different in the sense that it is the speaker (not the hearer) who introduces the changes. Examples of comissives include promises, offers, pledges, refusals, warnings and threats.

d. **Expressives.** Members of this class express the speaker's psychological state about a particular state of affairs. Exceptionally in this class, there is no match between the world and words in either direction. Typical examples include thanks, congratulations, apologies, blames, condolences, and welcomes.

e. **Declarations**. These are speech acts the successful performance of which results in immediate change in the world. Examples include declaring war, firing from job, nominating a candidate, marrying, appointing, etc. For a successful performance of a declarative, both the speaker and the hearer must occupy some determinate positions within a special extra-linguistic institution such as the church, the law, and the work office. In this case, there is a bidirectional match between the world and the words as Searle says "we change the world and thus achieve a world-to-word direction of fit by

representing it as having been changed, and thus achieve a word-to-world direction of fit" (1999:150).

In short, speech acts can be classified into a limited set of classes on the basis of their illocutionary points as assertives, directives, commissives, expressivess or declaratives. An alternative classification may rely on the illocutionary function criterion. Classification on this basis, however, may be somehow troublesome because first, there might be a non-limited number of speech acts which again could correspond to one language/culture rather than the other and second, it is not always possible to determine the function of a particular utterance since a single linguistic structure may be used to serve different functions in different contexts. That is to say, the same locutionary act may have different illocutionary forces in different situations (Austin 1962; Searle 1979). A famous example which has been frequently used to illustrate this case is the utterance, "It is hot in here." which is said to have different illocutionary functions.

This utterance may be understood as a statement describing a particular state of affairs. In this case, the speaker utters a sentence and means precisely and literally what he says. This kind of meaning is the first or perhaps the simplest type of meanings (Searle, 1979) that comes to mind when uttering a particular sentence. Its simplicity lies in the fact that there is a one-to-one correspondence between the utterance's literal meaning and its function i.e. there is a big deal of parallel between the locutionary and the illocutionary dimensions of the utterance. However, even if this utterance may be counted as an assertive regarding its surface form and meaning, it may be used in other contexts to fulfill different communicative forces. To issue this utterance may be regarded as a request to open the door when the hot weather becomes a source of unease. In another context, the utterance may be counted as an offer to open the window. So, in addition to meaning what he says, the speaker also means something

more. That is, the same utterance may have other indirect functions in addition to its primary direct one.

Standing on this ground, Searle puts forward his famous distinction between direct and indirect speech acts. Direct speech acts encompass utterances where the illocutionary force serves as a direct reflection of the locution. In this case, there exists a one-to-one correspondence between what one says and what he really means by using the utterance. A direct speech act may be exemplified by the utterance "can you pass the salt?" if used as a question about the hearer's ability to pass the salt. On the other hand, in indirect speech acts, the locutionary act and the illocutionary force come apart. In other words, there is no great match between what the speaker says and what he really means. "Can you pass the salt?" is usually used as a request to pass the salt rather than a question about the hearer's ability to do it. However, to understand the underlying illocutionary force of a particular sentence, Searle suggests a number of prerequisites if the communication is not to break down. He thus claims, "In indirect speech acts, the speaker communicates to the hearer more than he actually says by way of relying on their mutually shared background information, both linguistic and non-linguistic, together with the general powers of rationality and inference on the part of the hearer." (1979, p.32)

1.3.Conversational Implicature

In dealing with how ordinary language is used, Grice (1975) focuses on what he thinks is the most significant aspect of any purposeful communicative exchange, namely, the meaning carried in humans' linguistic constructions. Grice's work was specifically triggered by noticing that in much- if not all- of their communicative interactions, people do not rely solely on the words' literal meanings to convey and, reversely, to understand messages.

Grice's basic claim is that there certainly exists some kind of meaning which is not said or clearly uttered but which can be yet understood. This claim holds that underlying the speakers' messages are some other hidden, extra or additional meanings which the hearers nevertheless succeed to deduce and, even if not literally coded, such meanings are processed in a way to extend the sequence of communication. As a way of clarification, Grice gives a number of examples like the following (1975: 51).

> **John**: Smith doesn't seem to have a girlfriend these days.
>
> **Harry**: He has been paying a lot of visits to New York lately.

From a Gricean perspective, whatever Harry 'implies', 'suggests', or 'means' is different from what he literally says. Nevertheless, this answer would constitute no wonder for John who would work out that Harry's answer had in one way or another to do with the girlfriend issue. For Grice, it is clear that Harry was implying, suggesting or meaning that Smith has or may have a girlfriend in New York although he did not explicitly state so.

According to Grice (1975), interlocutors succeed in fathoming each other's inexplicitly stated meaning(s) thanks to some general features of discourse which may be better thought of as rules, conventions or principles, rather. For him, participants who engage in communicative exchanges are rational people who do not produce disconnected sequences of speech. People's talk exchanges characteristically have particular defined purposes and take particular directions in order to achieve these purposes. So, human conversations are more often than not the result of a joint effort between participants who share the mutual interest of following a certain direction and arriving at a certain goal. A basic assumption of Grice is that people tend to be cooperative when they communicate following what he sets as

the cooperative principle: "Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or the direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged" (1975, p.26). The cooperative principle, then, stresses that interlocutors usually cooperate in an attempt to communicate in the most efficient way possible. In Grice's view, a typical cooperation takes the form of honest, relevant, informative, and clear conversational transactions.

Hence, to explain the mechanisms of this principle, Grice furthers it with four sub-rules which, if strictly abided by, efficient rational communication is guaranteed. These rules of conversation are often referred to as conversational maxims for which Levinson's (2000, p.144) description as "aphoristic principle[s]of conduct" fits well. They fall under the categories of Quantity, Quality, Relation, and Manner and are explained by Grice (1975, p.26-27) as follows.

a.**Quantity**: This maxim corresponds to the quantity of information to be provided, it is as follows stated.

- Make your contribution as informative as is required(for the current purposes of the exchange)

- do not make your contribution more informative than is required

b.**Quality**: This maxim states that interactants' contributions be true:

- Do not say what you believe to be false.

- Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

c. **Relation**: Suggested by this maxim is that speakers' contributions should be relevant.

d.**Manner**: unlike the previous maxims which relate to what is said, the maxim of manner tells how what is said is to be said. It suggests that participants be perspicuous:

- Avoid obscurity of expression

- Avoid ambiguity

-Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity)

- Be orderly.

The conversational maxims as claimed by Grice are more or less the rules which regulate human communication and make it effective. Though they are stated in the imperative mood, Levinson (2000) asserts that they are different from moral imperative and legal requirements because, alongside the cooperative principle, they are meant to inform conversational interactions rather than to strictly rule them. In his view, the maxims are rather "a recipe-like rational mood of conduct to achieve one's conversational goals." (p. 144)

In sum, observance of the maxims while communicating involves that the speakers' contributions should be clear (manner), true (quality), relevant to the current topic (relation), and neither more nor less informative than they should be (quantity). However, if the cooperative principle and its maxims were a rigid prescription to be followed in order to communicate efficiently, how could one explain common conversational routines such as topic change, jokes, metaphors, sarcasm, tautologies and so forth in which there is a clear non-observance of one (or more) of the aforementioned maxims. Grice notes that most of human linguistic contributions seem irrelevant, unclear, over-informative or less informative; besides, they certainly tell lies every now and then. In his opinion, people seldom abide by the

maxims, yet they always succeed in communicating their intentions. Moreover, it is often the case that maxims infringement takes place for a reason.

At this point, one might well wonder why in the first place Grice suggests such a principle and considers it the norm of conversation if people tend to infringe on it. In Grice's view, the cooperative principle with its associated maxims are a starting point which people return to in order to interpret each other's intentions whenever one or more of the maxims are not abided by. Concerning this particular argument, Holtgrave (2002) points out that "it is usually the case that people will mutually assume adherence to the C[ooperative] P[rinciple] and maxims, and this assumption serves as a frame for interpreting a speaker's utterances. That is, a speaker's utterances will be interpreted as if they were clear, relevant, truthful, and informative." (p. 24)

Moreover, Grice insists on the fact that people are aware of the cooperative principle and its maxims and try to adhere to it, though unconsciously. A major evidence of this is the use of hedges. Hedges are linguistic tokens the use of which indicates people's desire to communicate in the most efficient way as dictated by the principle. Yule (2006) claims that these expressions are not only used as a way to communicate efficiently, but also as a way to imply that speakers are being cooperative when they feel a problem with the maxims is to take place due to some reason or another. Grice suggests that for each of the proposed maxims there exist a number of associated hedges which signal speakers' willingness to observe the maxim in question. So, to show awareness of the quality maxim, people use expressions like "As far as I know…; I may be mistaken, but…; I'm not sure if this is right, but…; I guess…" The quantity maxim is signaled by the use of hedges like "As you probably know…; So, to cut a long story short…; I won't bore you with the details, but…" Expressions like "I don't know if this is important, but…; not to change the subject…; by the

way…" are hedges associated with the relation maxim. Finally the manner maxim is often hedged with phrases like "This may be a bit confusing, but…; I'm not sure if this makes sense, but…; I don't know if this is clear at all, but…"

A further claim by Grice holds that there are a number of things people do with regard to the conversational maxims. Evidently, a speaker may observe the maxims and communicate in the most efficient way whatever the circumstances are and whatever the consequences may be. However, in some cases the speaker may not succeed in fulfilling them. The speaker may, for example, opt out a maxim and show his unwillingness to cooperate in the way required as in saying, "I cannot say anymore; my lips are sealed." He may encounter a clash between the maxims; that is, he may be unable to fulfill one maxim without infringing another. He may violate a maxim unostentatiously and will be liable to mislead. Another thing the speaker may do is to flout a maxim. Flouting is a blatant failure to following a maxim.

Grice continues explaining the cues which the hearer relies on in order to work out conversational implicatures.These cues are summarized by Shiffrin (1994) as follows

- First, the conventional meaning of the words used, together with the identity of any references that may be involved.

- The cooperative principle and its maxims

- The context, linguistic or otherwise, of the utterance

- Other items of background knowledge

- The fact that all relevant items falling under the previous headings are available to both participants and both participants know or assume this to be the case. (p.195)

The basic assumption of Grice's work on language use is that human linguistic exchanges are not random sequences of words. Human interactions are regulated by some principles and rules whose ultimate purpose is efficient communication. The cooperative principle and its accompanying maxims are a basic frame people try to conform to while conversing and although not stated as a rigid pattern of communication, people are not totally ignorant of it. In Grice's view, whenever a maxim is violated, an implicature is generated and it is in the light of the cooperative principle that people succeed in inferring the intended unsaid meanings.

This principle accounts for the mechanics lying beneath getting from what is said to what is meant or implicated. Consequently, it is better thought of as a principle which "informs rather than strictly governs conversations" (Levinson 2000) especially that people seem to adhere to it unconsciously rather than deliberately (Grice, 1975). In addition, whenever the principle is not rigidly respected, meanings still can be negotiated for one reason or another especially for concerns of politeness(Lakoff,1973; Leech,1983;Brown andLevinson,1987). For example, the speaker may float the quantity maxim if he feels that his speech would offend the hearer or damage his face. The speaker may float the quality maxim to spare the hearer's feelings. He also may violate the relation maxim in order to communicate an interest without damaging relations. The manner maxim may also be violated in cases of euphemisms.

Conclusion

In this chapter, the cornerstone theories which account for the use of ordinary language have been accounted for in details due to their crucial relation to politeness theory. The relation can be best seen in the fact that politeness is manifested as a result for an

assessment of the speech act being produced, whether this act offends the hearer or not. As such, speakers may opt for indirect speech acts. Also, for considerations of politeness, people may violate one or more of the conversational maxims; yet, the hearer may understand what is being implicated. Linguistic politeness is one of the theories of language use which is not less important than the speech act and the conversational implicature. Therefore, it will be dealt with in more details throughout the next chapter.

Chapter Two

Linguistic Politeness

Introduction

Politeness is a very important aspect of human life. It is the steer which guides social interaction as it helps interactants achieve their communicative intentions, preserving social equilibrium and interpersonal relationships. Politeness has been dealt with within different areas of research including pragmatics, sociolinguistics, cultural studies and many others. It is a concept that has been defined differently within various fields of knowledge. It has also been conceptualized differently within different approaches. This chapter reports on the different definitions of politeness, the different approaches within which it is conceptualized and the different theories which account for it.

2.1. Politeness

From an etymological point of view, the English word 'polite' was originally derived from the Latin word 'politus' which carries the meaning of 'polished, made smooth, etc.' (Oxford Dictionary of English,2000). It wasn't until the fifteenth century, however, that this term was adopted by the English language and became part of its lexis undergoing different word formation processes and modifications as any other English word.

Deutschmann(2003) claims that by the sixteenth century, definitions of the term 'polite' underwent some changes to be associated with or even synonymous to words like 'refined', 'elegant', 'correct', 'scholarly', and 'exhibiting' a 'refined' state. Marquez Reiter

(2000) asserts that such associations also characterised the behaviour of upper social classes; hence a connection between the word 'polite' and the high class' social conduct came to existence. She goes further to argue that during the renaissance these upper classes' primary concern was the development of social manners and tact specific to them in order to create a civilised society "where not just social distance but reciprocal obligations between those who are higher and lower need to be determined" (2). In other words, the behaviour of the upper social classes then exclusively described as polite was a means to distinguish them from lower classes and accordingly, a means to sustain a hierarchical order in the society where social interrelationships are preserved.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the word continued to be used as an attribute or a social marker of either people belonging to the high class or of their behaviour that was considered as the typical model of conduct to be aspired to by people from lower classes. Watts (1999) investigated the use of the word polite in English during these centuries, and noted that:

> From the very beginning of its use, the term 'polite' was
> interpreted ambiguously to justify shifts in the behavioural
> patterns of the gentry and the nobility, later of the middle
> classes of society and held up to those who aspired to the
> membership of higher echelons of society as a desirable
> and imitable form of social behaviour. (17)

While the previous short historical account of the word 'polite' implies that its primary uses were associated with the behavioural patterns of people, especially people from the high class, contemporary dictionary definitions of the term exhibit exemplifications of how it evolved. Deutschmann (2003) explains how current definitions of 'polite' demonstrate two illustrations of shift in meaning. The first shift is from being an attribute to the typical pattern

of the way a person may behave to embracing a notion of the way a person may speak as well. The second is a shift from being directed towards characterising the speaker's persona only to showing consideration for others. In contemporary dictionaries another aspect is also included under the definition of the same entry which is doing or saying what is socially correct but not necessarily sincere. Inspired by the work of Werkhofer (1992), Deutschmann (2003, p.25) adds a further argument about being polite. For him, current dictionary definitions are but a mere reflection of the fact that politeness embeds an intrinsic dual social aspect: on the one hand, it is socially performed; on the other hand, it is essential in moulding social interaction. In other words, the double sided social feature of politeness lies in the fact that polite (whether verbal or nonverbal) behaviour is performed by people and at the same time it is a means to establish, determine, and organize social relationships between those people.

Another aspect that may constitute a further social dimension of politeness is Marquez Reiter's (2000) and Watts's (2003) claims. Watts certifies that polite linguistic/non-linguistic behaviour is not an inborn or an innate quality that people naturally have but rather, it is something human beings must attain only via a process of socialization. "Politeness in this sense is not a natural phenomenon which existed before mankind but one which has been socio-culturally and historically constructed." (Marquez Reiter 2000, p.1)

As far as the way it is expressed is concerned, Marquez Reiter (2000, p. 3-4) identifies two broad categories of politeness, namely non communicative politeness and communicative politeness. The latter, in turn, encompasses other sub-categories.

a. **Non communicative politeness**: This type of politeness includes acts which involve the use of instruments and tools in their realization. Examples of this category include

the use of a handkerchief to wipe the mouth or the offering of a seat for old people. Many other examples of the kind are to be found in books and manuals of etiquette.

b. **Communicative politeness**: With no instruments entailed, communicative politeness constitutes a more complex type than the former; it includes two other types of politeness: linguistic and non-linguistic.

As the way it is labelled implies, non-linguistic politeness is not verbally performed; i.e. it cannot be recognized during the speech. It may be exhibited through gestures only (non-paralinguistic) or via gestures combined with prosodic features (paralinguistic). Linguistic politeness on the other hand is clearly verbally realized and may be metalinguistic or non-metalinguistic. Marquez Reiter points out that a linguistic behaviour may be thought of as metalinguistically polite when considering the aim behind an interaction which is to retain social contact and to avoid social communicative tension. On the other hand, a speech may be described as non-metalinguistically polite when considering the mere strategies or linguistic choices one makes in order to avoid tension and end up with conflict-free communication.
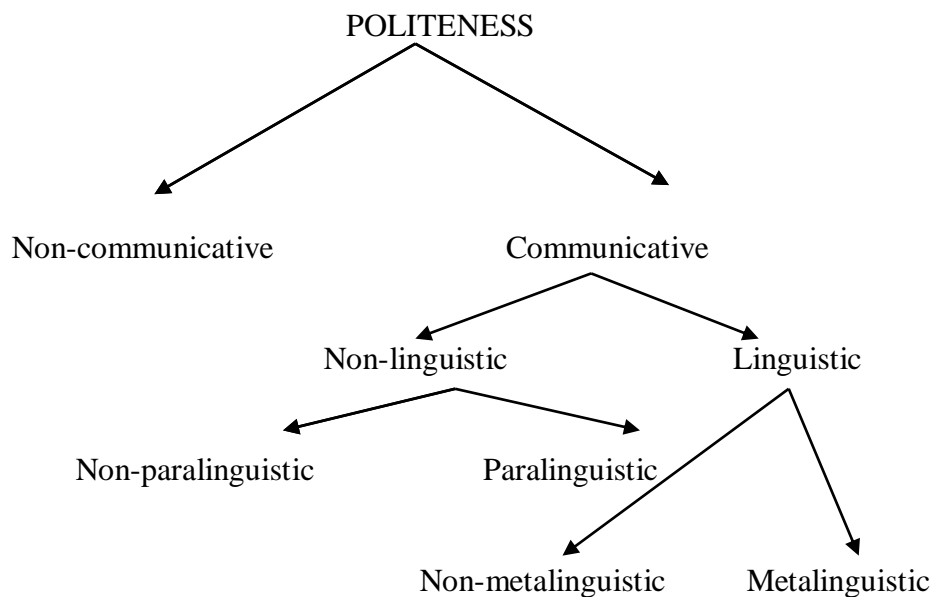
Figure1: Types of Politeness (adapted from Marquez Reiter, 2000)

Approaching politeness from a different angle, Watts (1999, 2003, and 2005) identifies two other distinct types of politeness namely first order politeness (politeness1) and second order politeness (politeness 2). Politeness 1 refers to the different ways in which members of a given speech community perceive, classify, and talk about polite behaviour. So, politeness 1 encompasses folk, lay, and common sense notions of politeness and as such it is viewed as a socio-psychological concept (Vilkki, 2006). Kasper (1998) identifies the evaluative nature of politeness 1 which is manifested in assessments and classifications of aspects such as what is and what is not polite according to certain social norms, how polite behaviour is linguistically encoded during social interactions, how politeness is perceived, assessed, and commented upon by the others, etc. Politeness 2, by contrast, corresponds to a theoretical notion that lies at the intersection of theories of social behaviour with those of language usage. It has to deal with the way in which polite language is scientifically, rather than intuitively, conceptualized. In this sense, politeness 2 encompasses researchers' attempts to construct theoretical frameworks, patterns or models of politeness within different languages.

In a more simple – but never to say less important- way, Holmes (2009) explains how scholars from different fields differentiate between two types of politeness. In her view, the first type is where politeness works as a general inclusive notion that refers to 'respectful, deferential, or considerate' behaviour which includes both linguistic and non-linguistic actions. Politeness in this view covers the various rules and conventions of appropriate verbal and nonverbal behaviour as well. However, the appropriate verbal behaviour, though included under the former type of politeness, has constituted a distinct notion on its own due to its importance and is usually referred to as linguistic politeness. Holmes (2009) further claims that linguistic politeness has continued to be a vexing issue that captures the attention of many

researchers in different fields of studies. Furthermore she adds that finding a unique or universal definition for politeness is a hard task but, in her view, "the core of most definitions refers to linguistic politeness as a means of expressing consideration for others" (711).

The type of politeness that is called by Holmes and many other researchers linguistic politeness is the one that Marquez Reiter(2000) previously described as linguistic communicative politeness (with its two sub-categories) and it is what Watts (1999, 2003, 2005) describes as a second order politeness. It is worth mentioning, however, that this particular type of politeness is also going to be the central notion for which the bulk of the present study is devoted. It is also worth mentioning that for the sake of easiness, the terms politeness and linguistic politeness will be henceforth used interchangeably to refer to the same concept.

2.2. Linguistic Politeness

Being a very important aspect of humans' lives, linguistic politeness has spread its apparently gigantic dimensions to different areas of research. It is the central concern of many scholars in different fields of studies including pragmatics, sociolinguistics, cultural studies, comparative/contrastive studies and so forth. The concept has, therefore, been approached differently so that a single definition of linguistic politeness is by no means possible. However, although definitions abound, they happen to overlap in one aspect or another.

In view of the way, not the field, in which it is defined, the simplest definition for linguistic politeness lends itself to consider and focus on its very nature. Holtgraves (2002), for example, claims that it is a vast phenomenon that lies at the intersection between linguistic, social, and cognitive processes. Therefore, it corresponds to the way one chooses and puts words together as a result of a cognitive evaluation of the social context. In other

words, linguistic politeness refers to the way one employs linguistic signs in an attempt to consider and to interpret the social context of the interaction, a view supported by Kasper (2007) who also thinks of linguistic politeness as the procedure of arranging linguistic action in an attempt to adapt it to a given communicative event. Cutting (2002) also supports this idea arguing that politeness in this sense encompasses an array of choices made at the level of the linguistic expression in order to fulfill some communicative goals. Kerbrat-orechioni (2005, p.29) claims that if understood as such, politeness would be "all-pervasive" and "multiform" in the course of interaction. That is to say, if politeness is seen as the linguistic expressions one picks from an array of other choices to meet certain communicative ends, then linguistic politeness reveals itself to take multiple forms depending on those ends as also noted by Bloomer et al. (2005, p. 108): "we always have a choice of what we say or write and one of the linguist's tasks is to uncover what choice x does that choice y doesn't. Often the choices that we make differ in their social and pragmatic consequences." So, definitions of this type view linguistic politeness as being a set of linguistic choices or strategies employed to achieve some goals though these goals are not well determined.

Other definitions of the concept lean towards focusing on the purposes it serves in communicative interactions. Because every linguistic interaction is inevitably a social one, interpersonal relationships are due to have an impact on what interlocutors say, and conversational conflicts that are deemed inherent in all human interchanges happen to appear if such relationships are not taken into account. According to Lakoff (1975), politeness is the system societies develop to lessen the friction inherent in communicative interactions; therefore, it is by no means a chaotic but rather "a strategic conflict- avoidance" that can further be "measured in terms of the degree of effort put into the avoidance of a conflict situation" (Leech 1980, p.19).Another purpose politeness serves is suggested by Grundy

(2000) as being the degree to which a speaker's linguistic action meets the addressee's expectations as to the way it should be expressed. With no particular reference to its nature, Green (1996) takes politeness to refer to the means through which concern for the addressee's feelings or face is exhibited no matter what the social distance between the interactants is. Holmes (1995, p.5) seems to stand on a similar ground defining politeness as "behavior which actively expresses positive concern for others as well as non-imposing distancing behavior." To phrase it differently, these definitions go beyond explaining what linguistic politeness consists of to encompass the purpose it serves which is systematic conflict avoidance that best takes place when concern and awareness for the others is shown.

Because no piece of language is produced without purpose, some scholars tend to view both the form and the purpose(s) it serves as inseparable entities and within this framework, they have provided definitions of the phenomenon of politeness with equal reference to both the nature (form) and the function it expresses. Politeness according to Brown (1980) is seen in terms of modifying one's language in a particular way as to consider the feelings of other interlocutors; consequently, the linguistic expression the speaker uses will take a different form than the one he would produce if he didn't consider his addressee's feelings. This claim suggests that there is an interchangeable influence between the language used in a given interaction and the social relationships between the people involved in that interaction. In other words, much of what we say is modified in such a way as to exhibit consideration for other persons and obtain good interpersonal relationships; yet at the same time, the utterances we produce usually take their forms as a result of an in-advance estimation of these relations. Brown and Levinson (1987, p. 281) explain how "On this view, a very considerable intentional and strategic mediation connects linguistic forms with social relationships." For them, linguistic politeness refers to the linguistic strategies a speaker uses

to express his/her communicative intention taking into consideration his/her hearer's feelings and face, and the relationship between the two participants. Taking a similar stand to that of Brown and Levinson, Kasper (1990) considers the "antagonism" and "danger" inherent in communication and refers to politeness as a set of optional strategies accessible to a speaker in order to reduce the risk and the aggression because:

> If societies did not devise ways to smooth over moments of conflicts and confrontation, social relationships would be difficult to establish and continue, and essential cohesion would erode. Politeness strategies are the means to preserve at least the semblance of harmony and cohesion.(Lakoff, 1990, p.34)

The previous different definitions of linguistic politeness demonstrate that aside from being a set of strategies or linguistic choices a speaker employs to achieve particular communicative goals, politeness is a phenomenon of an intrinsic value and one that may have several functions. Deutschmann (2003, p. 28-9) suggests that politeness can have one of the three functions summarized as follows:

➢ Function 1: This is where linguistic politeness is used as a means to express consideration for others; hence it makes possible retaining and restoring harmony in social interaction (e.g. Lakoff,1975; Leech 1980;Brown and Levinson,1987; Fraser1990…). Deutschmann points that this function reflects the 'altruistic' features of politeness by being oriented towards the other party in an interaction, a point that can be summarized in Culpeper's terms, "im/politeness is in the eyes and ears of the beholder."(2009, p. 376)

➢ Function 2: Here, politeness is viewed as the behavioral norm for speakers; that is to say when a speaker only says what would be considered as socially correct or

appropriate as noted by Sifianou (1992, p. 86), "[Politeness is] the set of social values which instructs interactants to consider each other by satisfying shared expectations."

➢ Function3: As opposed to function 1, politeness here is employed to serve some cynical purposes as it is oriented towards the self, a function that Deutshmann literally describes as 'egocentric'. Being polite, in this case, is an action done by a speaker in order to accomplish his communicative intentions, on the one hand, and to enhance his self-image in the eyes of his/her audience, on the other hand. These two orientations of politeness are emphasized by Jarry (1998, p.11): "In the short term, a communicator's aims will be to get an addressee to do or believe something; in the longer term, her aims will include that of becoming/remaining a liked and respected member of a certain group" (qtd in Deutschmann 2003, p.29).

2.3. Approaches to Politeness

Linguistic politeness is such a vast phenomenon that draws the layout for different controversies as to the way it is defined, the way it functions, its different types, and the different frameworks within which it is conceptualized. Consequently, different approaches to politeness emerged in an attempt to provide insight into how it is dealt with from different points of view. Such approaches have evolved from different theories and researches over time.While some researchers (Fraser, 1990) consider them as being successive with one emerging out of another and one replacing the other, other researchers (Culpeper, 2009) propose to view these approaches as complementary and overlapping perspectives that contribute to understanding linguistic politeness and unraveling its complex nature. The aim of the following section is neither to compare nor to criticize the different approaches to linguistic politeness. The aim is, rather, to provide an account of these approaches and the basic ideas underlying politeness studies within each approach.

2.3.1. The Social Norm Approach

This approach echoes the understanding and analysis of everyday politeness phenomena by ordinary people. For that matter, this approach matches a layperson's conceptualization of polite language as being associated with appropriate correct behavior (Bousfield, 2008) and adhering to particular rules of conduct that mainly but not necessarily stem from people of high-status (Brown, 2005). It is within this approach to polite language that, according to Pizziconi, "observers tend to draw direct, deterministic links between linguistic realizations of politeness and the essential character of an individual, a nation, a people, or its language." (2009, p. 706) Suggested by Pizziconi's description of these links as deterministic is a further claim that the use of polite language is not subject to individual choice but it is rather something that is already decided and imposed upon the speaker by the qualities, values, and features that people and nations alike have developed over time throughout history.

Taking a similar stance, Fraser (1990) also refers to the social norm view of politeness as a reflection of the historical understanding of the phenomenon by the public. However, he also points to another important assumption of this approach which is spotting the light on social norms. He argues that it is in the interest of every single society to have a set of norms that encompasses the rules whose primary function is to prescribe and set down the way of behaviour, states of affairs, or ways of thinking in context. Hence, whenever an act is in concordance with the norms, a positive assessment (politeness) takes place and vice versa. The social norms which represent the backbone of politeness in this view are of two types. According to Culpeper (2009), the first type is the so called prescriptive social norm which signifies the rules of conduct implemented by social sanctions and adhered to by people. Politeness accordingly includes notions such as 'good manners', 'social etiquette', 'social

graces', and 'minding your manners'(p. 377).The second type of social norms, experiential or descriptive norm, is based on people's experience of social situations. Acquiring familiarity with certain social situations thanks to repeated experience may lead one to envision the course of the interaction to be happening and to assume what others' expectations are and most importantly how to meet such expectations as stated by Culpeper:

> We acquire politeness routines from our experience of social interactions. Politeness routines and markers are expressions which are conventionally associated with politeness. Linguistic politeness here can be taken to mean the use of expressions that are both contextually appropriate and understood as socially positive by the target. (2009, p. 377-8).

Brown (2005) also supports Fraser's aforementioned claim that politeness in this view is a matter of social norms. Further, she claims, it is encoded in some fixed patterns of words, linguistic forms, and formulaic expressions which are believed to be emic or culture-specific and which are intentionally followed by and explicitly taught to children. The examples given by Brown (2005, p. 1410) include polite forms such as "please, thank you, polite forms of address and of greeting and farewell, and more elaborate protocols for formal events."Pizziconi (2009, p. 706) points to the culturally-bound and the formulaic nature of linguistic politeness within the social norm approach denoted by Brown's argument and in a different wording says, "Linguistic realizations of politeness are inextricably linked to the respective culture-bound ideologies of use; accounts, which often are codified in etiquette manuals providing exegeses of the relevant social norms, display a great deal of historical relativity."

In sum, this approach to politeness mirrors the appropriate language as used and understood by ordinary people as it reflects these people's adherence to the different social norms that characterize their society. Adhering to social norms in this sense, results in the acquisition of some rigid patterns of talk and some fixed expressions that are appropriately adapted to be used in particular situations; hence they turn to be culture specific. Bousfield (2008) argues that the social norm view of politeness constitutes the backbone of any theory of linguistic politeness since in the absence of social norms, it is almost impossible to recognize how a person either shows respect or offend others linguistically.

2.3.2. The Pragmatic Approach

The most influential and most repeatedly cited studies and theories of politeness are encompassed under a pragmatic view. These works tackle the concept of linguistic politeness through pragmatic lenses (Lakoff, 1973; Brown and Levinson,1987; Leech 1983; Fraser, 1990). Under this approach, politeness theory gets advantage from pure pragmatic ideas such as the ones identified by Lakoff and Ide (2005, p. 9):

a. Systematic rules or principles;

b. Speech acts (or utterances) as basic to language;

c. Speech acts as world-changing;

d. Indirectnessas intentional and interpretable;

e. The multiplicity of ways to explain the same idea.

A similar attempt to sum up the most outstanding features and principles that constitute the cornerstone for theories of linguistic politeness within this approach is the one of Terkourafi (2005). She assumes that the main characteristics of these theories are their

reliance on Grice's Cooperative Principle (CP) and the speech act theory, their speaker orientation, and their attempt to find patterns of homogeneity across cultures.

The Gricean influence can be seen in defining politeness as a proportional departure from the CP; the speech act influence is found in seeking politeness at the level of single utterances through an act-by-act analysis; the speaker-centric feature is reflected in considering the speaker as the generator of meaning and implicatures (politeness, in this case) so, "politeness then becomes a matter of using particular linguistic devices/strategies according to universalizing rules/principles" (Terkourafi, 2005a, p. 238).Added to these focal points of the pragmatic approach is the understanding of politeness as a phenomenon that serves mainly to avoid conflict which legitimizes the violation of the Gricean maxims (Kàdàr and Bergiela Chiappini, 2011).

Although the focus of theories of politeness on speech acts has been a matter of controversy, Yule (1996) and, in a similar vein, Holtgraves (2002) postulate the link between these poles which is best understood in considerations of interpersonal relationships. Speech acts of different types are repeatedly performed by people who have personalities, identities, and social lives, and who have implicit interpersonal relationships to one another. Because of such relationships, however, much of the speech acts performed by the speakers are modified accordingly resulting in hesitations, topic changes, less degrees of directness, topic negotiations…etc., being polite, in other words.

The use of the Gricean CP as the kernel of linguistic politeness analyses is a main common feature of the theories tackling politeness from a pragmatic view. Views range from considering linguistic politeness as a partial entity completely subsumed under the CP to giving both of them a similar status and treating them on the same footing. Green (1996) for

instance, refers to politeness as considerateness and considers it as another conversational maxim in the sense that once flouted, an implicature is generated and an inference on the part of the addressee takes place. Lakoff (1973) introduces the idea that politeness can neither be one of the Gricean maxims nor can it be explained in terms of these maxims. While she accepts the CP to be the norm for conversation, Lakoff claims that there are two rules of pragmatic competence: 1.Be clear and 2. Be polite. In her view, clarity represents maximally efficient communication (adherence to the four Gricean maxims) while politeness is a means to avoid conflict between interlocutors. As such, politeness is a rule of communication that works as an adjunct or a coordinate to the CP. Whenever the CP is violated, politeness occurs as a means of avoiding friction.

Starting from the Gricean framework, Leech (1983) extends Lakoff's argument and proposes a model of interpersonal rhetoric where, in his opinion, complementary and equally important to the CP is another principle, the politeness principle (PP): "Minimize the expression of impolite beliefs" (1983, p.79). For him, both the CP and the PP are equally significant principles made up of sets of maxims. While the CP encompasses the four Gricean maxims, the PP is elaborated by six other maxims. Leech's central claim is that the PP serves to rescue the CP in the sense that whenever the CP is not adhered to, the participants find answers in the PP, or rather the reason behind deviations from the norms of communication, hence, avoiding conflict and maintaining a harmonious interaction.

In a similar vein with Lakoff and Leech, Brown and Levinson (1987, p.4)take it for granted that the Cooperative Principle works as the 'presumptive framework for communication' which guarantees the rationality and efficiency of talk. However, deviations from this framework do occur in the form of polite ways of talking as a result of the mutual consideration of both participants' faces. That is to say, while the CP represents the norm to

interact in the best possible and efficient way, face represents the interactants' mutual recognition as human beings and social individuals. Hence, when face concerns are at risk, the speaker has to use a face-preserving strategy to preserve his interlocutor's face even if the use of such a strategy literally reflects a deviation from the norm best articulated in the violation of one or more maxims:

> In our model, then, it is the mutual awareness of 'face' sensitivity, and the kinds of means-ends reasoning that this includes, that together with the CP allows the inference of implicatures of politeness. From the failure to meet the maxims at face value, plus the knowledge of face-preserving strategies, the inferences are derived." (Brown and Levinson 1987, p.5-6)

The works of Lakoff (1973), Leech (1983), and Brown and Levinson (1987) are amongst the traditional and the best articulated theories of politeness to date upon which other theories, studies, and models of politeness are based. According to Terkourafi (2005a, p. 240), "Although extensively criticized, traditional theories retained their appeal for the last twenty five years. They have provided the terminology for talking and even thinking about politeness phenomena..."Throughout the next sections in the present and the following chapters, the role of these theories in accounting for different politeness phenomena may be further clarified.

2.3.3. The Discursive Approach

The discursive approach to studying politeness represents contemporary researchers' attempts to posit analytical frameworks of the phenomenon which are basically the result of the elaborations of previous studies (e.g. Watts, 2003; Mills, 2003).Common among researches within this approach is a number of basic features and concepts that distinguish

them from researches under other approaches. Kàdàr and Chiappini (2011) and Kàdàr and Mills (2011) go over three main ideas underlying these studies. First, discursive studies seek politeness as a phenomenon located not at the level of single isolated utterances but at the level of longer pieces of authentic talk. So, it is a discourse-based approach that excludes virtually non-authentic speech from analysis. Second, within such long pieces of discourse, this approach's focal point is no longer limited to the speaker as the generator of meanings and implications (including those of being polite) but rather, it is extended to also include the hearer's evaluation of what may constitute polite language as well, or in Holmes' terms (2009, p. 717), "This approach emphasizes the subjectivity of judgments of what counts as polite behavior; meaning is co-constructed, and hence politeness is a matter of negotiation between participants." Third, studies within this view tackle the notion of impoliteness as well and how both politeness and impoliteness are perceived by interactants (1st order politeness) and researchers(2nd order politeness); i.e., this approach tries first and foremost to differentiate between lay and researcher's interpretations of im/politeness and second, to find the link between these two different conceptualizations.

Viewed from such a perspective, instances of linguistic politeness and impoliteness can be found and are, assumed to be developed during the course of interaction. Im/politeness in this sense is not a speaker's exclusive property but it is one of the outcomes of a joint effort between the participants who are deemed responsible for the production of meanings, implicatures and inferences. Because the participants are generally lay persons, lay interpretations and perceptions of im/politeness should not be marginalized but they should rather be viewed as contributions for the 2nd order politeness research.

The discursive approach to politeness, though still in the making, is a clear attempt from the part of the researchers to contribute to a better understanding of the phenomenon.

The starting point towards this is via a combination of the principles underlying the different studies in both the social norm and the pragmatic approaches.

2.4. Theories and Analytical Models of Politeness

Interest in linguistic politeness has resulted in a myriad of empirical studies all-over the world in an attempt to detect instances of cross-cultural differences and/or similarities. The traditional longstanding controversy over the universality of language has spread to encompass this phenomenon; consequently, many theoretical and analytical frameworks have been proposed and used to account for this claim. The importance of theories of politeness is signalled by Terkourafi (2005a) who thinks that despite criticism, these theories offer basic frameworks to deal with different politeness phenomena.

2.4.1. Politeness as a Set of Rules

Lakoff's work on politeness (1973) was amongst the pioneering attempts to study politeness as a pragmatic construct. Her work triggered a number of empirical researches that either confirmed or disproved her assumptions. In her view, there are some pragmatic rules that underlie the choice of linguistic expression. These rules have the same status as the rules of grammar, syntax, and semantics in the linguistic repertoire as she states: "We should like to have some kind of pragmatic rules, dictating whether an utterance is pragmatically well formed or not, and the extent to which it deviates if it does." (1973, p. 296).

Lakoff's assumption is that pragmatic competence encompasses two general sets of rules:

a. Be clear (which is literally abiding by the Gricean conversational maxims of quantity, quality, relation, and manner.)

b. Be polite (which is composed of other sub-rules that represent lakoff's own conceptualization of politeness.)

Thus for Lakoff, an utterance can be judged as pragmatically correct or not according to these rules.

Although, in her model, Lakoff does not clearly define politeness, she conceives it as means to avoid conversational conflicts most often at the expense of the rule of clarity. She, however, rationalizes this assumption as follows:

> Politeness usually supersedes: it is considered more important in a conversation to avoid offense than to achieve clarity. This makes sense, since in most informal conversations, actual communication of important ideas is secondary to merely reaffirming and strengthening relationships. (1973, p. 297)

However, the importance attached to each rule is something that Lakoff considers to be context-bound.

Lakoff further assumes that whilst the clarity rule of rapport (Be clear) is made up of the four Gricean maxims of conversation, the politeness rule (Be polite) is composed of three sub rules explained as follows:

a. **Don't impose:** used when formal, impersonal politeness is required in formal and impersonal settings.

b. **Give options**: used when informal politeness is required in informal settings.

c. **Make (the hearer) feel good**: used when intimate politeness is required in more intimate relationships.

Among these rules, it is up to the speaker to choose the one to be followed depending on her/his evaluation of the conversational situation. The speaker's choice, then, has the potential of shaping his utterances and accounting for deviations from the direct expression of meanings, if any.

Lakoff's model of politeness deals with politeness as a set of rules that were postulated to be universal assuming the occurrence of patterns of reverberation across cultures with the possibility of detecting some instances of cross-cultural variation as far as the ordering of the rules and the priority given to each are concerned. Both claims, however, were conceived as the means which steered a number of empirical investigations of politeness across different languages and cultures (e.g., Smith-Hefner, 1981; Tannen, 1981; Pan, 1995 mentioned in Marquez Reiter 2000)
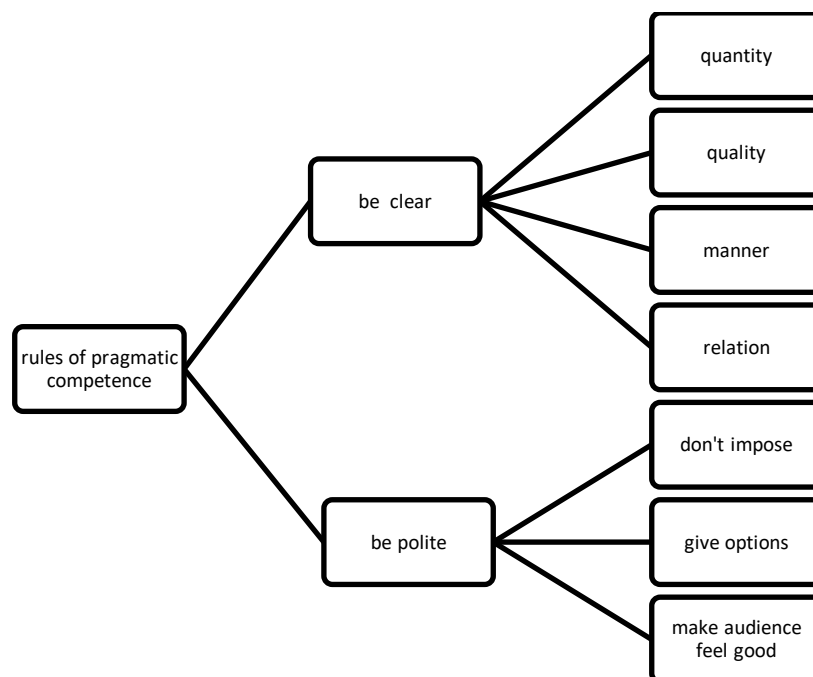
Figure2: **Politeness as a Set of Rules (Adapted from Lakoff, 1973)**

2.4.2. Politeness as a Set of Conversational Maxims

Leech (1983) identifies two pragmatic systems covered under the umbrella of general pragmatics which in turn accounts for the different rules that lie beneath language usage. These two systems are pragma-linguistics and socio-pragmatics. While pragma-linguistics relates to the speech acts the speaker intends to perform through his utterances (the speaker's illocutionary goals), the socio-pragmatic one relates to the position the speaker takes like: being truthful, polite, ironic, etc. (the speaker's social goals) when interacting with others.

Departing from this assumption, Leech postulates two sets of rhetorical (conversational) principles that have the potential of constraining the communicative behavior of rational interlocutors: Textual Rhetoric and Interpersonal Rhetoric, each of which is made up of sets of principles. Politeness for Leech is the means through which social equilibrium and harmonious interpersonal relationships are preserved and maintained; thus, it is dealt with within the interpersonal rhetoric as one of three constituent principles:

a. the Conversational Principle (the CP)

b. the Politeness Principle (the PP)

c. the Irony Principle (the IP)

The IP is viewed as a secondary principle compared to the first two. It explains how a speaker with some impolite intentions may, yet, be perceived as being polite and how his interaction goals may, yet, be communicated. The speaker may be ironic by apparently breaking the CP. Thus, the IP and the CP are said to be usually in conflict. The CP and the PP, on the other hand, are assumed by Leech to have the same status. The CP is used to explain how an utterance may be interpreted and how indirect messages may be conveyed and inferred by a hearer. The PP, with its maxims, is used to account for the reason for such

indirectness and the non-observance of the CP; why a particular form is preferred over another:

> Politeness does not serve here as a premise in making inferences about S's communicative intention. Thus, the PP does not seem to help in understanding S's intention although, obviously, it plays a role in S's choosing the appropriate expression of his communicative intention… Thus the PP may help to understand the reasons S had for choosing the particular content and form of what he said, but usually does not help to infer S's intentions."
> (Leech,1983, p. 38-39)

Although Leech provides no explicit definition to the notion of politeness, he explains it in terms of the Politeness Principle (PP). In his view, the PP is at work between two parties that he referred to as "self" and "other" considering that "self" stands for the speaker and the "other" stands for the hearer or even a third party. The PP, like the CP, contains a set of conversational maxims: tact, generosity, approbation, modesty, agreement, and sympathy. The parallel between these two different principles is not seen only in terms of the constituents being a set of maxims, but also in the assumption that these maxims are universal. On the whole, the basic assumption behind the politeness principle and its maxims is that speakers minimize the expression of beliefs which are unfavorable to the other(s) and maximize the expression of beliefs which are favorable to the other(s).By so doing, the speaker can manage to retain harmonious relations with his audience and avoid potential breakdowns of communication.

The different maxims underlying the PP according to Leech (1983) are explained as follows:

a. **Tact maxim**: minimize cost to other; maximize other's benefit.

e.g. could I interrupt you for a second? If I could, just clarify this then.(p.109)

b. **Generosity maxim**: minimize self-benefit; maximize cost to self.

E.g. you relax and let me do the dishes.(p.133)

c. **Approbation maxim**: minimize dispraise to other; maximize praise to other.

e.g. I know you're a genius- would you know how to solve this math problem here?(p.135)

d. **Modesty maxim**: minimize self-praise; maximize self-dispraise.

e.g. Oh! I'm stupid- I didn't make a note of our lecture! Did you?(p.136)

e. **Agreement maxim**: minimize disagreement between self and other; maximize agreement between self and other.

e.g. yes-yes, but if you do that- you- your tea towel's soaking and at the end of the night, nothing's getting dried. (p.138)

f. **Sympathy maxim**:minimise antipathy between self and other; maximise sympathy between self and other.

e.g. I was sorry to hear about your father… (p. 139)

According to Leech (1983), each of the aforementioned maxims is associated with certain types of speech acts. The tact maxim and the generosity maxim are at work in directives (that he calls impositives) and comissives; the approbation and modesty maxims are observed in expressives and assertives and the agreement and the sympathy maxims in assertives. Leech further claims for the possibility of adhering to more than one maxim at the same time but notes that his politeness maxims are not equally important. The tact maxim, for instance, has a greater influence on the speaker's choice of the linguistic expression than has the generosity maxim. The same can be said about approbation and modesty taking for

granted that the former is more important than the latter. Moreover, Leech argues that there is a possibility for the application of other maxims which he did not determine in his work.

Explaining that different situations call for different degrees of politeness, Leech proposes a set of scales that determine the degree of politeness needed in a particular interaction providing a basis for judging an utterance as polite or not. These scales can be summarized as follows:

a. The cost/benefit scale: measures the costs and benefits that a given speech act will have on the speaker and the hearer.

b. The optionality scale: measures the extent to which the action is performed at the choice of the hearer.

c. The indirectness scale: measures the effort made by the hearer to infer the speaker's intention.

d. The authority scale: measures the extent to which the speaker can impose on the hearer.

e. The social distance scale: measures the degree of familiarity and solidarity between the interlocutors.

Politeness is communicated on a higher or a lower level depending on the overall influence of the above parameters.

Hence, the more social distance and authority of the hearer relative to the speaker and the more the costs for the addressee are, the less degrees of impositions and the higher level of indirectness are. In other words, politeness in this sense is equated with the more choices offered to the hearer and the more indirectness used in conveying messages which can be arrived at via an overall evaluation of the costs, benefits, social distance, and authority.
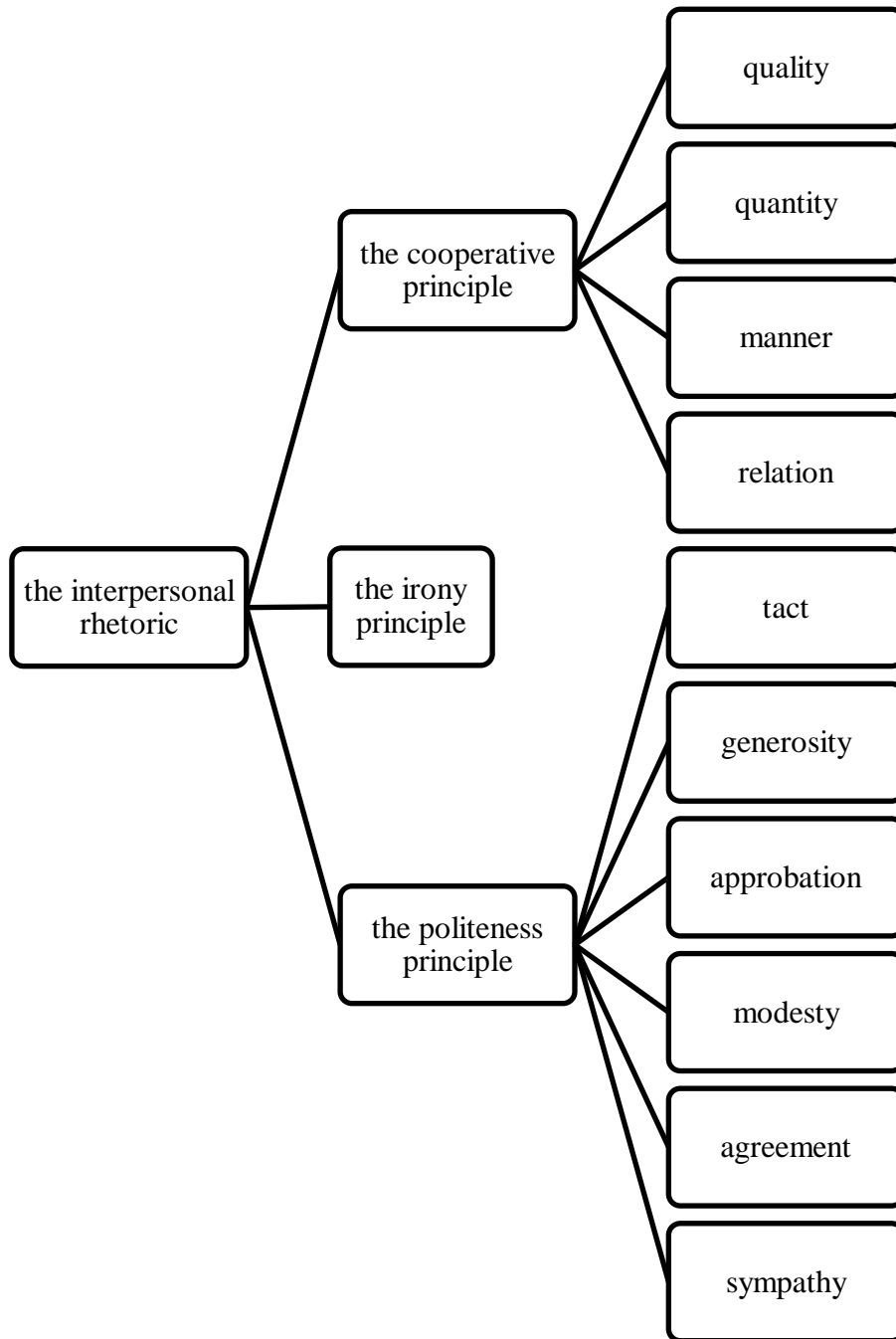
Figure3: **Politeness as a Set of Conversational Maxims (Adapted from Leech,**

1983)

Leech's work has been adopted by many researchers as a suitable analytical

framework for linguistic politeness phenomena within or across different languages and

cultures (Blum Kulka, 1987; Sifianou, 1992;Thomas, 1995;Spencer-Oatey and Jiang,2003). The main aspects dealt with using his model were the extent to which societies adhere to his proposed rhetorical principles, the priority given to each, the universality of the assumed maxims associated with the PP and the relative weight and the importance attached to one maxim over another. Investigating these aspects of politeness using this particular model, researchers meet the aim Leech sets for his theory as he clearly states it, "Indeed, one of the main purposes of socio-pragmatics, as I investigate it, is to find out how different societies operate maxims in different ways, for example by giving politeness a higher rating than cooperation in certain situations, or by giving precedence to one of the maxims of the PP rather than another" (Leech, 1983, p.80). He even adds further that "Although these matters remain unclear in detail, the interpersonal rhetoric provides a framework in which they may be systematically investigated."(150).

2.4.3. Politeness as a Face-saving Strategy

Brown and Levinson (1978) took it for granted that politeness is basic to the maintenance of social order, a means through which potential disagreements and conflicts between speakers are disarmed. Although they acknowledge (following Grice 1975) the fact that the norm for any linguistic interaction be rational and efficient, these two linguists consider that polite utterances show up as deviations from this norm and that the hearer of the message finds in considerations of politeness reasons for such deviations.

Attempting to establish principles for talking politely and seeking to set up some universals about this remarkable phenomenon of language usage, Brown and Levinson (1987) studied in details three unrelated languages and cultures (Tamil, spoken in South India; Tzeltl spoken by Mayan Indians; and English spoken by the British and Americans).Their study

yielded interesting results, namely, the existence of extraordinary parallels in language usage as far as talking politely is concerned. These results were the starting point and the basic assumption upon which their politeness model is constructed.

According to Brown and Levinson (1987), in the course of communication, participants are model persons (MPs) who are endowed with two universal properties: rationality and face. By rationality is meant the ability to reason from the ends to the means which achieve these ends. That is to say, any rational agent is said to be able to decide upon the ends or the goals behind his/her speech and to be able to choose the expression which best achieves these goals. The second property, face, is adopted from Goffman's notion of face (1967) and the English folk term found in everyday language in expressions such as "save somebody's face" and "lose somebody's face". Face is thus defined as "the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself" (Brown and Levinson 1987:61) and it can be respected, maintained, enhanced, saved, humiliated, or lost. It is argued by Brown and Levinson (ibid.) that one of the basic features of the conversational cooperation is the mutual interest of interlocutors to always attend to each other's face while speaking in order to disarm the potential disagreement between them. They make it clear, however, that being a characteristic of the speakers' cooperation does not make attending to others' faces a standard for interactions to succeed. Face is rather a self-image that speakers want to attach to their personas and want their addressees to take into account:

> It would have been possible to treat the respect for face as
> norms or values subscribed to by members of a society
> […] Instead, we treat the aspects of face as basic wants,
> which every member knows every other member desires,
> and which in general it is in the interest of every member
> to partially satisfy. (1987, p. 62).

Brown and Levinson assume that face is composed of two related aspects that together constitute the complete self-image claimed by MPs. The first aspect reflects the claim by speakers to certain defined territories, rights, and preserves that mirror their wants to act freely with no impositions from their interactants. It is then a sort of a negative desire and hence is referred to as negative face. In contrast, the second aspect reflects the speaker's positive personality which he wants the addressees to be aware of and to appreciate. It also echoes the speaker's wish that his wants, opinions, beliefs, attitudes.., etc. are shared agreed upon and desirable to others. It is a reflection of some positive desires and is referred to as positive face. According to Brown and Levinson (1987, p. 62) these two aspects of face can be restated in terms of basic face wants as follows.

a. **Negative face:** the want of every 'competent member' that his actions may be unimpeded by others.

b. **Positive face**: the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others.

During conversations, MPs usually hold a similar belief that their expectations and claims about their self-image or their face wants will be mutually taken into account. However, to communicate their intentions, speakers sometimes simply have no choice but to produce utterances that, by their nature, seem to threaten the other's face. That is to say, interactants are often involved in some contradictory conversational situations where they are motivated to save each other's face on the one hand, and where they have to perform speech acts which intrinsically constitute a face-threat on the other hand.

> It is this ubiquitous (and presumably universal) conflict that motives politeness; it is an underlying pressure that affects in various ways the tone of our interactions with others. Unless one chooses to live in complete isolation (and hence avoid this conflict), one must engage in some degree of face-work or politeness.(Holtgraves,2002, p.40).

Threat to face occurs when the performance of a given speech act results either in impeding the addressee's freedom of action by imposing on them or in disregarding the addressee's desires, wants, feelings, opinions…,etc. These speech acts are called FTAs as an abbreviation for face threatening acts (Brown and Levinson 1987, p. 65) and may be pigeonholed according to which aspect of face (positive or negative) is being damaged.

The first type of FTAs includes those which constitute a potential threat to the negative face by infringing on the addressee's freedom of action. Examples of the sort include orders, requests, suggestions, advice, reminding, threats, warnings, offers, promises, compliments, expressions of envy or admiration, expressions of strong negative emotions towards the addressee such as hatred and anger…(ibid, p.66). The second type, however, encompasses acts which run contrary to the positive face by disregarding the wants of the addressee. These acts include disapprovals, criticisms, accusations, insults, contradictions, disagreements, interruptions, expressions of violent emotions, bringing bad news or good news, raising dangerously emotional or divisive topics, e.g. politics, race, religion, etc. (p. 66)

As such, a rational speaker will make one of three choices: either to perform the act with maximum proficiency or to modify the speech as to reduce the possible threat to either aspects of face or to avoid performing the FTA altogether. Brown and Levinson, accordingly, suggest five different ways for doing a face threatening act referred to as politeness strategies (p. 68-70).

When the speaker chooses to perform the FTA with maximum proficiency following Grice's maxims, he is said to go baldly on record. When he does the opposite and floats all or some of Grice's maxims, the speaker is said to go off record. If the speaker performs the act trying to redress the face threat, he is said to use either a positive or a negative politeness strategy depending on which aspect of face, positive or negative, he is stressing. Sometimes the speaker feels that the threat implied by a certain act is too great so that he chooses not to do the FTA at all.
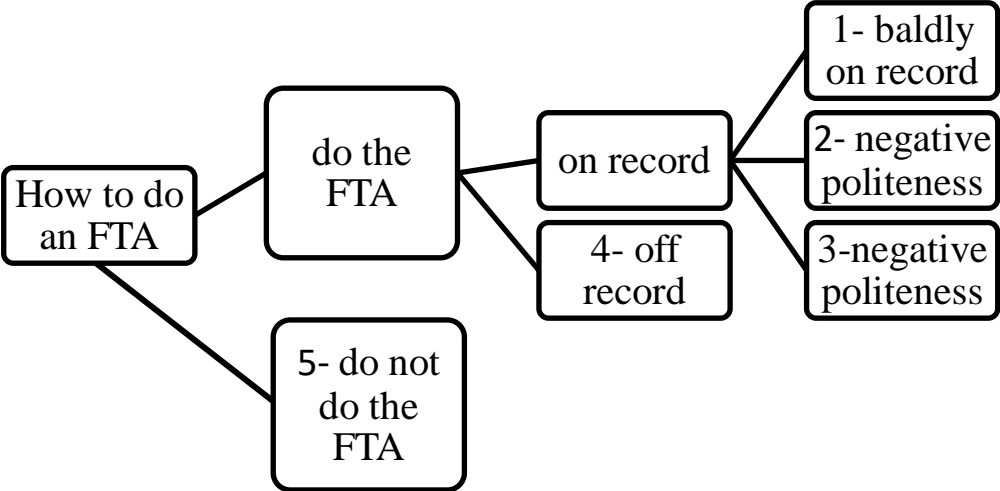
Figure4: **Politeness as a Set of Face Saving Strategies (Adapted from Brown and Levinson, 1987)**

In this theory, politeness is equated with the amount of face-threat redress. Hence, the more threat to face is redressed, the more a given speech act seems polite. The aforementioned politeness strategies are therefore arranged hierarchically from the most polite to the least polite:

a. Do not do the FTA (the most face saving option; the most polite)

b. Do the FTA off record (in the form of implicatures floating Grice's maxims)

c. Do the FTA with negative politeness (with redressive action stressing the negative face)

d. Do the FTA with positive politeness (with redressive action stressing the positive face)

e. Do the FTA baldly on record (the least polite strategy with no redressive action adhering to Grice's CP)

The choice among these strategies is determined through a rational evaluation by a rational MP of the seriousness of the FTA (the weightiness of the face-threat in Brown and Levinson's terms). So, the greater the threat to face, the more likelihood for choosing a more polite strategy is. Such an evaluation is arrived at with a careful consideration of certain sociological variables involved in the communicative situation as argued by Brown (1980, p.115), "three factors seem to be involved in deciding whether or not to take the trouble to be polite". These factors, assumed to be universal by Brown & Levinson are first, the relative power of the hearer over the speaker P (H, S), second, the social distance between the speaker and the hearer D (S, H), and finally, the rank (also referred to as the weight) of the imposition implicit in the to-be- performed act (Rx) (with x referring to the act). So, the need to be polite is evoked by the increase in the weightiness of the FTA which is, in turn, associated with increasing distance between the participants, increasing power of one participant over another and increasing rank of the imposition of the speech act.

In sum, in their attempt to establish some universals in language usage, Brown and Levinson chose to focus on one very important aspect of language use namely, the politeness interlocutors manifest while talking. In their view, there are several ways whereby people get

to communicate their intentions. They therefore suggest five strategies for doing an act which inheres a threat to the other's face taking into account that it is, in the first place, for each interactant's interest to preserve each other's face. The choice from these strategies is determined by a consideration and evaluation of three variables: the distance between the interlocutors, the relative power of one over another, and the weight of imposition implicit in the to-be-performed act. Implicit in their model, is the idea that people do not always say what they need/have to say but still they can communicate their intentions in a way that, at the same time, manage to make them seem polite and to preserve their faces. That is to say, people often produce some utterances in which deviations from the norm of communication (Grice's CP) occur in their attempts to be polite.

Although it dates back to 1978 (1987 in a more elaborated version), Brown and Levinson's work is still triggering a huge number of empirical research. Because it was mainly based on empirical facts and because of its explication, many researchers have used it as a model to deal with different politeness phenomena. The main phenomena dealt with applying this analytical framework were: the universality of face as basic negative and positive wants, the universality of the politeness strategies and their precise ordering from the most polite to the least polite, the indirectness assumed to be associated with higher apparently polite strategies and so on and so forth.

Conclusion

What constitutes linguistic politeness is a matter of a great controversy. It has been approached differently by scholars, resulting in the emergence of different theories and analytical models. The pragmatic approach to politeness encompasses probably the most adopted politeness theories including those of Lakoff, Leech, and Brown &Levinson. The

latter provides a thorough description of the different aspects of linguistic politeness. It is the

model to be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter Three

Politeness Strategies and the Social Variables

Introduction

Politeness is a phenomenon that crucially exists in all social communications. The foremost work on politeness theory has been that of Brown and Levinson (1978/1987) which is the most detailed methodological framework which accounts for the different politeness phenomena. This modal is an attempt to account for linguistic politeness as a universal aspect of language use. It provides an exhaustive and detailed taxonomy of the strategies a speaker may adopt in performing face threatening acts. This theory defines politeness as mitigation of face threat and takes into consideration the different factors Distance, Power, and Weight of imposition which are involved in the assessment of the face threat and the determination of the strategy choice. This chapter provides an account of Brown and Levinson's politeness strategies as well as the determinant factors Power, Distance, and Weight of imposition.

3.1. Politeness Strategies

The analytical modal of politeness strategies proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987) encompasses five broad strategies. These strategies are used by interlocutors to achieve particular communicative goals and to convey certain levels of politeness at the same time. In other words, this modal explains how interlocutors choose and combine words with possible non-linguistic features in certain ways which allow them not only to communicate their intentions but also to maintain social equilibrium and inter-relationships. According to Brown

and Levinson, the choice among these strategies is by no means a random but a systematic one since it is arrived at after a careful assessment of P, D and R. It is in considerations of these three variables that one can justify the choice of one politeness strategy rather than the others.

3.1.1. Bald on Record Politeness

This strategy holds no redressive action in attempting to reduce the potential threat inherent in the performed speech act. In other words, a speaker is said to go baldly on record whenever he decides to perform the act with maximum proficiency without the least intention to minimize the face-threat. Therefore, the speech act in this case expresses the speaker's intention unambiguously as the authors state " Doing an act baldly, without redress, involves doing in the most direct, clear, unambiguous and concise way possible (for example , for a request, saying ' Do x!')" (1987, p. 69).

E.g. Give me a pen. /Lend me a pen.

According to Brown and Levinson (1987), the speaker may go baldly on record by using either of two ways: performatives and non-performatives (containing no performative verb). These can also be followed by "please".

The speaker may also choose to go on record (say something), not baldly, but with redressive action. By redressive action is meant modifying one's utterances in such a way as to show consideration to the addressee's face wants so that no threat to face (neither positive nor negative) is intended or desired(Brown and Levinson 1987, p. 69-70). Depending on which aspect of face is being emphasized, this redressive action may take one of two forms

constituting two different politeness strategies referred to as positive politeness and negative politeness.

3.1.2. Positive Politeness

A speaker performs an FTA using a positive politeness strategy when he decides to attend to his hearer's positive face showing consideration for the positive self-image he claims for himself. This takes place especially by seeking friendship with H, by treating H as an in-group member or a person whose wants and personality boundaries are identified and desired. As clearly described by Brown and Levinson, the possible threat to face implicit in a particular act is reduced in this case by "the assurance that in general S wants at least some of H's wants; for example, that S considers H to be in important respects 'the same' as he, with in-group rights and duties and expectations of reciprocity, or by the implication that S likes H so that the FTA does not mean a negative evaluation in general of H's face." (p. 70)

E.g. How about letting me use your pen? /Hey buddy, I'd appreciate if you let me use your pen.

3.1.3. Negative Politeness

As the way it is referred to indicates, negative politeness is oriented towards the hearer's negative face. That is to say, the face-threat is reduced in a way as to preserve the hearer's negative face, his basic claim to territories and his want that his actions will be unimpeded and free from any imposition the speaker's utterance might imply. Redress in this case often takes the form of questions with model verbs (e.g. could, would…), expressions of apologies for the imposition, hesitations, impersonalizing mechanics such as the use of

passives which give the hearer " an 'out', a face- saving line of escape, permitting him to feel that his response is not coerced." (Brown and Levinson, 1987,p. 70)

E.g. I'm sorry to bother you, but can I ask you for a pen or something? /I know you're busy, but might I ask you if—em—if you happen to have a spare pen that I can maybe borrow?

3.1.4. Off-Record Politeness

The speaker may decide to produce the FTA using another strategy, going off record, which runs contrary to the first strategy baldly on record. Hence, in an attempt to produce the least possible face-threat, the speaker may carefully phrase his risky utterances in the most indirect and ambiguous way possible, leaving the floor for his addressee to grasp his intention and respond accordingly. Because of the indirectness and ambiguity associated with this strategy, the hearer may act as if he did not grasp S's intention if he did not want to respond in the expected way. The speaker also may act as if his speech was not addressed to the hearer given that he did not receive the anticipated response. Brown and Levinson (1987, p. 69) suggest some linguistic realizations of the off-record strategies including metaphor and irony, rhetorical questions, understatements, tautologies, and hints indicating the speaker's intention. The off record strategies are characterized by the space they offer for meaning negotiation.

E.g. Uh, I forgot my pen./Hmm I wonder where I put my pen.

3.1.5. Do Not Do the FTA Politeness

Another decision the speaker may take while speaking is to refrain from doing the face-threatening act. This strategy, do not do the FTA, is a choice which may be made by the speaker when he feels that there is a serious risk of face loss (his own or H's). Instead, the

speaker may get his intention communicated para-linguistically i.e. using other ways rather than words like gestures, facial expressions and non-verbal actions for instance.

E.g. say nothing (but search in bag).

3.2. Taxonomy of Politeness Strategies

With the exception of the two strategies at the two extremes of the face- saving strategies continuum, Brown and Levinson put forward different linguistic realizations for the rest of the strategies they postulate.

3.2.1. Do not do the FTA/Bald on Record Strategy

At the first extreme, lies the first strategy and the most polite one, do not do the FTA. It involves no linguistic effort from the part of the speaker, so no linguistic realizations are entailed. Treating the Do not do the FTA as a politeness strategy was a matter of doubt for researchers mainly because of the absence of linguistic behaviour. Critics were also addressed to the strategy on the other extreme, bald on record, suggesting that it is better thought of as impolite rather than the least polite. Bald on record, which is in Brown and Levinson's terms, manifested through an absolute adherence to the Gricean maxims, is frequently associated with the use of imperatives particularly in two main cases. The first case is when maximum efficiency is very important to the extent that it overrides attendance to face (great urgency and desperation).The second case is when the speaker thinks he has power over his addressee. Other instances of bald on record usages are when the speaker adds an element of insistence on welcoming, farewells, and offers:

E.g. Help! /Watch out!

E.g. Lend me a hand here.

E.g. Come in.

E.g. Have a biscuit.

3.2.2. Positive Politeness Strategy

Positive politeness (also known as the strategy of solidarity) is redress directed basically to the positive face, the perennial desire that one's wants be desirable by others. Holtgraves (2002)believes that this strategy is the language of intimacy, a particular way of speaking which intimate people use among each other. He also agrees with Brown and Levinson in considering positive politeness as an approach-based strategy because face is primarily saved by demonstrating closeness and solidarity, appealing to friendship, making other feel good and emphasizing that the speakers have common goals (Cutting 2002, p. 48).Although non-intimate individuals may opt for it in some communicative situations, Yule (1996) claims that this strategy is basically the accustomed code used among members of the same social group. Positive politeness may serve, in addition to saving the other's face, as a means to stress and extend social relationships between self and other, a social accelerator in Brown and Levinson's terms. This claim is supported by Bousfield (2008, p.59) who asserts, "In performing positive politeness, the speaker does not necessarily orient the strategy to the imposition that the FTA represents. Rather, the main strategy is social ground work."

For doing an FTA with positive politeness, Brown and Levinson (1987) posit up to fifteen ways and/or sub-strategies grouped under three broad categories:

- Claim common ground (strategies 1 to 8)

- Convey that S and H are cooperators (strategies 9 to 14)

- fulfill H's want for some act X(strategy 15)

These strategies are summarized and exemplified as follows:

Strategy1: Notice; attend to the addressee (his interests, wants, needs, goals)

Definition	Examples
This strategy suggests that the Speaker should notice aspects of the addressee's conditions (anything that the hearer wants the S to notice and approve of)	-Goodness, you cut your hair! By the way, I came to borrow some flour. -You must be hungry; it's a long time since breakfast. How about some lunch?

Strategy2: Exaggerate (interest, approval, sympathy with the addressee)

Definition	Examples
This is often done (in speech) with exaggerated intonation, stress, and other aspects of prosody, and -intensifying modifiers.	- What a fantastic garden you've got….. -How absolutely marvelous/extraordinary/devastating/incredible……..!

Strategy3: Intensify interest to the addressee

Definition	Examples
-By making a good story that pulls the H in the middle of the event.	-See what I mean?
-the use of tag questions or other expressions that draw H as part of the conversation.	-……isn't it?
-exaggerate facts.	- There were a million people in the coop tonight.

Strategy4: Use in-group identity markers

Definition	Examples
The S can claim common membership in a group with the H by the use of:	-Help me with this bag here. Will you luv/son/pal?
- group address forms	-Come here, Johnny.
- In- group language or dialect with code switching into the code associated with the particular group	- Lend us two quid then, woudja mate?(Brit.Slang.)
- jargon or slang	-Lend us two bucks then, woudja mate? (Amer. Slang).
- Contradiction and ellipses (because group co-members share some knowledge about the context).	-Got any spare cash?

Strategy 5: Seek agreement

Definition	Examples
Seeking agreement with the H, the S may proceed his FTA by: **-**raising safe topics in which it is possible to agree -repeating part or all of what has been previously said to raise emotional agreement.	-safe topics like: the weather, bureaucracy, irritations of having to wait on line…….etc. - A: John went to London. B: To London ...

Strategy 6: Avoid disagreement

Definition	Examples
The S avoids disagreement with H via: -token agreement (twisting one's utterances so as to appear to agree or hide disagreement) -pseudo-agreement (the use of 'then' as an indication that the S is drawing a reasonable conclusion cooperatively with the H) -white lies -hedging opinion (using particular expressions to express exaggerations)	-I have friends, so called friends. I had friends- let's put it this way. - take this radio off my hand for five quid then! -Yes I do like your new hat! -I really sort of think /hope/wonder….. - It's really beautiful, in a way.

Strategy7: Presuppose/raise/assert common ground

Definition	Examples
Other ways of redressing the FTA is by: gossip/small talk (talking for a while before doing the act) -point of view operation (the use of 'you know' when it is impossible for the H to know)	-I really had hard time learning to drive, you know.

Strategy 8: Joke

Definition	Examples
Jokes are based on mutual shared background and it puts the H at ease.	- How about lending me this old heap of junk? (his new Cadillac)

Strategy9: Assert or presuppose the speaker's knowledge of and concern for addressee's wants

Definition	Examples
The Face threat may be redressed by the S implying that he knows his addressee's wants and wills to fit his own wants in with them.	- Look, I know you want the car by 5, so should I go to town now? (request)

Strategy 10: Offer, promise

Definition	Examples
Offers and promises are a very good way of showing the H that the S wants his wants and helps to obtain them.	- I will come next week.

Strategy 11: Be optimistic

Definition	Examples
In this strategy the S may address the H using	**-**Look I'm sure you won't mind if I borrow your typewriter.
-Optimistic (sometimes, presumptuous) expressions.	-I'm borrowing your scissors for a sec. O.K.?
-Expressions for face-threat minimization (a little, a bit, for a second….)	

Strategy 12: Include both the S and the H in the activity

Definition	Examples
By using inclusive "we" instead of I and/or you the S may redress the potential face threat.	- Let's stop for a bit! (request - Let's have a cookie then! (offer)

Strategy 13: Give (or ask for reasons)

Definition	Examples
- Indirect suggestions which ask for rather than give reasons are a typical positive politeness strategy (the use of 'why not').	-Why don't you help me with that suitcase?

Strategy 14: Assume or assert reciprocity

Definition	Examples
The S may arrive at achieving his communicative goals by giving evidence that both H and S do share some reciprocal goals, obligations and rights.	- I did X for you last week so you do Y for me this week. - I'll do X for you if you do Y for me.

Strategy 15: Give gifts to the addressee (goods, sympathy, understanding, cooperation)

Definition	Examples
This strategy represents the classic positive politeness and consists in giving gifts (tangible gifts and human-relations wants as well.)	- Make the H feel liked, understood, admired, listened to, cared about…etc.

3.2.3. Negative Politeness Strategy

Negative politeness is the linguistic mechanism which a speaker employs in order to satisfy the addressee's wants that his action be unimpeded and free from imposition. Unlike positive politeness, negative politeness stresses and gives priority to the distance between interlocutors. It is used to avoid imposing and intruding on the other and, as such, it is an avoidance-based strategy rather than an approach-based one (Cutting, 2002). It is stated by Holtgraves (2002) that negative politeness is characterized by clear intentions which are phrased symbolically in a way that exhibits respect to the other's persona. Yule (1996) refers to this strategy as the strategy of difference or formal politeness. He further claims that in most English-speaking societies, this strategy is the most utilized one in cases of face-threat redress. This assumption was pointed to by Brown and Levinson as early as 1987:

When we think of politeness in Western cultures, it is negative politeness behaviour that springs to mind. In our culture, negative politeness is the most elaborate and the most conventionalized set of linguistic strategies for FTA redress; it is the stuff that fills the etiquette books[…]"(p.129-130)

Brown and Levinson posit negative politeness as the heart of polite linguistic behavior and believe it is more polite than positive politeness. They suggest ten negative politeness sub-strategies whereby FTAs are performed. These are explained as follows.

Strategy 1: Be conventionally indirect

Definition	Examples
This strategy is characterized by the use of phrases which have contextually unambiguous meanings, yet at the same time have the potential to express S's want to be indirect (to have gone off-record in a way). This is often done through using indirect speech acts.	- Can you please pass the salt? - Can you play the piano?

Strategy2: Question, hedge

Definition	Examples
Hedges (particles, words or phrases which modify the degree of membership of a predicate or a noun in a group of words). They are: -tags and some particular verbs/expressions (I wonder, suppose, guess, think…). -hedges directed towards Gricean maxims.	- It's just that you are sad, I guess. -It was amazing, wasn't it? - As you and I both know……. - I might mention at this point….. -to be honest/frankly……. -I hate to have to say this, but………

Strategy 3: Be pessimistic

Definition	Examples
This strategy redresses the face threat by expressing doubt about the act by: the use of subjunctive or the use of indirect requests accompanied with negated probability.	-Could/would/might you do X? - You couldn't possibly lend me your lawnmower?

Strategy 4: Minimize the imposition

Definition	Examples
Another way for minimizing the threat is indicating that the imposition of the act is not great in itself.	I just want to ask you if you could lend me a tiny bit of paper.

Strategy 5: Give difference

Definition	Examples
The S may show difference either by humbling himself or by raising the H thus redressing the threat. Honorific terms and expressions denoting higher social status (sir, professor...) are the main categories within this strategy.	- We're looking forward very much to eating with you.

Strategy 6: Apologize

Definition

Brown and Levinson suggest four ways for apologizing for doing an FTA

- Admitting the impingement: S can simply admit that he is impinging on H's freedom of action.
- Indicating reluctance for the impingement.
- Giving overwhelming reasons for doing the FTA
- Begging forgiveness from H.

Examples

-I hope this is not going to bother you too much…..

- I normally wouldn't ask you this, but….

-I can think of nobody else who could….

- Excuse me.../I'm sorry to bother you…..

Strategy 7: Impersonalize speaker and hearer

Definition

One way of doing the FTA with negative politeness is through acting as if the agent were not the speaker:

- Use of passives and circumstantial voices,
- Replacement of the pronouns I and you by indefinites,
- Pluralisation of the I and you pronouns,

Examples

- It is expected that…

- One shouldn't do things like that!
- Excuse me, sir!
- Oh! His majesty is not amused.

- Address terms as you avoidance,
- Reference terms as I avoidance.

Strategy 8: State the FTA as a general rule

Definition	Examples
To dissociate himself from the FTA, the speaker may state it as a general rule, regulation or obligation	Passengers will please refrain from smoking in this room.

Strategy 9: Nominalize

Definition	Examples
The more the subjects are nominalized, the less dangerous the FTA looks.	-I am surprised at your failure to reply. -I am surprised at your failing to reply. (Instead of – I am surprised that you failed to reply.)

Strategy 10: Go on-record as incurring a debt

Definition	Examples
The S can redress an FTA by accepting to be in the hearer's debt.	I'd be eternally grateful if you would....

3.2.4. Off-Record Strategy

The off-record strategy is the most indirect one among Brown and Levinson's face saving strategies. According to Holtgraves (2002), the utilization of this strategy results in attributing different intentions to the same utterance. That is to say, in addition to the speaker's real intended meaning, off-record mechanisms allow further space for more interpretations, namely, that the speaker is being polite and is trying to save the hearer's face. Holtgraves however criticizes Brown and Levinson's treatment of this strategy which marginalizes to some extent how the illocutionary force of the off-record utterances are inferred and focuses on how politeness can be conveyed in that way. The main feature of the

off-record strategy is the use of indirect speech acts and the violation of the Gricean maxims. It is this kind of linguistic behavior that "enables speakers to address particular people but be polite by giving them options and retreating behind the literal meaning of the words." (Cutting, 2002, p. 46)

How one can perform an FTA via this strategy is explained and illustrated in the following:

Strategy 1: Give hints

Definition	Examples
Giving hints, the speaker invites his addressee to search for a possible interpretation.	-It's cold in here. -This soup's bit bland -You didn't open the window when you came in.

Strategy 2: give association clues

Definition	Examples
This strategy consists of mentioning something (giving a clue) that makes H respond in a particular way desired by S.	-Oh, God, I've got a headache again. (a request for aspirin)

Strategy 3: Presuppose

Definition	Examples
In this strategy, there is a clear violation of the relevance maxim	- I washed the car again today. - John's on the bathtub yet again.

Strategy 4: Understate

Definition	Examples
By understatement is meant saying less than required. As such the quantity maxim is violated and an implicature is generated. The main mechanism of this strategy is to use a scalar predicate that denotes a lower state	-She is some kind of idiot (i.e. she is idiot) -that's rather good painting. - That's somewhat amazing.

than the actual state of affair.

Strategy 5: Overstate

Definition	Examples
Opposed to the strategy of understatement is the one of overstatement. Here S can choose a scalar predicate that denotes a higher state than the actual state of affair.	-There were a million people in the coop tonight. -you never do the washing up. -Why are you always smoking?

Strategy 6: Use tautologies

Definition	Examples
Another way to float the quantity maxim and generate implicatures is through the use of tautologies which result in non-informative utterances which need the hearer's cooperation to be inferred.	- War is war. - You're men, why don't you do something about it?

Strategy 7: Use contradictions

Definition	Examples
By uttering two things contradicting each other, S violates the quality maxim and leads H to attempt to grasp S's intention in the light of these contradictions.	-Well John is here and not here. (criticism/complaint)

Strategy 8: Be ironic

Definition	Examples
Being ironic is another instance of violating the quality maxim as the S says the opposite of what he means, not to threaten the H's face.	Beautiful weather, isn't it? (said to a postman drenched in rainstorm)

Strategy 9: Use metaphors

Definition	Examples
Using metaphors, the S appears to violate the quality maxim because metaphors are not true in the first place.	- Harry's real fish (i.e. he swims/drinks /is slimy/is cold blood like a fish)

Strategy 10: Use rhetorical questions

Definition	Examples
By asking questions that need not be answered, S may communicate his intentions and get his H to respond accordingly.	- How was I to know? - How many times I have to tell you? - What can I say? - Did he even come to visit me once in the hospital?

Strategy 11: Be ambiguous

Definition	Examples
By being ambiguous (floating the manner maxim), S may save his addressee's face and communicate his intentions indirectly since many implicatures can be derived out of the same utterance.	-John's a pretty sharp smooth cookie. (could be a compliment or an insult depending on which of the connotations of sharp or smooth are latched on to)

Strategy 12: Be vague

Definition	Examples
Being vague may be achieved by not indicating the subject/the object/the offence of the FTA.	-perhaps someone did something bad. -I'm going you know where.

Strategy 13: Over generalize

Definition	Examples
S may go off-record by instantiating a rule or by using proverbs. The H may then decide whether or not the rule/the proverb apply to him.	-the lawn has got to be mown. -people who live in glass houses shouldn't throw stones. -mature people sometimes help do the dishes.

Strategy 14: Displace the hearer

Definition	Examples
S may also go off-record by pretending to address someone other than the real target for whom the FTA is intended.	- Would you please pass the stapler? (said by a secretary to her colleague where the professor is much nearer to the stapler than the colleague secretary)

Strategy 15: Be incomplete; use ellipses

Definition	Examples
The use of incomplete or elliptical utterances leaves the implicature hanging in the air. Therefore the hearer may or may not infer the intention.	-well, if one leaves one's tea on the wobbly table… -well, I didn't see you……...

3.3. Politeness and Social Variables

As previously mentioned, Brown and Levinson define politeness in terms of mitigating face threat. They argue that the increase in the face threat of a speech act leads to a likelihood for choosing a more polite strategy. That is, the greater the face threat is, the more polite the strategy is. Hence the speaker can perform his speech act with any of the aforementioned strategies after a reasonable assessment of the seriousness of the face threat. What determines the seriousness or, in Brown and Levinson's terms, the weightiness of the face threat is strictly bound to some sociological variables which determine interpersonal relationships between interlocutors. As was mentioned in the previous chapter of this thesis, three factors seem to intervene in assessing the amount of the threat and hence determining the needed amount of politeness as well:

a. People try to be more polite to superiors or to people who are socially important.

b. People also try to be polite when interacting with people who are socially distant.

c. The more a speech act inheres a high level of imposition the more face threatening it is and the more polite speakers try to be.

Consequently, Brown and Levinson propose a figurative formula which has the potential of calculating the degree of face threat:

$$W(x) = D\ (H, S) + P\ (H, S) + Rx$$

-x stands for the speech act,

- W stands for the weightiness of the face threat resulting from an overall assessment of the variables altogether

-D stands for the social distance between the hearer (H) and the speaker (S)

- P stands for the relative power of S over H.

-R stands for the rank or weight of imposition of the act

Though on its surface, this formula seems a bit complicated, Bloomer et al. claim that it is far from being a daunting one and simplify the matter considering it as , "just a concise way of saying that the degree (or weightiness) of face threat caused by a speaker's act, X, depends on three main variables." (2005, p. 116)Brown and Levinson, however, make it plain that D, P, and R are of interest only when H and S mutually realize their values. D, P, and R, are best thought of as assumed evaluations rather than absolute ratings of sociological variables by the interactants. They are thus subjective rather than objective estimations. Brown and Levinson further claim that these evaluations are influenced by the cultural norms of speech communities, the specific situation, and individual factors.

Holtgraves (2002) believes that although there must be other factors affecting politeness, social distance and power are not chosen at random. They are by far the fundamental dimensions of social interaction. That other factors may interfere and contribute to politeness is also pointed to by Brown and Levinson. They suggest that the three variables, D, P, and R, are high level, abstract variables which subsume other potentially relevant variables:

It might be appropriate to be able to demonstrate that our P, D, and R factors are all relevant and independent, and are the only relevant ones used by actors to assess the danger of the FTAs. But our claim is not that they are the only relevant factors, but simply that they subsume all others (status, authority, occupation, ethnic identity, friendship, situational factors, etc.) that have a principled effect on such assessments. (p. 80).

How these variables contribute to and correlate with politeness is demonstrated in the figure which follows.
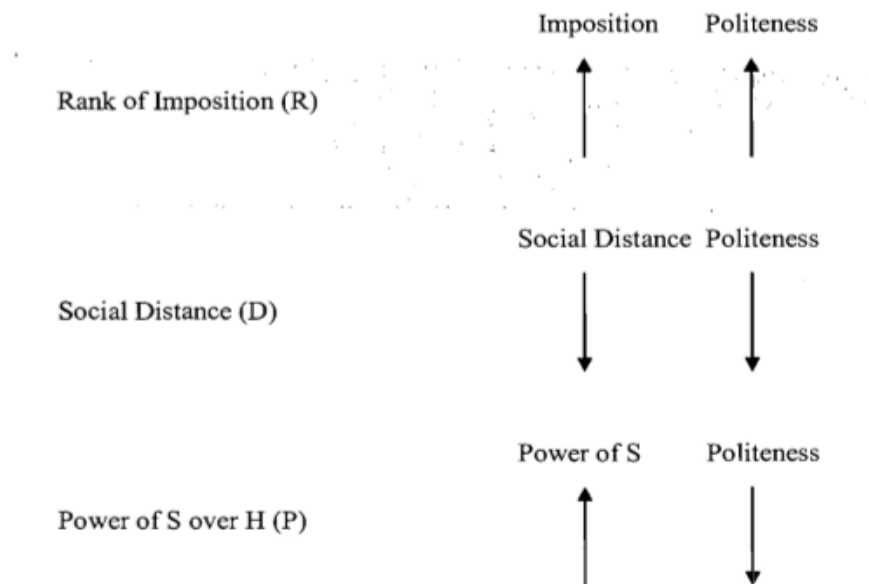
Figure5: Variables Correlation with Politeness (Adapted from Brown and Levinson, 1987)

3.3.1. Social Distance

Distance is defined by Brown and Levinson (1987) as a symmetric social dimension of similarity/difference. It defines how close the interlocutors are to each other. D is the reciprocal relationship between S and H, high degrees of which add to the face threat. In other words, the more the social distance between S and H, the more the face threat is, and the more the likelihood for choosing a high rated politeness strategy (amid the five strategies).

In most cases, D is based on an assessment of the frequency of interaction between conversationalists and the kinds of material or non-material goods (including face) exchanged between them. An important part of the assessment of D will usually be measures of social distance based on stable social attributes. According to Leech (2007, p. 189) "when horizontal distance is reduced (e.g. in communication with familiars or intimates) the need for politeness is also reduced- until we move into non politeness or impoliteness."

3.3.2. Social Power

Power is defined as an asymmetric relation of S and H. it renders how much power the hearer can acceptably exert over the speaker. Unlike distance, power is not a reciprocal connection. As H's power increases, the speaker's act threat increases too, resulting in a need for mitigating the threat. Brown and Levinson (1987) think of P as the degree to which H can impose his own plans and his own self-evaluation(face) at the expense of the S's plans and self-evaluation. They identify two general sources of P, either of which may be authorized or unauthorized. The first source is material control (over economic distribution and physical force); the second is metaphysical control (over the actions of others, by virtue of metaphysical forces subscribed to by those others). In most cases, an individual's power is drawn from both these sources, or is thought to overlap them.

Kasper (2005) elaborates on Brown and Levinson concerning the other variables P might subsume including the interlocutors' relative positions in social hierarchies, age like in communication with the elderly and with children, gender, and language impairment.

As far as the variable of age is concerned, the widely stereotyped idea that young people should use more polite language with the elderly because young people are less powerful than elder ones was investigated by McCann, Dailey, Gil and Ota (2005) who approve that more polite language is used in young –to- old interactions as opposed to same-age interactions.

Gender as a contributor to power and how it relates to politeness has also been investigated by some researchers. Holmes (1995) and Lakoff (2004), for example, argue for the idea that women use more polite language than men do and that men tend to be more polite when addressing women. According to Holmes, "Most women enjoy talk and regard talking as an important means of keeping in touch, especially with friends and intimates. They use language to establish, nurture and develop personal relationships. Men tend to see language more as a tool for obtaining and conveying information.' (Holmes, 1995:2) However, according to Mills (2003) such assumptions are based on stereo types in some communities.

Matsumoto Gray (2009: 21-22) summarizes some properties of power suggested by Van Dijk (1989) as follows:

- A and B must both be aware of the power differential between them
- Relationships between groups, classes, or other social formations and members of those groups
- The ability for A to control B's actions, where A and B are individuals or groups

- Power needs a basis, e.g. wealth, position, privileges, or membership in a majority group

- Power may be domain specific i.e. teacher-student in a school setting

3.3.3. Rank of Imposition

The rank of imposition is the third influential factor in Brown and Levinson's formula. It refers to the extent to which a given speech act is imposing in a certain culture. In great imposition situations, the face threat implicit in the act increases and a face mitigating strategy is called into play. Brown and Levinson explain that R is a culturally and situationally defined ranking of impositions "by the degree to which they are considered to interfere with an agent's wants of self-determination or of approval (his negative and positive face wants)."(P. 77)

The imposition of a certain FTA involves: the expenditure (a) of services (including the provision of time) and (b) of goods (including non-material goods such as information, as well as the expression of regard and other face payments).

Conclusion

Brown and Levinson's theoretical framework is a systematic account of linguistic politeness in the sense that it provides a detailed taxonomy of the different strategies and sub-strategies that can be used to mitigate the face threat inherent in particular speech acts. It is also a methodical one in the sense that it takes into account the factors which intervene in the assessment of the threat. These are probably the major reasons lying behind the use of this theoretical pattern as an analytical framework in different cultures. In this chapter each of the phenomena that Brown and Levinson (1987) claim to be part of their politeness model has

been accounted for in details in order to inform the present study. In the following chapter, cross-cultural perspectives on linguistic politeness using this particular modal are therefore discussed.

Chapter Four

Cross-cultural Politeness

Introduction

The need for linguistic politeness as the steer which guides social interaction and maintains social equilibrium is no doubt a universal need which applies to all cultures. However, universality for how politeness is conceptualised and manifested from one culture to another may be too strong a claim. Many Cross-cultural researches tackling the notion of linguistic politeness have been carried out in order to unravel issues like the universality and cross-cultural differences of different politeness phenomena. The departing point in this chapter is going to be an attempt to reflect on previous scholars' definitions of culture and how this concept relates to language, communication and to linguistic politeness. Then, throughout the following sections, some of the many researches on politeness across cultures and languages are reviewed to show how the present study relates to earlier literature and also to inform this study as far as the design and the data analysis method are concerned. The review also includes an account of cross cultural studies on face, politeness strategies and social variables in addition to some previous studies on requests and refusals.

4. 1. Culture, Language and Communication

Many people think that culture is a simple word which can be easily defined. However, as one tries to find a definition for this term, s/he may be astonished by the range of definitions s/he would come across. The simplest source of the complexity of defining culture stems from the fact that definitions of culture vary to different extents from one field of study to another. Some of these definitions may seem alike, convergent or homogenous overlapping

in some way or another; some others are different, divergent, and even conflicting. Defining culture is a source of controversy as researchers from different fields of studies show little agreement about how to define it. So if one is to define culture, he has first to agree with Scollon and Scollon (2001) who say "the word culture often brings up more problems than it solves" (138).

A simple definition of culture is given by Peterson (2004) who makes a distinction between a big C Culture and a small c culture, each of which encompasses visible and invisible distinctive features or phenomena. The big C Culture, in his view, covers classic or grand themes some of which are visible to the eye like architecture, geography, classic literature, presidents or political figures, and classical music. Others are invisible like core values, attitudes or beliefs, society's norms, legal foundations, assumptions, history, and cognitive processes.

The second type of culture, the small c culture, covers minor or common themes. These may be visible like gestures, body posture, use of space, clothing style, food, hobbies, music, and artwork or invisible like popular issues, opinions, viewpoints, preferences or tastes, and certain knowledge or trivia facts. The difference between the small c culture and the big C Culture is that the former refers to the style of life by which a group of people is characterized while the latter refers to the products or the contributions of a society (Chastain, 1988).

Though from a different perspective, Brislin (2001) also defines culture in terms of visible and invisible elements. In his view, culture is made up of:

> Ideals, values, and assumptions about life that people widely share and that guide specific behaviours. Yet these are invisible elements. Assumptions, values, and ideals are not immediately obvious. Instead, they are stored in people's minds and consequently are hard for outsiders to see." (p. 5).

That is to say, culture consists of some invisible factors which influence or result in visible behaviours. It is this kind of invisible factors that often turn the visible behaviours to a major source of communication failures with people from outside.

Another twofold definition is given by Scollon and Scollon (2001)who distinguish between two ways of using the word culture: high culture and anthropological culture. When the word culture is used with the first meaning, high culture, the emphasis is on the period of social development and organization that is considered most highly advanced. In this sense, societies may be described as highly cultured when, for example, high intellectual and artistic achievements are reached. On the other hand, when culture is used in an anthropological sense, which is the appropriate meaning in intercultural communication as claimed by Scollon and Scollon (2001), an emphasis is put upon the "ideas", "communications", or "behaviours" that characteristically represent a particular group of people and systematize cohesion and membership in that group. Using culture in an anthropological context implies that culture is unavoidably related to social groups at times uniting the members of a particular group, and, at others, distinguishing a group from other groups. Group identity is reinforced by culture.

Another anthropological definition which is quoted by Atamna (2008) is one which is given by Tylor(1871, p. 1) and runs as follows, "culture is...the complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." While this definition does not provide an

exhaustive list of the components which make up "the complex whole", it indicates that culture is something which is not innate. Culture is rather something that people acquire and learn through everyday experience and contact with other members of society or, using Duranti's definition, culture is "something learned, transmitted, passed down from one generation to the next, through human actions, often in the form of face-to-face interactions and, of course, through linguistic interaction." (1997, p. 24). This definition of culture draws a link between culture and language, the latter being the medium which brings about the communicability of the former. However, language should not exclusively receive all the credit for passing down cultural heritages among generations because other human actions and the rules which govern such actions seem to be of equal importance.

According to Barnett (1988), Culture may be defined as a general agreement among members of a given community about the meaning of verbal and nonverbal symbols. In the absence of such an agreement, it would be impossible to encode and decode the meaning of messages. In other words, Social interaction necessitates a consensus held by the members of the community about the meaning encoded in symbols of all types in addition to other rules of communication.

Standing on a similar ground, Geertz (1973) claims that culture is:

> Historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in a symbolic form by means of which men communicate and develop their knowledge about attitudes towards life. (p. 89)

In this definition, a number of ideas are issued. First, culture is transmittable. Second, culture is a set of symbols that represent meanings. Third the existence of such a systematized

symbolic representation of meanings enables men to communicate and promote their knowledge. This knowledge according to Geertz, guides the way people act and react appropriately and it has an impact on "each member's interpretations of the meanings of other people's behaviour" (Spencer-Oatey, 2000, P. 4).

From all that has been said, one can conclude that no matter how culture is acquired and expressed across societies, it is those cultural schemes shared by members of the same community which inform how people act and react to others in appropriate ways in particular contexts, how they behave and interpret the others' behaviours and how they encode and decode messages which, in turn, form the cornerstones of successful communication. Thus, interactions between people of the same culture go easily and conflict-free because, thanks to the shared cultural schemata, the message receiver relies on values, beliefs and expectations similar to those of the message sender in the interpretation of the message. Conversely, when communication occurs between people of different cultural backgrounds, the course of interaction may be different since the message decoder relies on different cultural values, beliefs and expectations from those of the message encoder while interpreting the message (Matsumoto and Juang, 2008). Hence, in cases of intercultural communication, each interlocutor has to mind what is appropriate in the target culture and act accordingly in order to avoid possible misunderstandings stemming from cultural differences.

According to Matsumoto and Juang (2008), intercultural communication (often used interchangeably with cross–cultural communication) differs from intra-cultural communication mainly because of the above mentioned system of message coding and decoding. They also claim that intercultural communication is set apart from intra-cultural communication by means of two main related characteristics: uncertainty and ambiguity, and conflict. In their view, in intercultural communication contexts, the speaker may produce

utterances that sound ambiguous to the hearer. Likewise, the person who decodes the message is never certain about the message meaning or whether s/he has interpreted it as intended by the message encoder:

> Because of the widespread and pervasive influence of culture on all aspects of communication process, we cannot be sure that the rules by which two people from different cultures operate are similar. This uncertainty is inherent in both verbal and nonverbal behaviours, in both coding and decoding models [...].(p.289).

The second characteristic of inter-cultural communication, conflict, may be thought of as the result of the first one, uncertainty and ambiguity. Mistaken interpretations of messages because of cultural differences lead to inevitable misunderstandings or conflict. In other words, cultural conflicts arise because of the differences in values and norms of behaviour of people from different cultures. People of a particular culture act the way they do because they are raised in that particular culture and they are bound to its visible and invisible aspects.

Standing on a similar ground, Gao (2002) claims that the factors which may generate language misunderstandings, confusions and conflicts may range from small scale to large scale and thinks that in cases of communication between people of different language backgrounds, attributing such misunderstandings to culture "should be a common awareness"(p. 113).

Culturally induced communication breakdowns tend to be more apparent in cases of language use when, as explained in the first chapter of this work, what is meant is more than what is said. That is to say, it turns to be difficult for people who know little or nothing about their hearers' culture to interpret messages that are not found in the literal meanings of the

words uttered in indirect speech acts and when conversational implicatures are generated in attempts to sound polite (Atamna, 2008). Moreover, even speakers' attempts to show courtesy may not reach successful endings because what may be polite in one culture may sound impolite in another one.

Such differences in language use across cultures have triggered a considerable amount of researches trying to find out patterns of cross cultural universals, similarities, or differences. However, for this chapter, researches tackling cross-cultural perspectives on linguistic politeness are reviewed with specific reference to Brown and Levinson's work (1987).

4.2. Politeness Across-cultures

As affordably mentioned, Brown and Levinson's 'face-saving' model was designed with the main aim to originate a universal theory of politeness in terms of a universally applicable and cross-culturally testable set of concepts such as face, social factors, and the set of the strategies of politeness. Thanks to the explicitness of this model, many researchers have used it as a reference to deal with different politeness phenomena in a wide array of languages and cultures.

4.2.1. Face across Cultures

Brown and Levinson's basic assumption that all MPs have two universal aspects of face wants, the maintenance of which disarms potential disagreement and conflicts between speakers, has been one of the most investigated aspects of their model and its applicability to other languages and cultures has proved to be problematic sometimes accepted and other times objected to .

According to Ogiermann (2009a), a major argument against the conceptualization of linguistic politeness by Brown and Levinson is the cultural bias stemming from their reinterpretation of Goffman's face. Brown and Levinson's re-conceptualization of face can be partially accepted as universal in terms of face, the desire to maintain it, and the avoidance of its loss. However, defining face as "the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself" (61) may not be generalized or adopted to other cultures. Introducing the notion of 'the public self-image' to Goffman's original face emphasises that face is something that individuals claim for themselves at the expense of the other. This view may be accepted in individualistic cultures but not in collectivist ones where group concerns far weigh what an individual wants or claims for himself.

Kasper (2005) also takes a similar stance and argues that the part of Brown and Levinson's model that can be universally approved of is that it is in considerations of face that politeness can be intertwined with deviations from the norms of interaction. However, he thinks that the 'social-psychological' notion of the public self-image sheds light on the image of the individual and is different from Goffman's face in the sense that: " Goffman's (sociological) construct describes face as a public rather than personal property, "on loan" from society rather than an unalienable possession, and a negotiable outcome of social interaction." (2005, p. 62)

The individualistic character of Brown and Levinson's face has been mainly criticised by researchers taking an Asian non-Western stance in which "self" cannot be applied due to the collectivistic nature of their cultures. In these cultures, self is perceived in relation to the larger group to which the person belongs, and face loss occurs whenever one cannot live up to the group's expectations (Ogiermann, 2009a). In the Japanese culture, as claimed by Matsumoto (1989), during interactions, social interpersonal relationships are given much

more importance than the want of every member that his wants be desirable to the others (positive face). However, although he admits that positive face may be, at least, partially applicable to Japanese culture, Matsumoto (1988, 1989) thinks that aspects of negative face as 'the want of every member that his actions may be unimpeded by others' may not receive the same attention or even may be inapplicable at all:

> What is of paramount concern to Japanese is not his/her own territory, but the position in relation to the group and his/her acceptance by those others. Loss of face is associated with the perception by others that one has not comprehended and acknowledged the structure and hierarchy of the group..... A Japanese generally must understand where s/he stands in relation to other members of the group or society, and must acknowledge his/her dependence on the others. Acknowledgment and maintenance of the relative positions of others, rather than preservation of an individual's proper territory, governs all social interaction.

Matsumoto (1988, P. 405, qtd in Spencer Oatey,2000, p.13)

Ide (1989) also criticizes Brown and Levinson's concept of face and doubts its applicability to the Japanese culture mainly because it lacks considerations of social relationships. However, unlike Matsumoto who rejects negative face, Ide (1989) thinks that both positive and negative face wants (should) co-exist along with a third dimension accounting for interpersonal relationships: discernment.

However, although the majority of works arguing against the idea of a universally applicable notion of face are the conclusions of studies carried out by Asian investigators in Asian societies, some other studies in non-Asian cultures echoed the same core idea. Nwoye

(1989) for instance, puts forward a counterclaim to the universality of Brown and Levinson's theory. Carrying out a study of the concept of face in the Igbo culture, the results gave evidence that in the Igbo society "face" is defined as group face. In other words, the Igbo people are more concerned with the collective self-image of a group than the individualistic self-image of the group members. What really matters for them is how to behave in compliance with the culturally expected forms of behaviour.

In such cultures, dubbed non Western, Kasper (2005) suggests that the concept of face that may be best adopted is the original one introduced by Goffman. This view is supported by the claim that whereas Goffman's face is other-oriented, Brown and Levinson's face is self-oriented. That is, the former applies for collectivist non-Western societies and the latter applies for individualistic Western ones. However, for Jia (1997), neither concept seems to represent the real notion of the Chinese face. Reviewing some related literature, he concluded that the Chinese face is on its own a distinct construct with philosophical roots, definite characteristics and important social functions.

Jia (1997) argues that the Chinese face is characterized by four major characteristic features. First, it is "relational" in the sense that it is centred on human feelings and emotions in order to keep harmonious relations. Second, the Chinese face is "communal or social" mainly because of the notion of reciprocity or interdependence. That is to say, the communal character of the Chinese face is derived from the fact that it is a mutual interest for interactants to behave according to the well round norms of the whole community. Third, the Chinese notion of face is "hierarchical" due to the importance attached to the hierarchical nature of the Chinese family. This hierarchy is made up by age differences and blood ties and the hierarchical nature of the whole society so that "varying degrees of concern about face of members of the society fit varying degrees of their familial and social significance in the two

hierarchies." (Jia, 1997, 45). The fourth and the last feature that Jia attributes to face from a Chinese perspective is that it is "moral" in the sense that a part of saving face in China is by having moral reputation that the group respects and appreciates.

As far as the social functions that the Chinese face performs, Jia (1997) summarizes them in three major purposes. The first function is when face serves to be a substitute for the law by drawing the layout for people to behave in a way to preserve harmonious relationships and by reinforcing what constitutes duties, rights and obligations among people. The second function is that the appeal to maintain face and the fear to lose it in considerations for the group help the community members to cultivate themselves to acquire the "Confucian gentleman-hood or gentlewoman-hood" mainly via training themselves for behaving in particular ways with particular people. The third function of face is when it serves as "a basic mechanism to distribute relational, social and material resources among the members of the society." (p. 46). This means that via maintaining face, people obtain not only human resources such as friends but also other resources such as economic help and so on.

Whether the above mentioned characteristics and functions of the Chinese face can be applied to other non-Western or at least to other Asian cultures is not indicated by Jia. However, the very one thing taken for sure based on the many studies he reviews is that Brown and Levinson's face is not really universal but is rather culture specific.

As far as Arabic is concerned, the term face is often employed due to concerns of politeness (Shammas, 2005). In the Arab culture, the concept of face is derived from an expression in classical Arabic that literally translates as "losing the water of one's face" (Iraqatmaaalwajh اراقة ماء الوجه) which is used to mean losing one's positive face wants (Nureddeen, 2008).Other expressions that include the term are:

حفظ ماء الوجه ("hifdmaaelwajh" to preserve the water of the face) to indicate saving face.

يبيض الوجه ("ybayadelwajh" to whiten face) to indicate face wants and connections are reached.

يسود الوجه ("ysawedelwajh" to darken face) to indicate face loss.

The term "وجه"]wajh[, meaning "face", refers to the front part of the head from the forehead to the lower jaw. The term is also used figuratively to represent "respect", "shame", "honor" and "dignity" (Eshreteh, 2015). Farhat(2009) attempts to give a definition to face in Palestinian Arabic, which may be applied to other variations as well. For him, face, functions as:

> A deterrent, making people abide by the institutionalized and sanctioned code of politeness. At the same time, the significance of face in this society prevents people from violating social rules and engaging in actions that might be considered as antithetical to the interests of the group.(2009: 86)

From what has been said, one can conclude that Brown and Levinson (1978) take for granted that their concept of face has a universal applicability, however, "face" as they conceptualize it does not seem to apply for non-Western societies (Matsumoto, 1988/1989; Ide, 1989;Nwoye, 1989). Nonetheless, according to Marquéz Reiter (2000), this concept has been confirmed to be an adequate account for politeness phenomena in many Western cultures including Hebrew (Blum-Kulka, 1987; Sifianou 1992;Hickey and Varquez Orta, 1996). So, what seems a better way to conclude is to accept Matsumoto's idea that "face" is a universal construct that motivates different politeness phenomena, but the constituent of face are definitely culture-specific.

The division between the Western individualistic and the non-Western collectivist languages is not the only cross-cultural one that the model of politeness as face saving

strategies has drawn. Another major division that is deeply rooted in cultural considerations has to do with the preference of certain cultures, either Western or not, to use a politeness strategy over another focusing especially on positive versus negative politeness strategies. The following section reviews some of the outstanding studies dealing with this issue using the Brown and Levinson's framework.

4.2.2. Politeness Strategies across Cultures

Politeness strategies and their hierarchy constitute another major area of cross-cultural politeness research. Many studies were conducted to investigate the preferences of people from different cultural backgrounds for one strategy over another. The findings of such investigations did not only cast doubt on the universality of Brown and Levinson's framework but also resulted in a cross-cultural division dubbing some cultures as negative cultures and others as positive cultures with respect to their preference for the use of negative or positive politeness strategies.

Brown and Levinson (1987), as mentioned in the previous chapter, claim that negative politeness which is characterized by indirectness in general is more polite than positive politeness. They also claim that negative politeness is most elaborated strategy of redressing the FTA in most Western cultures. These two assumptions in addition to what really constitutes polite behaviour in different cultures were the starting point of an important investigation by Sifianou (1992). Although she seems to totally agree that linguistic politeness is no doubt crucial to successful communication, Sifianou suspects the claim that what is meant by politeness in one culture is the same in another at least with reference to English and Greek which were the poles of her investigation. To the interest of her work, she collected data from a variety of resources including works of literature and drama, questionnaires and

her own observations, and she used the Brown and Levinson's framework in the analysis. The results of her study show that "politeness is conceptualised differently and thus, manifested differently in the two societies; more specifically that Greeks tend to use more positive politeness devices than the English who prefer more negative politeness devices." (Sifianou 1992, p.2). In other words, the English speech may be described as negative politeness-oriented whereas the Greek speech may be described as positive politeness-oriented. Sifianou moreover claims that this is never to accept the stereotyped idea that English people are more polite than the Greek thanks to their use of negative politeness because the behaviour of each group is bound to different cultural norms and conventions. In her view, the English prefer formality whereas the Greek prefer friendliness. So, her conclusion is that people from different cultures are polite in different ways.

According to Hickey and Varquéz Orta (1996), politeness phenomena in Spanish can be accounted for by considerations of the two aspects of face suggested by Brown and Levinson. The face wants of approval and non-imposition can also account for the differences between Spanish and English linguistic behaviour. In the same vein with Sifianou (1992), Hickey and Varquéz Orta (1996) argue that the Spaniards employ a system of politeness that is basically different from the one the English employ. Such fundamental differences, they explain, are due to the cross-cultural differences in terms of which constituent of face (positive or negative) is being emphasised. On the one hand, the English tend to use negative politeness strategies because of the emphasis they put on privacy and individuality summed up in negative politeness. On the other hand, the Spaniards put high emphasis on involvement and in-group relations covered under positive politeness. Hickey and Vraquéz Orta add that the occurrence of these strategies is overwhelming but not exclusive of one another in both cultures and that:

It could be suggested that although positive and negative

politeness interact in intricate ways, Spaniards tend to use

more positive politeness devices especially with their in-

group members, as opposed to the English who seem to

prefer some negative politeness devices. (p. 281).

The preference for negative politeness over positive politeness in English has also been compared to Uruguayan Spanish by Marquéz Reiter (2000). Her study of two speech acts, requests and apologies, in both cultures confirmed Brown and Levinson's claim that in Britain, negative politeness is more elaborated than positive politeness. The Uruguayans in her investigation showed lesser preferences for negative politeness. She claims that differences in politeness strategy choice can be traced in terms of face wants as the English emphasise non-imposition and detachment whereas the Uruguayans emphasise approval and involvement. Following the works of Reynolds (1995) and Wierzbicka (1985),Jakubowska (1999) concludes that unlike the British who demonstrate a negative politeness orientation, the Poles have a positive politeness orientation because of their concern of being appreciated.

Fukushima (2000) investigated patterns of politeness in British English and Japanese. The results of her study have to some extent confirmed Brown and Levinson's claim that both British English and Japanese are negative politeness cultures. However, the study revealed important differences in the types of the employed negative politeness strategies in making requests and in the responses to off-record requests as well. Fukushima suggests that Brown and Levinson's model be expanded to allow for larger degrees of variation.

In sum, the findings of the previously mentioned investigations gave rise to extra counter claims for the universality of politeness strategies hierarchy. Since positive politeness

is preferred to negative politeness in some cultures, this means that the strategies are to be ordered differently from one culture to another. Brown and Levinson's classification of the strategies taking negative politeness as more polite than positive politeness does not apply for some cultures in which people attach more importance to positive face using positive politeness. That is to say, in some cultures, positive politeness seems more polite than negative politeness just because their way of social conduct emphasises the positive aspect of face more than the negative one.

As far as the off-record politeness strategies are concerned, fewer researches have been carried out as compared to the positive/negative classification. A remarkable work, though, is the one of Sifianou (2005) in which she compares the use of this strategy in Greek and English. She studied the use of this strategy in requests in both familial and familiar settings. The analysis demonstrates that off-record requests are as frequently used in English as in Greek. Nonetheless, the main difference, according to her, is in the primary motivation lying behind opting for such strategies in each culture. She explains that unlike in English, the motivation for using off-record requests in Greek are not motivated by the attempt of minimizing the imposition. The main purpose of the off-record Greek requests is to give the addressee an opportunity to show their generosity and solicitude mainly by offering. Thus, off-record strategies are perceived as polite ones in both cultures but despite the surface level and the functional similarities, important cultural underlying differences in terms of the motivation of the choice cannot be denied.

Related researches tackle the correlation which exists between politeness and indirectness and claim that for some cultures, talking in the most direct way is more polite than giving hints. Ogiermann (2009b), for example, thinks that equating indirectness with politeness and considering direct talk as impolite mirrors Anglo-Saxon cultural norms.

However, in some other cultures, honesty associated with talking directly and going straight to the point are favoured to indirectness. In her work, Ogiermann investigates politeness patterns of requests in four different languages: English, Polish, Russian and German. The findings assert that direct requests are the most frequently used in Polish and Russian while indirect requests are often used in English and German with an increasing use of imperatives from West to East.

According to Larina (2005), the appropriate use of politeness strategies is a prerequisite for successful intercultural communication. Her study, however, demonstrates how politeness is manifested differently in British English and Russian. In her view, the English communicative style is indirect and hearer-oriented whereas the Russian style is more direct and message-oriented. This is never to say that the Russian are rude or impolite but rather, that due to their cultural values, they equate politeness with using direct messages.

Investigating the assumed linear relation between indirectness and politeness, Kouletaki (2005: 262) notes that both the English and the Greek use direct imperatives in informal contexts but his study confirms that the Greek are still more direct than the English even when addressing their in-group members. Likewise, in Cyprus Greek, Terkourafi (2005b) notices that direct expressions are the most frequently used in a variety of contexts. She adds that directness is not perceived as impolite but rather as the norm of interaction in Cyprus Greek:

> The appropriateness of a linguistic means to achieve a desired end is hence more usefully construed as a qualitative notion, which may be explicated as appropriateness relevant to what is usual or expected in a certain situation within a community. (p. 289)

In a similar stance, Blum-Kulka (1987) who compared polite behaviour from English and Hebrew perspectives argues that politeness and indirectness are not the same. The relation between the two was examined in a series of experiments to know native speakers' perceptions of politeness and indirectness in the two languages. The findings indicate that politeness and indirectness are different notions. In other words, the most polite requests are not necessarily the most indirect ones. Blum-Kulka asserts that a crucial part of politeness is adherence to the clarity of the message and she concludes that, in Hebrew, "lengthening the inferential path beyond reasonable limits increases the degree of imposition and hence decreases the level of politeness." (1987, p. 132)

4.2.3. Social Variables across Cultures

Another area of controversy about the cross-cultural applicability of the Brown and Levinson's politeness model is their formula which determines the weight of the threat in a particular act, and hence which determines the politeness strategy to be used. As already mentioned in the second and third chapters of this work, Brown and Levinson claim that the more weight a speech act inheres, the more polite the speaker tries to be. This weight is determined by an overall assessment of three variables: social power, social distance and the rank of imposition of the speech act. Nonetheless, it is worth mentioning that amid their model propositions, this formula is the only one which allows for cross-cultural diversity. That is to say, the basic assumption concerning this formula is that these three variables operate conjointly and contribute to the threat of the speech act, basically, in the same way across cultures; however, they might be defined differently across cultures as marked by Brown and Levinson, "the actual factors that go into assessing the size of these three social variables are of course culturally specific." (1987: 284). However, the formula of social

variables has been subject to criticism as its application to different cultures has been problematic.

The first argument for which the formula has been criticized by many researchers is the extent to which its components (D/P/R) have an impact on the choice of the face threat mitigation strategy or the politeness strategy used. The findings of these studies demonstrate differing results across different languages and cultures: some studies confirm Brown and Levinson's assumption at least partially; others, however, maintain that the formula does not account for polite behaviour at all.

Holtgraves and Yang (1992) tested Brown and Levinson's theory with subjects from Korea and USA in different contextualized situations. The subjects were asked about their perceptions of the requests imposition, the hearer's power and the closeness of their relationship with the hearer. The findings show that, as assumed by Brown and Levinson, power, distance and imposition contributed largely to politeness; however, the variables do not refer to the same concepts across the two cultures. Holtgraves and Yang assume that both culture and gender have significant impact on how these variables are weighed. A similar claim has also been made by Shum (2008) who thinks that Brown and Levinson's proposed variables did not contribute to polite linguistic behaviour in Chinese workplace. The Chinese use of politeness strategies, in her view, can be explained by considerations of gender and culture differences.

According to Kiyana et al. (2012), the formula of Brown and Levinson (1978) is supported by the results of their study concerning the Japanese culture where P, D, and R seem to be all important in Japanese facework behaviour. In this study, the variable R proved to have stronger influence on the other social variables including gender. In a small research

conducted by Al-Marrani and Binti Sazalie (2010) on the preferences of native speakers of Yemeni Arabic for politeness strategies while manipulating the three social variables, the variable R is reported to motivate the use of more polite strategies when D and P are equal. On the whole, this research provides support for Brown and Levinson's assumption that increasing levels of D and P go consistently with high levels of politeness.

Abdalmadjeed (2007) conducted an investigation of the realization patterns of apologies in British English and Jordanian Arabic. The data analysis show that the motive for apologizing in British English is the seriousness of the offense in addition to the social power of the addressee, but, in Jordanian Arabic, the seriousness of the offense together with social distance are the main motive behind apologies. In his view, in British English, social distance is minor to social power unlike in Jordanian Arabic where social distance is more influential.

The impact of Brown and Levinson's social variables were also tested in Marquéz Reiter's (2000) study of British English and Uruguayan Spanish requests. She asserts that neither power nor the rank of imposition seem to be of significant value in realizing requests. However, smaller social distance between interlocutors leads to directness in both cultures mainly because of the mutual shared background.

Reporting on a number of previous investigations about the realization of requests, Holtgraves (2002) states that consistent effects have been found for both social power and rank of imposition with increasing levels of politeness associated with increasing levels of both variables. However, he notes that the social distance variable is the most troublesome one with varying results across cultures. Likewise, reviewing researches about the impact of these variables across a number of languages and cultures, Ogiermann (2009 a) concludes that:

The cross-cultural differences in the perception of social power and social distance suggest that it is not only their assessment which varies across cultures, but also that their underlying concepts are culture-specific.(p. 34)

Other criticisms to the variables which predict the threat and determine the mitigation is that summing them up in just three components may not be valid to other cultures. Many objections to the threefold formula have emerged as a result of studies investigating the motivation for politeness strategy use across cultures. Terkourafi (2002) tested a corpus of spontaneous requests from Cypriot Greek. The analysis of the data show that perception of other extra-linguistic variables such as sex, age and social class of interlocutors, the relationship between them and the setting lead to the use of particular linguistic forms in realizing requests. Marquéz Reiter's study of requests (2000) suggests that a closer look at variables other than P, D and R reveals outstanding results namely the differences represented by interactions between same and cross-gender couples. In Saudi Arabic, AlQahtani (2009) claims that gender correlates significantly with the social distance and rank of imposition than does social power. In a study of spontaneous sale talk in Chinese, Kong (1998) postulates that the two variables of power and distance seem unsatisfactory in accounting for politeness behaviour in Chinese since different linguistic patterns were produced even in situations with the same levels of power and distance. He then concludes that the participants' mutual expectations of the continuity of the selling/buying relationship seem of paramount importance. The influence of the familiarity of the context on polite language was also tested by many scholars (Holmes, 1995). Other scholars like Deutshmann (2003) and Clark (1996) report that the presence of a third party in the interaction affects the choice of polite formula to a considerable extent.

The above mentioned review of studies triggered by the Brown and Levinson's model of politeness strategies indicate that politeness is neither a typical instance of the universality of language use nor an inflexible cultural property. Many cross-cultural studies support the basic assumptions of their framework, and many other studies provide counterclaims for the cross-cultural universality. The theory however is no doubt still a very important reference for cross-cultural politeness research on different speech acts. The following section reviews some studies on the speech acts of requests and refusals which constitute the core of the present research.

4.3. Requests and Refusals across Cultures

Requests and refusals are among the speech acts which have been extensively studied either within particular cultures or across different ones using the Brown and Levinson's model. The big interest in studying requests and refusals stems mainly from the fact that the face threat they inhere may be more evident than in other speech acts. The way people from different cultures mitigate the face threat is always bound to considerations of appropriate linguistic behaviour in these cultures.

4.3.1. Requests

A request may be defined as a directive speech act which fulfils the speaker's interests via getting the addressee to do something. According to Brown and Levinson's classification of speech acts(1987), requests are intrinsically face threatening because they are intended to threaten the addressee's negative face (freedom of action and freedom from imposition). The speakers can choose to perform requests in the most direct way or mitigate the threat using any of Brown and Levinson's strategies. However, the use of direct imperatives is often avoided in English as claimed by Searle (1975, P. 64), "Ordinary conversational requirements

of politeness normally make it awkward to issue flat imperative sentences or explicit performatives, and we therefore seek to find indirect means to our illocutionary ends."(qtd in wierzbicka, 2003) Although both Searle's claim and Brown and Levinson's theory suggest that the more indirect a request is, the more polite it will be, the reverse proved to be the case in other cultures.

The study of requests in British English and Uruguayan Spanish by Marquéz Reiter (2000) shows that the Uruguayans prefer higher levels of directness whereas the British prefer higher levels of indirectness. She claims further that the Uruguayan tendency towards using direct requests reflect their want to act not only in the appropriate but also in the expected way. Hence, as far as this speech act is concerned, the Uruguayans favour positive politeness strategies as opposed to the British who favour negative politeness strategies. In the same vein, Félix-Brasdefer (2005) reports that in the case of the Mexican requests in his study, on record or direct requests are a mere reflection of the expected norm of behaviour. He further claims that politeness does not necessarily correspond to indirectness as is the case in Polish where direct requests express closeness rather than impoliteness (Wierzbicka, 2003). Concerning requests in Chinese, Tsuzuki et al. (2005) state that the use of imperatives is more appropriate in Chinese than in English. In a comparison of Spanish and Dutch requests, Le Pair (2005) states that compared to the Dutch, the Spaniards use more direct requests because direct requests are simply perceived as more appropriate - but never to say impolite.

4.3.2. Refusals

In this study, reference is also made to the speech act of refusal. According to Searle (1979), a refusal may be classified within the commissives family because it commits the

speaker to do something (not to perform an act asked by the interlocutor) herein, matching Brown and Levinson's criteria of face threatening acts (1987).

Like the case of other speech acts, the performance of the act of refusing takes in more than the knowledge of the language. That is to say, refusals are by nature, face threatening speech acts which –often- need mitigation and smoothening devices whenever the speaker feels a need to. Therefore, it is even more difficult and further complicated to refuse in another language where having a linguistic stock has to be backed up with pragmatic knowledge to avoid misunderstandings. Refusals may occur as a rejection to requests, offers, suggestions and invitations. In performing refusals the speaker has to use appropriate language because they belong to natural speech which is always bound to contextual factors such as social distance, social power, inherent imposition and time constraints. Refusals are an important part of everyday speech; however, the way people respond negatively or say "no" to their interlocutors has revealed cross-cultural differences.

Baresova (2008) investigated refusals to requests for employment in American English and Japanese. She indicates that refusals are less socially acceptable in Japan than in America. She also approves that in Japanese, the level of directness in refusals increases when the hearer is of equal or lower status while indirectness seems to be preferred when the hearer is a superior or socially distant.

Liao and Bresnahan (1996) compared refusals to requests in American English and Mandarine Chinese and found that the strategies employed by the Americans were more varied than the ones the Chinese used. However, both groups of participants varied their strategies due to considerations of the interlocutor's status. Refusals in Chinese and American English were also investigated by Honglin (2007). The study reveals that although the

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participants from either culture prefer indirectness in refusing, the Americans can still be considered more direct than the Chinese due to different cultural preferences for individualism and collectivism respectively.

Geyang (2007) conducted a minor study of refusals to suggestions in academic contexts by Japanese and Chinese EFL learners and native speakers of English. The results of the study indicate that in refusing suggestions, the Japanese were less direct than the Chinese and the native speakers of English in the sense that their refusals were initiated with preparatory phrases to smooth the threat. The Chinese were the second on the scale of indirectness and the use of preparatory phrases. However, both the Japanese and the Chinese in this study showed similar preferences for the use of justifications as a follow up to their refusals. The factor of power was influential on the three groups especially the Japanese.

Another study which was conducted in an EFL context is the one of Nguyen (2006). A group of Australian native speakers of English and another of Vietnamese learners of English responded to some situations. Differences in both cultures were reflected in the way both groups said no: the Australians were more direct and used more flat "no" than their counterparts. The Vietnamese were more careful in refusing by using more statements of sympathy, more adjuncts to refusals, more address terms, and more reasons, excuses and explanations.

Although limited in number, the search for similarities and differences in the way people say "no" have also reached Arab boundaries.

A first example to start with is the investigation of refusals by AlIssa (1998). The subjects of this study were three groups: Jordanian speakers of Arabic, Jordanian EFL learners and English native speakers. The findings indicate that the Jordanians are less direct

than the Americans especially when responding to people of higher status. Although all groups used reasons and excuses to smooth the refusals, the excuses of the Jordanians were longer, vaguer and less specific. Moreover, reference to God was a crucial characteristic of Jordanian refusals. Instances of pragmatic transfer were inevitable in some cases.

Another attempt to find patterns of cross-cultural similarities and/or differences was the one conducted by Nelson, AlBatal and ElBakary (2002) to study refusals in Egyptian Arabic and American English. Refusals to requests, suggestions and offers were elicited orally. The obtained results show that both groups used a similar number of direct and indirect strategies and similar semantic formulas. One of the noticed differences is that the Egyptians tend to be more direct when responding to people of equal status.

AlEryani (2007) examined the refusals performed by Yemeni learners of English and compared them to refusals of native speakers of Yemeni Arabic and refusals of American English. The findings indicate that compared to the other two groups of participants, native speakers of Yemeni Arabic use less direct refusals by giving reasons or explanations. As for American native speakers of English, refusals were phrased in a different order than the ones of Yemeni via preceding them by expressions of regret to refuse.

Conclusion

In this chapter there has been an attempt to review some empirical and/or descriptive studies of the different politeness phenomena across different languages and cultures. These studies have been reviewed here because they have informed the present study with regard to the design and data analysis method. These studies have also been reviewed to demonstrate how the present study connects to earlier literature and how it can make improvements on previous research. Although the findings of these researches made it clear that how politeness

is manifested across cultures may hold similarities, the differences seem to be more. Universality as far as linguistic politeness is concerned may be applied to the overall existence of the concept itself not to the way it is expressed although similarities may always appear. The findings from these studies will be compared to findings from the present study in the next Chapters.

Chapter Five

Methodology of the Research

Introduction

The previous chapters of this research were devoted to an extended review of literature about politeness theory as related to the realization of speech acts with a specific focus on polite requests and refusals of requests. This chapter is concerned with a description of the methodology of the research followed in this study in order to investigate the patterns of linguistic politeness in Algerian Arabic and British English. It includes a restatement of the research aims and questions, a description of the methods used in collecting and analysing the data, a description of the research tools, the participants and the procedure of the data analysis.

5.1.Restatement of the Research Aims and Questions

The kernel of this research is to investigate the range of the politeness strategies that can be employed to perform requests and refusals and to spot patterns of similarities and/or differences in the strategies. The second aim is to investigate the preference for a particular strategy in a particular situation in each of the cultures under investigation (Algerian and British). The third aim is to find out how changes in the values of social distance, power and rank of imposition may lead to the choice of one strategy over another. The last aim, but not least, is to give inspirations to intercultural communication via finding out how politeness is expressed linguistically in different situations in the two different cultures.

These aims can be reached via answering these questions:

1) Do native speakers of Algerian Arabic (NSAA) use the same range of the politeness strategies which Brown and Levinson (1987) claim to be used by native speakers of British English (NSBE)?

2) If the five strategies do exist in Algerian Arabic, are there any similarities or differences between the two groups of participants in the preference for a strategy over another in a particular situation?

3) How do NSAA and NSBE perceive social distance (D), social power (P) and rank of imposition (R)? In other words, how do these factors correlate with strategy choice in each group?

5.2. Research Design

To conduct a study, the researcher has to set a particular research design which includes the procedures followed in collecting the data, the sampling of participants, the choice of the research tools and the procedures of data analysis. The research design, according to McMillan and Schumacher (1993, p. 31), refers to "the procedures for conducting the study, including when, from whom and under what conditions the data were obtained. Its purpose is to provide the most valid, accurate answers as possible to research question." (qtd in Atamna, 2008). Hence, reference to these procedures is made throughout the following sections of this chapter.

5.3. Choice of the Research Tool

In politeness and speech act research, one of the most important issues is how appropriate data are collected. The data collection instruments determine the authenticity of linguistic action. They also determine the research's reliability, validity and the comparability

of the research findings with other investigations. To achieve these ends, many research tools have been used in the field of politeness research. Observation of naturally occurring data, role plays and discourse completion tasks have been, by far, the most elaborated ones. Mentioning these research tools in this particular order does not suggest any order of importance nor implicate a continuum of difficulty in administration since each instrument has its own pros and cons, and it is up to researchers to choose the ones that best answerr their queries. Moreover, the use of a data collection tool does not exclude the use of any other.

5.3.1   Naturally -occurring Data

By using observations or video/audio recordings of naturally occurring data, researchers reflect their attempts to obtain authentic linguistic action which occurs in natural settings and in real life situations which are by no means devoid of contextual factors. Manes and Wolfson (1981) argue that this technique yields the most authentic data. Speech acts recorded using this method are, therefore, said to be spontaneous, realistic and remarkably varied mainly because the speakers do not feel any pressure speaking the way they always do. However, although this tool provides natural data, it also has some drawbacks. To begin with, this way of data collection entails the use of specific equipment (preferably of high quality, not to distort the data). Second, recording people's speech may be a time consuming task especially that the occurrence of a particular speech act in the to-be recorded interaction can never be guaranteed. Besides, the recorded messages need to be carefully transcribed both linguistically and para-linguistically (Tran, 2006). Another disadvantage is the difficulty the researcher encounters in controlling social variables like the participants' age, gender, power and proficiency (Beebe and Cummings, 1996). As far as the present research is concerned, this technique cannot be used to record requests and refusals mainly because there was no face to face contact between the researcher and the majority of the NSBE and because it is

almost impossible to control the social power and the social distance of the interactants in both cultures under study.

5.3.2 Role-play

Role play is one of the major data collection instruments in speech act and politeness research. Tran (2006, p.3) defines this research technique as "simulations of social interactions in which participants assume and enact described roles within specified situations." Role-plays can be closed or open. In the closed role-play, one turn is taken by the designer of the role-play and another one by the informants in which the needed data will occur. In the open role-play, participants take turns to speak and the data will be produced during the interaction (ibid: p. 3).Trosborg (1994), for instance, used the open role-play to study requests, complaints and apologies performed by native speakers of English, native speakers of Danish and Danish learners of English. The informants were assigned to respond to appropriate situations then, their face-to-face conversations were videotaped.

According to Kasper (2000), role play, along with spontaneous natural speech, is employed when the emphasis of the research is on the sequencing of communication and the structure of conversation rather than on the production itself. Not only does this method represent oral production via allowing the sequencing of communication, but it also permits the occurrence of real conversation features such as: turn taking, prosodic features, pauses and overlaps leading the production to be approximately a real one. Moreover, role-plays also allow control of social variables, and data obtained using them can be replicated (Tran, 2006).

However, despite all the aforementioned advantages, this data gathering tool has some drawbacks for which it has been criticised. Cohen and Olsthain (1993) point out that the situations described in role-plays can sometimes be judged as unrealistic by the informants

and despite the researcher's attempt to create a natural-like atmosphere through contextualizing the situations, the context will always be imaginary. This, however, may result in a lack of correspondence between the participants' performances and real world interactions (Golato, 2005). In addition, role-plays, like naturally occurring data, are time consuming especially due to the need to transcribe the recorded performances (Kasper and Dahl, 1991).This method cannot be employed for collecting the data of the present research mainly because many informants seem to have reservations on being recorded. In addition, it was impossible to record the speech of NSBE since there was no face-to-face contact with most of them. The majority of them were contacted via the internet.

5.3.3. Written Discourse Completion Task

The discourse completion task/ test (abbreviated as the DCT) has probably been the most used method of collecting speech act data especially in cross-cultural and cross-language studies (Tran, 2006; Labben, 2016). As reviewed in the fourth chapter of this thesis, many researchers opted for the use of a DCT to collect patterns of different speech acts. Kasper and Dahl (1991, p. 221) define the DCT as "written questionnaires including a number of brief situational descriptions followed by a short dialogue with an empty slot for the speech act under study. Subjects are asked to fill in a response that they think fits into the given situation."

Although the DCTs are generally designed for a common aim which is the elicitation of patterns of the speech act(s) under study, they may differ in their form or structural design. Nurani (2009) lists up to five types of written DCTs. The first type is known as the classic DCT. It is the one which was postulated by Blum Kulka, House and Kasper (1989). In this type, the prompt is initiated by the participants' utterance and ended by a rejoinder suggested

by the DCT conductor. In the second type, the dialogue construction, there is no rejoinder provided but the dialogue begins by an interactant's initiation then followed by the participants' interaction. The third type of DCT is the open item-verbal response only. Here, the participants are required to respond verbally to a particular situation which contains no rejoinder or initiation to the participants' performance. On the contrary, the fourth type of DCTs, open item free response construction, gives the participants the freedom to choose the way to respond to the described situation either verbally or non-verbally and even to respond not. The last type is an elaboration on the open item verbal response DCT. However, in this new version, more details are provided to background the situation (ibid p. 668-9).Whatever form a DCT has, its widespread use in cross-cultural research is unquestionable. However, like other data elicitation methods, the DCT has its own advantages and disadvantages.

Advocates of the use of written discourse completion task claim that it is mainly characterized by its ease of use (Atamna, 2008). It also enables the researcher not only to gather large amounts of data (speech acts in our case) but also to codify them in a relatively short time (Labben, 2016) and at low costs (Tran, 2006) compared to other research tools. According to Blum Kulka, House and Kasper (1989), the data collected using this method represent stereotyped appropriate responses or stereotyped politeness expressions. That is to say, DCTs can yield both conventional speech acts and formulaic politeness expressions that do exist in real life situations. So, even if the situations are imaginary, the speech acts are real. This claim is also supported by Cohen (1996) who thinks that this type of questionnaire has the potential to yield natural-like semantic formulae of communication acts. Another positive characteristic of using the discourse completion task is its ability to gather a consistent body of data where contextual factors such as age, status, power, gender, social distance and weight of imposition can be well manipulated and/or controlled (Blum Kulka, House and Kasper,

1989; Kasper, 2000; Kwon, 2004). It is therefore this possibility of controlling different variables which allows cross-cultural and cross-linguistic comparison (Blum Kulka, House and Kasper1989; Kwon, 2004; Tran, 2006).

This method is, yet, not flawless. Many scholars argue against its use because the authenticity of the data it yields is questionable, (Labben, 2016), since they do not represent the whole set of formulas that can be found in natural productions (Tran, 2006).Hartford and Barodovi-Harlig (1992) claim that, in addition to the narrow range of the semantic formulae, extensions of negotiation are absent in DCTs, as opposed to actual interactions. Other features of oral discourse that cannot be yielded by DCTs are prosodic features, turn taking, organization of conversation sequence, repetitions and elaborations in addition to non-verbal aspects of interactions (Cohen, 1996). In an investigation of refusals conducted by Beebe and Cummings (1996), data collected using a DCT and natural speech data were compared in relation to the amount of talk and the semantic formulae. The results show that in many respects, the content expressed in natural speech is also yielded by the DCT. They report that differences can only be noticed in terms of the length of speech and the range of formulas.

Although some researchers express their awareness of the drawbacks of using DCTs, they do not firmly discard its use in speech act and politeness research. They rather claim that it is the type of data which imposes on the researcher the type of the data collection tool. In other words, certain research tools are more appropriate to the collection of certain types of data. Kasper (2000) claims that when the research emphasis is on conversational aspects like turn taking and conversation structuring, role plays and naturally occurring data should be employed. Nonetheless, when the focus of the investigation is on eliciting a particular speech act, the DCT seems to be more appropriate since natural speech recordings and role plays cannot assure the occurrence of the act as claimed by Kwon (2004, p. 342):the DCT can be

used "to inform speakers' pragma-linguistic knowledge of the strategies and linguistic forms by which communicative acts can be implemented and about their socio-pragmatic knowledge of the context factor under which particular strategies and linguistic choices are appropriate." (qtd in Nurani,2009, p. 671-2).Kwon's claim can be well understood to acknowledge the usefulness of DCTs to reveal patterns of speech acts and politeness strategy choice arrived at through a consideration of contextual factors and social variables.

To conclude, in the field of speech act and politeness research, many researchers have been endeavouring to find suitable methods to the collection of appropriate data. As a result, many research tools have been used and their reliability was tested with naturally-occurring data, role-plays and DCTs being at the top of the list. However, no one of these methods seems to be perfect and critique free. Considering all the aforementioned arguments in favour and against the data collection tools, the DCT was selected to elicit the corpus of data of the current research. This choice is motivated mainly by:

a. The ease of use and the presence of systematic design.
b. The possibility of controlling social variables namely, Power, Distance and Rank of Imposition.
c. The comparability of the speech acts and the politeness strategies cross-culturally.
d. The possibility of comparing the results to other studies.

Another reason for opting for the DCT is the fact that the British participants of this study could not be reached face-to-face. The internet was the medium of communication between the researcher and them. Besides, the use of the DCT allowed both groups of participants to complete the task in their natural environment.

5.4. Description of the Discourse Completion Task

The DCT designed for this research comprises a total set of fourteen situations. Each situation is described in details to give the respondents an idea about the context in which the speech acts are to occur. A space is then provided for the respondents to write what they would say in such situations.

The DCT is made of three sections. The first section is devoted to gather general information about the informants. This includes their age, religion, education level, and language (s).The second section (situation 1 to situation 8) is meant to elicit requests. The third section (situation 9 to 14) is meant to elicit refusals to requests. The variables in Brown and Levinson's theory: power, distance and rank of imposition, which have effect on politeness strategy use are manipulated differently across the fourteen situations. Their relevance to the present study is expressed by the claim of Brown and Levinson (1987, p.231–232):

> A shift from one strategy to another may reflect the speaker's momentary 'mood', not only as a function of the interaction and therefore as a part of the interactional balance, but completely extrinsically to the interaction as well. … Such mood changes reflect a changed evaluation of D, P, and R, and in order for interactants to interpret utterances correctly they must have some assessment of each other's current mood.

It is also worth mentioning that the age variable is also manipulated in two situations (situation 1 and 2). Other variables like gender and education level were not relevant to the study. The social power of S over H was described as low-to-high, equal or high-to-low. As

for the social distance between S and H, it was described as low, equal or high distance. The rank of imposition in each situation was described as low, moderate or high.

How these variables are manipulated in each situation is summarized in the following tables.

	Situation Number	Description	Requester	Requested	Age	Power	Distance	Weight of Imposition
Requests	1	Request to close the window	Young girl/boy	Old lady	Young-to -old	low–to-high	Equal	Moderate
	2	Request for help in carrying things	Old man/woman	Young man	Old-to-young	High-to-low	Equal	Moderate
	3	Request to borrow a PC	Secretary	Boss	×	Low-to-high	Equal	Moderate
	4	Request to borrow a PC	Boss	Secretary	×	High-to--low	Equal	Moderate
	5	Request to turn down the music	Friend	Friend	×	Equal	Low	Moderate
	6	Request to turn down the music	Neighbour	New neighbour	×	Equal	High	Moderate
	7	Request to borrow a pen	Classmate	Classmate	×	Equal	Equal	Low
	8	Request to borrow money	Father of a sick girl	Relative of the father	×	Equal	Equal	High

Table1: Manipulation of Variables across Situations of Requests

	Situation Number	Description	Refuser	Refused	Power	Distance	Weight of imposition
Refusals to request	9	Refusal of a request to leave	Professor	Student	High-to - low	Equal	Moderate
	10	Refusal of a request to do extra work	Assistant	Boss	Low-to - high	Equal	Moderate
	11	Refusal of a request to a lift	Student	Unknown student	Equal	High	Moderate
	12	Refusal of a request to a lift	Student	Friend student	Equal	Low	Moderate
	13	Refusal to a request for a pen	Classmate	Classmate	Equal	Equal	Low
	14	Refusal to a request for money	Employee	Colleague	Equal	Equal	High

Table2: Manipulation of the Variables across the Situations of Refusals

5.5. Participants

To compare the politeness strategies used to mitigate the face threat of requests and refusals of requests, participants from Britain and from Algeria were selected. According to McMillan (1996, p. 85), a participant is "an individual who participates in a research study or is someone from whom data are collected." However, it is a conventional practice among scholars not to collect data from a single participant but rather from a group of participants referred to as a sample. McMillan (1996, p. 86) claims further that "It is important for the researcher to define as specifically as possible both the sampling procedure and the characteristics of the sample used in the study." Thus, the characterizing features of the sample of participants from whom data of this study are collected will be described in this section.

The total number of the participants is200. 100 of them were NSBE and 100 of them were NSAA. Their ages range from 18 to 65 years old. They are from both sexes: 87 males and 113 females and from different educational, socio-economic and religious backgrounds. They all agreed to voluntarily participate in the study.

The respondents in the first group, the NSBE, are from different British areas mainly from London, Manchester, Yorkshire, Newcastle, Leeds, Wales and Scotland. They include 52 females and 48 males. Their ages range from 18 to 65. Most of them have jobs.19 of them are students; 20 of them are teachers or retired teachers and the rest report to have other occupations. They come from different religious backgrounds: 2 of them are Muslims, 39 of them are atheists, 45 of them are Christians and 14 are members of the LDS (the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints) and therefore they are considered as Christians which increases the number of Christians to 59. All the respondents speak English; three of them speak Celtic, too.

The participants in the second group, the NSAA, are from different areas of Algeria mainly from Constantine, Mila, Algiers, Biskra, Jijel, and Bordj Bouaariridj. They include 51 females and 49 males. Their ages range from 18 to 53 years old. 72 of them are students, 19 of them are teachers. 9 of them have other occupations. They are all Muslims. They all speak two varieties of Arabic: Standard Arabic and Algerian Arabic. Some of them speak other languages either French or English or both with French being the most cited one.

5.6.Administration of the DCT

After designing the request and refusal situations, two versions of the DCT were written: one in Arabic and another one in English. The situations were carefully described with a consideration of their appropriateness to both groups of participants. Before the copies

of the DCT were distributed, two participants from each group were asked to evaluate the likelihood of the appearance of each situation in their corresponding socio-cultural environments. After all the situations were approved to possibly occur in everyday life, the researcher took another step in the process of collecting data, which is getting the respondents to respond.

The Algerian participants were met by the researcher on different occasions in two different institutions: University of Constantine 1 and the National Specialised Institute of VocationalTraining (Institut National Spécialisé de Formation Professionnelle) in Mila. They voluntarily accepted to complete the DCT and return it to the researcher.It is worth mentioning that the participants from the Institute of Vocational Training in Mila were from Mila only while the subjects from Constantine University 1 were from the other regions of Algeria mentioned earlier.

Meeting with NSBE was a major obstacle to the researcher. Only twenty three participants, working for the British oil company in Algeria, volunteered to read and respond to the DCT. The rest of the participants were reached via the internet and were asked to respond on https://docs.google.com/forms/d/18oPDmAoREeXzvQEckum-RN_Gx85guVu8S-wggkuTJxQ

All irrelevant contributions resulting from a misunderstanding of the DCT were excluded. Incomplete contributions were no exception too. Hence, although 250 hard copies of the DCT were distributed to both participant groups, only 119 were used 100 from NSAA and 19 from NSBE. The rest of the data were obtained from responding to the DCT on the aforementioned website.

5.7.Data Analysis

According to Merriam (1998, p. 178), data analysis is "the process of making sense and meaning from the data that constitute the finding of the study." In other words, the significance of any research findings can be arrived at firstly, through a systematic analysis and secondly, through a methodical interpretation of the obtained data. In this process of collecting, analysing and interpreting research findings, two research paradigms have been frequently cited: the quantitative and the qualitative methods. It is a common practice among researchers to approach their data using either method depending on the purpose of the study. Nevertheless, a combination of both approaches is yet possible despite their different perspectives and orientations.

As its name implies, the quantitative approach relies on quantification, statistics and assigning numbers or values to data. It is "an inquiry into a social or human problem, based on testing a theory composed of variables, measured with numbers and analyzed with statistical procedures, in order to determine whether the predictive generalizations of the theory hold true." (Creswell 1994,qtd in Sogunro 2001, p. 3)In other words, this type of research arrives at generalizations of theories through the interpretation of numbers or percentages derived from the use of statistical techniques and experimental means in controlling the variables of the theory under study. This approach is context independent and deductive in nature as it is oriented towards testing hypotheses through empirically testing the relationship between variables (Gray, 2014).

Oppositely, the qualitative research does not make use of numbers and statistics but it rather relies on the qualification and the description of data. Creswell (1994) defines this method as "an inquiry process of understanding a social or a human problem, based on

building a complex, holistic picture, formed with words, reporting detailed views of informants, and conducted in a natural setting." (qtd in Sogunro, 2001, p. 3). In other words, the purpose of this technique is to account for a phenomenon by means of assigning characteristic features noticed in its natural environment. This approach is therefore context-dependent and inductive in nature as it is not oriented towards validating or falsifying hypotheses but towards establishing them (Gray, 2014).

Despite the controversies over the reliability, the trustworthiness and the appropriateness of either method to particular fields of research, some scholars argue that a combination of both methods is not only possible but is also worth trying. These two research paradigms of gathering, analysing and interpreting data are better thought of as complementary rather than totally divergent or mutually exclusive. This claim is made plain in Reichardt and Rallis' words:"the narrative style of the qualitative tradition, which is usually more readable and comprehendible than the technical reports of the quantitative tradition, can reveal ways to make the work of quantitative researchers more interesting and influential"(1994, p. 10).That is to say, the numbers, tables, graphs and statistics given by quantitative methods can be better understood and backed up with qualitative descriptions reflecting reality. Reversely, qualitative descriptions are reinforced and rendered more logical if some statistics are offered. It is in this way of balancing weaknesses that the qualitative and the quantitative approaches complement each other.

The data of this research are analysed quantitatively and qualitatively. On the one hand, the purpose behind adopting the quantitative approach is to reveal the frequencies of politeness strategies used by both groups of participants in particular situations and to echo the correlation between alterations in values of D, P and R and the choice of politeness strategy and their correlation. These relations are demonstrated in tables and figures which

reflect the percentages of the respondents' responses. On the other hand, adopting the qualitative approach aims at explaining the researches' assumptions about politeness strategies through unravelling the connection of the obtained statistics to the social norms and the cultural values of both communities.

Therefore, after collecting all the copies of the DCT, each participant's responses were codified and were stored on a computer. The data were then converted into Excel spreadsheet format and analysed. The analysis integrated statistics and descriptions in the light of social and cultural beliefs of both groups, with an emphasis on Algerian politeness patterns because the British patterns were studied in details by Brown and Levinson (1987). The codification of the data enables the researcher to find out the frequency of the use of each politeness strategy and how it correlates with the changing values of D, P and R. It also permits the researcher to underline possible patterns of similarities and difference in the form of strategy. In addition, how cultural beliefs are reflected in the respondents' requests and refusals as to mitigate face threat is also dealt with.

Conclusion

Requests and refusals of requests were collected from two groups of participants by means of a DCT. The choice of this research instrument is justified in this chapter. The sample of participants is also thoroughly described. The obtained responses are analysed quantitatively and qualitatively to link the frequency and the choice of politeness strategies to cultural beliefs. Statistical interpretations of the data and explanations in the light of cultural differences are highlighted in the next chapters.

Chapter Six

Requests in British English and Algerian Arabic

Introduction

A request is a directive through which the speaker gets the hearer to do something. It is among the most highly occurring face threatening acts of everyday life. However, although this definition may apply to most cultures, the realization of requests may vary significantly from culture to culture. Cross-cultural differences may also be spotted in relation to the mitigating devices and the politeness strategies used to perform requests. The contextual factors upon which speakers decide the way of performing requests may also be perceived differently across cultures. In this chapter, the participants' responses to section two of the DCT, which is meant to elicit requests, are analysed quantitatively and qualitatively. The social variables that determine the weightiness of the request: Power (P), Distance (D) and Rank of imposition (R) are distributed differently across the designed request situations. How NSBE and NSAA use politeness strategies to reduce the face threat of these requests in relation to the overall assessment of the social variables is charted in figures and compared in terms of frequency of appearance and correlation with P, D and R. In addition, culture-specific patterns accompanying the employed politeness strategies are exemplified.

6.1. Situation one: Request from Young to Old

1-You are a young girl (boy) sitting in a bus. An old lady is sitting next to you. You feel cold and want to ask her to close the window. What would you say?

In this situation, a request to close the window is made. The requester is a young girl or boy and the requested is an old woman. The age variable is in focus due to its importance in choosing the way to make the request. Thus, following Brown and Levinson's formulae, the rank of imposition is moderate R, the speaker and the hearer are equally distant (=D [S, H]) and the Power variable is the one being manipulated in this situation when the difference in age (young-to –old) results in difference in Power (-P [S, H]). Brown and Levinson's three fold formulae can be described as:

$$W(x)= (-P [S, H]) + (=D [S, H]) + (R°)$$

The two groups responded to this situation as displayed in figure 6 and 7.

6.1. 1. NSBE Responses to Situation One
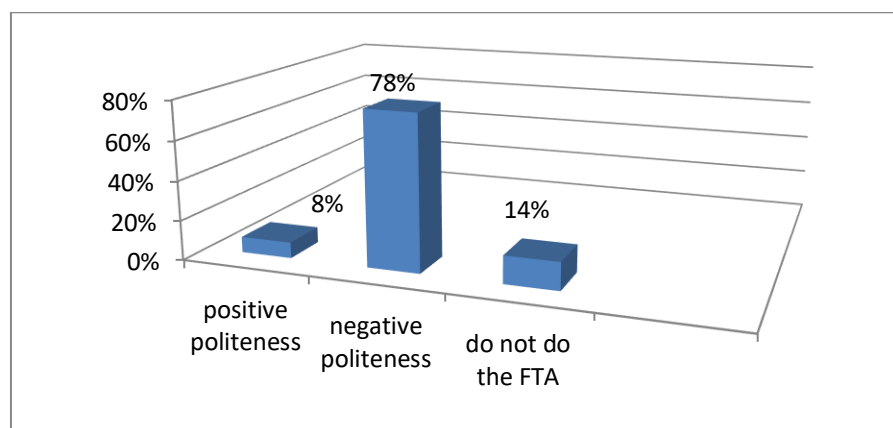
Figure6: Politeness Strategies in Young-to-old Requests by NSBE

In this situation, no one of the NSBE made the request baldly on record due to considerations of age. All of them tried to smooth the request using a politeness strategy. As shown in figure 6. 8 % of the requests were smoothed using a positive politeness strategy like in making the request sound as an offer, e.g. *It's a bit cold, do you want me to close the window for you?* or when an inclusive 'we' was used, e.g. *Is it OK if we close the window?*

14 % of the participants preferred not to do the FTA when the hearer is older than them. Negative politeness strategies were the most employed ones with 78%.

The use of negative politeness strategies supports the claim made by Brown and Levinson (1987) that Western societies tend to emphasize the want to not impede the hearer's actions. The freedom of the hearer gets more significant when, amid other cases, the hearer is more powerful than the speaker as is the case in this situation. The main negative strategies used are:

- Apologizing and giving reasons, e.g. *Sorry to bother you, but would it be inconvenience if I closed the window? I am feeling cold.*

- Being conventionally indirect, e.g. *Ma'am, can you please close the window*?

- Giving difference using the address term 'Madam'.

- Being pessimistic, using questions and nominalizing the verb, e.g. *Would you mind closing the window?*

6.1. 2. NSAA Responses to Situation One
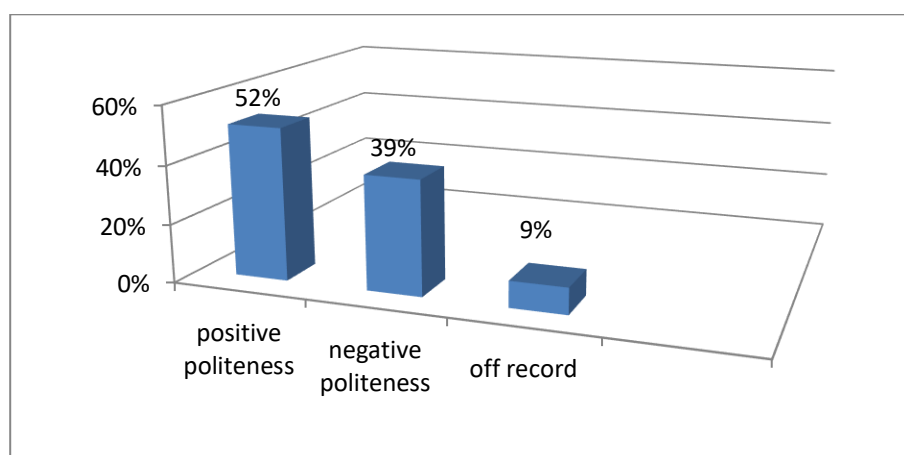
Figure7: Politeness Strategies in Young-to-old Requests by NSAA

Like NSBE, the NSAA also did not use bald on record strategies when addressing the old lady. Three politeness strategies were used to mitigate the face threat. It is also noticed that the NSAA often used some softening devices as adjuncts to the politeness strategies. These expressions which may have the same function as 'please' include: الله يحفظك meaning *May Allah [God] preserve you*/تعيش, يعيشك الله, يطول عمرك meaning *May you live long*. They appear mostly at the beginning of the sentence often with an address term to get the attention of the hearer, but sometimes they can be used at the end of the sentence to show consideration or as a face repair mechanism.

Figure 7indicates that 9% of the requests were made off-record as in giving hints and associating clues, e.g. البرد؟ meaning *Cold ?*/بارد الحال Meaning *it's cold.* Negative politeness strategies were also used to redress the imposition of 39% of the request mainly through using conventionally indirect requests, e.g. الحاجة، تقدري تقفلي الطاقة؟ meaning *hajja* [a female pilgrim],*can you close the window?* and apologizing, e.g. اسمحيلي الحاجة، تعيشي اقفلي الطاقة. meaning *Forgive me hajja, close the window, may you live long.*

Positive politeness strategies were the most used ones which appeared in 52% of the requests, mainly through in group identity markers using words like: يما (*mother*),ما(*mother*),خالتي(*aunt*)as in these examples:

- ا خالتي، اقفلي الطاقة تعيشي. meaning: *Aunt, close the window, may you live long.*
- اما، اقفلي الطاقة الله يحفضك. meaning *Mother, close the window, may Allah preserve you.*
- ا يما،اقفليلنا الطاقة برك. meaning *Mother, just close the window for us.*

These statistics reveal that the NSAA show their respect to the older mainly by using positive or negative politeness strategies. On the one hand, the tendency towards using positive politeness is motivated by their want to emphasize belonging to the same group. On the other hand, the use of negative politeness is motivated by the want to make the elder feel

at ease. These two wants were noticed in the two-way use of the word الحاجة [hajja] which can be identified as an in-group identity marker found in the NSAA Islamic culture referring to a female pilgrim, or as an honorific address term to show difference because pilgrims in this culture have a high status.

Although Brown and Levinson classify the use of honorifics within negative politeness strategies, some researchers such as Hasegawa (2008) claim that this system can be used to index both negative and positive strategies depending on the speaker's communicative goal and the way he used honorifics to fulfil those goals.

Another feature which appeared as a culture indicator in the NSAA data is mentioning Allah (God) in the expressions commonly and conventionally used as an equivalent to the English word please. Reference to God was absent in the NSBE corpus.

6.2. Situation Two: Request from Old to Young

2-You are an old lady or an old man. After a long time shopping, you decide to go back home but you cannot hold all what you have bought by yourself. You ask for the help of a young man. What would you say?

This situation was designed to elicit a request for help. The requester is an old woman or man and the requested person is a young man. The three variables suggested by Brown and Levinson (1987) are carefully manipulated using the difference in age as the ultimate source of power (P). Thus, in this situation, the rank of imposition is moderate (R°), the participants are equally distant (= D [S, H]) and power difference is derived from the age difference estimating the old-to-young age relation to equal the high-to-low power relation (+ P [S, H]). The formulae can be described as:

W(x) = (+ P [S, H]) + (= D [S, H]) + (R°)

Both groups of participants, NSBE and NSAA, manifested different preferences for making requests in terms of Brown and Levinson's politeness strategies. The frequencies of the strategies in each group are shown in figure 8 and 9.

6.2.1. NSBE Responses to Situation Two
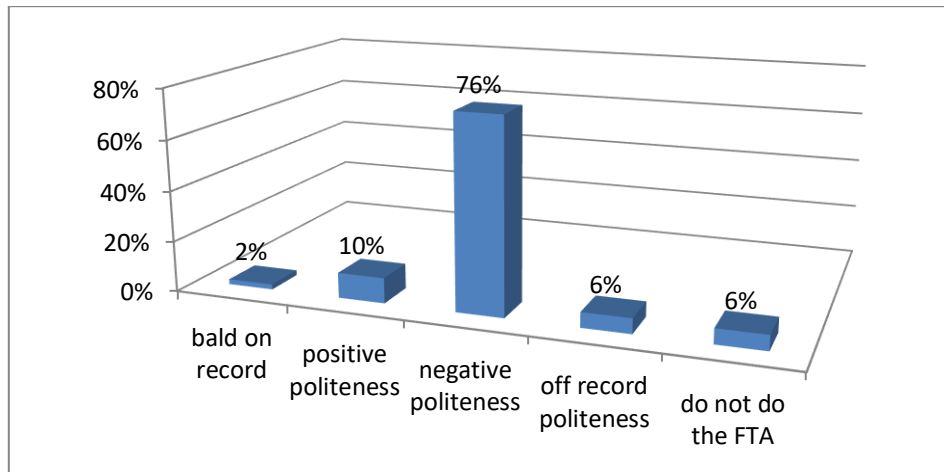
Figure8: Politeness Strategies in Old-to-young Requests by NSBE

As shown in the above figure, all of Brown and Levinson's strategies appeared in the corpus of requests made by NSBE in different frequencies. The least employed strategy was the bald on record with 2% only. The direct speech acts in these cases were nevertheless softened by the use of "*please*". 6% of the requests were performed off-record mainly by giving hints and association clues such as referring to the heaviness of the bought stuff, e.g. *I have probably bought more than I should.*6% of the respondents did not make the request at all. 10 % were made using a positive politeness strategy mainly by claiming common ground, e.g. *You are going my way. Why don't you help me carry this stuff ?/ G'day cobber, you able to lend a hand?* The highest percentage was scored by the negative politeness strategy: 76%. The main negative strategies which were employed were:

- Apologizing and giving overwhelming reasons for doing the request, *e.g. I'm sorry to interrupt you, would you give me a hand please; I'm unable to carry them all*.

- Being conventionally indirect, e.g. *can you help me with these bags, please?*

These findings indicate that for the NSBE, even when the speaker is older than the hearer, an attempt to reduce the face threat is always made in the form of one of the politeness strategies. Even in the cases when the speaker went baldly on record, the word 'please' was employed to soften the request. The high tendency towards using a negative politeness strategy reflects the want of NSBE to preserve the hearer's face regardless of their higher P derived from the difference in age.

6.2. 2. NSAA Responses to Situation Two
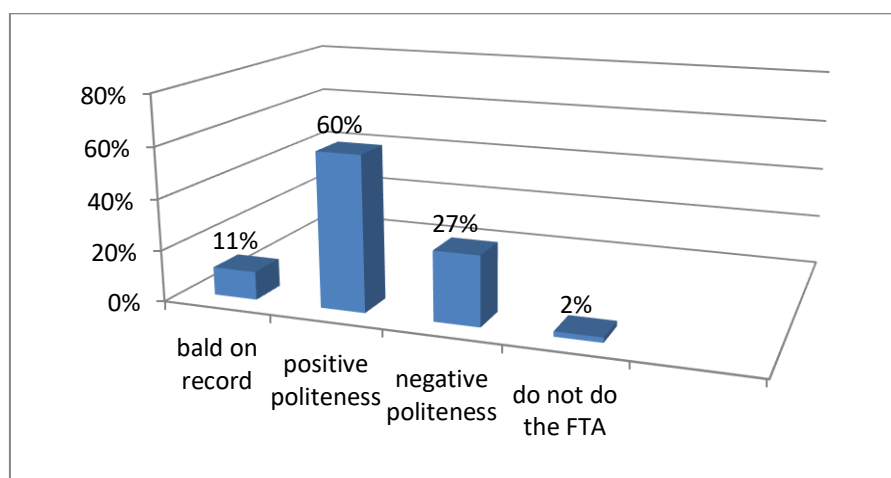
Figure 9: Politeness Strategies in Old-to-young Requests by NSAA

Figure9 displays the politeness strategies used by NSAA to perform the request in situation 2. 2% of the respondents refrained from making the request and opted for the "not do the FTA" strategy. The bald on record requests scored a higher rate than in the NSBE group with 11%. However, softeners like يحفظك الله=*May Allah preserve you/*تعيش,يعيشك الله , يطول

عمرك=*May you live long*; يخليلك والديك =*May Allah preserve your parents* were similarly adopted to express consideration to the other, e.g. ارواح هز معايا القضيان، يرحم والديك.. meaning *Come help me with these stuff, may Allah have mercy on your parents*.

Negative politeness strategies appeared in 27% of the requests mainly through using conventionally indirect requests, apologizing and giving many reasons for the request. However, these negative politeness strategies were sometimes softened by expressions such as "*May Allah preserve you*", "*May you live long*" and sometimes using in-group markers such as '*son*', '*brother*' as adjuncts to the request. This way of blending negative politeness with in-group markers was absent in NSBE, e.g. اسمحلي يا وليدي لعزيز، تقدر تعاوني فالقضية تعيش؟meaning *Forgive me, dear son, can you help me with the shopping, please?*

Positive politeness strategies were the most employed with a percentage of 60%. These statistics reflect that the NSAA feel no need to employ a highly polite strategy when the hearer is younger than the speaker. Face is mainly preserved by showing that both participants share common ground and belong to the same group. The main positive politeness strategies employed were:

● Using in-group markers: the use of the words "بني, وليدي" meaning *son, my little son* was overwhelming and appeared in almost all the requests:
e.g. يا بني، عاوني فالقضيان الله يحفظك. meaning *Son, help me with the shopping, may Allah preserve you.*

● Joking, e.g. جدك كبر خلاص باه يهز القضيان ياك؟ meaning *Your grandpa got very old to carry the shopping, hm?*

So, NSBE and NSAA used different politeness strategies when an old man or a woman requests the help of a young man in carrying the shopping bags. When the speaker is

older than the hearer, NSBE tended to use more negative politeness strategies to emphasize formality and privacy whereas the NSAA tended to employ more positive politeness strategies reflecting in-group relations and modesty which characterize the Algerian Islamic culture. However, a striking difference between both participant groups was the use of some kind of blended or mixed strategies in the Algerian data. This took place when a negative politeness strategy like being conventionally indirect, being pessimistic or apologizing was adopted but was also accompanied with an in-group identity marker which characterize positive politeness. According to Hasegawa (2008), a simultaneous use of negative and positive politeness is always possible not only in Japanese, but also in other languages. He argues further that these two strategies should not be thought of as mutually exclusive because the speaker can choose to simultaneously preserve both the negative and positive face of H.

This finding, however, may raise the question of how to label these strategies. Are they negative or positive strategies? Yet, since the scope of this research is to study and decide upon the preferences of using the five (and only five) politeness strategies suggested by Brown and Levinson, adding a sixth type would by no means be feasible. As a result, these strategies were coded depending on which aspect of face is being emphasized. When the S puts more emphasis on the apology rather than on the in-group markers, the strategy was rendered as a negative one, e.g. يابني، يعيشك، ارفد معايا شوية ماقدرتش وسامحني بزاف meaning *son, may you live long, give me some help. I couldn't manage on my own. Do <u>forgive me</u>*.

When the emphasis was on identity markers, the strategy was coded as a positive one, e.g.. ولدي سامحني. وحدي ماقدرتش فالقضيان عاوني ، لعزيز وليدي meaning <u>*dear little son*</u>*, help me with the shopping, I couldn't manage on my own. Do forgive me, <u>son</u>*.

6.3. Situation three: Request from Secretary to Boss

3- You are a secretary in an important company. You want to use your personal computer but you find that its battery is low. You need to ask your boss to lend you his PC or you will lose the data you're working on. What would you say?

This situation is meant to obtain a request in which Power status is also stressed. The requester is a secretary and the person being requested is a boss. The Rank of imposition is moderate ($R°$) and the interactants are equally distant (= D [S, H]). The value of Power is derived from the employee-employer relation and is described as low-to-high (-P [S,H]). Thus, Brown and Levinson's formula takes the following form:

$$W(x) = (-P [S, H]) + (= D [S, H]) + (R°)$$

The responses from both participant groups are exhibited in figure10 and figure 11.

6.3.1. NSBE Responses to Situation Three
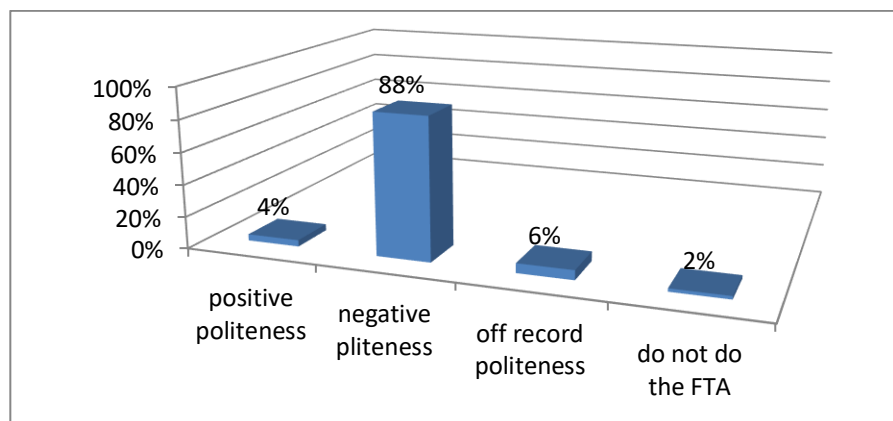
Figure10: Politeness Strategies from Secretary to Boss by NSBE

When addressing a person of a higher social status (boss), the NSBE were not really direct as they did not make any bald on record requests. Considering the difference in P, the respondents employed less direct strategies. Moreover, most of the requests were speaker-oriented than hearer-oriented. That is to say, Ss used formulas containing 'I' instead of 'you', *e.g. Can I….* instead of *Can you…./Can I borrow….?* instead of *Can you lend me…...?*This

type of requests, according to Blum Kulka, House and Kasper (1989), implies that the requestee (boss) has control over the requester (secretary). They are employed to avoid imposing on H and hence they are more polite than hearer oriented requests.

The off-record strategy occurred only with a percentage of 2% (as when the secretary said "*I was not a well-organized secretary.*" implying that she needed something from her boss.) Positive politeness was used to mitigate the face threat in 4% of the requests mainly through conveying that the speaker and the hearer share a common goal, e.g. *My battery is running low; please, I need to borrow your PC to save important data*. 6% of the respondents chose not to make the request, not to free the boss from impediment of action but to preserve their own faces from humiliation. Like in situation 1 and 2, Negative politeness was the most frequent strategy which appeared in 88% of the NSBE requests.

This high ratio of negative politeness allowed the occurrence of various sub-strategies reflecting the requesters' attempts to soften the request and show difference stressing the high status of the person requested. Some examples of negative politeness strategies are:

- Being conventionally indirect, e.g. *Can you please lend me your PC, Mr. X?*

- Giving difference, mainly by using formal address terms such as *sir* and *boss* and through humbling oneself, e.g. *Whilst realizing that I'm an idiot for not charging my laptop, would I be able to borrow yours, please?*

- Apologizing followed by reasons, e.g. *Sorry to interrupt, boss, but my PC's battery is about to die. May I borrow yours so I can login and save the data I've been working on before it's lost?*

- Minimizing imposition, e.g. *May I borrow your Pc for just a moment? Mine is about to die and if it dies I'll lose a lot of important data. I just need to save it.*

- Questioning/ hedging, e.g. *Mr/ Mrs..., I was wondering if I could borrow your PC just for a bit cause I'm afraid I'll lose my data if my laptop shuts down.*

- Nominalizing (using a noun instead of a subject and a verb), e.g. *Would you mind lending me your PC, please?*

6.3.2. NSAA Responses to Situation Three
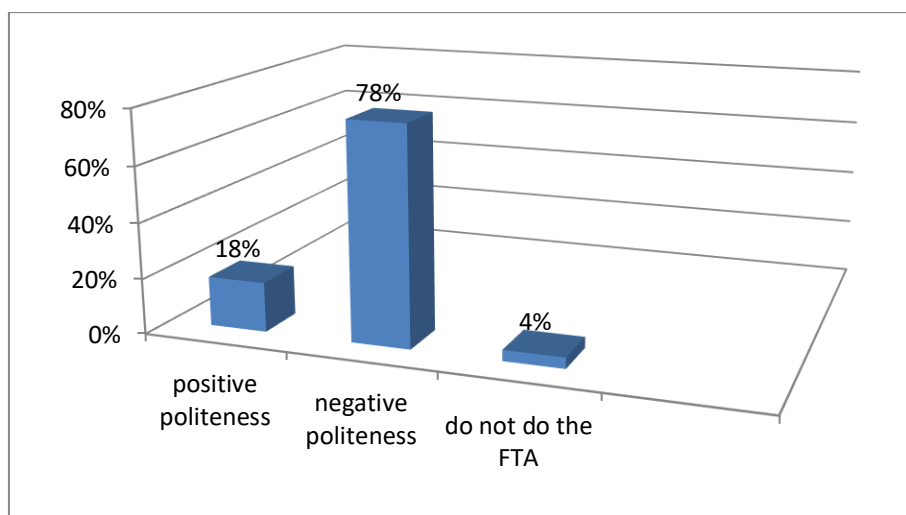
Figure11: Politeness Strategies from Secretary to Boss by NSAA

In this situation when the requester (secretary) is lower in status than the requestee (boss), the NSAA also did not use the bald on record requests in the same way as their NSBE counterparts. On the whole, the requests were phrased less directly to imply politeness. The speaker-oriented requests were also noticed in many responses, e.g. سيدي المدير نقدر ندي الميكرو تاعك؟meaning *Sir, can I borrow your PC?* Many softeners were used as adjuncts to the politeness strategies such as الله يحفظك,الله يسترك,تعيش meaning *May Allah preserve you/*, من فضلك , meaning *please*) in addition to greetings like السلام عليكم meaning *Peace be upon you*, صباح الخير

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meaning *Good morning*, Bonjour (a French word meaning *Good morning*) used mainly to get the boss' attention. Different address terms were used to refer to the boss in Algerian Arabic: المعلم, الشيخ , أستاذ meaning *teacher* or *sir* / سيدي المدير meaning *boss*. Some other address forms include the French words "Monsieur meaning *sir*", or "Monsieur le directeur" meaning *boss*. On different occasions, the respondents code-switched into French or Standard Arabic. These cases were counted as negative politeness strategies to show difference (Brown and Levinson, 1987). The code-switching to French is opted for thanks to the tu/ vous address term system which is absent in Arabic. Switching to standard Arabic reflects the S' awareness of being in a formal setting.

As indicated in figure 11, 4 % of the respondents chose not to do the FTA at all to preserve their faces from embarrassment. Positive politeness was used in 18% of the requests. However unlike situation 1, the face threat was not redressed via in-group identity markers which apparently could not be used in this low-to-high power relation. The main positive politeness strategies were: being optimistic, e.g. أستاذ تعيش ندي الميكرو تاعك اني نحتاجو في خدمةmeaning*Sir, please, I'm taking your PC. I need it for work.* and asking for/ giving reasons as in: السلام عليكم استاذ تسلفلي الميكرو تاعك نخدم بيه خاطركشتاعي طفالي meaning *Peace be upon you, sir. You are to lend me your Pc because mine is dead.*

78% of the requests were mitigated using negative politeness strategies. As this strategy is less direct than positive politeness, the NSAA like the NSBE also preferred it over other strategies to show their consideration of higher levels of social power. The main sub-strategies are as follows exemplified:

● Apologizing, e.g.سمحلي يا سيدي المدير، وقيل عطلتك. مي الميكرو تاعي طفا نقدر ندي تاعك؟meaning *Forgive me boss, I might have interrupted you but my PC is dead , can I use yours ?*

- Giving difference: using first, address terms which denote higher status in three different codes (Algerian Arabic:الشيخ ,المعلم ,/سيدي المدير , Standard Arabic: أستاذ, French: *Monsieur, monsieur le directeur*) and second, code-switching either from Algerian Arabic to Standard Arabic or from one language to another (Arabic to French)

- Being conventionally indirect, e.g.نقدر نطلب منك الميكرو تاعك؟ نحتاجو ربي يحفضكMeaning *Can I ask for your PC? I need it, may God preserve you.*

- Questioning, hedging through the use of:ماعليهش *meaning is it OK...?,*ممكن؟*would it be possible if.. ?*as in:في خدمة. ماعليهش ندي الحاسوب تاعك؟ اني حتاجتو meaning *Is it Ok if I take your computer? I need it to do something.*

- Being pessimistic, *e.g. .* ما تقدرش تسلفلي الميكرو؟ نخدم بيه و نردهولك أستاذmeaning*Sir, Can't you give me your computer? I'll use it and give it back to you.*

- Minimizing imposition, e.g. *Monsieur,* نقدر ندي لميكرو تاعك شوية برك ونرجعهولكmeaning *sir, can I borrow your computer just for a little while and I'll give it back to you.*

6.4. Situation Four: Request from Boss to Secretary

4-*You are a company's boss. You have a very important meeting which is due in a while. You find that your PC's battery is low. You need to borrow Maria's (your secretary) PC. What would you say?*

In this situation, the requester is a boss and the requestee is a secretary. Brown and Levinson's three variables are purposefully manipulated: the rank of imposition is moderate (R°), the participants are equally distant (= D [S, H]) and the power status is again in focus. Like in situation3, P is derived from the relationship between employer and employee but goes in a high P-to-low P direction (+ P [S, H]).To sum up these variables, the following formula is set:

$$W(x) = (+ P [S, H]) + (= D [S, H]) + (R°)$$

How both groups of participants made this request is displayed in figure12 and figure 13.

6.4.1. NSBE Responses to Situation Four
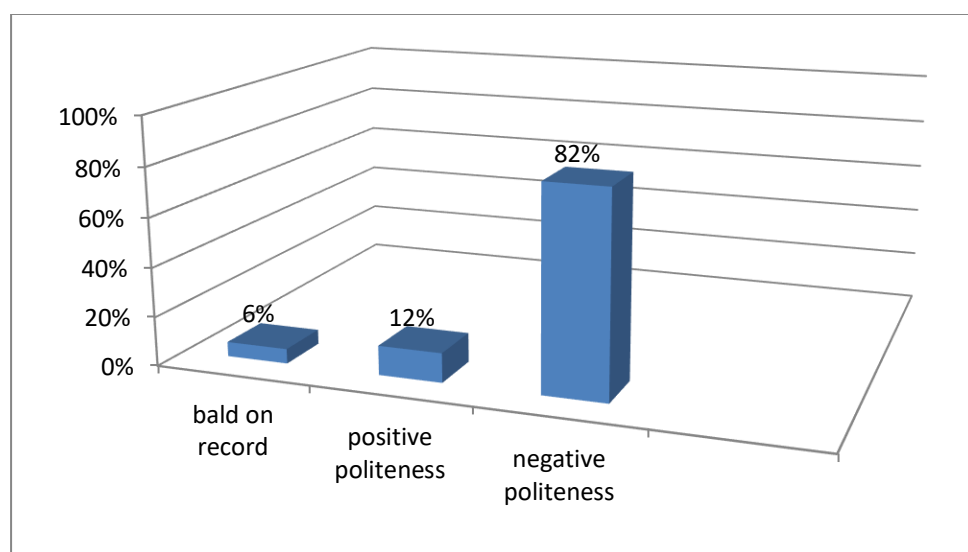
Figure12: Politeness Strategies from Boss to Secretary by NSBE

When the speaker is of a higher status than the hearer, the NSBE in this study chose one of three ways to perform their requests. This high P -to-low P orientation allowed the occurrence of some direct requests as 6% were expressed via the bald on record strategies followed by 'please', e.g. *Maria, I need you to lend me your PC. See to it, please.* Positive politeness strategies were also used in 12% of the requests denoting the S' awareness of his higher social status so that an almost-direct strategy can be adopted mainly through being optimistic, e.g. *Maria, I'm borrowing your PC for a while*. and giving gifts, e.g. *Maria, could I pinch your laptop? Coffee on me!*

Negative politeness was chosen by 82% of the respondents to soften their requests even when the H is of a low P than the S attempting not to impose on H freedom. The main negative politeness strategies were: being conventionally indirect, e.g. *Can I borrow your PC, please?*, being pessimistic, e.g. *Hi Maria, I really need to get this work done, would you mind*

if I borrowed your PC for a little while, please? and apologizing for making the request, e.g. *Sorry to inconvenience you, but could you please let me use your pc for a while?*)

On the whole, altering the value of P resulted in more directness not only in the use of bald on record strategies which were absent in the opposing situation (situation 3) but also in the use of a less formal address terms (the first name, Maria) as the main attention getter in the majority of the requests. It is also worth mentioning that speaker-oriented requests outweighed the hearer oriented ones.

6.4.2. NSAA Responses to Situation Four
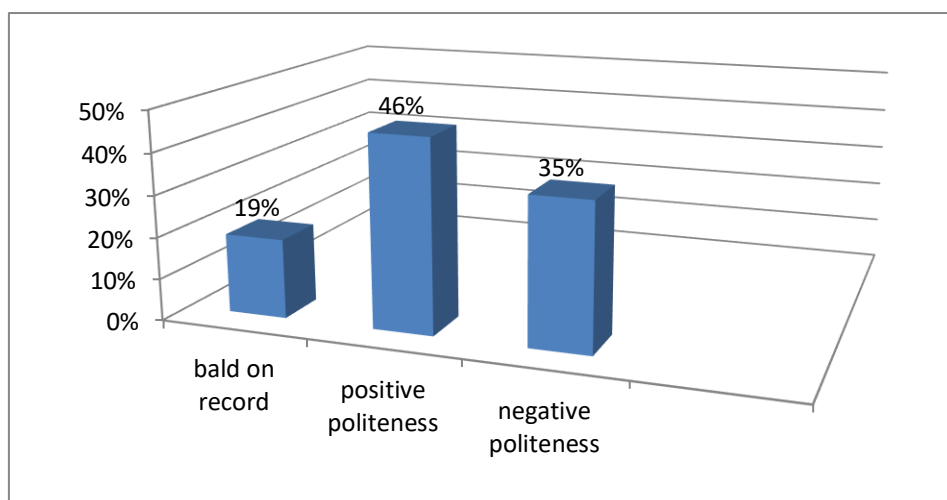
Figure13: Politeness Strategies from Boss to Secretary by NSAA

As displayed in figure 13, like the NSBE, the NSAA also performed the request using either of three ways. The percentages reflecting both groups' preferences were different, however. In the Algerian context, more directness is noticed in requests from a high P person to a low P person. Bald on record requests, which were totally absent in situation 3 where the request was from low P-to-high P, are present here with 12 %. These were either imperatives, e.g.. ماريا، ازربي هاتيلي الميكرو تاعك،تاعي طفا..Meaning *Maria, give me your PC quickly; mine is dead.*

or via imperatives accompanied with words equivalent to 'please' including: من فضلك /الله / تعيشي/يحفضك as in: ماريا، من فضلك هاتيلي الميكرو تاعك.meaning *Maria, please give me your PC.*

35% of the requests were phrased using negative politeness strategies mainly not to impose on the H. This ratio is smaller compared to the NSBE. The main sub-strategies of negative politeness used were:

- Being conventionally indirect, e.g..ماريا تقدري تسلفيلي الحاسوب تاعك؟ تاعي طاحتلو الباطري.meaning *Maria, can you lend me your PC? My PC's battery is low.*

- Being pessimistic, e.g.ماريا ماتسلفليش البي سي ديالك نخدم بيه؟.meaning *Maria, wouldn't you lend me your PC to work on?*

- Minimizing the imposition, e.g. ماعليهش نطلب منك طلب صغير؟ ندي الميكرو تاعك ونرجعهولك ورا الاجتماع. Meaning *Is it OK if I ask you for a small favour? I'll take your PC and give it back to you after the meeting.)*

Positive politeness strategies were the most employed ones with a percentage of 46 %. This tendency towards using different positive politeness strategies echoes a preference for choosing more direct requests when the S is of a higher power than the H as is claimed by Brown and Levinson (1987). The main sub-strategies include:

- Using in-group identity markers ختي meaning *sister* / بنتي meaning *daughter* as in this example: ماريا بنتي، اعطيني الميكرو ديالك نكمل بيه هاد الخدمة راني في حصلة meaning: *Maria, my daughter, give me your PC to finish this work . I'm introuble.*

- Giving reasons for making the request, e.g. ماريا، تعيشي هاتيلي البيسي تاعك تاعي طاحتلو الباطري. Meaning *Maria, please give me your PC because mine is dead.)*

- Intensifying interest to the hearer,e.g.

ماريا علاباك واش صرا فيا اليوم؟ طاحتلي الباطري تاع البيسي اعطيني تاعك نخدم بيه *meaning Maria, you won't*

believe what happened to me today! The battery of my PC is low. Please, give me yours to

work on.)

On the whole, when the requester is of a higher power than the requestee, the NSAA showed higher levels of directness compared to the NSBE as more bald on record strategies were present. Positive politeness, which is rendered more direct than negative politeness, was preferred. As for the request orientation, the NSAA felt free to use more hearer-oriented requests than did the NSBE. The majority of these requests included the H's first name "ماريا" and were accompanied with please-like expressions such as "تعيشي / من فضلك/ الله يحفظك". The religious terms [Allah]الله and ربي [Rabbi] were remarkably present in these expressions of the Algerian data.

6.5. Situation Five: Request to Best Friend

5-*You are a student. After a day of study, you want to take some rest in your room at the university campus but the music coming from Adam's (or Nihal's) phone (your roommate and best friend) is disturbing you. You want him to turn it down. What would you say?*

In this situation, the requester and the requestee are close friends. The weight of the imposition is moderate (R °). The S and H have equal power being students and living under the same roof (= P [S, H]). The variable being stressed is the social distance D between requester and requestee. D is estimated from close friend relationship and is described as low (-D [S, H]). The threefold formula is described as:

W(x) = (= P [S, H]) + (-D [S, H]) + (R °)

The responses of NSBE and NSAA are displayed in figure 14 and 15respectively.

6.5.1. NSBE Responses to Situation Five
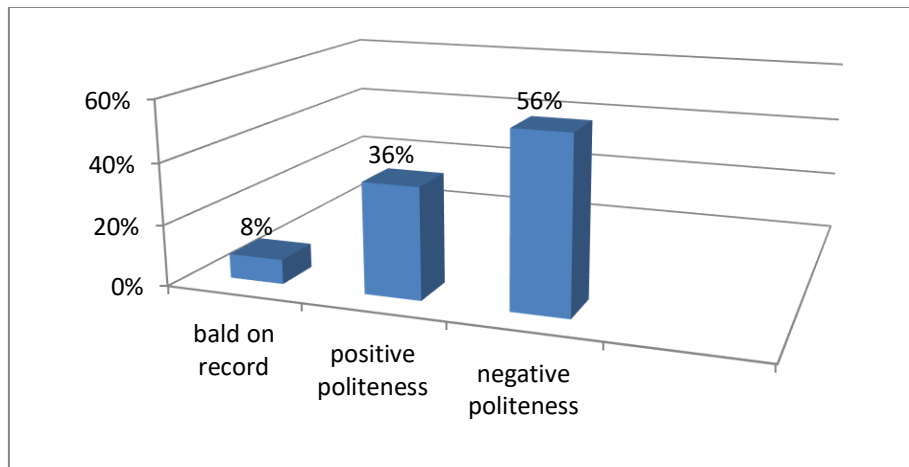
Figure14: Politeness Strategies in Requests to Best Friend by NSBE

Figure14 demonstrates the NSBE preferences for politeness strategies in a situation where the social distance between S and H is low. On the one hand, this low distance resulted in the avoidance of the two most polite strategies proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987) namely, go off record and do not do the FTA. On the other hand, the bald on record strategy was adopted in 8% of the requests through using imperatives, sometimes accompanied with 'please', e.g. *Adam, turn the music down/Turn that music down!*

36% of the requests were mitigated by means of positive politeness strategies such as:

- Using in-group markers mainly, the first name, abbreviations of the name or words like: dude, mate…, etc., e.g. *Ad., turn the music down, please/Hey, dude, turn it down!/Seriously, dude? Turn that music down!*
- Giving/ asking for reason, e.g. *Why don't you turn that music off and let me sleep!)*

Negative politeness strategies were used to avoid impeding the friend's freedom of action in 56% of the requests. The main negative sub-strategies were:

- Being conventionally indirect, e.g. *Can you turn it down, please?/Adam, can you turn the music down?*

- Being pessimistic, e.g. *Could you by any chance turn down the music?/Would you mind turning the music down?*

- Minimizing imposition, e.g. *Could you turn the music down a little please?/Can you turn the music down a bit?*

6.5.2. NSAA Responses to Situation Five
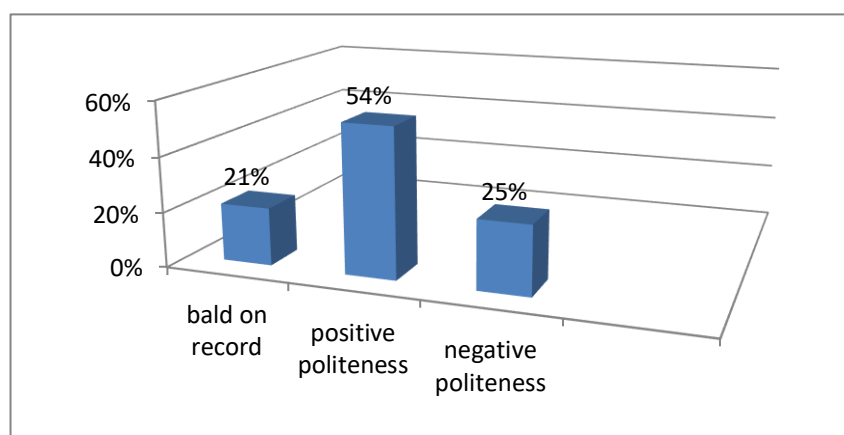
Figure15: Politeness Strategies in Requests to Best Friend by NSAA

Figure 15 displays percentages of the possible politeness strategies opted for by NSAA under particular circumstances, specifically when the social distance between the S and the H is low. Attributing a low value to the variable D encouraged 21 % of these participants to go on record and make direct requests in the form of imperatives although sometimes accompanied by the expressions /تعيش/من فضلك/ الله يسترك, e.g.نقصيلو تعيشي.. ،نهالmeaning *Nihal, please turn it down./*الله يسترك يا ادم نقصلو. meaning *Turn it down, Adam may Allah preserve you.*

26 % of the NSAA opted for negative politeness strategies to avoid impeding on the friend's freedom of action. The main sub-strategies employed were:

- Being conventionally indirect, e.g.نهال، تقدري تنقصي للا موزيك تعيشي؟meaning *Nihal, can you turn the music down, may you live long.*

- Being pessimistic, e.g. نهال، ماعليهش تنقصيلو؟meaning *Nihal, is it OK if you turn it down?*

- Minimizing the imposition, e.g. نقصلو شوية من تمmeaning *Turn it down just a little bit.*

- Going on record as incurring a debt, e.g. انهال، تعملي مزية نقصيلو.meaning *Nihal, do me a favour and turn it down.*

Positive politeness strategies were the most opted for with a percentage of 54%. Various sub-strategies were used:

- Using in group identity markers such as: نهال اختي (*Nihal, sister*)/ نهال حبيبتي (*Nihal, darling*)/ ادم خويا (*Adam, brother*)/ ديمو ('*Dimou*' as an abbreviation for Adam) / اصاحبي (*friend/ mate/ dude*) /العزيزة (*dear*)/ ختيوتي (a shortened cherishing form for sister) /نهولة ('*Nahoula*'as a nickname for Nihal)

- Including both speaker and hearer in the activity, e.g. يا ادم نقص علينا خلينا نرتاحو.meaning *Adam, Turn it down let us get a rest.*

- Giving reasons, e.g.اووه..نهال...والله راني ميتة بالعيا نقصي الموسيقى تعيشي. meaning *Oh, Nihal! I swear to Allah, I am really tired. Turn down the music may you live long.*

- Presupposing/raising/asserting common ground, e.g.
نهال،راكي علا بالك كي العادة ميتة بالعيا. نقصيلو ولا ديري كيتمان تعيشيmeaning *Nihal, you know, I am really tired as usual. Turn it down or use your headphones, may you live long*.

In sum, Brown and Levinson's claim that as the distance between speaker and hearer decreases, directness increases held true for NSAA in situation 5. This was reflected in their tendency toward using various positive politeness strategies which stress reciprocity, sharing common ground and belonging to the same group. Positive politeness suits well this kind of

human relationships because, as described by Holtgraves (2002), it is a main characteristic of the language of intimacy. The NSAA's requests in this case were also characterized by being all hearer-oriented. Few cases of code switching to French were noticed in using "*s'il te plait?*" rather than "*s'il vous plait?*" thanks to the French tu/ vous distinction. Choosing the Tu form stresses low D between interlocutors and serves purposes of positive politeness.

6.6. Situation Six: Request to a New Acquaintance (Neighbour)

6. *A new neighbour has just moved in. After a long day's work, you feel really tired. You want to have a nap but the sound of the loud music coming from your neighbour's house is disturbing you. How would you ask your new neighbour (whom you haven't met yet) to turn down the music?*

In this situation the request is made in the first encounter between interlocutors. The addressee is new in the neighbourhood and is not any of the addressor's acquaintances. Brown and Levinson's face threat formula can be described in this case as having a moderate rank of imposition (R°), equal social power (= P [S, H]), but high social distance between the interlocutors. So, like in the previous situation, the variable D is the one stressed. However, whereas situation 9 was an attempt to elicit requests when D was of a low value (-D[S, H]), situation 10 attempts to elicit requests when D is of a higher value (+D[S, H]). The assessment of the threat inherent in the speech act can be arrived at by the assessment of these three variables symbolised as follows:

$$W(x) = (= P [S, H]) + (+D[S, H]) + (R°)$$

The requests made by the participant groups are shown in figure 16and 17.

6.6.1. NSBE Responses to Situation Six
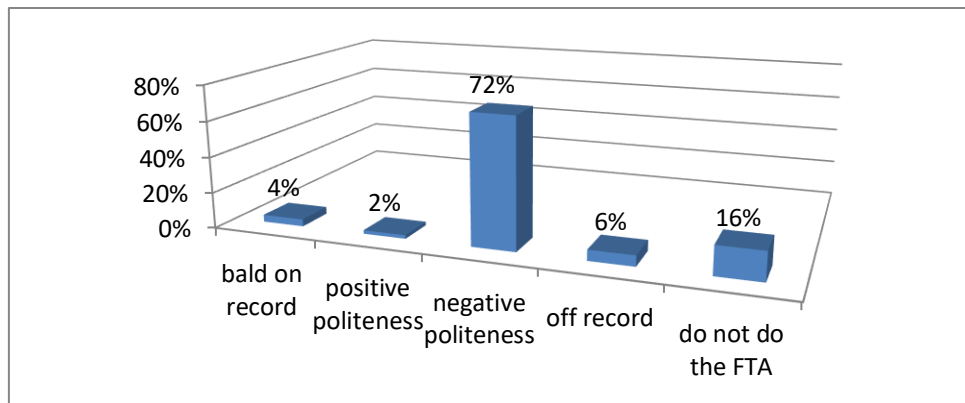
Figure16: Politeness Strategies in Requests to New Acquaintance by NSBE

As displayed by figure 17, when making a request to a neighbour who is socially distant, only 4% of NSBE went baldly on record with blunt imperatives, e.g. *Oi, turn it down you***. Try'na sleep here!* The increase in D value made it impossible for 16 % of the participants to make the request (not do the FTA). The rest of the group employed different strategies to mitigate the face threat. 6% used the off record strategy and preferred to give the H hints rather than stating what they want, e.g. *Is there anything I can help with? Or…, a little…, after my nap…, I'll bring some fresh muffins*. Positive politeness appeared the least, 2%, e.g. *Hey ya, turn the music down, please. It's too annoying at this time of the day; otherwise I enjoy*. Negative politeness was the most opted for to redress the inherent face threat emphasizing the S's desire not to coerce the H and not to impede his freedom (of action).The main negative politeness sub-strategies were:

- Being conventionally indirect, e.g. *Please, can you turn down the music?*

- Apologizing, e.g *.I'm so sorry to have to ask, but would you mind turning down your music a little?*

- Being pessimistic, e.g. *Could you please turn down the music as it's really loud?*

- Minimize the imposition, e.g. *I just wondered if it would be possible for you to turn down the music a little, please?*

In this situation, the NSBE demonstrated their preference to use less direct strategies to phrase their requests when the S-H relationship is characterized by a high distance (+D [S, H]). Negative politeness strategies were the most used ones to reduce the potential face threat. As mentioned in chapter three of this thesis, negative politeness stresses and gives priority to the distance between interlocutors as opposed to positive politeness which is an approach-based strategy. It is also worth mentioning that compared to the previous situation (5), the requests here are remarkably longer and purposefully extended to suit requesting in a first encounter context. Most requesters preceded their main utterances by different formulaic expressions of greetings and welcoming(e.g. *Good morning/Hello/Hi/Welcome to the neighbourhood/ is there anything I can help with?/ if you need any help just give me a call*) and introducing themselves (e.g. I *am X from next door/ I don't think we've met yet. I am X, your neighbour*). Some requests were followed by expressions of thanks.

6.6.2. NSAA Responses to Situation Six
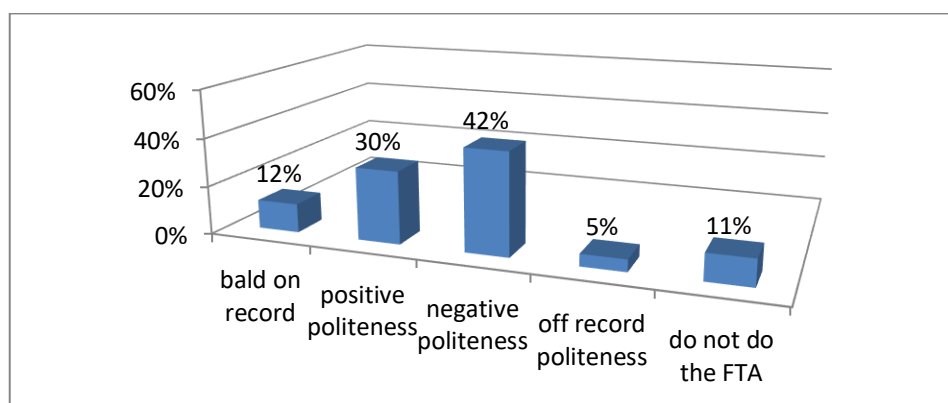
Figure17: Politeness Strategies in Requests to New Acquaintance by NSAA

This figure shows that 12% of the NSAA used bald on record requests as in the example صرعتنا راك علينا طفي واياmeaning *Turn it off. It is too annoying.* The rest of the participants used less direct strategies in making a request to a new acquaintance. The most indirect strategy, off-record, was used by 5% of the participants by means of giving hints and inviting the H to reach for a possible interpretation, e.g. يبارك الله كامل للحومة يسمع تاعك البوسط meaning*your device is so good that everyone in the neighbourhood can hear the music! May Allah bless it.*

Feeling that the request may impinge on the new neighbour's comfort, 11% of the NSAA chose not to do the request at all (some of them said that he was free to do whatever he wanted.)

Positive politeness devices were employed in 30% of the requests mainly via:

- Using in-group identity markers like خويا /(*darling*)/ حبيبنا (*friend, dude*)/صاحبي (*brother*)/لعزيز جاري(*dear neighbour*) / جارو (a shortened cherishing form for neighbour).

- Asking for or giving reasons, e.g. بزاف زايد غير الله و جارو شوية نقصلو واوmeaning *Turn it down a little, neighbour. I swear; it is too loud.*

42% of the face threat mitigating devices were sub-strategies of negative politeness such as:

- Being conventionally indirect, e.g. يسترك الله للصوت؟ تنقص تقدرmeaning *Can you turn the music down? May Allah preserve you.*

- Minimizing the imposition, e.g. شوية. للصوت تنقص برك كون جاري، ياmeaning *Neighbour, just turn the music down a little bit, will you?*

- Apologizing for making the request, e.g. اسمحلي يا جاري على بالي ديرونجيتك. مي تعيش نقص لاموزيك من عندك meaning *Forgive me, neighbour. I know I have disturbed you but turn down your music. May you live long.*

- Questioning/ hedging, e.g. ما عليهش تنقصلو؟والله غير زايد بزاف.. meaning: *Is it OK if you turn it down ? I swear to Allah it is too loud.*

When making a request to a new neighbour, the NSAA used negative politeness and positive politeness the most. Negative politeness strategies were more than positive politeness ones. Similar findings were arrived at in the study of Hadj Said (2010) on el-Fhoul speech community in the east of Algeria. According to Hadj Said, neighbours in the Arabic culture are highly privileged and respected that considerations for their face may result in not performing the request at all.

As previously exemplified, some of the requests contained reference to Allah mainly through swearing. By swearing to Allah, the NSAA gave a more back up for the reasons behind the requests.

6.7. Situation Seven: Request to borrow a Pen

7- You are at school, the class has just started. As your teacher starts lecturing, you want to take notes. You find that you do not have a pen. You decide to ask a classmate for one. What would you say?

The seventh situation was meant to elicit a request for a pen where the requester and the requestee are classmates attending the same class.

Unlike the case in the previous six situations, the variable being in focus here is not directed towards an interpersonal requester-to- requestee relationship (P and D relations) but to the speech act itself. It is the variable (R) which renders the rank of the imposition inherent

in the speech act that is stressed. Thus, the three variables of B and L's formulae are manipulated as follows: the requester and requestee have equal power over one another (=P [S,H]) and equal distance from one another(=D[S,H]). The R variable interpreting the imposition of borrowing a pen is hence attained a small value (-R) as it is often described as a small favour. The manipulation of these variables is summed up as:

W(x) = (= P [S, H]) + (= D [S, H]) + (-R)

Figures 18and 19 display how both participant groups chose to perform this request.

6.7.1. NSBE Responses to Situation Seven
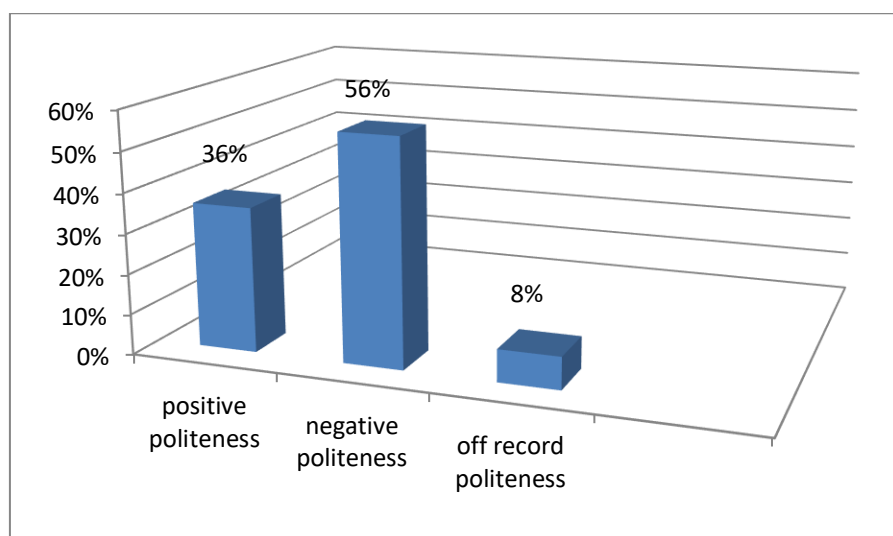
<center>**Figure18: Politeness Strategies in Requests for a Pen by NSBE**</center>

Figure 18displays NSBE responses to situation 6 and reveals interesting results. Although the weight of imposition in this situation is small (borrowing a pen), the NSBE did not choose to make the request baldly on record. Three of Brown and Levinson's strategies were used to mitigate the face threat and redress the imposition which is relatively small, though. 8 % of these strategies were off record in which S gives hints to H that a pen would be hopefully offered, e.g. *I need to buy some pens!/Have you got a spare pen?* and using gestures (wave a pen). Positive politeness strategies were opted for to redress the imposition in 36% of the requests mainly via using in-group identity markers such as group address terms, e.g. *Hey, mate, have you got a spare pen I may borrow?* and ellipsis, e.g. *Linda! Got a pen?* Negative politeness strategies- again- were used the most in 56% of the requests even if the weight of the imposition is low. The main sub-strategies used include:

- Being conventionally indirect: via using indirect speech acts which have unambiguous meanings, yet express S's want to be indirect, e.g. *Can you lend me a pen, please?/Can I borrow a pen, please?*

- Being pessimistic: using modals and subjunctive, e.g. *Could I borrow a pen, please?/ Could you, please, lend me a pen? I forgot mine.*

6.7.2. NSAA Responses to Situation Seven
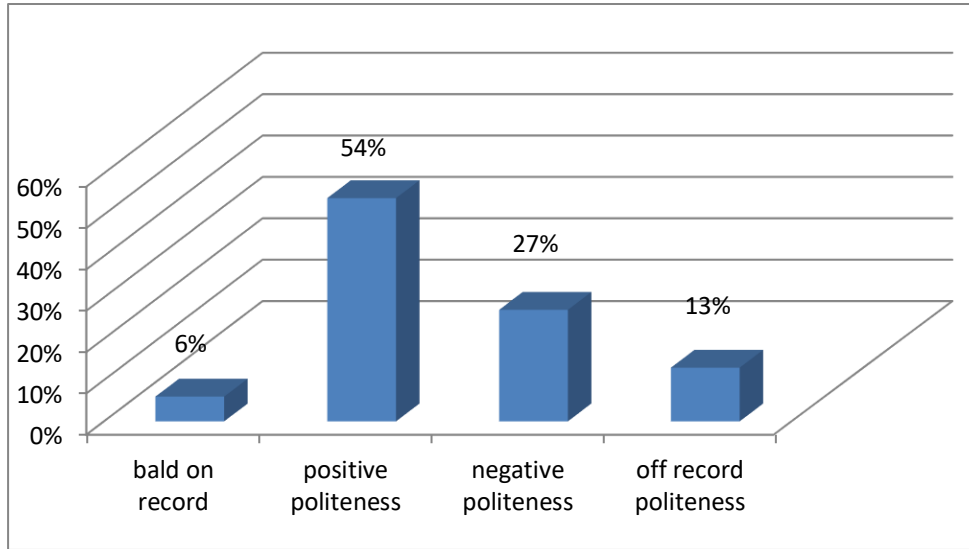
Figure19: Politeness Strategies in Requests for a Pen by NSAA

Compared to their NSBE counterparts, the NSAA seem to be more direct in requesting a pen, as shown in figure 19. The bald on record strategy was absent in the NSBE data but present in the data of NSAA with 6% of the requests, e.g. اعطيلي ستيلو meaning *Give me a pen./*اعطيلي ستيلو تعيش.meaning *Give me a pen, may you live long.* / هاتلي ستيلو من تم. meaning *Give me one of those pens*.

13% of the requests were made off- record, e.g.عندك ستيلو زايد؟meaning: *Have you got a spare pen ?/* اللي عندو ستيلو زايد؟ شكون عندو ستيلو زايد؟meaning: *Who has got a spare pen ?/* يمدهولي؟meaning: *Those who have a spare pen, give me one.*

27% of the requests were performed using negative politeness strategies such as being conventionally indirect, e.g.تقدر تسلفلي ستيلو؟ meaning *Can you lend me a pen?*, being pessimistic, e.g. ما عندكش ستيلو زايد؟ meaning *Haven't you got a spare pen?* and questioning and hedging, e.g.ما عليهش تسلفلي ستيلو نكتب و نردهولك؟Meaning *Is it OK if you lend me a pen? I'll give it back to you after I finish. /* ادا عندك ستيلو زايد تعيش اعطيلي باه نكتب. meaning *If you've got a spare pen, give it to me, may you live long.*

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Positive politeness strategies were employed in 54% of the requests. The main strategies used were:

- Using in-group identity markers:

    - Address terms such as خويا/لعزيزة اختي meaning *dear sister*/اختي meaning *sister*/خو meaning *brother*/ (a shortened form for brother)/حبيبنا meaning *love* or *darling*/صديقي, صاحبي,صحيبي meaning *friend* e.g.ستيلو يعيشك لعزيز خويا meaning *Dear brother, a pen, may you live long*/اداعندك ستيلو اعطيلي،حبيبي meaning *Love, give me a pen if you have a spare one.*
    - Ellipsis, e.g. نردهولك و بيه نكتب ؟ستيلوmeaning *A pen? I'll write something and give it back to you.*

- Joking, e.g. نهار. كانش نفيدكم فيدوني هيا زايد ستيلو لعرب يا meaning: *Hey you, Arabs! A spare pen.*

In sum, the responses of both participant groups to situation 7 revealed some crucial points. First, while the NSBE preferred strategies of avoidance enclosed in negative politeness strategies, the NSAA preferred strategies of solidarity enclosed in positive politeness.

On the one hand, for the NSBE, there was a negative correlation between the weight of imposition and politeness degree. In other words, as opposed to what was expected, the NSBE did not opt for direct strategies (bald on record or even positive politeness) even if the weight of imposition was small. Again, as claimed by Brown and Levinson (1987), and Yule (1996), this tendency towards employing indirect speech acts directed towards the negative face is a main characteristic of European societies. The British are by no means an exception.

On the other hand, the NSAA used more direct strategies compared to the NSBE. The small imposition, weighed in a small favour as requesting a pen, encouraged the appearance of on record requests and more imperatives since small favours in Algerian society do not usually necessitate asking for them in indirect ways. The NSAA tendency towards using more

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positive politeness strategies was expected in this case because they are used as a two-edge mechanism that allows making the request on the one hand and stressing and extending social relationships on the other hand. Brown and Levinson's claim that less polite strategies are often employed when small weight of imposition is exerted on the FTA held true for the Algerian participants.

6.8. Situation Eight: Request to borrow Money

8- *You are a father. Your young daughter is severely ill and is in an urgent need for a surgery. You do not have enough money, so you decide to ask a relative to lend you some. What would you say?*

The eighth situation was designed to elicit a request to borrow money where the requester and the requestee are relatives. It is worth mentioning that like in the previous situation, (situation 7), the variable being stressed is the rank of imposition (R) derived from the imposition inherent in the act of requesting. However, unlike the previous situation, the R variable is of a higher value (+R) since asking for money is generally more imposing than asking for a pen. The threefold formula is described as:

$$W(x) = (= P[S,H]) + (= D[S,H]) + (+R)$$

Figures 20 and 21 represent how NSBE and NSAA wanted to perform this request using politeness strategies respectively.

6.8.1 .NSBE Responses to Situation Eight
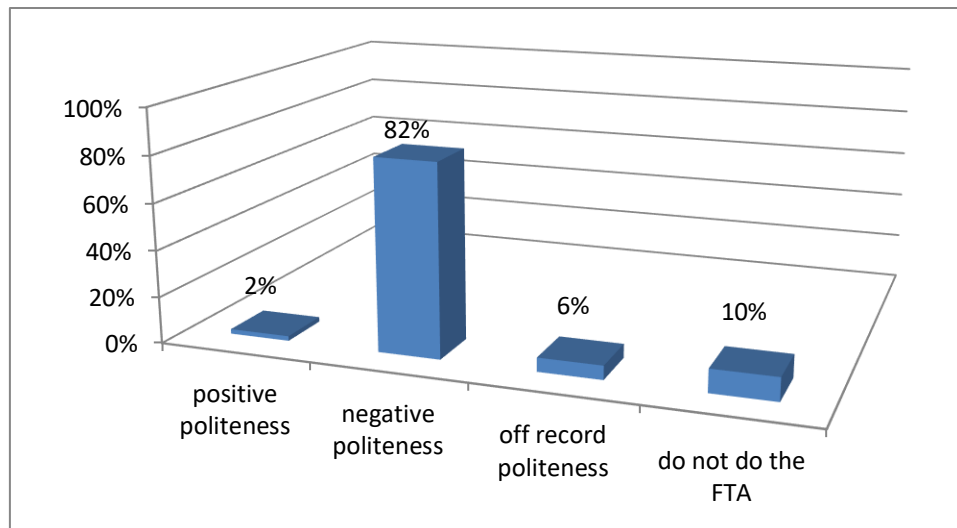
Figure20: Politeness Strategies in Requests for Money by NSBE

Figure 20displays the percentages of the different politeness strategies opted for by the NSBE participants to borrow money. The high degree of imposition which stems from asking for money lead this participant group to avoid using bald on record strategies: no performatives were found in the data. The other four strategies appeared in the corpus with different percentages, however.

Positive politeness strategies appeared the least with only 2 %, e.g. *Hey, you know I don't usually do this but I am short on cash. Do you mind lending me some money? I'll give it back as soon as I have cash*. Off-record strategies were used to convey the intended meaning in 6% of the requests mainly through giving hints to the addressee and flouting Gricean maxims, e.g.*I really need your help; we desperately need money to pay for her surgery.*10% of the participants opted for the most polite strategy: do not do the FTA. However, negative politeness strategies were the most employed ones in up to 82% of the requests.

The main negative strategies used were:

- Being conventionally indirect, e.g. *Please, can I borrow £ X? I'll pay you back as soon as possible.*

- Apologizing, e.g. *I'm so sorry to have to ask, but I desperately need money for my daughters' surgery. I'll pay you back in time, but I need it urgently!*

- Hedging/questioning, e.g. *Is there any way you could loan me the money? I'll pay it back as soon as I can. Please.*

These negative politeness strategies are used to redress the inherent face threat directed towards H's negative face to avoid imposing on his freedom of action (Cutting, 2002). However, compared to the case of borrowing a pen in which the degree of imposition was low (-R), the requests in this case were remarkably longer and often followed up with promises to return back the money.

6.8.2. NSAA Responses to Situation Eight
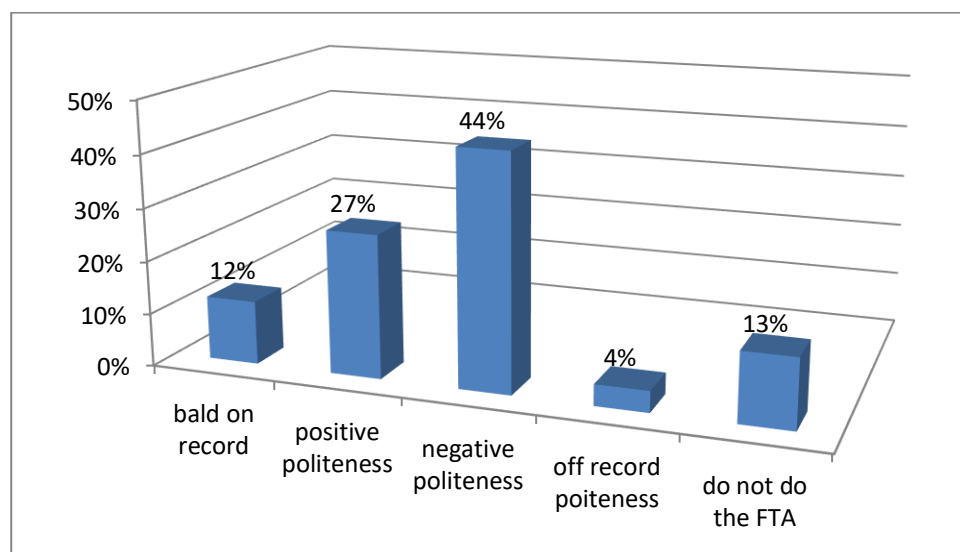
Figure21: Politeness Strategies in Requests for Money by NSAA

As displayed in figure 21, all Brown and Levinson's five strategies appeared in the responses of the NSAA participating in this study but in different percentages. The off-record strategies appeared in 4% of the data, e.g.دراهم راني حاير شكون يقدر يسلفلي meaning *I'm wondering who can lend me some money.* 12% of the requests were made baldly on record by means of want statements followed up with softeners such as "تعيش/الله يسترك/ الله يحفظك/ربي يخليك", e.g. اني حابك تسلفلي دراهم باه ندير عملية للطفلة تعيشmeaning *May you live long, I want you to lend me money for my daughter's surgery.* Positive politeness strategies were employed to redress the imposition in 27% of the requests mainly via claiming common ground and using in-group identity markers as in the following example:

والله ياصاحبي راهي الطفلة مريضة لازم نديرلها اوبيراسيون وراك علابالك بظروفي كامل نتمنى تعاونني شوية meaning *I swear to Allah, my friend,,, My daughter is ill and must have a surgery. You know all about my circumstances and I wish you give me some help.*

Negative politeness strategies were used the most in 44% of the requests. Examples of the sub-strategies used include:

- Being conventionally indirect, e.g.دراهم بشوية تعاونني تقدر إذا عملية لازمها مريضة راهي بنتي ونردهملك ان شاالله meaning : *My daughter is ill and must have a surgery. Can you help me with some money and I'll pay you back? Allah willing.*

- Being pessimistic, e.g. ماتقدرش تسلفلي شوية سوارد باش ندير للطفلة عملية ايرجون وبربي ان نشا الله نردهملك؟Meaning *Can't you lend me some money for my daughter's surgery? It's urgent and I'll giveit back to you, Allah willing.*

- Questioning/hedging, e.g..ماعليهش تسلفلي دراهم باش نوبيري لبنتي؟ و الله غير نردهملكmeaning *Is it OK if you lend me money for my daughter's surgery? I swear to Allah I'll give it back to you.*

So, like their NSBE counterparts, the majority of the NSAA participants showed a tendency towards using negative politeness strategies. Because asking for money is deemed a big favour compared to asking for a pen, both participant groups used more negative politeness than other strategies. The use of negative politeness strategies allows the speaker to convey their needs on the one hand and to imply the speaker's consideration of their hearer's right of non-imposition and freedom of action on the other hand. The NSAA requests for borrowing money are also characteristically longer than in requesting a pen and are often accompanied by promises to return the money back. That asking for money is achieved by means of negative politeness strategies in Algeria was also noticed in the study of Hadj Said (2010) which focused on El-Fhoul community in the East of Algeria.

Reference to God, which was totally absent in the NEBE requests, was remarkably present in the NSAA requests for money. The NSAA referred to Allah in either two ways. First, by swearing as a means to give reasons for, and justify the imposition and second by using the expressions [brabbiinshaallah] ان شاء الله / بربي ان شاالله[inshaallah],which mean Allah willing, when promising to return back the money.

6.9. Summary of the Main Findings

The analysis of data which has been done throughout this chapter revealed interesting findings concerning requests in Algerian Arabic and British English. From the perspective of Brown and Levinson's politeness theory, the present findings relate to: first, the variables P, D and R which determine the weightiness of the speech act and the mitigating devices that may be used according to these variables by each participant group; second, the set of the politeness strategies used by each group of informants in each request situation of the DCT;

third, possible culture-specific features which characterize the requests of the participant groups.

6.9.1. Power, Distance and Rank of Imposition

The findings of the present chapter support Brown and Levinson's claim that people's linguistic behaviour and social conduct is bound to the degree of social power, social distance and rank of imposition. It was noticed that both participant groups varied their requests according to these three variables. The effect of P, D and R can be best accounted for in terms of the directness of the requests as is argued by Brown and Levinson that the level of directness increases or decreases according to an overall assessment of these variables.

Both NSBE and NSAA used less direct requests modified by different mitigating devices when addressing people of higher social power (situation 1 and 3). They also phrased their requests in indirect ways when the interlocutors were socially distant (situation 6) by means of different mitigating devices. The participants also did not use direct requests when the rank of imposition was high (situation 8). However, it was also noticed that for both informant groups, social power was the most determinant factor which led the respondents to vary their requests considerably according to its altered values across situations. The effect of P on request strategy was tested in four situations (1, 2, 3 and 4) and whenever P increased, directness decreased. No direct requests were found in the data of both groups in the situations when H was higher in P than S (situation 1 and 3). Besides, both participant groups were less direct in making requests when P was derived from social status as opposed to difference in age.

Nevertheless, differences in considerations of these variables by NSBE and NSAA were spotted. As the degree of any of the three variables decreases, the NSAA used more

direct requests than the NSBE (situation 2, 4, 5 and 7). This finding can be accounted for by the less mitigating devices which the NSAA employed to soften their requests. In addition, in the situations of (- P [S, H]), (- D [S, H]) and (-R), the NSAA used more imperatives and performative statements than did the NSBE. Thus, the NSAA can be described as more direct than the NSBE when realizing the speech act of requests. However, this finding does not suggest that the NSAA are less polite than the NSBE. Using more direct requests in these situations rather indicates that the NSAA reacted according to the norms conventionally associated with interactions in similar situations in the Algerian culture.

6.9.2. Politeness Strategies

The analysis of the data made in this chapter also spots light on the different politeness strategies employed by the NSBE and the NSAA participants when making requests. Interestingly, all of Brown and Levinson's proposed politeness strategies occurred in the data of both groups of informants. However, the frequency of strategy use, the preference of using a strategy than the other and the sub-strategies used were significantly different in British English and Algerian Arabic.

To start with, although Brown and Levinson argue that 'do not do the FTA' and 'off-record politeness' are the most polite strategies which the speaker may choose to realize face threatening speech acts, they appeared the least in the data of NSBE and NSAA alike. The 'do not do the FTA' strategy appeared in very small ratios mainly in situations when S was lower in power than H and when the social distance between S and H and the rank of imposition were high. The 'off-record strategy' also appeared in small ratios throughout different situations. The main off-record sub-strategies which were used by both groups of respondents were giving hints and association clues.

The 'bald on record' strategy, which is claimed by Brown and Levinson to be the most direct one, was used by NSBE and NSAA in different percentages. In both groups, no bald on record requests were used when addressing people of higher P whether their P is estimated from difference in age or in social status (situation 1 and 3). This strategy occurred mostly when S was higher in P than H and when S and H were lowly distant (situation 4 and 5). However, compared to the NSBE group, the NSAA group used more bald on-record strategies across the situations of requests in the DCT. The bald on record strategies used were imperatives softened by 'please' in British English and imperatives softened by expressions serving the function of 'please' in Algerian Arabic. Very few plain imperatives were spotted in the data.

Compared to other strategies, negative politeness and positive politeness were the most used ones by both participant groups. However, whereas negative politeness was invariably the most employed strategy in the requests made by NSBE, positive politeness was the most selected one to modify the requests by NSAA. Accordingly, these findings gave evidence that the British do belong to an individualistic culture which emphasizes autonomy and the individual's freedom while the Algerian belong to a collectivistic culture which emphasizes reciprocal obligations and same group identity.

Throughout all the request situations of the DCT, the NSBE showed a tendency towards using negative politeness more than other strategies though in different ratios which correspond to alternations in the values of P, D and R. Positive politeness scored high ratios when the distance between interlocutors was low and when the rank of imposition was small (situation 5 and 7). The main positive sub-strategies used by this participant group were: the use of in-group identity markers or address forms and ellipsis. The main negative sub-

strategies were: being conventionally indirect, being pessimistic, apologizing, giving difference and minimizing imposition.

The NSAA tended to prefer positive politeness over other strategies. In the Algerian data, negative politeness outweighed positive politeness in three cases: first, when the addressee was higher in status than the addressor (situation 3), second, when the addressee was a socially-distant neighbour (situation 6) and third, when the rank of imposition was high (situation 8). Even in these cases, positive politeness strategies were remarkably opted for in considerable ratios. The main positive sub-strategies used by the NSAA group were: using in-group identity markers or in-group address terms, including both S and H in the activity, asking for or giving reasons, ellipsis and jokes. The main negative sub-strategies used by NSAA were: apologizing and giving reasons, giving difference, being conventionally indirect, being pessimistic and minimizing imposition. A striking difference between both informant groups as far as the negative sub-strategies are concerned was in that of being pessimistic. Whereas the NSBE relied on the use of subjunctive, the NSAA relied on indirect requests accompanied with negated probability. This is due to the lack of the modalisation and subjunctive in Arabic.

6.9.3. Culture-Specific Features

All the previously discussed findings expose some similarities and differences between Algerian Arabic and British English in terms of the perception of P, D and R, their correlation with directness and politeness strategies, strategy choice and preferences and sub-strategies. The differences noticed in the requests of the NSBE and the NSAA can all be attributed to cultural differences between British English and Algerian Arabic. Yet, other findings suggest the existence of some-cultural specific features which characterized one

participant group rather than the other. First, it was noticed that the NSAA used some blended strategies, a mixture of positive and negative devices, when requesting. Blended strategies were absent in the corpus of requests made by NSBE. Second, and more importantly, an outstanding feature which characterized the Algerian requests and was totally absent in the British ones was reference to God. Reference to God in the Algerian data was done mainly through using the holly word 'Allah' or its substitute 'Rabbi' which appeared in any of three cases: in expressions functioning as 'please' (situation 1 to 8), in swearing when giving reasons for making the requests (situation 1 to 8) and in expressions equivalent to 'God willing' (situation 8).

Third, it was also noticed that the NSAA used different linguistic codes in their requests: Standard Arabic, Algerian Arabic and French. The interplay between these three codes and the potential of their simultaneous occurrence in single utterances reflect a long rich history of the language in Algeria. Thanks to diglossia, the linguistic phenomenon which characterizes the Algerian society, the NSAA could shift from the high variety (Standard Arabic) to the low variety (Algerian Arabic) or vice versa depending on assessments of P, D and R. Thanks to the bilingual state of the Algerian society, the NSAA could shift from Algerian Arabic to French according to alterations in P, D and R

Conclusion

In this chapter, requests made by the NSBE and NSAA were analysed in the light of Brown and Levinson's politeness theory in an attempt to spot instances of universality or cross-cultural differences. It was found that making requests in both cultures depends on a combination of three variables: social power, social distance and rank of imposition. However, for the NSAA, social power was the most determinant factor in choosing requests

strategy. On the scale of directness, the NSAA proved to be more direct in realizing their requests than the NSBE, not because they are less polite but because they made requests according to their conventions of interaction which dictate the use of less mitigating devices in some situations. Although all Brown and Levinson's politeness strategies appeared in the data of both groups, their preferences of strategy use were different. The NSBE tendency towards employing more negative politeness than other strategies reflects the individualistic nature of the British culture which emphasizes autonomy, self-ruling and freedom of action. The NSAA tendency towards employing more positive politeness than other strategies reflects the collectivistic nature of the Algerian Islamic culture which emphasizes reciprocity and in-group relationships. Belonging to an Islamic culture was echoed in the Algerian requests by means of some religious expressions. Phenomena of this kind were absent in the requests made by NSBE.

Chapter Seven

Refusals in British English and Algerian Arabic

Introduction

Refusals are amongst the most frequent face threatening acts of everyday speech, in all languages. To refuse someone's request usually undergoes a systematic choice of possible mitigating devices to lessen the face threat. However, a careful study of these mitigating devices, often associated with politeness strategies, may reveal cross-cultural differences. Such differences may also occur in terms of the perception of the factors which determine the weightiness of the refusal. The level of directness associated with refusals is another aspect

which may also differ cross-culturally. This chapter provides an analysis of the participants' responses to the third section of the DCT which is meant to elicit refusals in six contextualized situations. The responses are analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively in the light of Brown and Levinson's politeness theory (1987). Hence, both the frequencies and the semantic formulas of politeness strategies in refusals are dealt with in an attempt to spot cross-cultural similarities and/or differences. How strategy choice correlates with the social variables (P, D and R) in the responses of NSBE and NSAA is analysed and discussed in this chapter with examples.

7.1. **Situation Nine: Refusal from Professor to Student**

9- You are a university teacher. While lecturing, one of your students asks for a leave. You refuse his request. What would you say?

The ninth situation of the DCT is devoted to elicit the first refusal from both participant groups. From the perspective of Brown and Levinson (1987), the social variables (P/D/R) which contribute to strategy choice, are herein manipulated in a way to stress the influence of power status (P) at the expense of social distance (D) and rank of imposition (R). P and D are attributed relatively small values. In this case, the addressor who performs the act of refusing is a university teacher (+P) whereas the addressee who receives the refusal is a student (-P). The formula is described as:

$$W(x) = (+ P [S, H]) + (=D [S, H]) + (R°)$$

7.1.1. NSBE Responses to Situation Nine
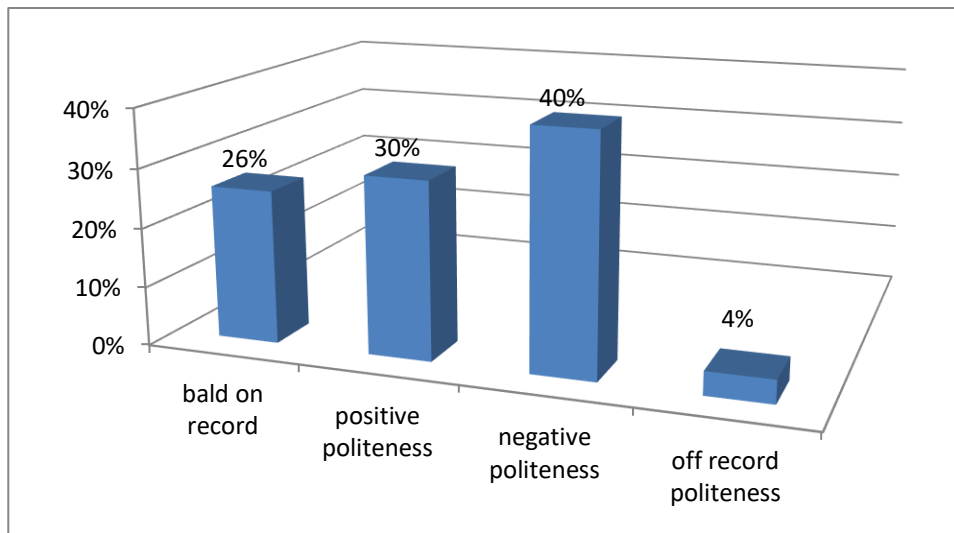
Figure22: Politeness Strategies in Teacher-to-Student Refusals by NSBE

In this instance of refusals in high-to-low power relationships, the NSBE group adopted four of Brown and Levinson's strategies. No one of the participants chose not to do the FTA, the most polite strategy. Off-record strategies were the least used in only 4% of the data namely via giving hints to the addressee that his request is refused, e.g. *I'm almost done here*. The other three strategies appeared at close rates. 26% of the refusals were made baldly on record using non-performative statements which include two types: flat 'no' or negative willingness ability, e.g. *No, you cannot/No, you may not leave/No, it's not possible at the moment.* Positive politeness strategies were used in 32% of the refusals mostly through giving reasons or excuses for refusing, e.g. *Not for the moment. This is very important for your subject.*, being optimistic, e.g. *I'm sure you can wait till the end of class.*, using in-group markers and inclusive 'we', e.g. *We're about to finish.*, offer of repair or new solution, e.g. *Please, wait until the end of the lecture.* The rest of the refusals, 40%, were phrased using negative politeness strategies, mainly:

- Apologizing, e.g. *I am sorry, but it's just not possible at the moment.*

- Being conventionally indirect, e.g. *Can you hold on for a few minutes?/ Can you hold on a little longer?*

- Being pessimistic, e.g. *Can't you just wait till I have finished?*

- Stating the FTA as a general rule, e.g. *Sorry, but I prefer that all students stay in class.*

7.1.2. NSAA Responses to Situation Nine
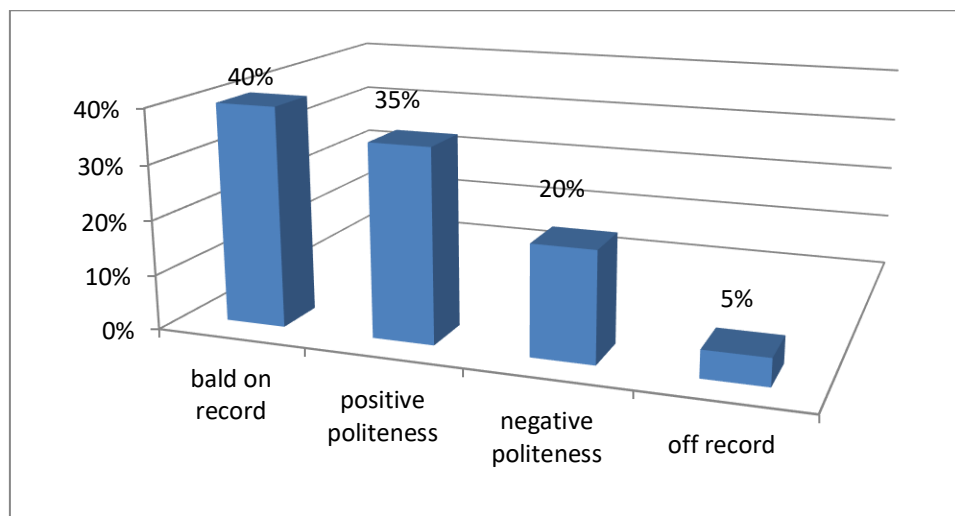
Figure23: Politeness Strategies in Teacher-to-Student Refusals by NSAA

This figure displays the percentages of the politeness strategies chosen by the NSAA respondents to perform a refusal in a high-to-low power relationship. The NSAA did not refrain from doing the act of refusing and showed a tendency towards using a wide range of direct strategies stemming from S's high power over H. Only 5% of the refusals in the NSAA data were made off record through using tautologies, e.g. القانون قانونmeaning *rules are rules./.*

من بداية السنة تفاهمنا فيها الممنوع ممنوعmeaning *It was clear since the beginning of the term that what is forbidden is forbidden.* , giving hints to the hearer, *e.g.*هذا وين قلنا باسم الله وانت حاب تخرج ديجا!! meaning *We' ve just started and you want to leave already!* 20% of the refusals were accompanied with face-threat redress via negative politeness, especially by apologizing for

refusing H's request, e.g. اسمحلي ما نقدرش نخليك تخرج meaning : *Forgive me, I cannot let you go./* عذرا مانقدرش نخليك تخرج meaning *Sorry, I cannot let you leave.*

Positive politeness strategies were the second highly opted for by 35% of the participants mainly through:

- Asking for/giving reasons for refusing, e.g. وعلاه ما تصبرش حتى تخلص المحاضرة, meaning *why don't you wait until the end of the lecture?*
- Using in-group markers, e.g. يا وليدي ما نقدرش نخليك تخرج meaning *My little son, I can't let you leave/* يا بني اصبر كي نخلص اخرج meaning *Son, be patient and leave after I finish.*
-
Offering alternative solution, e.g. مازال ما خلصتش المحاضرة كي نخلص تقدر تروح وين حبيت meaning *I haven't finished lecturing yet. You can go wherever you want after I'm done.*

The bald on record strategy was the most chosen option to phrase the refusal and occurred in 40% of the data. However, although Brown and Levinson suggest two ways of going baldly on record either by using performatives or non-performatives, the former did not appear in the data. This is not to mean that this kind of refusal does not exist at all in Algeria, but it is not very common, e.g. أنا ارفض meaning *I refuse.* Examples of non-performative refusals which appeared in this study include flat no, e.g. لا/negative willingness ability, e.g. ما تقدرش تخرج meaning *you can't leave./*other Algerian alternatives, e.g. ممنوع/ ما كانش meaning *It is forbidden/It can't be.*

So, in response to this situation, when S is more powerful in status than H, both NSBE and NSAA showed considerable levels of directness rendered in choosing more bald on record and positive politeness strategies. However, The NSAA were more direct because of their obvious tendency towards employing more bald on record refusals. Even when an

attempt to redress the refusal's face threat took place, the NSAA did that mainly through positive politeness strategies than negative politeness ones.

7.2. **Situation Ten: Refusal from Student to Professor**

10- *You are a Professor's assistant. At the end of office hours, you are going to leave. The Professor asks if you can stay with him/her and help him /her to correct students' papers. How would you refuse?*

In this situation, a speech act of refusing a request to help takes place. The S is an assistant teacher while the H is a professor. The P variable is being in focus and goes in a low-to-high direction. Therefore, Following Brown and Levinson's formulae, the social distance between the participants is equal (= D [S, H]), the rank of imposition is neutral (°R) where the social power goes in a low-to-high direction(- P [S, H]):

$W(x)= (- P [S, H])+ (= D [S, H]) + (°R)$

The responses elicited from both participant groups are charted in the following figures.

7.2.1. **NSBE Responses to Situation Ten**
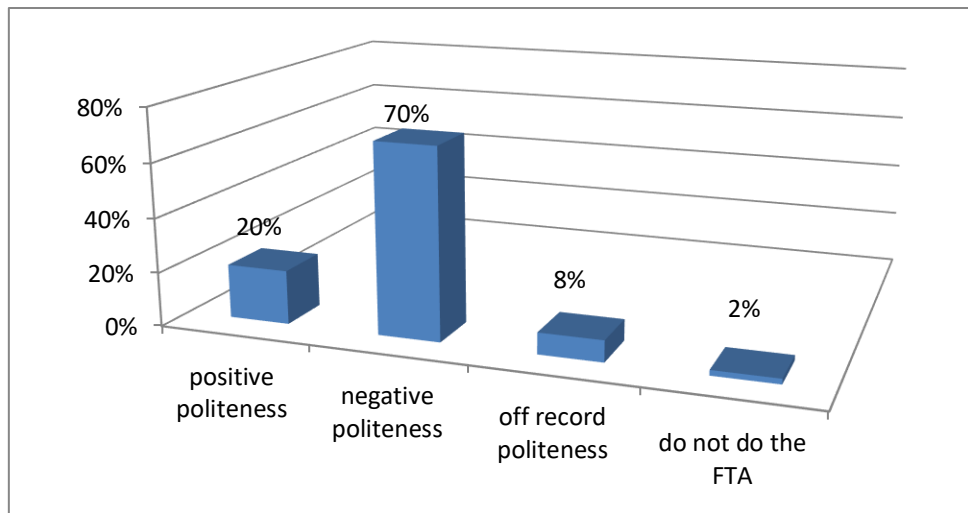
Figure24: Politeness Strategies in Student-to-Teacher Refusals by NSBE

Figure 24 indicates the different politeness strategies used by the NSBE participants for situation ten. 2% of the participants stated that they would not refuse in this situation (not do the FTA). 8% of the refusals which appeared in the responses were off-record either via giving hints, e.g *.I can come tomorrow if you want.* or via making gestures as stated by a couple of the participants. Positive politeness strategies appeared in 20% of the refusals especially through offers and promises, e.g. *I really have to leave now. How about coming early tomorrow? / I'd love to, but I've made other plans for this evening. I could come in early tomorrow if that's any use?* Negative politeness strategies were used in the majority of the refusals scoring 70% of the overall data. The main sub-strategies used were:

- Apologizing and giving overwhelming reasons for refusing, e.g. *I am really sorry but I have other engagements and I can't stay.*

- Giving difference: by using address terms which denote the addressee's high status and humble the addressor like 'sir' and 'professor', e.g. *I'm really sorry, sir. I'm afraid I have other plans/ You have to excuse me, professor, but… I really can't stay.*

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7.2.2. NSAA Responses to Situation Ten
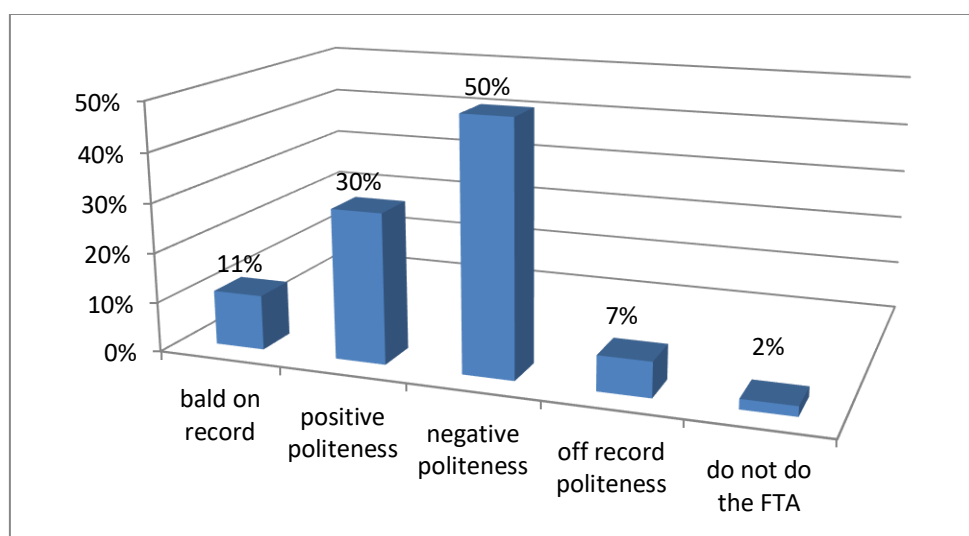
Figure25: Politeness Strategies in Student-to-Teacher Refusals by NSAA

Figure 25 indicates how NSAA responded to situation ten. All Brown and Levinson's politeness strategies appeared in the corpus of responses yet in different percentages which reflect the participants' preferences. The most polite strategy- do not do the FTA- was the choice of 2% of the participants. 7% of the refusals were expressed off-record in the least direct way by giving associating clues, e.g. دركا *?* meaning *Now?* / و لازم نجيب لولاد من ليكول درك شوية الله meaning *I swear to Allah, I must pick up the children from school.*11% of the refusals were communicated baldly on record by means of non-performative statements, e.g. ما والله نقدر meaning *I swear to Allah, I can't*/ ما نقدرش نقعد meaning *I cannot stay*/ ما نقعدش meaning *I won't stay*.

Positive politeness appeared in 30% of the refusals mainly via:

- Offering and promising:

e.g. والله ما نقدر اليوم بصح كي نرجع غدوة ان شاء الله نبدا بيها meaning *I swear to Allah, I can't do it today,* و الله غير مادا بيا نكمله بصح مشغولة غدوة ان شاء الله نجي بكري و /*but I'll do it tomorrow God willing* نديره meaning *I swear to Allah, I'd like to but I am busy. I'll come early tomorrow and do it.*

- Giving/ asking for reasons, e.g. والله يا الشيخ ما نقدر عندي شغل خلاف meaning *I swear to Allah, sir I can't. I have other appointments* /وعلاه ما تخليش لغدوة ان شاء الله و نكمله meaning *Why don't you leave it till tomorrow, Allah willing, and I'll do it?*

- Including both S and H in the activity, e.g. راني عندي طريق خلي غدوة ا شاء الله و نريقلوها مع بعض meaning *I have to go somewhere, leave it till tomorrow, God willing, we will sort things out together.*

Negative politeness was the most opted for strategy and it occurred in 50% of the responses. The main sub-strategies were:

- Apologizing: especially by begging forgiveness from H for refusing using expressions equivalent to 'forgive me', 'I am sorry' and 'excuse me'. These include:"اسمحلي" , the word from standard Arabic is "معذرة" or the French expressions "pardon, monsieur/ excusez moi/ je m' excuse", e.g. اسمحلي ا الشيخ ما نقدرش عندي شغل meaning *Forgive me sir, I can't. I have other appointments* /أستاذ ما نقدرش نبقى عندي شغل فالدار و لازم نروح اسمح لي اه. meaning *Sir, I cannot stay I've something to do at home and I must leave, forgive me.*

- Giving difference: mainly through the use of honorific terms which denote the H's high status such as "الشيخ", "استاذ " or sometimes by borrowing the French terms "Monsieur", "vous", e.g. والله سامحني أستاذ عندي مسؤوليات خلاف meaning *You have to forgive me, sir. I have other appointments, I swear to Allah* /Pardon monsieur, والله ما نقدر اليوم meaning *Pardon me, sir, I swear to Allah I can't do it today.*
- Stating the FTA as a general rule, e.g. سامحني أستاذ جامي نزيد فوق الوقت هذا. meaning *forgive me, sir, I never overstay at work.*

In sum, when the addressor is socially less powerful than the addressee, both participant groups employed more negative politeness than other strategies to soften the speech act of refusing. The major sub-strategy used by both groups is apologizing often accompanied with giving overwhelming reasons to justify the refusal. Nevertheless, significant differences can be spotted in the total corpus of responses:

First, at the level of directness, it can be noticed that the NSAA group utilized more direct ways for refusing than did the NSBE. More positive politeness and bald on record strategies occurred in the NSAA data.

Second, on a socio-cultural level, the linguistic phenomenon of code switching appeared in the Algerian data and was totally absent in the English data. Code switching instances were either from Algerian Arabic to Standard Arabic or from Algerian Arabic to French. French is also opted for in this case where the H is higher in status than S mainly because of the Tu/ Vous address term system that allows H to interpret S's awareness of H's higher social status or significant social distance.

Third, also marked on the socio-cultural level, is an outstanding feature characterizing the NSAA refusals than the NSBE ones which is, reference to God. Reference to God in Algerian Arabic and standard Arabic is achieved by means of the terms " الله" and "ربي ". In refusals, these terms were used in two different ways:

- Swearing to God: this way of using the name of God is defined in Islamic cultures as "the speech act by which a person binds himself to do or not to do a certain specific physical or juridical act, by invoking the name of God or one of the divine attributes." (Abdelmajid 2000: 218 qtd in ZainalAriff and Mugableh 2013). This is achieved by using the discourse particle 'wallahi' "والله" often at the beginning- but also at the end-

of the act. Swearing to God was a main part of the NSAA refusals when they gave reasons for refusing (positive politeness) or when they apologized and demanded the addressee's excuse for refusing (negative politeness). In other words, the NSAA used swearing to Allah that they are bound to other commitments in order to justify their refusals. Using swearing and inserting Allah's name backs up the justification on the one hand and asserts politeness on the other hand as claimed by Mughazy (2003: 12):

> The use of wallahi as a politeness particle stems from the interlocutors' knowledge of a cultural system of expectations known as Qasham. This system involves a set of rights and obligations that regulate relationships between individuals who are not complete strangers or intimates. […] Therefore, wallahi is not only used to mitigate face threat but also to justify the imposition."

- Discourse conditionals: reference to God was also made through discourse conditionals which mean God willing and which are defined by Farghal (1993: 49) as "those conditional clauses that are frequently pegged to segments of Arabic discourse in order to mortgage the realization of the relevant speech act, e.g. a promise, to the will of Allah." Algerian Arabic discourse conditionals found in the present data of research include: "ان شاء الله", "باذن الله", "الا كتب ربي", "بربي ان شالله". These were mainly but not exclusively found in the positive politeness sub-strategy offer/promise to mitigate the refusals's face threat and to offer alternative solutions even if they were not all real promises. ZainalAriff and Mugablleh (2013) claim that "this tendency correlates with the instilled belief of Muslims that every single movement in this universe is undoubtedly under the complete control and will of Allah." (255)

Another discourse particle that was remarkably present in the NSAA refusals is Allah ghalab"غالب الله"which is triggered by the same idea underlying the production of discourse conditionals that everything in this universe is under the absolute control of Allah. The difference, however, is in the syntactic form of this type of discourse particle which contains no conditional segments. "غالب الله" was used in many Algerian Arabic refusals to give reasons and not to claim responsibility for refusing.

7.3. **Situation Eleven: Refusal to a Stranger**

11- You are a student. You are about to go home in your car. A student, whom you have not met before, approaches and asks you for a lift home claiming that he lives in the same area as yours. You want to refuse. What would you say?

In this situation, a refusal is made in the first encounter between two students who are, thus, not close friends. The three social variables were carefully manipulated to stress the effect of high social distance between interlocutors on the choice of politeness strategy. Therefore, the rank of imposition is attributed an average value (°R). Both S and H are students and are assumed to have equal power over one another (=P[S, H]). The social distance between S and H is high because they meet for the first time (+ D [S, H]). B & L's formula in this situation takes the following form:

$$W(x)= (=P[S, H]) + (+ D [S, H]) + (°R)$$

7.3.1. NSBE Responses to Situation Eleven
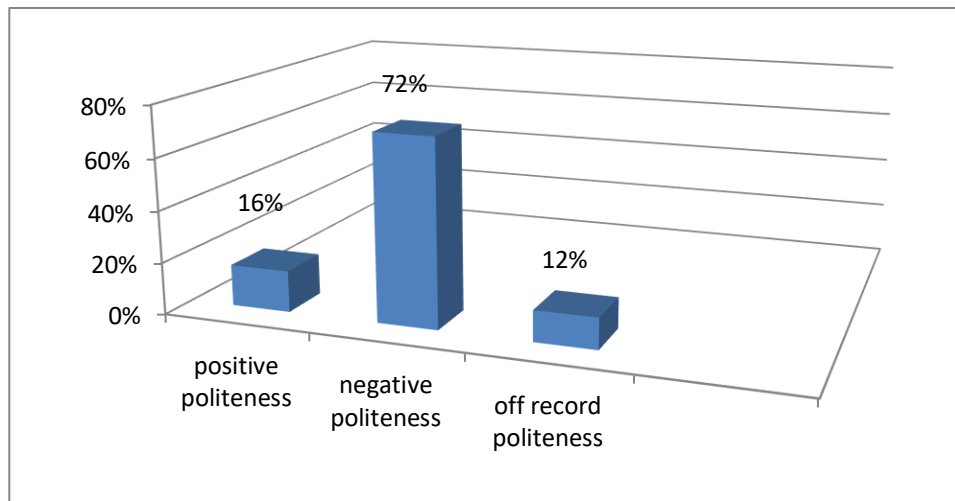
Figure26: Politeness Strategies in Stranger- to- Stranger Refusals by NSBE

Figure 26represents the percentages of the different politeness strategies used by the group of NSBE to make refusals when the interlocutors are socially distant. It is noticed that none bald on record refusals were used as a result of considerations of social distance. The respondents also did not refrain from doing the speech act at all. "Not do the FTA" was not chosen because if nothing was done to convey the refusal either linguistically or para-linguistically, the addressee would possibly take the addressor's behaviour as a positive answer rather than refusing. The other three strategies were employed in different ratios to convey the refusal.

Off-record politeness was chosen in 12% of the refusals. This could be achieved by means of giving hints, e.g. *I'm going to a friend's home, actually/I don't really know you…!/ Do I know you?* Positive politeness was opted for to reduce the act weightiness in 16% of the refusals mainly via asking for/giving reasons, e.g. I *would love to, but I can't. I'm not heading straight home.*, using jargon, e.g. *Nah, mate, sorry/sorry, mate*, or through offer/ promise, e.g. *I'm not going straight home so I won't be able today…but next time we may carpool together?*

Negative politeness was overwhelmingly used to redress the face threat in 72% of the refusals. Examples of negative politeness strategies from the NSBE responses include:

- Apologizing: apologizing for refusing along with justifications was the most negative strategy used, e.g. *I'm really sorry; I don't want to be rude or unhelpful but I don't know you nor do we have mutual friends… therefore I wouldn't be able to give you a lift.*

- Stating the FTA as a general rule: by doing so, the S reduces the face threat to H by implying that the refusal applies to all persons who have, under the same circumstances, the same status as H, e.g. *I'm afraid I don't give lifts to strangers*.

7.3.2. NSAA Responses to Situation Eleven
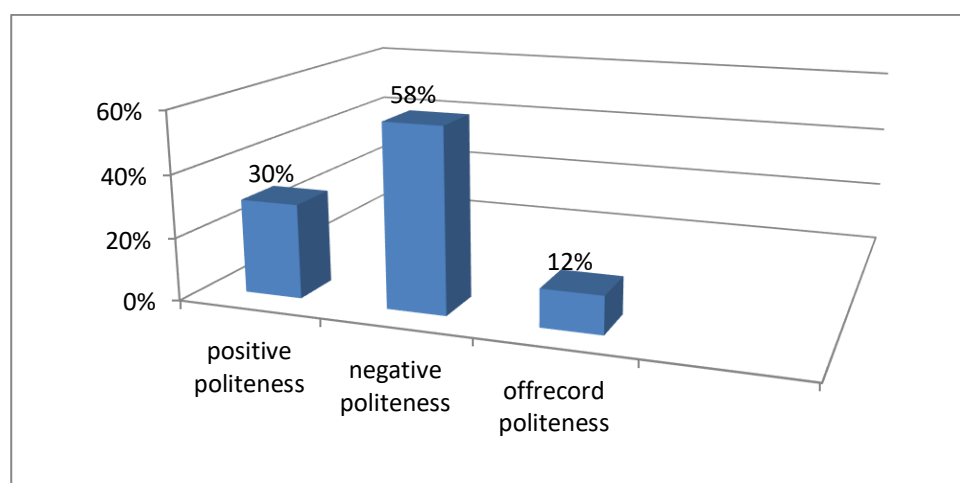
Figure27: Politeness Strategies in Stranger- to- Stranger Refusals by NSAA

Figure 27 indicates in percentages the politeness strategies used by the NSAA group in making refusals when the social distance between interactants is high. Like their NSBE counterpart, the NSAA did not use bald on record strategies in either forms (performatives/non-performatives) due to considerations of the social distance between S and

H. The respondents also did not withhold from doing the act of refusing, but they rather employed one of the other three ways to make their refusals.

The off-record strategy was selected by 12% of the respondents to mitigate the face threat. Like the NSBE, the NSAA used the off-record 'giving hints' sub-strategy to communicate their refusals in the most indirect way, e.g. /والله اني هنا برك meaning *I swear to Allah, I'm not going your way* /راني كومبلي راح نهز صحابي معايا meaning *Car is full. I am taking some friends with me*.

Positive politeness was chosen to redress the face threat resulting from the act of refusing in 30% of the refusals. The main positive sub-strategies used were:

- Giving reasons, e.g.والله ما نقدر نوصلك مانيش رايح للدار عندي خدمة نديرها.meaning *I swear to Allah, I can't. I am not going straight home, I have something to do*.
- Using of in-group identity markers such as "خويا"(*brother*), "صاحبي"(*friend*), "خو" (*bro*), "لعزيز"(*dear*), "صحيبي"(*little friend*) which attempt to reduce the face damage via reducing social distance, e.g.والله يا خويا لعزيز ما نقدر. meaning *I swear to Allah dear brother, I can't* /والله يا صاحبي ما نقدرعندي قضية قبل ما نروح للدار meaning *I swear to Allah friend, I can't. I have a problem to sort out, first*.
- Offering/ promising, e.g. والله يا خويا ماني رايح للدار درك عندي شغل نديرو قبل خلي خطرة خلاف نشالله meaning *I swear to Allah, brother, I am not heading home. I have some engagements. Maybe some other time, God willing*.

Negative politeness strategies were preferred to reduce the face threat in 58% of the refusals. The main used negative sub-strategies were:

- Apologizing: by apologizing and giving overwhelming excuses for the refusal, the participants sought not to damage their H's face. Expressions of apologies used include "سامحني" "اسمح لي" "معذرة" "désolé", e.g. سامحني ما نقدرش نديك معايا meaning *Forgive me, I can't take you with me.* /اسمحلي بصح ما نعرفكش ما نقدرش نديك معايا meaning

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Forgive me, but I don't know you. I just can't give you a lift /عندي طريق.اني مانيش مروح. والله désolé *meaning: I am not going home. Iam sorry, Iswear to Allah.* اسمحلي بزاف ما نقدرش/ *meaning: Forgive me, I can't.*

- Stating the FTA as a general rule: e.g. والله جامي ركبت معايا واحد ما نعرفوش *meaning I swear to Allah, I've never given a lift to someone I don't know.*

So, in response to situation 11, which focuses on the influence of high social distance, many similarities can be marked from both participant groups. First, the two politeness strategies lying at the two extremes of Brown and Levinson's hierarchical taxonomy were not opted for. The bald on record strategy was avoided because altering direct refusals in first encounters cannot only be described as poorly polite but also as rude. Not doing the FTA was not a suitable choice if one is to refuse. Second, negative politeness was the most used strategy in making refusals especially for NSBE. Third, it is noticed that both respondent groups employed negative politeness to preserve the H negative face predominantly through apologies and giving overwhelming reasons for refusing.

Differences can be spotted, however. Firstly, like in the previous situation, reference to Allah was also made in the Algerian refusals but not in the British ones. Swearing to God (والله), conditional discourse (ان شاالله/ بربي ان شآ الله) alongside with the particle " الله غالب " were characteristic features of Algerian refusals.

Secondly, it is noticed that the NSAA opted for more positive politeness strategies than did the NSBE. However, though the "asking for/ giving reasons" positive strategy was preferred by NSAA and NSBE alike, The latter group seemed to be more comfortable giving the real reason behind the refusal (that H is a stranger). It was outstandingly noticed that giving the real reason behind the refusal in the Algerian corpus was done by females more than males, e.g.والله ياخويا ما نقدر الله غالب ما نعرفكش meaning *I swear to Allah, brother, I can't. I*

don't know you. This might be quite normal in the Algerian society where females do not normally speak to male strangers. This tends to be more obvious when considering the following example where the female respondent considers what people might think of her if she lifted a male stranger in her car: لا لا خويا و الله ما نقدر اولا ما نعرفكش و زيد انت طفل وانا طفلة واش يقولو الناس meaning *No, brother. I swear to Allah, I can't. I don't know you. Besides, what would people think of a girl giving a lift to a boy?*

Another significant difference between refusals of both groups is the existence of some kind of blended strategies in the NSAA data. These mixed strategies contain both negative and positive politeness means of face threat mitigation. In more details, some Algerian refusals contained a basically negative politeness strategy (apologizing) alongside with a basically positive politeness strategy (the use of in-group markers). These strategies were coded as negative politeness when S put stress on the apology itself like in:

- Example 1: والله تسامحني خويا والله ما نقدر نديك معايا meaning *I swear to Allah you ought to forgive me brother; I swear I can't take you with me.*
- Example2 : سامحني خويا و الله ما نقدر سامحني، اه؟ meaning *Forgive me, brother I swear to Allah that I can't. Forgive me, would you?*

However, when the insertion of the in-group identity marker was the S's attempt to reduce the social distance, these strategies were coded as positive politeness:

- Example. والله يالعزيز ما نقدر خلي خطرة خلاف و سامحني meaning *I swear to Allah, dear, that I can't. Maybe some other time. Forgive me.*

7.4. Situation Twelve: Refusal to Best Friend

12- You are a student. You are about to go home in your car. Your mobile phone rings. It is your closest friend, Andy. He asks you to wait for him and give him a lift in your car. You want to go home as soon as possible so you refuse his request. What would you say?

This situation aims to elicit refusals under the influence of social distance between close friends. The refusal is to a car lift. The rank of imposition is relatively average (°R). S and H have equal power status (=P[S, H]).The social distance whose effect on strategy choice is being stressed here is estimated from close friend relationship and is attributed a low level (-D [S, H]).

$$W(x) = (=P[S, H]) + (-D [S, H]) + (°R)$$

The responses of NSBE and NSAA to this situation are charted in figure 28 and 29.

7.4.1. NSBE Responses to Situation Twelve
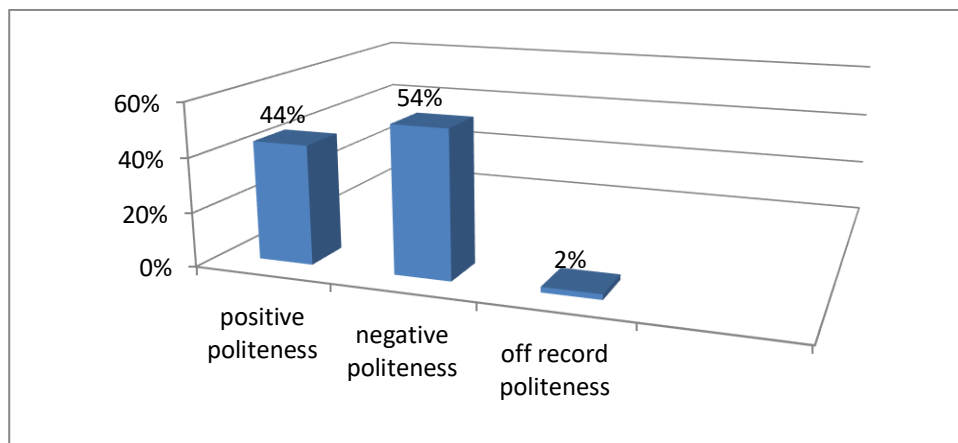
Figure28: Politeness Strategies in Close friend Refusals by NSBE

This figure displays the politeness strategies chosen by NSBE to perform refusals in situation 12. Although the interactants are close friends, the NSBE did not make bald on record refusals. They also did not withhold from doing the speech act of refusing but they employed any of the three ways to communicate the act: via going off record or via redressing the face threat using negative or positive politeness.

Off-record politeness was chosen by only 2% of the participants to imply their refusals by flouting the relation maxim and giving irrelevant information, e.g. *I'm going on a date*. Positive politeness strategies were selected to lessen the face threat in 44% of the NSBE refusals. Compared to the previous situation where D was of a high value, the rate of occurrence of positive politeness strategy is higher. The use of in-group identity markers such as '*dude/ honey /hun /mate/buddy/Andy*' which assert camaraderie was a main characteristic of positive politeness in this situation of equal social distance e.g. *Can't do it. I have to get home, honey*. Offers and promises were remarkably present in NSBE close friend refusals, e.g. *Andy; I really need to go home right now. See you tomorrow... maybe we can have lunch together? What do you think?* Asking for/ Giving reasons was all the same present as a means to reduce the mitigation of the refusal, e.g *.Andy, I can't. I really need to get straight home.*

Negative politeness strategies were nevertheless the most opted for by NSBE and rated 54%. Apologizing for refusing was extremely used to communicate the refusal on the one hand and not to humiliate H on the other hand, e.g. *I'm really sorry Andy, but I can't wait today.*

Blended strategies were used in some cases of refusals when the apology was accompanied with in-group address terms.

7.4.2. NSAA Responses to Situation Twelve
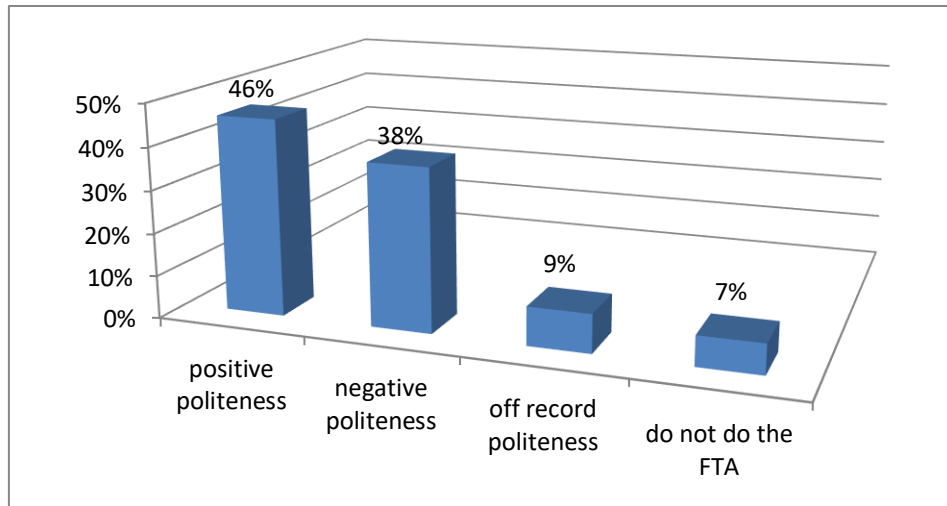
Figure29: Politeness Strategies in Close Friend Refusals by NSAA

As indicated infigure29, the NSAA employed four of Brown and Levinson's politeness strategies when the refusal is addressed to a best friend. However, although the interlocutors are best friends whose relationship is characterized by a low D, producing bald on record refusals was not appropriate. 7% of the participants withheld from making the refusal altogether because, as stated by few participants, one cannot say 'no' to best friends. 9% of this participant group chose to make refusals off-record in highly indirect ways, e.g. راني في حالة يا ربي نوصل للدار نريح meaning *I'm not feeling well at all. I want to go home and have some rest.*

Negative politeness was the means by which the face damage was reduced in 38% of the NSAA refusals. Once again, the sub-strategy, apologizing, was used by the overwhelming majority, e.g.سامحني بصح ما نقدرش نديك اليوم عندي شغل و ما/ meaning *forgive me, but I can't today/* نيش رايح للدار اسمح لي اه؟ / meaning *I am not going home; I'm busy. Forgive me. Would you?* غير اسمح لي ما نقدرش والله meaning *You ought to forgive me. I can't; I swear to Allah.*

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Positive politeness was chosen by most participants with 46%. The main sub-strategies used were:

Using of in-group identity markers: these include Algerian expressions such as "صاحبي" (friend), "صحيبي" (little friend), "خو" (bro), "خويا"(brother), "لعزيز"(dear), "حبيبي" (darling), "والله غالب خويا مي والله" (dear)e.g. "لعزيزة", "حنونة"(honey/dearie), "حبيبتي" (darling), "اختي" (sister), "والله حنونة اني مزروبة" meaning Allah ghaleb, brother, but I swear to Allah I can't./ ما نقدر شوية ما نقدرش نستاك meaning I swear to Allah, dearie, I'm a bit in a hurry. Can't wait for you.

- Giving reasons : different reasons were used to justify the refusal, e.g. والله يا صاحبي مانقدر عندي حوايج نقضيهم meaning I swear to Allah, friend, I can't. I need to go shopping.
- Offering/promising: offers as alternative solutions and promises of recompense appeared a lot in the Algerian data, e.g. اوه خسارة لو كان ما عنديش مشية نوصلك حنونتي بصح اني نخلفهالك مرة وحدة اخرى meaningIt's a pity, I have to go somewhere else. Otherwise, I would give you a lift, darling; some other time? As a kind of alternative solutions, some of the respondents suggested calling a mutual friend which, in turns, can be considered as a way of assuming common ground, e.g. اني رايح مع العايلة، شوف محمد؟meaning I'm taking my family with me. Perhaps you may arrange with Mohammed? والله ما نقدر عندي وحد الشغل عيط لزينو بالاك مازال ماراحشmeaningI swear I can't. I have something to do. Call Zinou; perhaps he's still at the campus.

In sum, it has not escaped our notice that refusals affected by low D values in NSBE and NSAA data share some similarities. To start with, decreasing the D [S, H] value did not permit the addressor to refuse directly as no bald on record speech act took place. This may be justified by the nature of the act itself. Since refusals are classified among the most face threatening acts, they may demand major efforts from the S's part to reduce H's face damage even in cases of close friendliness. Sometimes, it is the friendliness binding the participants which renders doing the refusal in a straight line very difficult as was claimed by some NSAA who could not refuse at all (do not do the FTA strategy). The second significant similarity lies

in the use of apologizing as a major negative politeness sub-strategy in both groups of responses. These apologies were often backed up by justifications. More importantly, it has come to sight that like those of the NSAA, NSBE refusals in this low D situation did contain a blending of strategies. In-group markers were sometimes attached to apologies to reduce the damage generated from refusing a friend's request, e.g. *I'm really sorry mate…Can't do it today as I'm in a rush/Andy, dear, I'm really sorry but I can't*. Thus, the same coding procedure that was followed in previous situations was applied here.

Nevertheless, the corpus of responses yielded significant differences, too. First, as far as the Algerian refusals are concerned, positive politeness is preferred to other strategies as opposed to British refusals where negative politeness was in chief. Second, some of the NSAA chose not to do the FTA at all because of consideration of camaraderie which results in solidarity. Third, reference to Allah was also noticed in Algerian refusals in this low D situation as in the previous situations. The NSAA used swearing to Allah to give reasons and back up apologies and discourse conditionals and "الله غالب" [Allah ghaleb] when giving offers and promises. This type of mentioning God or any other divine name was absent in NSBE refusals.

In brief, as opposed to what was claimed by Brown and Levinson (1987), the low social distance between interactants did not encourage Ss to refuse in the most direct ways. Many respondents from both groups used negative politeness which serves difference rather than solidarity. It was even noticed that some Ss opted for the off-record strategy which is by no means direct. When a couple of NSAA did not do the refusal, it was intimacy tying them to their close friend which forbade refusing the request.

Compared to the findings of the previous chapters, it can be noticed that in cases of requesting a close friend, both groups used more positive politeness strategies in making the requests. Hence, it can be claimed that refusals, in their nature and by their nature, inhere a major face threat that may make S think twice before producing them, even to intimates.

7.5. Situation Thirteen: Influence of Low Ranking of Imposition on Refusals

13. You are a brilliant student. You always attend classes, and are known to take good notes. A day before an important exam, a classmate of yours knocks on your door and asks you for your notebook because he missed some classes. You refuse his request. What would you say?

Unlike the previous four situations of this chapter which were set to elicit refusals under the influence of interpersonal relationships (P and D), this situation aims at eliciting refusals under the influence of the rank of imposition rendered in the speech act itself. Hence, the three variables which determine the overall weightiness of the refusal are manipulated as follows. Both S and H have equal power status being students (=P [S, H]) and they are equally distant (=D [S,H]) as they are neither very close friends nor total strangers. The value of the rank of imposition R which is estimated from the imposition of borrowing a notebook is described as small (-R). On the whole, the formula takes this form:

$$W(x)= (= P [S, H]) + (=D [S, H]) + (-R)$$

How NSBE and NSAA used politeness strategies to perform their refusals in this situation is displayed in figure 30 and 31.

7.5.1. NSBE Responses to Situation Thirteen
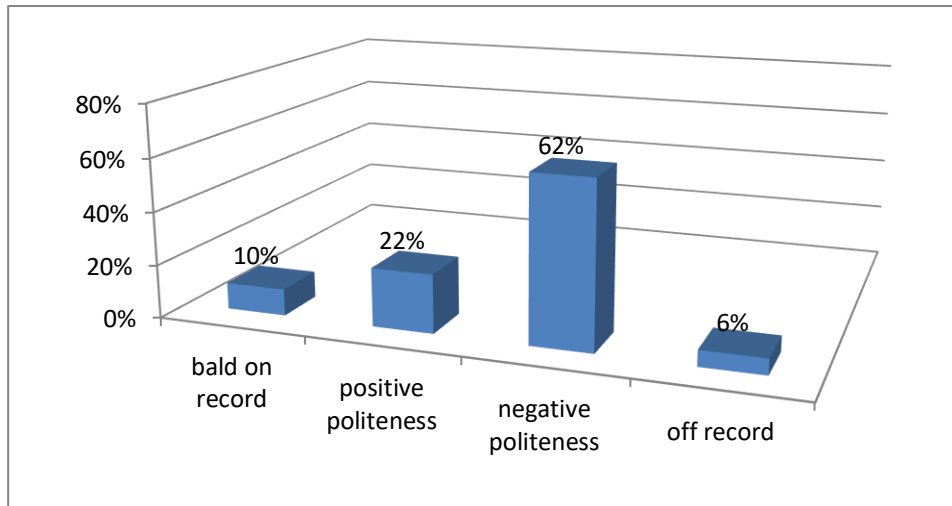
Figure 30: Politeness Strategies in Refusals to Lending a Notebook by NSBE

As shown in figure 30, when the imposition is relatively low, the NSBE group used four different types of politeness strategies. As R is of a small value, none of the respondents refrained from making the refusal. The other strategies appeared in different percentages reflecting this group's preferences of ways to refuse. Only 6% used the off-record strategy to convey their message, e.g. *I'm afraid I'm studying right now.* Bald-on-record strategies, which were previously avoided (situation 11 and 12), appeared in 11% of the refusals. Even if no flat 'No' was used, non-performative refusals were produced instead, e.g. *I'm afraid I can't do that/I wouldn't lend you my notes as you missed some class because you were too busy partying.* Positive politeness strategies were used in 22% of the refusals. The main categories used were the use of in-group identity markers, e.g. *I'm studying from the notebook, mate…can't give it to you yet cause I'm not done*, offering and promising, e.g. *I would love to but I need the notes…but you can copy them if you like* and giving reasons, e.g. *The exam is tomorrow. I can't give it now. I need them myself*.

Negative politeness strategies were preferred and were used to maintain H's face in 62% of the NSBE refusals. These include:

- Apologizing, e.g. *Oh! I'm really sorry but I'm not done revising and I need it myself.*

- Stating the FTA as a general rule, e.g. *I don't usually give my notes to anyone, Sorry.*

7.5.2. NSAA Responses to Situation Thirteen
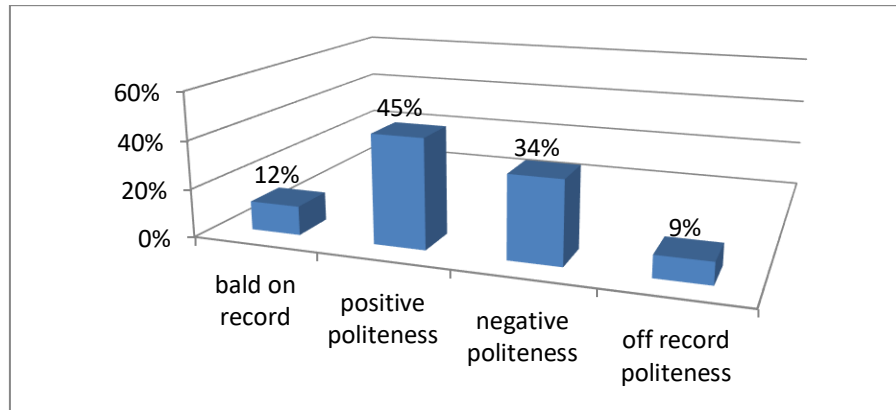
Figure31: Politeness Strategies in Refusals to Lending a Notebook by NSAA

As indicated in figure 31, when refusing a request that is of a low R, the NSAA opted for four of Brown and Levinson's strategies. The fifth strategy and the most polite one- do not do the FTA- did not occur in the data. Off-record strategies were adopted in 9% of the refusals via messaging implicatures to H that the request cannot be accepted as in this example: وين كنت هدا منين درك اني نراجع meaning *you are late! I am revising, now.*

Negative politeness strategies were used to maintain H's face in 34% of the refusals. This was done chiefly by:

- Apologizing: by using either particle: "سامحني", "اسمح لي" or "معذرة" meaning *Forgive me* often followed up by overwhelming reasons, e.g. سامحني انا اجتهدت فيهم ما نقدرش نمدهملك meaning *Forgive me, I worked hard on these notes. I can't give them to you* اسمحلي و الله مانقدرنعطيهملك اني نحتاجهم meaning *Forgive me, I swear to Allah I can't give them to you. I need them.*

- Stating the FTA as a general rule: this strategy occurred in fewer cases, e.g. مع كل احتراماتي أنا ما نسلف حتى لواحد meaning *With all due respects, I don't give my notes to anyone.*

Positive politeness strategies were preferred over the other ones and were employed to reduce the face threat in 45% of the refusals. The main sub-strategies were:

- Claiming common ground via using in-group markers such as "خويا" (*brother*), "اختي" (*sister*), "صاحبي" (*friend*), "لعزيز" (*dear*), "حبيبتي" (*darling*), e.g. والله يا صاحبي شوفي حنونتي اكي /مانقدرنمدهولك meaning *I swear to Allah, friend, I can't give it to you.*/ علابالك نحبك ونعزك وما نقدرش نردك مي فهادي ما نقدرش meaning *Look, dearie, you know that I love you and I wouldn't usually say no to you but this time, I can't.*

Offering/ promising: offers of alternative solutions or promises of compensation were an outstanding Algerian way of softening refusals, e.g. و الله ما نقدر نمدلك درك من بعد ونديرلك فوتوكوبي عندي دروس نراجعهم اوكي؟ meaning *I swear to Allah that I can't give you the notes now. I'll make you a copy later. I have to revise some lessons.* OK?

- Giving reasons, e.g. ما نقدرش نمدلك الدفتر اللي نراجع فيه و الامتحان غدوة meaning *I can't give you the notebook whilst the exam is due tomorrow!*

So, when refusing a request that is characterized by low R, both participant groups used any of Brown and Levinson's four strategies: go off-record, negative politeness, positive politeness and go baldly on record. They both did not use the most polite strategy, do not do the FTA. Although bald on record strategies were avoided in the two previous situations of the DCT (11 and 12) which focused on the impact of high D and low D respectively, they appeared in the refusals of both groups in this situation. These were not performatives (like *I refuse your request* or in Arabic أنا ارفض طلبك but they included flat no and non-performative statements. Besides, it was noticed that these bald on record strategies were often followed up with a statement criticizing the requester, especially in Algerian Arabic data,

e.g. ما نمدش تغيبي تغيبي و تلقايها ساجية/ما نمدش نهار انا كنت نقرا انت كنت تلعب meaning *I won't give them to you. You skip classes the way you like yet you want to get everything ready for you*!

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Although the NSAA preferred positive politeness to negative politeness as opposed to the NSBE who preferred negative politeness, similarities were found in the subs-strategies used. Both groups used almost the same range of positive politeness sub-strategies (use of in-group markers, offering/promising and giving reasons) and the same range of negative politeness sub-strategies (apologizing and stating the FTA as a general rule). Like in previous cases, apologies were sometimes blended with in-group markers in both groups of refusals. However, reference to God in any of the three noticed ways was a major characteristic feature of Algerian refusals contrary to the British ones.

7.6. Situation Fourteen: Influence of High Ranking of Imposition on Refusals

14. *You are working in your office. One of your colleagues initiates a conversation about cars. He then tells you that he wants to buy one but lacks a sum of money. He asks you to lend him but you refuse. What would you say?*

The last situation of the DCT, situation 14, was designed to elicit a refusal to money request. Here, the impact of the rank of imposition rendered by the seriousness of the refusal is stressed. The interlocutors have equal power status over one another (=P [S, H]) and equal social distance from one another (= D [S, H]). The rank of imposition whose influence on politeness strategy choice is in focus here is attributed a high value (+R). This high value is derived from the fact that money is a sensitive subject in both cultures. Thus, the overall weightiness of the refusal in this case can be summed up by the following formula:

$$W(x) = (=P [S, H]) + (= D [S, H]) + (+R)$$

The responses of both respondent groups are charted in figure 32 and 33.

7. 6. 1. NSBE Responses to Situation Fourteen
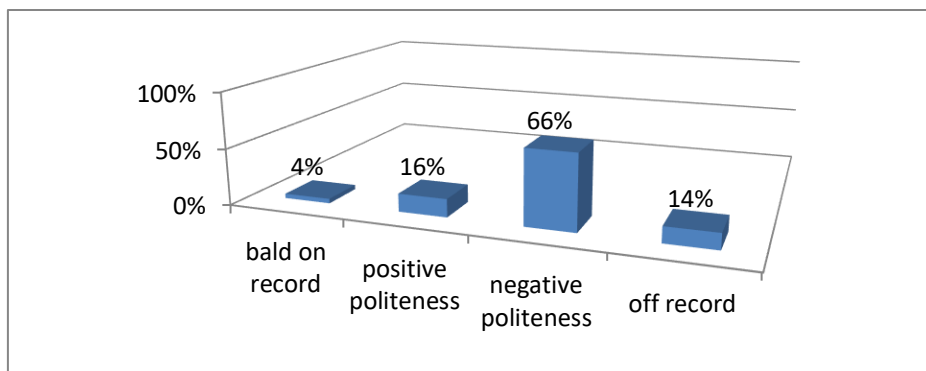
Figure 32: Politeness Strategies in Refusals to Lending Money by NSBE

This figure reveals the NSBE strategy choice in making refusals influenced by high ranking of imposition. Changing the degree of imposition did not make the NSBE withhold from doing their refusals. They, rather, made their refusals using one of the remaining strategies. The percentages charted in this figure reflect these participants' preferences:

Refusing baldly on record was the least opted for strategy as only 4% refusals were expressed directly, e.g. *No way! /Money not available.* Off-record strategies were opted for by 14 % of the participants via giving hints and association clues, e.g. *I probably need a new job with less annoying spongy colleagues./ I have just started saving… I want a new car myself.*

Positive politeness strategies were chosen to maintain H's face in 16 % of the refusals mainly through giving reasons, e.g. *Gosh! I haven't got any money either. I'm not really in a position to lend any money. Ford has some good deals on... why don't you look online?* Other positive politeness strategies like be optimistic and joke were also used, e.g. *I'm sure the bank can help you with that/Wow! I wouldn't mind having one myself but just don't have the money; otherwise, I'd help.*

Negative politeness strategies were used the most to preserve the addressee's face and reduce the imposition. The main sub-strategies which occurred in the data were:

- Giving difference: the addressors humbles himself via apologizing for making the request in the first place, then, tells what and why they refuse, e.g. *I'm sorry, I can't lend you that amount of money/ I'm really sorry but I don't have that sort of cash/Sorry but I'm not lending you the money.*

- Stating the FTA as a general rule: via phrasing the refusals as statements of principle which are usually used to impersonalize the hearer, e.g. *I'm sorry but I don't lend money to colleagues, especially the amount you're requesting… It is not conducive to good working relationships/Sorry; I make it a firm principle never to lend money to anyone.*

- Being pessimistic, e.g. *I'm sorry, even if I wanted to give it out, I couldn't.*

7. 6. 2. NSAA Responses to Situation Fourteen
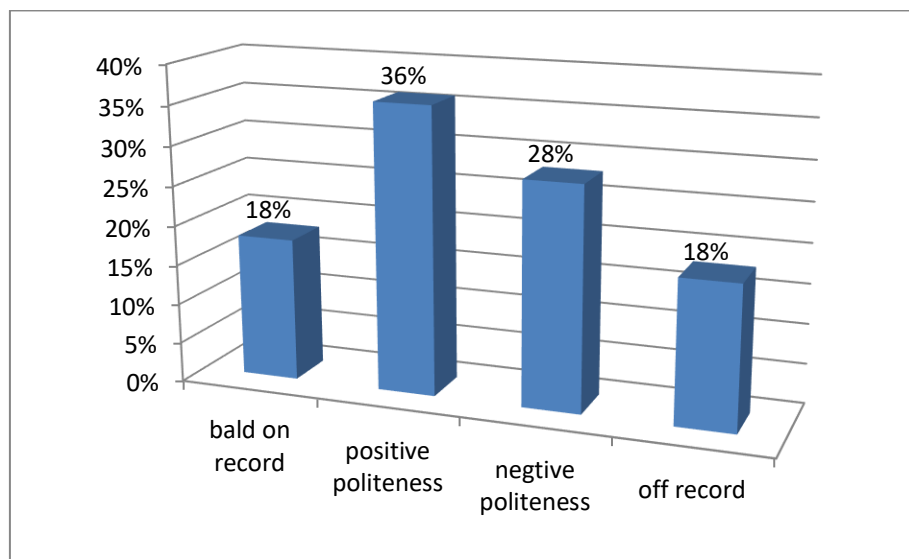
Figure 33: Politeness Strategies in Refusals to Lending Money by NSAA

Figure 33 indicates in percentages the different politeness strategies used by the group of NSAA in refusals under the influence of a high rank of imposition (money).

Like the previous situation, the most polite strategy, do not do the FTA, was not used by any of the participants. Brown and Levinson's other four strategies were adopted to make the refusals with different percentages reflecting the participants' preferences.

The off-record strategy was used by 18% of the participants mainly through giving hints and association clues, e.g. والله راني علحديدة /والله راني غير راني مشومر meaning *I swear to Allah that I am penniless*.

20% of the refusals were made baldly on record by means of non-performative statements, e.g. ما نقدرش نمدلك ماعنديش الله غالب/ والله ما نقدر الله غالب meaning *I can't lend you. I don't have the money Allah ghaleb*. Direct statements in the form of performatives of the sort ما نمدش/ مانسلفش meaning *I won't give/ I won't lend* were not used.

Negative politeness strategies were chosen in 26% of the refusals mainly through apologizing with giving reasons for refusing, e.g. أناثاني محتاج شوية اسمح لي ما نقدرش meaning *Forgive me, I can't. I'm in dire need myself* /والله ما عندي ما نقدرش نعطيك سامحني meaning: *I swear to Allah, I don't have the money. I can't lend you any. Forgive me*.

Positive politeness strategies were used more than other strategies in 36% of the refusals.

- Offering/ promising: mainly via offering an alternative solution, e.g. شوف اني ما عنديش درك مي كون تصبر شهر ولا شهرين نمدلك meaning *Look, I don't have the money now. Perhaps, I can lend you after a month or two*.
- Claiming common ground through using in-group identity markers, e.g. ما عنديش حبيبتي تعرفيني كان عندي ما نبخلكش meaning *I don't have the money, darling. You know I wouldn't be stingy to you* /الله غالب ا صاحبي ما عنديش meaning *I don't have the money, friend. Allah ghalab*.

In sum, in a high R refusal situation, both participant groups used four of Brown and Levinson's politeness strategies. The 'do not do the FTA' strategy was not opted for by any of the participants. The 'bald on record' and the 'off-record' strategies were the least used by both groups although their occurrence in the Algerian data was higher. Like in situation 13, Negative politeness and positive politeness were the most selected strategies by the NSBE and NSAA respectively. Both groups of informants also used the same range of sub-strategies. However, the Algerian refusals in this situation were also characterized by making reference to Allah in any of the three ways which were noticed in all the previous situations of refusals (situation 9 to 14).

7.7. Summary of the Main Findings

This chapter was devoted to the analysis of refusals made by the NSBE and NSAA in response to the last six situations of the DCT. The findings arrived at are interpreted in the light of Brown and Levinson's politeness theory in terms of three aspects. First, there are the variables P, D and R and how they are perceived by each participant group. Second, there is the set of the politeness strategies used by each participant group in each situation of refusal in the DCT. Last, but not least, there are the possible culture-specific features which set apart the refusals of the participant groups.

7.7.1. Power, Distance and Rank of Imposition

The results obtained from this chapter support Brown and Levinson's basic argument that social power, social distance and rank of imposition inform people's linguistic and social behaviour. The analysis of the data revealed that the NSBE and the NSAA participant in this study used different types of refusals as a result of alterations in the values of P, D and R. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), the directness level of a given FTA increases or

decreases depending on changes in the values of these variables. Hence, like in the previous chapter, the influence of these variables on each group's refusals is best explained in terms of directness and indirectness of the refusals themselves.

Both participant groups used more direct refusals when the addressor was higher in power than the addressee (+P [S, H])(situation 9) and less direct ones when the addressor was lower in power than the addressee(-P [S, H]) (situation 10). When the social distance between the interlocutors was high (+ D [S, H]), both groups employed indirect refusals modified by different mitigating devices and politeness strategies (situation 11). However, when the social distance was low (- D [S, H]), the NSBE and the NSAA used more direct refusals (situation 12). When the rank of imposition inherent in the refusal was low (-R), both informant groups showed more directness than in previous situations (situation 13). When R increased (+R), the NSBE and the NSAA employed more mitigating devices to sound more indirect (situation 14). However, it was noticed that when performing an act of refusing, social distance was the most influential factor. Its influence of D was studied in two situations of the DCT (11 and 12). In both situations, the NSBE and NSAA used more mitigating strategies, and hence less direct refusals, compared to other situations which focused on the influence of P and R.

However, in spite of the similarities spotted in the corpus of refusals of both informant groups, the existence of some differences seems to be inevitable concerning the perception and the influence of the variables. Although both groups generally avoided being direct when refusing, the NSAA were still more direct. This was especially noticeable whenever the value of P, D and R decreased (situation10, 12 and 13). In these situations, the Algerian refusals were phrased with fewer attempts to mitigate the face threat compared to the British refusals. However, these findings do by no means suggest that the NSAA are impolite or even less

polite than NSBE. In the Algerian society, some speech situations do not entail poking around ways of refusing when being direct is more appropriate and expected.

7. 7.2. Politeness Strategies

Findings of this chapter also spot light on the set of the politeness strategies used by the NSBE and the NSAA to mitigate the face threat inherent in refusals to requests. Like it was the case in chapter six of this study, all five of Brown and Levinson's politeness strategies occurred in the refusals of both respondent groups in different percentages, though. Appearing in different percentages reflects the frequency of strategy use and, thus, it indicates the preferences of the NSBE and the NSAA for some strategies than others. Other differences were also found in terms of the sub-strategies preferred by each group of participants.

The most polite strategy in Brown and Levinson's taxonomy 'do not do the FTA' was the least opted for by the NSBE and the NSAA alike. This strategy was not used in the majority of the refusal situations by either group. A possible interpretation for this finding is that it is of much importance for speakers to make some effort of some kind to accomplish their communicative goals, especially, in the case of refusing where making no effort may be interpreted as not refusing. This strategy appeared in the refusals of both informant groups in situation 10 where S was lower in P than H (- P [S, H]). Surprisingly, in situation 12 where S and H are close friends (-D [D, H]), some of the NSAA opted for this strategy. That the Algerian refrained from refusing a best friend's request emphasizes the social conventions of the Algerian society which give priority to group inter-relationships and cooperation.

The 'bald on record' strategy also occurred in fewer percentages than other strategies. This strategy was used the most by both groups in situation 9 where the addressor was more socially powerful than the addressee (+ P [S, H]) and in situation 13 when the rank of

imposition was low (-R). However, this strategy was totally absent in the data of both groups in situation 11 and 12 which studied the effect of social distance. Like in the case of requests, the NSAA used balder on record strategies than did the NSBE. Furthermore, the NSAA used more performatives than the NSBE.

Compared to the previous chapter (analysis of requests), the 'off-record' strategy occurred more frequently in this chapter. This strategy was present in all the situations of refusals (situation 9 to 14) though in small ratios. The most common off-record sub-strategies used by both groups of participants were: giving hints, giving association clues and tautologies. The latter appeared mostly in the Algerian refusals.

'Positive politeness' and 'negative politeness' were the most used strategies by the NSBE and NSAA alike. All through the refusal situations, the NSBE invariably used negative politeness more than other strategies. The NSAA however, showed more variations in strategy choice across situations. Nevertheless, in the Algerian refusals, positive politeness exceeded the other strategies. Similar preferences were noticed in the previous chapter of this work (analysis of requests).

All over the six situations of refusals, the NSBE demonstrated their preference for negative politeness. However, the ratio of its occurrence varied according to changes in the values of P, D and R. This strategy scored the highest ratio in situation 11 where the social distance between the interlocutors was high (+ D [S, H]). The main negative sub-strategies used by the NSBE were: apologizing accompanied with reasons and excuses for refusing, stating the FTA as a general rule, being conventionally indirect and being pessimistic. Positive politeness was the second preferred strategy which appeared in relatively high rates in situation 9 (+P [S, H]), situation 12 (+ D [S, H]) and situation 13 (-R). The main positive

sub-strategies used by the NSBE were asking for/ giving reasons, offering / promising, using in-group markers.

The NSAA participants preferred positive politeness to the rest of politeness strategies. Negative politeness exceeded positive politeness only in two situations: where the addressor was lower in P than the addressee (situation 10) and where the addressor and the addressee were socially distant (situation 11). Nonetheless, even in these two cases, positive politeness strategies were opted for in considerable ratios. The main negative sub-strategies used by the NSAA were apologizing and giving reasons, stating the FTA as a general rule and giving difference. Positive politeness sub-strategies preferred by this group were offering/ promising, using in-group markers, and asking for/ giving reasons.

7.7.3. Culture- Specific Features

The aforementioned findings illustrate some similarities and differences between British English and Algerian Arabic with regard the speech act of refusal. Belonging to two different cultures was reflected in both groups' perceptions of P, D and R, level of directness of refusals, strategy preference and sub-strategy choice. However, other culture-specific features were inevitably spotted in the data.

First, the use of mixed strategies which was previously noticed in the Algerian requests was also noticed in this chapter. However, although it was a main characteristic feature of the Algerian group, this type of strategy appeared in refusals made by both groups. The NSBE used mixed positive and negative politeness in situation 12 where S had to refuse the request of his best friend (- D [S, H]). The NSAA used this type of strategy in different situations. Mixed strategies indicate the S's want to satisfy both the negative and the positive face of H. That is to say, mixed strategies occur whenever S feels a need to assure H's

freedom of action and a need to emphasize the existence of strong interpersonal relationships and cooperation. The NSAA used more mixed strategies than the NSBE especially when refusing the request of a best friend (situation12).

Second, a very important feature which characterized the Algerian refusals as opposed to the British ones is reference to God. Although this feature was noticed in the previous chapter in the Algerian requests, its appearance in refusals was more regular and evident. Reference to God in Algerian Arabic was made by inserting the words ' الله[Allah]' or ' ربي [rabbi]' in the refusals in any of three ways: first, in swearing which is a system opted for by the NSAA to back up the reasons they gave for refusing; second, in discourse conditionals with the meaning of God willing 'إن شاء الله/ بربي ان شاالله/ ادا كتب ربي' especially when making offers of alternative solutions and promises to mitigate the refusal, and third, when admitting that the refusal was destined because of extra circumstances under the control of God using the particle 'الله غالب'[Allah ghalab].

The last culture specific feature which distinguished the Algerian refusals from the British ones is code switching. When making refusals to requests, the NSAA could use and/or shift between three linguistic codes: Algerian Arabic, Standard Arabic and French. While Algerian Arabic was the most dominant code, Standard Arabic and French were systematically shifted to whenever S attempted to show difference and stress differences in social power and social distance.

Conclusion

Throughout the present chapter, refusals to requests made by NSAA and NSBE were studied in relation to Brown and Levinson's politeness theory. It was proved that the interplay between social power, social distance and rank of imposition correlate and determine the way

of refusing in both cultures. However, the social distance between the interlocutors was the most influential factor in choosing the request strategy, especially for the NSAA. On the scale of directness, both participant groups were less direct than in the previous chapter. However, the NSAA proved to be more direct in realizing their refusals than the NSBE, not because they are rude but, because they performed refusals according to their conventions of interaction which order the use of less mitigating devices under particular circumstances. As far as the politeness strategies are concerned, all five of Brown and Levinson's strategies were spotted in the data of both groups. However, the individualistic nature of the British society was reflected in their preference for negative politeness strategies which index autonomy, individual's freedom of action and avoiding coercion. The collectivistic nature of the Algerian culture was echoed in the NSAA preference for positive politeness strategies which index interpersonal and group relationships. The Algerian refusals were also characterized by the use of religious expressions and reference to Allah as a way to convey politeness.

General Conclusion

In human communication and interaction, people use language in order to accomplish certain communicative goals. The basic assumption underlying language use, that language is used to do things in the world, is encompassed in and accounted for by the Theory of Speech Acts. Every day, in all languages and all cultures, people use linguistic and non-linguistic combinations not only to convey meanings but also to achieve certain goals through different speech acts. These can be defined as minimal functional tokens used purposefully in human interactions to achieve particular aims. Examples of speech acts include: requests, apologies, complaints, complements, refusals, offers and many others. However, for purposes of successful communication, the production of these speech acts entails taking into account both cultural and social conventions which control human interaction. That is to say, the way in which people use language is deeply rooted in interpersonal relationships and conventions of interaction which, in turn, inform appropriate linguistic and social conduct. Appropriate conduct is a pre-requisite to the continuance of communication between people who belong to the same culture or to different cultures. Appropriate behaviour related to the production of speech act is generally described and concluded as polite or impolite. Politeness in language, often referred to as linguistic politeness, is considered a fundamental aspect of successful intra-cultural or inter-cultural interaction. Accordingly, failure in realizing what constitutes polite language in a given culture may result in serious communication breakdowns. Therefore, this idea resulted in a myriad of researches to account for what constitutes polite linguistic behaviour in different languages and cultures.

The most cited work in literature about linguistic politeness is the one of Brown and Levinson (1987). In their view, linguistic politeness is basic to the maintenance of social equilibrium as it is the means through which potential conflicts between language users are avoided. In this theory, Language users are model persons who can rationally choose their expressions to achieve particular communicative goals. Moreover, model persons also have a self-image or face which has to be respected by others when producing speech acts. During conversations, people usually hold a similar belief that their expectations and claims about their self-image or their face wants will be mutually taken into account. Face wants are explained in terms of two aspects: first, the want of every competent member that his actions may be unimpeded by others and second, the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others. However, to communicate their intentions, speakers sometimes simply have no choice but to produce utterances that, by their nature, seem to threaten the other's face. Threat to face occurs when the performance of a given speech act results either in impeding the addressee's freedom of action by imposing on them or in disregarding the addressee's desires, wants, feelings, opinions…,etc. These speech acts are called face threatening acts or FTAs. Examples of the sort include orders, requests, suggestions, advice, reminding, threats, warnings, offers, promises, compliments, expressions of envy or admiration, disapprovals, criticisms, accusations, insults, contradictions, disagreements, etc.) According to Brown and Levinson (1987), speakers can mitigate and redress the face threat by using any of five different politeness strategies: bald on record, positive politeness, negative politeness, off-record politeness and do not do the FTA at all. Except for the last one, these strategies, in turn, include different sub-strategies which offer the speakers a wide range of options to achieve his/ her communicative aim, to preserve the other's face and to be polite. However, the choice between these strategies is by no means a random one. It is rather a systematic procedure which depends on a sensible assessment of the

social power of the interlocutors, the social distance between them and the rank of the imposition inherent in the speech act itself.

The present research relies on Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness as an analytical model in an attempt to shed light on what constitutes polite language in British English and Algerian Arabic. Two of the most frequently used face threatening acts of everyday language were chosen for the study: requests and refusals to requests. The hypothesis underlying this research is that Different considerations of distance, power, and rank of imposition by the two types of investigated speakers with different linguistic and cultural backgrounds would result in different politeness strategies in the realization of requests and refusals to requests.

Thus, through a discourse completion task (DCT) administered to 100 native speakers of British English(NSBE) and 100 native speakers of Algerian Arabic (NSAA), this research answers these question:

4) Do native speakers of Algerian Arabic (NSAA) use the same range of the politeness strategies which Brown and Levinson (1987) claim to be used by native speakers of British English (NSBE)?

5) If the five strategies do exist in Algerian Arabic, are there any similarities or differences between the two groups of participants in the preference for a strategy over another in a particular situation?

6) How do NSAA and NSBE perceive social distance, social power and rank of imposition? In other words, how do these factors correlate with strategy choice and directness in each group?

7) What are the possible culture-specific features which characterize requests and refusals to requests in each group?

Therefore, the comparative/contrastive analysis of the data done in the sixth and seventh chapters of this study allows the observation of possible patterns of similarities and differences between both cultures in realizations of requests and refusals.

Concerning the realization of the speech act of request in British English and Algerian Arabic, some significant conclusions are made. Making requests in both cultures entails a careful assessment of a combination of the three variables suggested by Brown and Levinson. The NSBE and the NSAA vary their request strategies according to variations attributed to the values of any of these variables. This is best accounted for in terms of the directness and the indirectness exerted in the speech act in addition to the mitigating devices adopted by each group, depending on assessments of power, distance and rank of imposition. Whenever the value of any of these variables decreases, the NSBE and the NSAA utilize more direct requests with less mitigating devices. Besides, social power is proved to be more important than other variables when phrasing the requests as both respondent groups vary their requests considerably according to alterations in its values. However, when making requests, the NSAA are remarkably more direct than the NSBE.

When requesting, the NSBE and NSAA use all of the five politeness strategies suggested by Brown and Levinson. That is to say, these strategies do exist and are normally adopted to mitigate the request in both Algerian Arabic and British English. However, as hypothesized in this study, Different considerations of distance, power, and rank of imposition by the two types of investigated speakers with different linguistic and cultural backgrounds

would result in different politeness strategies in the realization of requests and refusals to requests.

The two most polite and the least direct strategies 'do not do the FTA' and 'off-record politeness' are used the least by both groups. The most direct strategy 'bald on record' is used by the NSAA more than the NSBE. Although both groups use 'negative politeness' and 'positive politeness' more than the rest of the strategies, the NSBE show a higher tendency towards 'negative politeness' whereas, the NSAA prefer 'positive politeness'. Differences in preferences of strategies indicate the individualistic and the collectivistic cultures of the NSBE and NSAA respectively. Individualism is indexed by negative politeness which stresses individuals' freedom of action and opinion whereas collectivism is indexed by positive politeness which stresses group inter-relationships, reciprocity and cooperation. Collectivism in the Algerian culture is basically traced back to Islam which calls for good group inter-relationships and that believers are brothers and sisters who must cooperate. This is also evident in the main sub-strategies opted for by the NSAA which are characterized by the use of in-group markers such as 'brother' and 'sister' even when addressing a stranger.

Culturally speaking, the Algerian requests are different from the British ones in terms of different criteria such as directness and strategy choice in addition to others which relate to the religion and the history of this society. First, requesting in an Algerian context is controlled not only by social conventions but also by religious faith. Most of the Algerian requests contain reference to 'Allah' either when employing please-like expressions such as [Allah yahafdak] 'يحفظك الله'or when swearing by means of [wallahi] 'و الله' which is often used to back up the reasons and justify requests. In the Algerian context, reference to Allah may in itself be a form of politeness. That is to say, even when the speaker requests in the most direct way (go on record), adding please-like expressions which refer to Allah has a potential of

softening the request considerably. As far as requests are concerned, the phenomenon of code switching between these three varieties is a significant characteristic feature of Algerian requests. Code switching often occurs as a negative politeness sub-strategy to show difference when the addressee is higher in social status than the addressor. Switching to Standard Arabic is opted for because it is the official language and the language of the educated whereas switching to French is triggered by the 'tu/ vous' address term system. The 'tu/vous' dichotomy indexes familiarity and unfamiliarity, respectively.

Regarding the speech act of refusals to requests, no less important conclusions are made. Broadly speaking, the realization of refusals to requests in British English and Algerian Arabic is more troublesome in comparison to requests. On the whole, speakers of both languages use less direct strategies softened by means of different mitigating devices than in making requests.

Findings from this research support Brown and Levinson's claim that social power, social distance and rank of imposition determine the weightiness of the speech acts. Nevertheless, as hypothesized in the present research, NSBE and NSAA use different types of refusals according to different consideration of the differences in the values of the variables. Both groups tend to refuse more directly in cases of low social power, low distance and low ranking of imposition. However, for the NSAA, social distance between interlocutors counts more than other factors. The NSAA use indirect refusals even in cases of low distance because closeness is given priority in the Algerian society and can consequently hinder the realization of refusals. Still, compared to the NSBE, the NSAA produce refusals in more direct ways. These findings do not imply that the NSAA are less polite than NSBE. In the Algerian society, some speech situations do not entail beating around the bush when being direct is more expected.

The five politeness strategies postulated by Brown and Levinson are also adopted by both the NSBE and NSAA when making refusals to requests. The least used strategies by both groups are 'do not do the FTA' and 'bald on record'. A possible interpretation for avoiding these strategies is that because of the huge face-threat underlying this speech act, the speakers feel a double need to, first, make some effort of some kind to convey the act and, second, to use at least some mitigating devices not to humiliate the refused. The 'off-record' strategy is significantly selected by both groups in close ratios. However, like it is the case with requests, 'negative politeness' and 'positive politeness' are the most opted for by the NSBE and NSAA. Again, the NSBE prefer 'negative politeness' to 'positive strategies' whereas the reverse is true for the NSAA. Positive politeness sub-strategies in the Algerian context are characterized by various in-group markers the use of which aims at reducing social distance and expanding social relationships between interlocutors.

Another major finding of this research is the use of mixed positive and negative strategies especially by the NSAA derived from the want to satisfy the hearer's positive and negative face. Although few instances of this kind of strategy are found in the Algerian requests, their presence in refusals is more remarked. Mixed strategies occur as a result of employing a negative subs-strategy like apologizing with a positive sub-strategy like the use of in-group terms.

The production of refusals in Algerian Arabic is also informed by social conventions and religious beliefs. Reference to Allah in the Algerian refusals is in itself a face-threat mitigating device. The Algerian refer to Allah in any of two ways: in swearing and in discourse conditional with the meaning of God willing: [inshaa Allah] 'ان شاء الله' / [idakattab rabbi] 'إذا كتب ربي'/ [b'rabbiinsha Allah] 'بربي انشاالله'. Swearing is used to justify the refusal and discourse conditionals are used when promising and offering alternative solutions. The

Algerian refusals are often accompanied by a discourse particle which has the same function of the discourse conditional yet which contains no condition in its syntactical form. This particle is [Allah ghalab] 'الله غالب' which is used to justify the refusal and indicate that the reason behind the refusal is destined and cannot be attributed to the speaker.

Code switching between Algerian Arabic, Standard Arabic and French is another culture-specific feature which characterizes the Algerian refusals compared to the British ones. Although Algerian Arabic is the one mostly used, switching to the two other linguistic codes takes place whenever the speaker wants to show difference especially when refusing the request of someone who is higher in social power.

In sum, some concluding remarks have to be made to inform cross-cultural communication. There is absolutely no doubt that politeness is essential to avoid possible communication breakdowns between Algerian and British speakers when producing requests and refusals. However, what constitutes polite language in each culture may be different. Although the British and the Algerian pay considerable attention to the social relationships between interlocutors and to the nature of the speech acts they produce, they manifest linguistic politeness differently. Compared to the British, the Algerian speakers are more direct not because they are less polite but because direct strategies are part of their culture which encourages closeness and affiliation. Closeness and solidarity of the Algerian society is interpreted in their preferences of positive politeness strategies especially through claiming common ground and using in-group markers. In the Algerian context, one can be called 'brother'/ 'sister'', 'father'/ 'mother', and the like even in cases of first encounters in an attempt to strengthen and expand relationships. The need for stressing solidarity and the need to free the hearer from imposition may result in the production of mixed positive and negative politeness strategies. Although this type of strategies can be found in British English, the

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likelihood of their occurrence in Algerian Arabic is higher. Another feature which distinguishes the Algerian requests and refusals is code switching between Algerian Arabic, Standard Arabic and French especially to show the speaker's awareness of the status of his addressee. Finally, and More important, the Algerian requests and refusals are both controlled and structured by religious beliefs. While reference to Allah is desirable in requests, its use in refusals is almost a must.

At the end, some limitations for this research should be pointed to and some suggestions for further research should be made. First, although the findings of the present research provide insights into linguistic politeness in British English and Algerian Arabic, generalizations to large populations are still far to be made. Because this study was limited to a small number of participants, it is not possible to generalize the findings to all the population. Therefore, further research tackling a larger size of data and respondents would be of great significance.

Second, although the DCT is proved to be a good data collection instrument, other methods like observation of naturally occurring data may provide better accounts of linguistic politeness in real and natural contexts.

Finally, this study focuses on studying politeness strategies in the realization of two speech acts only (requests and refusals to requests). Further research into the realization patterns of other speech acts either within the same language or across different languages is highly recommended. In addition, the effect of other social variables on politeness work constitutes an appealing research area.

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Appendix One

The Discourse Completion Task (DCT)

English Version

I will be very grateful if you take a few minutes to complete this socio-cultural test whose aim is to gather information about patterns of linguistic behaviour in social communicative situations. Thank you very much for taking the time to share your experiences and ideas. Your input is very important and greatly appreciated.

Note: This is NOT a test. Your opinion or linguistic behaviour as a native speaker is all that matters. Your answers will be of a great help for the completion of my research.

Guidelines: For each item please write in the space provided.

1/ General Information

- **How old are you?**

- **What do you do for a living?**

- **What is your gender?**

- **Where are you from? (country and city)**

- **What is your religion?**

- **What is your mother tongue?**

- **What other languages do you speak?**

2/ Questions based on social situations

Situation One

- You are a young girl (boy) sitting in a bus. An old lady is sitting next to you. You feel cold and want to ask her to close the window. What would you say?

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Situation Two

or an old man. After a long time shopping, you decide to go back home but you would you say?

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Situation Three

- You are a secretary in an important company. You want to use your personal computer but you find that its battery is low. You need to ask your boss to lend you his PC or you will lose the data you're working on. What would you say?

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Situation Four

- You are a company's boss. You have a very important meeting which is due in a while. You find that your PC's battery is low. You need to borrow Maria's (your secretary) PC. What would you say?

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Situation Five

- You are a student. After a day of study, you want to take some rest in your room at the university campus but the music coming from Adam's (or Nihal's) phone (your roommate and best friend) is disturbing you. You want him to turn it down. What would you say?

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Situation Six

- A new neighbour has just moved in. After a long day's work, you feel really tired. You want to have a nap but the sound of the loud music coming from your neighbour's house is disturbing you. How would you ask your new neighbour (whom you haven't met yet) to turn down the music?

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Situation Seven

-   You are at school, the class has just started. As your teacher starts lecturing, you want to take notes. You find that you do not have a pen. You decide to ask a classmate for one. What would you say?

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Situation Eight

-   You are a father. Your young daughter is severely ill and is in an urgent need for a surgery. You do not have enough money, so you decide to ask a relative to lend you some. What would you say?

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Situation Nine

- You are a university teacher. While lecturing, one of your students asks for a leave. You refuse his request. What would you say?

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Situation Ten

- You are an assistant to a Professor. At the end of the office hours, you are going to leave. The Professor asks if you can stay with him/her and help him/her to correct the students' papers. How would you refuse?

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Situation Eleven

- You are a student. You are about to go home in your car. A student you have not met before, approaches and asks you for a lift home claiming that he lives in the same area as yours. You want to refuse. What would you say?

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Situation Twelve

- You are a student. You are about to go home in your car. Your mobile phone rings. It is your closest friend, Andy. He asks you to wait for him and give him a lift in your car. You want to go home as soon as possible so you refuse his request. What would you say?

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Situation Thirteen

- You are a brilliant student. You always attend classes, and are known to take good notes. A day before an important exam, a classmate of yours knocks on your door and asks you for your notebook because he missed some classes. You refuse his request. What would you say?

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Situation Fourteen

- You are working in your office. One of your colleagues initiates a conversation about cars. He then tells you that he wants to buy one but lacks a sum of money. He asks you to lend him but you refuse. What would you say?

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Thank you very much

Appendix Two

The Discourse Completion Task (DCT)

Arabic Version

استبيان

سأكون شاكرة لكم إن قبلتم أن تمنحوا لي بضع دقائق من وقتكم للإجابة عن هذا الاستبيان الذي يهدف إلى جمع معلومات عن أنماط السلوك اللغوي في بعض مقامات التواصل الاجتماعية.

شكرا جزيلا لكم لإعطائي فرصة مشاركة أفكاركم و تجاربكم.

ملاحظة : ليس هذا الاستبيان اختبارا من أي نوع فسلوككم اللغوي هو كل ما يهم وإجابتكم ستساعد كثيرا في إتمام بحثي .

يرجى الإجابة في المكان المخصص أدنى السؤال.

<u>معلومات عامة</u>

العمر

الجنس

المستوى التعليمي والمهنة إن وجدت

من مدينة

الديانة

اللغة الأم

أسئلة الاستبيان

الموقف الأول:

أنت شاب (أو شابة) تجلس في حافلة بجانب سيدة عجوز. بعد مدة تحس(ين) بالبرد فتريد(ين) من السيدة العجوز إغلاق نافذة الحافلة. كيف ستطلب(ين) ذلك ؟

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الموقف الثاني:

أنترجل (أو امرأة) مسن(ة).بعد يوم طويل من التسوق تقرر(ين) العودة إلى المنزل ولكنك لا تستطيع(ين) حمل كل المشتريات بنفسك فتطلب(ين) المساعدة من احد الشباب. كيف ستطلب(ين)ذلك؟

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الموقف الثالث:

أنت سكرتير(ة) في شركة مهمة تريد(ين) أن تستعمل(ي) حاسوبك لكن بطاريته قد نفذت فتطلب(ين) حاسوب مديرك و إلا ستضيع المعطيات التي تعمل(ين)عليها.كيف ستطلب(ين)منه ذلك؟

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الموقف الرابع:

أنت مدير (أو مديرة) إحدى الشركات ولديك اجتماع مرتقب في غضون دقائق لكنك تفاجأ (ئين) بنفاذ بطارية حاسوبك فتضطر(ين) لطلب حاسوب سكرتيرتك "ماريا" فكيف ستطلب(ين)ذلك؟

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الموقف الخامس:

أنت طالب(ة) مقيم (ة) بإقامة جامعية بعد يوم من الدراسة تعود (ين) إلى غرفتك وتريد(ين) اخذ قسط منا لراحة لكن صوت الموسيقى المنبعث من جهاز صديقك (صديقتك) المقرب(ة) وزميلك (زميلتك) في الغرفة (ادم او نهال) يحول دون ذلك فتطلب (ين) منه (ها) إيقافه   .   كيف ستطلب(ين) ذلك؟

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الموقف السادس:

منذ مدة قصيرة انتقل إلى المنزل المجاور لمنزلك جار جديد. بعد يوم مضن من العمل تشعر(ين) بالتعب الشديد وتريد (ين) أن تنام (ي) قليلا لكن صوت الموسيقى الصادر من بيت جارك الجديد يحول دون ذلك. كيف ستطلب (ين) من جارك الجديد أن يخفض الموسيقى؟

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الموقف السابع:

أنت في الجامعة وقد بدأت الحصة للتو . بعد أن بدأ الأستاذ المحاضرة تستعد(ين) لكتابة بضع ملاحظات لكنك لا

تحمل (ين) قلما فتسال (ين)احد الزملاء أن يعيرك قلما.كيف ستطلب(ين) ذلك؟

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الموقف الثامن:

أن تأب/أم لطفلة صغيرة بحاجة إلى عملية جراحية عاجلة لكن للأسف لا تملك (ين) المال الكافي فتضطر(ين)

لطلب المال من احد معارفك. كيف ستطلب(ين) ذلك؟

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الموقف التاسع:

أنت أستاذ(ة) بالجامعة. أثناء المحاضرة يطلب احد الطلاب الإذن بالمغادرة فترفض (ين) ذلك. كيف سترفض

(ين) طلبه؟

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<u>**الموقف العاشر :**</u>

أنت تعمل(ين)أستاذا(ة) مساعدا لبروفيسور. بعد انتهاء ساعات العمل تهم (ين) بالمغادرة لكنه يطلب منك البقاء

لأداء عمل إضافي فترفض(ين).   كيف سترفض(ين) ذلك؟

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<u>**الموقف الحادي عشر:**</u>

أنت طالب(ة) على وشك الذهاب لمنزلك بسيارتك. يقترب منك احد الطلبة الذي لا تعرفه ويطلب منك إيصاله إلى

منزله بحجة انه يقطن بنفس مقر سكناك فترفض(ين) ذلك،كيف ستفعل(ين) ذلك؟

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<u>**الموقف الثاني عشر:**</u>

أنت طالب(ة)على وشك المغادرة إلى البيت بسيارتك، يتصل بك أعز أصدقائك ويطلب منك إيصالهإلى المنزل

بسيارتك لكنك ترفض (ين). كيف سترفض(ين) ذلك؟

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الموقف الثالث عشر:

أنت طالب(ة) مجتهد(ة) تحضر(ين) الدروس باستمرار ويعرف عنك انك تدون(ين) ملاحظات جيدة.قبل يوم واحد

من الامتحان يطلب منك احد زملائك دفترك لأنه تغيب عن بعض الحصص فترفض(ين). كيف سترفض(ين) ذلك؟

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الموقف الرابع عشر:

أنت تعمل (ين) بمكتب. يستهل أحد زملائك حديثا عن السيارات ثم يخبرك انه يريد شراء سيارة لكن ينقصه

بعض المال فيطلب منك قرضا لكنك ترفض(ين). كيف سترفض(ين) ذلك؟

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شكرا جزيلا على تعاونكم

ملخص

هذه الدراسة عبارة عن تحليل مقارن بين الثقافات لاستراتيجيات التأدب المستخدمة في فعلين من أفعال الكلام وهما الطلب ورفض الطلب باللغة الإنجليزية البريطانية والعربية الجزائرية. واعتمادا على نظرية التأدب اللغوي التي اقترحها براون وليفنسون (1987)، يهدف هذا البحث إلى معرفة أوجه التشابه و/أو الاختلاف المحتملة في أسلوب الطلب والرفض بين اللغتين. ويهدف أيضا إلى اختبار استراتيجيات التأدب لغويا التي يختارها المتحدثون بكلتا اللغتين وفقا لمتغيرات اجتماعية معينة كالقوة الاجتماعية للمتحدث والمسافة الاجتماعية بين المتحدث والمستمع ووزن الطلب او الرفض. تم جمع البيانات من خلال استبيان قدم إلى مجموعتين من المُخبرين: مجموعة ناطقة باللغة الإنجليزية البريطانية وأخرى باللغة العربية الجزائرية. وقد تم تحليل البيانات لمعرفة ما إذا كان تقييم المتغيرات الاجتماعية من قبل أشخاص ذوي خلفيات لغوية وثقافية مختلفة سيسفر عن استخدام استراتيجيات تأدب لغوي مختلفة. والفرضية الموضوعة في هذا البحث هي أن هذا الاختلاف في الخلفيات سيسفر عن اختلاف في الاستراتيجيات. وتكشف النتائج أن كلا المجموعتين تستخدمان نفس استراتيجيات التأدب اللغوي. لكن في حين أن الناطقين باللغة الإنجليزية البريطانية يفضلون استراتيجيات سلبية في التأدب اللغوي ، يفضل الناطقون باللغة العربية الجزائرية أساليب إيجابية. وقد أثبتت المجموعة الثانية أيضا أنها أكثر مباشرة في تقديم الطلبات والرفض من الأولى. إلى جانب ذلك، في حين أن القوة الاجتماعية تبدو وكأنها تعد أكثر تأثيرا في اللغة الإنجليزية البريطانية، فإن المسافة الاجتماعية ذات أهمية أكبر في اللغة العربية الجزائرية. وإضافة إلى ذلك، فإن الطلب والرفض بالعربية الجزائرية لا يتأثر بالأعراف الاجتماعية والثقافية فحسب بل أيضا بالمعتقدات الدينية. وتساهم هذه النتائج في البحث في مجال التواصل بين الثقافات من أجل إيجاد حلول لمشاكل الإخفاق في التواصل بلغة متأدبة قد تختلف شروط ودرجة التأدب فيها باختلاف اللغات والثقافات

كلمات مفتاحية: استراتيجيات التأدب اللغوي/ الطلب / الرفض/ الانجليزية البريطانية/ العربية الجزائرية

Résumé

Cette étude est une analyse interculturelle des stratégies de politesse utilisées dans les schémas de réalisation de deux actes de parole: demandes et refus de demandes en anglais britannique et en arabe algérien. S'appuyant sur la théorie de la politesse linguistique proposée par Brown et Levinson (1987), cette recherche vise à découvrir les similitudes et/ou les différences possibles dans la performance de ces deux actes de parole. En outre, il vise à tester les différentes stratégies de politesse choisies par les locuteurs des deux langues en fonction de variables sociales particulières tels que le pouvoir social, la distance sociale et le classement de l'imposition. Les données de cette analyse sont obtenues en administrant un Discourse Completion Task à deux groupes d'informateurs: des locuteurs natifs de l'anglais britannique et des locuteurs natifs de l'arabe algérien. Les données obtenues sont analysées quantitativement et qualitativement pour déterminer si les considérations de variables sociales par des personnes ayant des contextes linguistiques et culturels différents impliquent l'utilisation de stratégies de politesse différentes. Les résultats révèlent que les deux groupes de répondants utilisent la même gamme de stratégies de politesse. Cependant, alors que les locuteurs natifs de l'anglais britannique préfèrent des stratégies de politesse négative, les locuteurs natifs de l'arabe algérien préfèrent une politesse positive. Ce dernier groupe s'est également avéré plus direct dans les demandes et les refus que le premier. D'ailleurs, alors que le pouvoir social semble compter le plus dans l'anglais britannique, les considérations de distance sociale sont plus importantes en arabe algérien. En outre, les demandes et les refus des natifs algériens sont influencés non seulement par des conventions socioculturelles mais aussi par des croyances religieuses.Ces résultats constituent une contribution à la recherche dans le domaine de la communication interculturelle qui œuvre à trouver des solutions aux échecs de communications quant au langage de politesse qui peut varier en degrés et en conditions à travers les langues et les cultures.