GENDER AND POLITENESS STRATEGIES IN ALGERIANS' LANGUAGE BEHAVIOUR

**Thesis submitted to the Department of English, Tlemcen University,
in candidacy for a Doctorate Degree in Sociolinguistics**

Presented by   **Supervised by**

Mrs. Kamila BELHADJ-TAHAR   **Prof. Zoubir DENDANE**

Board of Examiners

Prof. Ghouti HADJOUI	**President**	**University of Tlemcen**
Prof. Zoubir DENDANE	**Supervisor**	**University of Tlemcen**
Dr. Taoufik DJENNANE	**Internal Examiner**	**University of Saida**
Dr. Meryem SEKKAL	**External Examiner**	**University of Tlemcen**
Dr. Nadia GHOUNANE	**External Examiner**	**University of Saida**
Dr. Hanane REBAHI	**External Examiner**	**University Centre of Maghnia**

Academic Year 2021-2022

Statement of Originality

I, Kamila BELHADJ-TAHAR declare that my doctorate thesis entitled, *Gender and Politeness Strategies in Algerians' Language Behaviour* contains no plagiarism and no material that has been submitted formerly except where otherwise pointed out, this thesis is my own work.

Kamila BELHADJ-TAHAR

09/11/2021

Dedication

My doctoral research is dedicated first to my husband Nassim who has kept my spirit up and been patient with me while I was doing this research work. To my lovely sons Youcef and Othmane. To the light of my eyes my daughter Yasmine.

This research work is also dedicated to my parents who have always encouraged me to work hard and helped me in so many ways. I also dedicate this work to my sisters Hafeda, Samira and Djamila for encouraging me.

To my family in-law for their moral support.

Acknowledgments

I first and foremost, I would like to express my grateful thanks to my supervisor Prof. Zoubir Dendane for his help, patience, his invaluable comments and advice.

I would also like to offer my sincere thanks to all the members of the board, Prof. Ghouti HADJOUI, Dr. Taoufik DJENNANE, Dr. Nadia GHOUNANE, Dr Meryem SEKKAL and Dr Hanane REBAHI for having accepted to patiently read and evaluate my humble work.

Special thanks go to my husband and teacher Prof. Mohammed Nassim NEGADI who supported me and encouraged me during this work.

I also express special thanks to Dr. EL HADJ SAID whose work on *Politeness* has been of great help and inspiration.

My warm thanks are expressed to all the teachers of the English department especially those who taught me: Prof. HAMZAOUI, Prof. SENOUSSI, Prof. BENYELLES, Prof. MORO, Prof SAIDI and Dr. BERBAR.

Special thanks to my friends and colleagues Prof. Nawel BENMOSTEFA, Dr Fatema ADDER, Dr Yasmine ABDAT, Mrs Nassima HAMZA CHERIF, Mrs Soraya DAOUD-BRIX and to all my colleagues. To all those whom I forgot to mention.

Abstract

Politeness refers to the pragmatic application of good manners and appropriate behaviour to establish a cooperative common ground for conflict-free and successful communication. Consequently, politeness theory emerged to conceptualise the phenomenon relying on a desire of the speaker to be approved and appreciated by the hearer and also to have her/his want respected. To achieve such objectives, people resort to a set of politeness strategies. Research in sociolinguistics has attested differences in females' and males' speech. Those differences are reflections and reproductions of social and cultural implications. One of the prevailing stereotypes of gender inequality is that the powerless gender of women forces them to be more polite than men considered socially superior to them. The concept of politeness is a complex phenomenon that differs from one society and culture to another and should be studied from various perspectives. This research work attempts to identify and better understand language behaviour patterns regarding gender and politeness in requesting, apologizing, thanking and greeting speech acts. To investigate gender and politeness in the speech community of Tlemcen, various types of data collection instruments are used, including the DCT questionnaire, interviews and recordings of naturally-occurring data. The results obtained show that both female and male speakers use the same strategies for the different speech acts and that positive and negative strategies are the dominant strategies used to achieve politeness in speech. Finally, the use of politeness strategies among both women and men is governed by social factors such as interlocutors' relationship, social distance, power and degree of imposition.

Acronyms & Abbreviations

CA Classical Arabic

CM Code-Mixing

CP Cooperative Principle

CS Code-Switching

DA Dialectal Arabic

DCT Discourse Completion Test

Fr French

FTA Face Threatening Acts

H Hearer

Hv High variety

Lv Low variety

MSA Modern standard Arabic

PP politeness principles

S Speaker

Symbols & Conventions

… unfinished sentence or hesitation.

+, ++ pause more or less long.

[ ] word added to help the understanding

Parts of conversations in French are in bold and italics.

Passages in Arabic are not translated word for word, we have tried to translate the meaning.

Passage in French are in Bold and in italics.

For the sake of anonymity, we have changed all the names of the people appearing in the recordings.

As some conversations are long, we have kept only parts that are interesting for the analysis.
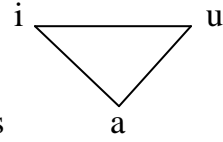
List of Phonetic Symbols

Table 1: Arabic Phonetic Symbols.

Phoneme	Example	Gloss
b	Bəgra	Cow
t	Təmra	Date
d	Dar	House
k	Kurəsi	Chair
g	Gəmra	Moon
ʔ	ʔana	Me
f	Far	Mouse
s	Sətta	Six
z	Zituna	Olive
ʃ	ʃabba	Beautiful
ʒ	garaʒə	Garage
ʤ	ʤəbəl	Mountain
χ	Xubəz	Bread
ɣ	ɣaba	Forest
ħ	ħəmər	Red
ʕ	ʕinəb	Grap
h	Həwda	A slope
m	maʕəza	Goat
n	nəməla	ant
r	rəʤəl	Leg
l	Lima	Limon
w	Wərda	Rose
j	Jəd	Hand
S	Sənduʔ	Box
D	Dəbab	Fog
T	TawəS	Peacock
q	Quwwa	Force

Arabic Vowels

The Arabic vowel system is triangular:

Three short vowels with three long counterparts

/a, u, i/ and /a:, u:, i:/

i ———————— u

a

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

TABLE OF CONTENTS

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Starting from the 1960s, sociolinguistic studies in western societies have investigated the role of gender in language variation and subsequent change. Many of studies have revealed, for instance, that women are more sensitive to the use of prestigious forms of the language, though on the other hand they may show more conservatism than men. Thus, these forms of the language may be either the use of the local variety which resists innovation (language loyalty) or the use of a socially-esteemed variety such as the standard form or a second/foreign language in bi/multilingual settings.

The pioneering works on language and society gave meaningful impulses for enhancement of research on the impact of society on language. As a consequence, many studies all over the world have been committed to investigating the effects of different social factors on language. For example, concerning language use, the difference between female and male speakers is hardly contested. Research on the impact of gender on language use has been to characterise linguistic features of female speakers that are different from those of males by bringing to light the linguistic differences between them. It was found that women prefer overt prestige and talk about emotions more than men. Differences between women and men are not based only on facts but also on stereotypes. In fact, gender biases and stereotypes are inherently influenced by the dominant social norms of how women and men should behave including language use and that men hold power and dominate social roles. Men's feel of superiority and power over women has led to the spread of gender biases and stereotypes in societies. For example, Lakoff (1975) shows that among stereotypes created by society, politeness is believed to be women's concern. It means that how women should behave is a description of white middle class women's behaviour in relation to politeness. However, the evolution of the society and the achievements of the feminist movement have changed the perception of the society towards women.

The beginning of gender studies is often attributed to Lakoff's work, especially her 1975 book '*Language and Women's Place*' considered as an authoritative study in the field. Since then, research on language and gender has increasingly grown. Among the many domains of gender studies is language use among women and men. Gender and politeness refer to the relationship between women's and men's differences in language behaviour. Therefore, linguistic politeness is a central matter of gender and language research. Indeed, since the 1970s, politeness research has been one of the challenging topics of pragmatics. It is based on the assumption that women are more polite or deferent than men. Various studies have shown that when speaking women co-operate and avoid conflict more than men because they feel powerless and show their weakness in language.

Gender difference in language is not just about describing language variation according to women, but how language is used in a particular way for a particular purpose. In other words, the way the context contributes to build meaning in social interactions is a central part of pragmatics (the study of meanings in interaction). In fact, the contribution of pragmatic study of language, as a sub-field of linguistics, has helped understanding the speaker's implication and the listener's inference based on contextual factors. It is concerned with explaining how participants in a conversation make use of pragmatic competence as part of the broader communicative competence, that is, the ability to use language successfully in a contextual appropriate manner. The way the speaker uses language to convey meaning beyond the actual words and how the hearer makes sense from the underlying meaning of what the speaker says is part of the pragmatic competence related to each language.

Consequently, there was an urge to develop a politeness theory that transcends linguistic features and take other parameters especially cultural ones to explain these differences. Politeness theory within pragmatic perspective is generally attributed to Brown and Levinson also reffered as B & L (1987 [1987]). Their theory is based on Goffman's conception of 'face' and 'facework' in communication that takes into account the speaker's and hearer's faces to explain how and why people are polite or impolite. The concept of face is closely related to

politeness and self-image. People may exhibit different attitudes referred to as positive or negative face. The notion of positive and negative face is a universal construct which characterises all cultures. Naturally during communication, people want to present the best of themselves by protecting the face and taking care of others' faces.

Linguistic politeness has gone through two major periods. The first one is the traditional approach of politeness theory dominated by Lakoff (1973), Leech (1983), Brown and Levinson (1987) and Fraser (1990). The second period is the post-modern approach also called the discursive approach represented by Eelen (2001), Watts (2003) and Mills (2003). The two approaches have different orientations. The traditional approach centred on the speaker, analyses politeness taking into account the cooperative principle and speech act theory. Besides, the post-modern or discursive approach which highlights the role of the hearer evaluates politeness drawing upon social views like *habitus*. Both approaches view politeness as a social phenomenon. However, while the first focuses on the speaker, the second is centred on the hearer. The different theories within the two approaches provide a flexible approach which includes social variables, culture, age, race, etc.

Among the various aspects of human communication, politeness plays a major role in creating and nurturing interpersonal relationships. In its broad sense, politeness is a proper verbal and non-behaviour act socially 'correct' and displays understanding and care for other people. Since childhood, parents teach their children good manners as how to be polite with people. In fact, being polite allows people to display basic human decency to close people and strangers alike. Politeness consists of a set of strategies used to achieve daily communication tasks including requesting, apologizing, thanking, greeting, complimenting, etc., while protecting both the speaker's and the hearer's face during communication. To achieve politeness, people use some strategies that Brown and Levinson (1987) summarize in four strategies which are bald on-record, positive politeness, negative politeness and off record.

The question whether women are more polite than men is an issue of persistent concern in linguistic politeness research. A lot has been written about the

matter with each providing arguments for or against the point in question. The point of contention is that most of the earliest works on linguistic politeness were based on the western world (Brown & Levinson 1987, etc) leading to the spread of the idea of the 'universality of politeness'. Research over decades has proven that while some characteristics of politeness are universal others are culturally-specific. Consequently, many works dealing with linguistic politeness across cultures challenge this universality.

Most of the early studies on politeness took the western societies as models to build their theories and thus contributed to the emergence of universal conception of politeness. More recent works in different parts of the world, including Asian and Arab countries, have shown that though some characteristics of politeness are universal, cultural differences and values in those societies highly impact the study of linguistic politeness. Dealing with gender politeness in social contexts, the notion of community of practice helps understanding that women and men language behaviour is not influenced only by gender difference but is one among other components such as cultural, social, and contextual factors within a community of practice. For example, linguistic politeness in the Arab world is highly driven by religious and traditional values of Islam where roles assigned to women and men are not always the same.

Gender and politeness research received little interest in the Arabic-speaking societies in the past. Recently, some studies like Sadiqi (2003) in Morocco, Bassiouney (2009) in Egypt, Abdelhay (2008) and El Hadj Said (2018) in Algeria were devoted to gender and politeness. In addition to being an Arabic-speaking country, the history of Algeria made it a multilingual and multicultural society at the same time. Such diversity and the transformation of the society have engendered language behaviours where women and men are worth studying.

The present work investigates the impact of gender on politeness in an Algerian context and more particularly in Tlemcen speech community where the multicultural aspect and the co-existence of the different varieties of Arabic, French the colonial language, which is still present in many domains of society, result in

varying types of language behaviour. Indeed, compared to other areas in the country, Tlemcen speech community is characterised by some linguistic features (phonological, morphological and lexical) that are particular to the natives and that some significant differences in the use of the vernacular are clearly observable among women and men. On the other hand, the linguistic situation of the speech community is characterised by Arabic/French use and where the status and the attitudes towards each language have engendered significant differences in language behaviours among women and men. This study goes beyond the influence of gender on linguistic features which have been the focus of other investigations (Dendane, 1993; 2007, etc.) or Arabic/French code-switching among women and men (Belhadj-Tahar 2014). It deals, in fact, with the impact of gender on politeness in communication. More particularly, it investigates the ways in which women and men use language in everyday interactions to manifest consideration for their interlocutors and maintain interpersonal relationships based on cultural considerations and appropriate behaviours to each gender. It implies how both female and male speakers use politeness (a set of strategies) to perform basic daily communication including requesting, apologizing, thanking and greeting). The significance of this work lies in the fact that the results will permit to discern language behaviours patterns regarding gender and politeness in the speech community of Tlemcen. Given such considerations, the present research work aims at answering the following research questions:

1. What strategies are commonly used by female and male speakers to express politeness?

2. In the same context are women more polite than men?

3. What are the factors that impact the choices of politeness strategies in the speech community of Tlemcen?

4. How does gender affect politeness in the speech community of Tlemcen?

Such questionings have led to the formulation of the following hypotheses:

1. Negative and positive politeness are the most dominant strategies used by both genders used to achieve different purposes, namely redressing the situation, reducing imposition on the hearer, as a remedial strategy to save face.

2. Based on the stereotypes of femininity (emotional and sensitive nature) that guide their language behaviour, and relying on the literature of language and gender claims, women are necessarily always more polite than men.

3. In Tlemcen speech community, the choice of politeness strategies is not random but constrained by social factors such as the relationship, social distance, power and degree of imposition between interlocutors.

4. Women tend to be less direct by making suggestions and negotiations so as not to be dominating or imposing, while men tend to be direct putting forward their masculinity and force to express their wants.

To find answers to the above questions and test the validity of our hypotheses, we use different research tools including a DCT questionnaire, interviews, recordings and note-taking to gather data. The research work is divided into four chapters.

The first chapter is an overview of some key concepts related to language, gender and politeness. It reviews the traditional and post-modern theories of politeness and examines how politeness strategies are realised in language and the relationship between gender and politeness. The chapter discusses gender and politeness across cultures and more particularly politeness strategies in the Algerian society. At the end, it explores gender politeness and language attitudes towards language use focusing on the characteristics and differences in women's and men's speech as well as the community of practice framework.

The second chapter depicts the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria in general with a focus on Tlemcen speech community as a fieldwork. It will shed light on some of the features relevant to the situation, particularly the impact of gender on politeness and language use in Tlemcen speech community. It will first give a historical overview of Tlemcen and the impact of Arab-Islamic and Western cultures. The coexistence of the different languages gives various and complex language situations in Algeria. Consequently, it will also present the existing languages in Algeria and the speech community of Tlemcen in particular. It will then discuss the outcomes of such language contact resulting in linguistic phenomena including diglossia, bi/multilingualism, code-switching and borrowing. Moreover, it will also consider some of the historical grounds that have led to the development of attitudes among women and men on language and peculiarities of language behaviour including politeness of women and men in the speech community of Tlemcen.

Chapter three is concerned with data collection. It discusses the research methodology and data collection methods used during this work to answer research questions related to politeness strategies used in relation to gender in the Algerian context Algeria and more particularly in Tlemcen speech community. The chapter discusses the different types of data collection methods in politeness research, namely the DCT questionnaire, the interview, recordings and note-taking of naturally-occurring data.

Chapter four presents the results and analyses of the data obtained from the different research instruments. It provides answers to the research questions and tests the hypotheses about gender and politeness strategies during speech acts in the community. The results of the DCT questionnaire are analysed quantitatively while those collected through interviews, recordings and note-taking are analysed qualitatively. The chapter also brings to light the cultural aspect of politeness in the Algerian context and the variables that affect politeness in Tlemcen speech community.

CHAPTER 1: Politeness Universality and the Theoretical Background

1.1-Introduction

In the last few decades, gender and politeness as a subject matter in language studies has become pertinent in sociolinguistics, especially in the Western world under the influence of some sociolinguists including Lakoff (1975), Tannen (1990), Holmes (1997), etc. Most of them start out from the idea that language cannot be studied without reference to society. One aim of those researchers is to set politeness theories that relate language behaviour to social behaviours with a special focus to cultural peculiarities. Besides, politeness theories attempt to formulate a scientific conceptualization for the commonsense notion of politeness.

This chapter is divided into four sections: the first one reviews the traditional and post-modern theories of politeness; the second one examines how politeness strategies are realised in language and the relationship between gender and politeness. The third section considers gender and politeness across cultures and more particularly with politeness strategies in the Algerian society. The last section explores gender, politeness and language attitudes towards language use focusing on the characteristics and differences in women's and men's speech**.** It also discusses gender within the community of practice framework.

1.2 Review of Theories

Politeness research aims at developing theoretical views of politeness to establish universal validity across different cultures and languages. Following that ideology, several studies on language and politeness have been devoted to identify and explain differences in men's and women's speech (see Brown & Levinson, 1987; Holmes, 1995, Talbot 1998 and Watts, *et al*, 2005*a* for a useful survey). Different views were developed with a particular focus on linguistic politeness as an important aspect of communication. For example, one of the widespread ideas of gender and politeness theory is that women's speech is more polite than men's (Holmes, 1995). Such view is seen as an unfounded stereotype especially by

feminists or as socio-cultural characteristic. Due to its enslavement with language and culture, many approaches and definitions have been proposed to cover politeness. It follows that four major models were put forward to examine politeness more systematically and conduct their research based on the model that suits the language and cultural situation under study.

In what follows selected models are provided and discussed. Theories of politeness including traditional and post-modern theories are reviewed. The traditional approach of politeness theory has emerged within the framework of many linguists such as Lakoff (1973), Leech (1983), Brown and Levinson (1987) and Fraser (1990). The second period also called the post-modern approach or discursive approach is based on the participants' perception mainly by Eelen (2001), Watts (2003) and Mills (2003). The theories are presented chronologically, not in terms of importance.

1.2.1 Traditional Theories of Politeness

The origin of the traditional politeness theory as a linguistic phenomenon is associated with Grice (1975) and Searle (1969). Grice (1975) examined politeness through the Cooperative Principle which consists of the four maxims. It asserts that human communication is usually cooperative in terms of showing polite behaviour through signals that can be observed by the interlocutors in conversations. On the other hand, in his speech act theory, Searle (1969, p. 42) argues that "all linguistic communication involves linguistic acts" used not only to present information but also to carry out actions to achieve a communication goal. These linguistic or speech acts are greeting, requesting, apologizing, thanking, promising, etc. Through time, politeness theory has gone through two main periods: the first period known as the traditional approach which is based on scholar's classical views of Grecian's cooperative principle, speech act theory and Brown and Levinson's model and the second period also called the post-modern approach or discursive approach. The traditional approach of politeness theory treats politeness and tries to place it within a pragmatic framework. It has emerged within the framework of many linguists

among whom we can cite Lakoff (1973), leech (1983), Brown and Levinson (1987) and Fraser (1990). All those theories take the cooperative principle as a central point and try to propose models of politeness using rules, principles or maxims.

1.2.1.1 Lakoff's Theory (1973)

For many years, sociolinguists have explored the relationship between gender and language use focusing on men as the dominant component of society to the detriment of women. This phenomenon has changed since the publication of Lakoff's article 'Language and Woman's Place' (1975) where she highlighted differences in language use in relation to gender. Her contribution to gender studies is so significant that Eelen (2001, p. 2) rightly considers her as "the mother of modern politeness theory, for she was the first to examine it from a decidedly pragmatic perspective".

Politeness being one of her interests Lakoff is unquestionably among the first scholars who adapted Grice's framework (Releavance Theory) and applied it in pragmatics. The aim behind such an approach is to consider the importance of pragmatic competence in her politeness theory using the pragmatic rule framework in order to show whether an utterance is pragmatically well-formed or not. On the other hand, Lakoff assumes that even if the cooperative principle is based on the communicative rationality of communication, it is sometimes flouted. However, she claims that Grice's rules are too vague as they lack a clear explanation and suggests to rely on the pragmatic rules of politeness. Years later, Lakoff (1990, p. 34) argues that politeness is "a system of interpersonal relations designed to facilitate interaction by minimizing the potential for conflict and confrontation inherent in all human interchange". She claims that polite speech is governed by pragmatic rules of politeness, where any deviation from these norms results in non-polite speech or rude speech. Pragmatic rules for Lakoff are influenced by three pragmatic factors: the relationship with the interlocutor; the real world situation and the degree of imposition they may have on the interlocutor. It is important to mention that the interlocutor's role is crucial in selecting the strategies. Politeness strategies depend

on the individual user's strategy selected in advance or determined by the situation. Lakoff (1973, 1975) defines politeness as 'a set of strategies' chosen by the language users. The word 'strategies' here denotes variability and choice in context.

At a stereotype level, politeness is often considered to be women's concern as a set of various characteristics, such as self-effacement, weakness, vulnerability and friendliness are rather arbitrarily associated in general with women. Consequently, women were seen as powerless and display their powerlessness and weakness in relation to men's language because of their subordination in society. Lakoff (1975) observed some linguistic features such as the use of lexical hedges or fillers tag questions, precise colour terms, intensifiers, 'super polite' forms, avoidance of strong swear words, etc. which characterise women's speech and therefore sustain the deficit view. This type of language behaviour is typically described as `talking like a lady' rather than `women's language' which must be regarded as a truthful language practice (Lakoff, 1975, p. 10).

With feminists' movements, and through time, gender's stereotypes have changed following the transformations in women's participation in social public affairs. Among the new ideas, it was no longer assumed that certain forms of politeness are obviously powerful or powerless. On the other hand, women's linguistic behaviour is often seen as characterised by co-operation (more positively polite than men) and prevention of conflict (more negatively polite than men). It means that women's linguistic behaviour is often seen more positively polite. For example, women tend to use more requests than commands. This formality and recurrent use of polite forms can be clearly exemplified in framing commands like: 'Would you please close the door'. Lakoff (1975) stated that women use more politeness strategies than men because of their subordinate position in a society. She also points out that they also use different strategies in order to talk in less assertive ways, including the use of tag questions, indirect statements and discourse particles.

Lakoff asserts that politeness must be treated under basic rules of a given language system and that pragmatic components should be taken into account in grammar in addition to grammatical rules. As a result, following Grice's work,

Lakoff suggests two overarching rules of *pragmatic competence*, both composed of a set of sub-rules. Lexical hedges or fillers, tag questions, precise colour terms, intensifiers, 'super polite' forms, avoidance of strong swear words, etc. In an effort to extend Grice's view, two basic overarching rules were proposed by Lakoff (1973), two rules with a set of sub-rules of pragmatic competence.

The two rules are: 1. Be clear; and 2. Be polite.

- Be clear: this rule is derived from the Gricean cooperative principle, which she renames, the 'rules of conversation'. It consists of four maxims:
    - Maxim of Quantity [state as much information as is needed in the conversation, but not more];
    - Maxim of Quality [Only say what you believe to be true based on your own knowledge and evidence];
    - Maxim of Manner [Be concise, avoid confusing and ambiguous statements].

- Be polite: this rule consists of a subset of three rules which are as follows:
    - Don't impose;
    - Give options;
    - Make others feel good.

Lakoff (1973) argues that these three maxims should have a balance in communication while all the three maxims cannot be used at the same time. Therefore, she proposes a politeness rule to adopt in communication because in many situations cooperative principle and its maxims are rarely used. For Lakoff (1973, p. 296),

> [...] If one seeks to communicate a message directly, if one's principal aim in speaking is communication, one will attempt to be clear, so that there is no mistaking one's intention. If the speaker's principal aim is to navigate somehow or other among the respective statuses of the participants in the discourse indicating where each stands in the speaker's estimate, his aim will be less the achievement of clarity than an expression of politeness, as its opposite.

When proposing the rules, Lakoff (1973) explains that the first rule 'Be clear' assures that the speakers achieve clarity in their speech and communicate

their messages clearly and without ambiguity. The second rule 'Be polite', concentrates on the social factors that govern communication among interlocutors in a given situation. If initially the two rules seem to have the same effect since both focus on the addressee they derive from two different rules. In fact, Lakoff (1973) clearly distinguishes between the first rule which derives from Grice's maxims and the second rule which is subsumed under sub-rules, which are "Don't impose, give options, and make A[1] feel good and be friendly" (Lakoff, 1973, p. 298). While the first sub-rule refers to the distance and formality between the participants during communication, the second achieves the deference when addressing others. The last sub-rule is directed to the addressee's feeling during the interaction. It dictates to the addresser to be friendly with their addressee.

Though Lakoff's (1973, 1975) theory was influential, it received widespread criticism. Tannen (1984) was among the scholars who criticised her on the ground that her original theory (1973) and its modified version (1975) of politeness cannot be universally applied because the terms of politeness used in these theories do not fit each other which is essential and highly required in social relationships among interlocutors. For example, the terms 'informal' and 'aloof' were problematic because not universal, but culturally-specific. Also, politeness is not a delimited phenomenon that can be measured or explained in terms of a fixed number of rules. Similarly, Reiter (2000) assumes that the modified version of the theory (Lakoff 1975) confuses 'formality' with 'aloofness,' 'deference' with 'giving opinions,' and 'camaraderie' with 'showing sympathy.' For Reiter (2000) 'aloofness', 'deference', and 'camaraderie' derive from formality and showing sympathy which have a major role in identifying how politeness can be expressed in any society or group and cannot be universal.

As a result, Lakoff's (1973, 1975) theory of politeness is not comprehensive because the terms used to express politeness are complex and sometimes misleading. Moreover, her rules of politeness are limited and thus cannot be applied universally to all societies, languages and cultures.

---

[1]. ''A' being 'Alter'; refers to the conversational partner.

1.2.1.2 Leech's Theory (1983)

Departing from the Gricean Cooperative Principle, Leech (1983, 2003 and 2005) provides a different approach than that of Lakoff. In essence, Leech assumes that there is a politeness principle with conversational maxims identical to those of Grice. He, then, asserts that politeness maxims are to minimise the degree of offensiveness and to maximize the degree of politeness. Leech (2005) proposes a reformulated framework which combines a 'common principle of politeness' (Leech, 1983) and a "Grand Strategy of Politeness (GSP) which is evident in common linguistic behaviour patterns in the performance of polite speech acts such as requests, offers, compliments, apologies, thanks, and responses to these." (Leech, 2005, p. 1). For Leech (ibid.):

> The GSP says simply: In order to be polite, a speaker communicates meanings which (a) place a high value on what relates to the other person (typically the addressee), (MAJOR CONSTRAINT) and (b) place a low value on what relates to the speaker. (MINOR CONSTRAINT). It is clear from many observations that constraint (a) is more powerful than constraint (b).

Leech (2005) explains that to be polite a speaker should follow the two constraints while communicating with others. The theory is intended to explain politeness in any act of communicative interaction in "Eastern languages such as Chinese, Japanese, and Korean, as well as in Western languages such as English" (Leech, 2005, p. 1). In the view of Leech (1983), politeness is seen a group of social performance where respect, social interaction, admiration and agreement involved are created. For example, there are degrees of politeness in which some illocutionary acts are inherently polite such as offers and apology unlike orders. In fact, people do not completely speak politely or impolitely but alternate between the two depending on the situation. Leech's classification of maxims is as follows:

(a) Tact;

(b) Approbation;

(c) Modesty;

(d) Agreement;

(e) Sympathy;

(f) Generosity.

These maxims are classified differently according to their significance. Leech (1983) maintains that, though there is a close relationship between the different maxims of politeness and speech acts, performing polite speech acts depends on the situational contexts.

The Politeness Principles (PP) consist of six maxims:

The tact Maxim:

The tact maxim is to "Minimize the expression of beliefs which imply cost to other; maximize the expression of beliefs which imply benefit to other." though the tact maxim corresponds to Brown and Levinson's negative politeness strategy (see section below 1.2.1.3) of reducing the obligation of the acts, it adopts the positive politeness strategy which takes into consideration the addressee's needs.

The generosity Maxim:

The generosity maxim means to "Minimize the expression of benefit to self; maximize the expression of cost to self." This maxim is comparable to the tact maxim because it is addressee-centred behaviour minimizing benefits and maximizing costs to self or speaker.

The approbation Maxim:

It says: "Minimize the expression of beliefs which express dispraise of other; maximize the expression of beliefs which express approval of other." It means that it is beneficial to minimize saying displeasing or offending things about others particularly about the interlocutors and maximize praising others.

The modesty Maxim:

The modesty maxim states "Minimize the expression of praise of self; maximize the expression of dispraise of self". This maxim means to try to reduce

excessive self-esteem and try to praise the others. The modesty maxim usually occurs in apologizing about something and giving satisfaction to others.

The Agreement Maxim:

Agreement maxim posits "Minimize the expression of disagreement between self and other; maximize the expression of agreement between self and other." This maxim focuses on maximizing agreement between self and others and tries to reduce disagreement. In such case, the disagreement is usually expressed by partial agreement or regret. The agreement maxim corresponds to Brown and Levinson's politeness strategies (look for agreement) and (avoid disagreement) (see section below 1.2.1.3).

The sympathy maxim:

The sympathy maxim affirms "Minimize antipathy between self and other; maximize sympathy between self and other." It means that the speaker has to pay attention and show sympathy when communicating with others. It also tries to minimize aggression and animosity. For example, the speaker should value and praise any success of others, while sympathise and express support to the misfortunes happening to others.

For Félix-Brasdefer (2008, p. 16), Leech's maxims are determined in terms of a set of pragmatic scales which are as follows:

> 1) the 'cost/benefit' scale, which estimates how the action is assessed by the speaker to be costly or beneficial either to the speaker or the addressee; 2) the 'optionality' scale, which describes the degree to which the action is realized as the choice of the addressee; 3) the 'indirectness' scale, which describes the length of inference involved in the action; 4) the 'authority' scale, which measures the degree of distance with respect to the power or authority that one participant has over another; and, 5) the 'social distance' scale, which describes the degree of solidarity between the interlocutors.

Some of Leech's six maxims seem to work in pair. For example, while the first and second maxims form a pair, the third and the fourth ones constitute another pair. For instance, both *approbation maxim* and *modesty maxim* revolve around the

degree of good or bad evaluation of self and others during a conversation. It is worth mentioning that these maxims may vary from culture to culture. In fact, what may be considered as polite or tolerable in Western culture may be considered as rude or acceptable in the Chinese or Arab cultures.

Leech (2005) argued that his theory falls under pragmatics (1983) and is closely associated with that of Brown and Levinson (1987). However, though a significant work has been done in politeness theory by Leech, his model of politeness has been criticised on several grounds. One of the main criticisms is that the model is being biased towards Western cultures. For example, the *tact maxim* which focuses on minimizing the speaker's imposition and favours the addressee's interests and wants. Brown and Stephen (1987) consider that there are too many maxims and some are unjustified. Similarly, Thomas (1995) criticised the origin of Leech's maxims and approach of politeness which is Grice's model of cooperative principles itself, controversial for its vagueness and inconsistency.

1.2.1.3 Brown & Levinson's Theory (1978) [1987]

The politeness theory developed by Brown and Levinson (1978), republished in 1987, is not only the most influential work on politeness research until recent times but the most widely applied framework of the relations between politeness and cultures. The theory was elaborated to assume and account for a large number of speech acts which are not self-explanatory. For example, the preference for indirect formulation of orders, requests, etc., which is in fact costly and ineffective instead of a direct formulation of the same order or request. Thus, the use of politeness in daily speech interaction is one of the interests of Brown and Levinson's research in the field of socio-pragmatics taking into account the relation between speakers in relation to their gender. Thus, politeness theory is regarded as "a tool for describing the quality of social relationships" (ibid). They consider politeness as a device used for interaction based on universal rules.

Politeness theory is less concerned with the speakers' intentions then the strategies they adopt during interactions. The model strives to explain that speakers behave in different ways in order to save the hearer's positive face when face-threatening acts are inevitable or desired. Politeness, hence, in a conversation is a reflection of the social relationships existing between interlocutors. It can also be used to modify, adjust or consolidating pre-existing relationships. It is influenced at least by two factors which are the distance between speaker and listener and the power difference between the speaker and listener. Politeness as well as impoliteness can be either negative or positive depending on the speaker's intention and awareness of the consequences of their utterance, the hearer's recognition of the speaker's intention and the way by they perceive it.

Brown and Levinson (1987) focus on the study of how people construct their linguistic forms in their daily communication and protect their faces during interaction. Consequently, they advocate a politeness framework that investigates the use of politeness strategies to reinforce social relations. They gradually developed Goffman's face notion. The authors chose the notion of 'face' as the basis of their theory. They introduced a model of politeness principle in terms of many speech acts being essentially threatening to face (1987). *Threatening* means those speech acts which are not beneficial to the speakers' and/or the addressee' face desires. *Face*, according to Brown and Levinson (1978, p. 66), is "the public self-image that every member of society wants to claim for himself".

Brown and Levinson (1987, p. 61) start from the "assumptions: that all competent adult members of a society have (and know each other to have)

(i) 'face', the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself, consisting in two related aspects:"

They, then, consider positive face as "the positive consistent self-image or 'personality' (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants" (p. 61) or "the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others" (p. 62).

Moreover, negative face is seen as "the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction - i.e. to freedom of action and freedom from imposition." (p. 61) or "the want of every 'competent adult member' that his actions be unimpeded by others." (p. 62)

The two scholars suggested two kinds of face; *positive* and *negative* face. Positive face refers to the desire to be acceptable and in accordance with others. It also means to show care and express affection and sociability towards others. Besides, negative face means the desire to behave freely without any obligation and the avoidance from imposing on people or acting in a way that might threaten the face of others. Additionally, while positive face involves a desire for contact and involvement with others, negative face needs include distance autonomy and self-independence. Brown and Levinson (1987, p. 13) point out the cultural notions of face. They assume that

> Central to our model is a highly abstract notion of 'face' which consists of two specific kinds of desires (face-wants') attributed by interactants to one another: the desire to be unimpeded in one's action (negative face), and the desire (in some respects) to be approved of (positive face). This is the bare bones of a notion of face which (we argue) is universal, but which in any particular society we would expect to be the subject of much cultural elaboration. On the one hand, this core concept is subject to cultural specifications of many sorts [...] On the other hand notions of face naturally link up to some of the most fundamental cultural ideas about the nature of the social persona, honour and virtue, shame and redemption and thus to religious concepts....

Brown and Levinson (1987) suggest a universal model of how speakers try to 'save face' using the various forms of politeness to addressees. Politeness strategy is employed to minimize FTA since face can be damaged by various types of negative acts such as wishes, disagreement advice. However, Brown (1987) admits that though politeness has had controversially universal interest, it is different traditionally from one culture to another.

Despite the fact that 'Face' is considered as a universal framework in politeness investigation by Brown and Levinson (1987) as a universal model was

criticised because of the individualistic nature of social interaction of the notion of face (Wierzbicka, 1985). Similarly, Mao (1994) criticised the notion of face as defined by Brown and Levinson on the fact that their conception of face emerged from Goffman's view of face and the English folk term. As a consequence, their interpretation of the notion is vague and seems to be different from that of Goffman and that they could not identify the source of face. Another limitation addressed by Mao (1994) reveals that Brown and Levinson did not investigate politeness in situations where the behaviour of face threats has occurred.

In his theory, Leech (2005) criticises the universality of Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness on the fact that a Westerner-oriented model at odds with Eastern cultures and languages. Leech (2005, p. 2) explains that "one major criticism of B&L. It has been objected that B&L's model has a western, or even 'Anglo', bias, and therefore cannot claim to present a universal theory applicable to all languages and cultures." Leech (2005) acknowledges that:

> Brown and Levinson's seminal treatment of politeness, reissued as a monograph in 1987 (and henceforth abbreviated as Brown and Levinson) has remained the most frequently cited publication on language and politeness. Indeed, since its publication, in spite of heavy criticism, it has held its ground as the model that other writers turn to as the starting-point of their own research perspective. My own treatment of politeness in Principles of Pragmatics (1983) (abbreviated as POP) has also often been bracketed with as Brown and Levinson a pioneering, essentially Gricean treatment of politeness, and has been criticized in a similar way.

However, despite the various criticisms, Brown and Levinson's model of politeness remains the most frequent sources referred to in the relevant investigation and explorations of politeness. Other researchers have built on their work.

1.2.1.4 Fraser Theory (1990)

Though Fraser's (1990) theory takes the same basis as Brown and Levinson's (1987), i.e., both are based on Gricean maxims and Goffman's notion of 'face' (see Fraser, 1980, p. 341), it diverges from Brown and Levinson's. Relying on Fraser (1975, 1980) and Fraser and Nolen (1981), Fraser (1990, p. 232) proposes

a theory of politeness called 'the conversational-contract view' which stipulates that:

> upon entering into a given conversation, each party brings an understanding of some initial set of rights and obligations that will determine, at least for the preliminary stages, what the participants can expect from the other(s). During the course of time, or because of a change in the context, there is always the possibility for a renegotiation of the conversational contract: the two parties may readjust just what rights and what obligations they hold towards each other.

Fraser assumes that the conversational contract depends on expectations met within the interaction. Social contract describes a fixed set of rights and obligations that participants must know and to conform to depending on the context. Such expectations are not 'static' or negotiated according to the interlocutor's understanding "and/or acknowledgements of factors such as the status, the power, and the role of each speaker, and the nature of the circumstances'' (p. 232). For example, when speakers' behaviour conforms to the normative expectations (set of fixed rights and obligations) of participants in a given situation, i.e., any 'appropriate' utterance is considered as polite and any 'inappropriate' one as impolite as a kind of conversational contract that "Some terms [...] may be imposed through convention" (p. 232). Thus, being polite is to conform to conversational contract. According to Fraser (1990, p. 233);

> Being polite does not involve making the hearer 'feel good', à la Lakoff or Leech, nor with making the hearer not 'feel bad', à la B & L [Brown & Levinson]. It simply involves getting on with the task at hand in light of the terms and conditions of the CC [conversational contract.

He goes on saying that "Sentences are not *ipso facto polite*, nor are languages more or less polite. It is only speakers who are polite, and then only if their utterances reflect an adherence to the obligations they carry in that particular conversation."

Fraser (1990) classifies politeness in terms of the social-norm view, the conversational-maxim view, the face-saving view and the conversational-contract view. Dimitrova-Galaczi (2005) considers that Fraser's classification of politeness

would be the most comprehensive approach to different conceptualizations of politeness.

1.2.2 Post-Modern Theories of Politeness

Discursive or post-modern approach in pragmatics, particularly, in politeness research, has emerged since the late 20th century represented by the works of leading figures like Eelen (2001), Watts (2003) and Mills (2003) whose theories were based on socio-theoretical concepts and largely on the notion of *habitus*, a concept developed by Bourdieu (1977, 1991). In the domain of pragmatics, Watts (2003, p. 274) defines *habitus* as "the set of dispositions to behave in a manner which is appropriate to the social structures objictified by an individual through her/his experience of social interaction."

The aim of the new formulations of post-modern politeness theory in general was to move beyond the various problems of traditional theories of politeness and especially Brown and Levinson's ([1978] 1987) approach and to focus on the distinction between politeness and impoliteness. In the post-modern approach, politeness theory is seen as a social practice based on the premise that politeness is conditioned by the speaker's intention and the addressee's perceptive discernment of these intentions. Below, three of the most influential post-modern theories are reviewed.

1.2.2.1 Eelen's Theory (2001)

Traditional models of politeness have stimulated rapid developments and the emergence of a huge amount of empirical research in the field. For example, Eelen's (2001) seminal work on the critique of traditional politeness theories is considered as a substantial contribution to the emergence of 'post-modern or discursive' approach of politeness. Eelen (2001, p. 245) argues that "problems engendered by the traditional conceptualization [...] are a good starting point for the research for a more adequate model of politeness". One of the major problems of the traditional approach he identified is "The inability to adequately account for

impoliteness by the same concepts that explain politeness;" (p. 245). In essence, his critics were addressed against Brown and Levinson's framework and other theories influenced by their work including Lakoff, Leech and Fraser, etc., for relying too much on the Speech Act Theory giving more importance to the speaker than to the hearer. Besides, he refutes the fact that all speech acts are seen in terms of politeness strategies because both interlocutors do not always recognise cases of politeness equally and satisfactorily. There are always ambiguous cases that those theories are incapable of accounting for.

Eelen's (2001) pioneering view of politeness relies on Bourdieu's notion of *habitus*[2]. He claims that:

> In a social model based on habitus, notions of politeness are not simply the result of a passive learning process in which each individual internalizes 'the' societal/cultural politeness system, but are rather an active expression of that person's social positioning in relation to others and the social world in general. As such it becomes a social tool of identification and distinction on the basis of which the world is divided into 'normal', 'friendly', 'stuffy', 'well-mannered', 'uncouth', 'cool' and other kinds of people. (2001, p. 224)

Habitus in Eelen's view of politeness (2001) symbolises the idea of social norms which help interlocutors to evaluate their language behaviours as social practices in different social encounters. For him, "to be polite is always 'to act appropriately'" (p.128). However, politeness norms are assumed as part of culture and sociolinguistic competence and that "communicative success depends on the right amount and kind of politeness applied at the right time to the right speech act, as determined by social norms that stipulate what is appropriate for a specific interactional situation" (Eelen 2001, p.128). Eelen (2001, p. 125) adds that "Politeness is subject to cultural expectations arising from cultural norms and cultural scripts provide speakers with means to meet these expectations." Participants, then, are categorised differently along a continuum of politeness. Consequently, the discursive approach relies on this "variability, evaluativity,

---

[2]. Habitus is seen as "the dispositions [which] generate practices, perceptions and attitudes which are 'regular' without being consciously co-ordinated or governed by any 'rule'" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 12).

argumentativity, and discursiveness." (p. 240). This dynamic view of social relationship between the interlocutors is capable of determining politeness and impoliteness. Henceforth, Eelen (2001) treats politeness and impoliteness concepts on the same level, contrary to traditional approaches which treated impoliteness as the opposite of politeness. Comparing between the two approaches, Eelen (2001, p. 249) believes that:

> the difference lies in that the traditional focus is on the production of (im)polite behaviour, while the present perspective focuses on the production of (im)politeness evaluations: the traditional research question of 'why are people (im)polite? Is rephrased as 'why do people evaluate each other as (im)polite?'.

Eelen (2001) conceptualises two important perspectives of politeness under 'politeness1' (the commonsense notion of politeness) formerly called 'First-order politeness' (p. 30) and 'politeness2' (scientific conceptualisation of notion of politeness) previously named 'second-order politeness'. He explains that "politenes2 concepts should not just be different from politeness1 concepts, or given different names, but rather the relationship between both notions should be carefully monitored *throughout the entire analytical process* - not only at the input stage."[3](2001, p. 30-31).

As a conclusion, Eelen (2001, p. 30) assumes that "Politeness1 is a socio-psychological concept", referring to "*the various ways in which polite behaviour is talked about by members of sociocultural groups,* whereas politeness2 is a linguistic, scientific concept*, "a more technical notion which can only have a value within an overall theory of social interaction. "*[4] Watts (2005, p. 3-4)

For Eelen, politeness1 consists of two parts: a conceptual part representing the commonsense principles of politeness and a practical part which is the demonstration and manifestation of politeness in communication. He suggests that politeness1 is characterised by some features: evaluativity where politeness and impoliteness relate to social values to determine what is polite and impolite; argumentativity, where in a conversation, there are situations where participants

---

3. Original empahsis.
4. Original emphasis.

have something at stake (to lose or gain); politeness, where in a social group there are polite and impolite people and normativity, where politeness is performed through social norms. On the other hand, politeness2 is the scientific conceptualisation of politeness phenomenon and can be considered as the theory of politeness1.

In Eelen's theory (2001), the notion culture is central to politeness which differs 'from culture to culture'. Eelen (2001, p. 159) asserts that "A similar utterance uttered by a similar speaker to a similar hearer in a similar situation [...] will be evaluated differently by evaluators from different cultures." Thus, politeness in any given speech community is seen as based on both cultural and sociolinguistic competence which generates 'socioculturally shared norms' in force in a given speech community where "communicative success depends on the right amount and kind of politeness applied at the right time to the right speech act, as determined by social norms that stipulate what is appropriate for a specific interactional situation." (Eelen, 2001, p. 128).

A speech act considered as polite in a speech community may be seen as impolite in another. Holding a sociological basis inspired by Bourdieu's notion of *habitus*, Eelen's view focuses on the hearer's evaluation of speech act during the interaction as polite and impolite through a dynamic and bi-directional view of the social-individual relationships operating in a given speech community.

Finally, Eelen's model of politeness endeavours to provide an alternative perception of politeness which is not completely universal, but rather it is affected and governed by socio-cultural principles. As a result, a social behaviour is ranging on a continuum of politeness where evaluative, variability, and discursiveness features are to be taken into account.

1.2.2.2 Watts's Theory (2003)

Based on Eelen's (2001) critique of Brown and Levinson's (1987) universal model of politeness, Watts (2003) presents a new framework for politeness research

within the discursive approach considered as "a serious, radical alternative to current theories on the market." (p. 250) In the conception of his theory, the term politeness itself was reviewed and redefined as a "linguistic behaviour that carries a value in an emergent network in excess of what is required by the politic behaviour of the overall interaction." Watts (2003, p. 162) He also maintains that "linguistic behaviour which is perceived to be appropriate to the social constraints of the on-going interaction, i.e., as non-salient, should be called *politic behaviour* [...] Linguistic behaviour which is perceived to be beyond what is expectable, i.e., salient behaviour, should be called *polite* or *impolite* depending on whether the behaviour itself tends towards the negative or positive end of the spectrum of politeness."[5] (p. 19

Consequently, "Politic behaviour can then be understood as the sum of individual perceptions of what is appropriate in accordance with the habitus of the participants. It is always open in social practice to renegotiation." Watt's (p. 76)) In this sense, linguistic politeness is evaluated in terms of expected behaviour in a given context of 'real social practice'. Central to Watts's (2003) model

> (im)politeness consists of two major concepts:
> a. *Politic behaviour*: is related to the habitus in Bourdieu's theory of practice in that it accounts for the knowledge of which linguistic structures are expectable in a specific type of interaction in a specific social field [...] Behaviour which is not part of the politic behaviour of an interaction type is 'inappropriate' and open to classification as 'impolite'...
> b. *Linguistic politeness*: any linguistic behaviour which goes beyond the bounds of politic behaviour is open to potential classification as 'polite', which includes potential irony, aggressiveness, abuse, etc. It is thus open to dispute. (p. 161)

Another problem raised by Watts (2003) in politeness research is the vagueness in the use of the terms 'polite' and 'politeness'. Like Eelen (2001), Watts (2003) argues that an adequate theory of politeness should take into account 'social practice' (Bourdieu, 1991) because "What is 'polite' or 'impolite' language can only be assessed as such by analysing the context of real social practice." (p. 141) In

---

[5]. Original emphasis.

this sense, the perception and evaluation of both participants in a conversation are central to determine what is polite or impolite.

Watts (2003, p.14) identifies "fundamental aspect of what is understood as 'polite' behaviour in all [...] cultures". Thus, to be 'polite', a person should "'avoid being too direct' [by showing] 'respect towards or consideration for others'". (p. 1)

The aim of Watts behind proposing a new discursive model is to incorporate the idea that politeness is a social practice, i.e., it is basically an evaluative behaviour, (im)politeness1 should be the main concern in the discursive approach. Similarly to Eelen (2001), he differentiates politeness1 'lay politeness' and politeness2 'theoretical politeness and maintains that "To use a lay concept in one language as a universal scientific concept for all languages and cultures is particularly inappropriate." (p. 13)

Watts (2003, p 19) considers that a theory of politeness should be normative or should be based on politeness1 "to offer a way of assessing how the members themselves may have evaluated that behaviour". He then supports a theory of descriptive politeness1 "to refer to mutually cooperative behaviour, considerateness for others, polished behaviour, etc., is a locus of social struggle over discursive practices." (p. 17) and declines politeness2 as "mutually cooperative behaviour, considerateness for others, and polished behaviour" (p. 17) because "there can be no idealised, universal scientific concept of (im)politeness (i.e., (im)politeness2) which can be applied to instances of social interaction across cultures, subcultures and languages." (Watts 2003, p. 23).

Another theoretical issue Watts (2005) challenges is the distinction between first-order and second-order im/politeness. For him, while common-sense notion of politeness refers to first-order im/politeness ((im)politeness1), theoretical notion of impoliteness refers to the second-order im/politeness ((im)politeness2). Watts (2003) explains that:

> We take first-order politeness to correspond to the various ways in which polite behaviour is perceived and talked about by members of socio-cultural groups. It encompasses, in other words, common sense notions of politeness.

Second-order politeness, on the other hand, is a theoretical construct, a term within a theory of social behaviour and language usage (Watts et al., 2005*a*).

Throughout the arguments given above, it seems evident that Watts's theory of politeness is close to Eelen's (2001). Actually, both of them distinguish politeness into two parts: politeness1 in reference to what people expect about polite and impolite behaviours under a social construct, which differs from one culture to another; and politeness2 as a universal representation of what is politeness. In this sense, politeness should not be taken as universal as a social construct which differs from one culture to another.

1.2.2.3 Mill's Theory (2003)

Mills (2003) began her work criticising traditional approaches at their head Brown and Levinson (1987). The main points of contention revolved around the assumption of universality, the confrontational approach of all interactions and the likeness of politeness with indirectness and non-imposition. Mills (2003) deplores that most of the models are too much centred on the individual rather than treating the individual as part of a group or what she calls 'community of practice' to examine the way interlocutors negotiate stereotypes related to gender in force within the group they belong to. She assumes that politeness theory should be "a more community-based, discourse-level model of both gender and linguistic politeness and the relation between them." (p. 1)

Mills believes that cultural norms are mythical and that stereotypes of gender about politeness exist in any community, what makes research in gender and politeness complex. The reality is "if there are circumstances when women speakers, depicting on stereotypes of femininity to control their behaviour, will appear to be acting in a more polite way than men, there are many circumstances where women will act just as impolitely as men." (p.1) Politeness/impoliteness should be seen as a continuum where the evaluation of polite or impolite behaviours takes into consideration the individuals and the community in which they evolve.

Mills (2003) adopts the 'notion of a community of practice' based on the social view of Wenger (1998) who claims that: "A community of practice consists of a loosely defined group of people who are mutually engaged on a particular task and who have a shared repertoire of negotiable resources accumulated over time." (Wenger 1998, cited in Mills 2003, p. 30). Mills (2003) maintains that the

> notion of a community of practice is particularly important for thinking about the way that individuals develop a sense of their own gendered identity; because it is clear that individuals belong to a wide range of different communities with different norms, and they will have different positions within these groups (both dominant and peripheral). (196)

She carries on saying that importantly, "The notion of community of practice can provide a framework for analysing the complexity of judging an utterance as polite or impolite, and by analysing individual assessments of stereotypes we can see that within different communities of practice individuals may perform their gendered, raced, and classed identities in different ways." (169)

In fact, the main idea behind using the notion 'community of practice' is "to map out the ways in which individuals negotiate with what they assume are community-of-practice norms for linguistic behaviour." (3) For her "It is this dynamic nature of communities of practice and the often conflictual relation of individuals to particular communities of practice which is central to my work" (2003, p. 4). Politeness behaviour is not regarded as a set utterances or behaviours defined by individuals but a set of practices and strategies established by the community. She explains that "politeness cannot be understood simply as a property of utterances, or even as a set of choices made only by individuals, but rather as a set of practices or strategies which communities of practice develop, affirm and contest" (Mills, 2003 p. 9).

For her, "In all interaction, individuals are working out their gendered identity and their position within a community of practice, as well as communicating with others, and politeness and impoliteness play a key role in presenting and producing a particular type of identity, and negotiating a position in the community of practice." (Mills, 2003 p. 9) The notion of community of practice

becomes important because the individual is seen as an active actor who "engages with others and is defined and changed by that engagement and contributes to the changes taking place within the community of practice" (Mills, 2003 p. 9). The roles that individuals play and positions they hold in the community of practice are affected by "Factors of gender, race, class, age, education, and knowledge [which] play a major role in assumptions about the level of appropriate linguistic behaviour within particular communities of practice." (Mills, 2003 p. 9).

In this sense, individuals are constantly negotiating and positioning themselves in relation to the power relations within the communities of practice and at the same time within the society at a large scale as "communities of practice do not exist in isolation, since individuals belong to many different communities and the practices of these groups often affirm or challenge the practices operating in the community of practice, either at a stereotypical or actual level." (Mills, 2003, p. 9).

Mills (2003) implements 'a far more complex model of politeness' and explains that understanding polite behaviour should be analyzed within a social community practice which is essentially based on the social view of Wenger (1998) who claims that a community of practice "consists of a loosely defined group of people who are mutually engaged on a particular task and who have a shared repertoire of negotiable resources accumulated over time" (Wenger 1998, cited in Mills 2003, p. 30).

For Mills (2003), politeness is not a set of utterances or choices produced by individuals, but it is rather a set of practices and strategies developed by the communities. Mills (2003, p. 9) claims that "politeness cannot be understood simply as a property of utterances, or even as a set of choices made only by individuals, but rather as a set of practices or strategies which communities of practice develop, affirm, and contest". The community of practice regards the individual as performing different functions in a community and not as a powerless person. According to Mills (2003 p. 30) this person "engages with others and is defined and changed by that engagement and contributes to the changes taking place within the community of practice".

She adds that, "In engaging in interaction, we are at the same time mapping out for ourselves a position in relation to the power relations within communities of practice and within the society as a whole. This is what I call interactional power, to differentiate it from those roles which may or may not be delineated for us by our relation to institutions, by our class position, and so on (Mills, 2002)" (cited in Mills, 2003, p. 174-75).

Following Eelen's and Watt's notion of 'habitus', Mills also adopts this notion with the communities of practice and mentions that one of the significant assessments of the appropriate behaviour is based on the community of practice and not just the individual's habitus. She mentioned that politeness and impoliteness should not be viewed in one scale. She adds that the analysis of (im)politeness should be performed through the sentence and after that the discourse level.

Summarily to Eelen (2001), Mills (2003) sets a methodological strategy for examining politeness from the discursive perspective focusing on the fact that politeness theory should not be prescriptive and normative but descriptive.

1.3 Synthesis of Politeness Theories

This part deals with different approaches under traditional and post-modern theories of politeness. The traditional approach focuses on the cooperative principle and Speech Act Theory as well as *speakers'* utterances as entities for analysing politeness. On the other hand, the post-modern or discursive approach, which relies on social views like *habitus*, emphasizes the role of the *hearers* in evaluating politeness. The main difference between the two approaches is that while the first focuses on the speaker, the second emphasises more on the hearer, yet both consider politeness as a social phenomenon. As a consequence, both approaches are considered as complementary. This complementarity offers a more flexible approach to the study of gender and linguistic politeness which takes into account factors including culture, age, race, and specific communities of practice.

However, after reviewing some of the most influential theories on politeness, it turns out that there is great confusion regarding its definition and conceptualization. One of the issues is the lack of a universal concept of the notion

of politeness, which may be applied cross-culturally. In fact, what is considered as polite in a culture may be impolite in another one. The different contributions to politeness theory have oriented the research towards the social appropriateness perspective to study it "from a sociolinguistic view [...] saying the socially correct thing" (Lakoff 1975, p 53) and as a common-sense notion with a proper social conduct (Kasper 1994) Thus, interlocutors are considered impolite when they violate one or more of the contractual terms in force in a given society (Fraser & Nolen 1981). The social approach to politeness which considers it as appropriate behaviour has the advantage of being applied universally and cross-culturally.

1.4 Linguistic Realization of Politeness Strategies

The term 'politeness strategies' refers to the verbal message strategies that satisfy the face of the hearer. For Watts (2003, p. 86) **"Politeness strategies [...] aim** (a) at supporting or enhancing the addressee's positive face (positive politeness) and (b) at avoiding transgression of the addressee's freedom of action and freedom from imposition (negative face)." In this sense, people should maintain every participant's face and reduce face-threatening to a minimum. Brown and Levinson (1987, p. 92) divided strategies into hierarchical levels and assume that politeness strategies "form hierarchies of strategies that will achieve higher-order goals. They carry on saying that "...the four highest-level strategies (bald on record, positive politeness, negative politeness, and off record) are [referred to] as 'super-strategies'" (p. 92). These four politeness strategies are discussed below.

1.4.1 Bald on Record Strategies

Bald on record is considered a direct strategy to produce an act in a direct way without any effort from the part of the speaker to reduce the impact of the Face Threatening Act (FTA). According to Brown and Levinson (1987, p. 69), the FTA is achieved "in the most direct, clear, unambiguous and concise way possible". In this regard, the utterance maximally follows Grice's conversational maxims. Bald on record involves doing FTA in direct and unambiguous form. However, when

using this strategy people feel uncomfortable, discomfited and upset. For example, the utterance 'Pass the salt' is direct, bald on record where there is no politeness. However, such a strategy is often used between people who have a close relationship like friends and family members. Bald on record strategies are used:

- when the act realized requires more efficiency such as emergencies;
- when the act is addressed to persons who know each other like close friends where 'weightiness' is small;
- when the face threatening act is performed for the benefit of the hearer;
- when there is a great difference in power between the interlocutors.

As Brown and Levinson (1987, p. 69), "Doing an act baldly, without redress, involves doing it in the most direct, clear, unambiguous and concise way possible (for example, for a request, saying 'Do X!')." They add that "redressive action mean[s an] action that 'gives face' to the addressee, that is, that attempts to counteract the potential face damage of the FTA." To reduce such face threatening acts, a redressive action is used using some soft words like 'please, if possible, kindly, etc'. Redressive action consists of two types: 'positive and negative politeness'.

14.2 Positive Politeness Strategies

Positive and negative politeness strategies are used in interactional, socio-pragmatic, and discursive researches. Positive politeness strategy is used to show care and express warmth and friendliness towards others. Brown and Levinson (1987, p. 70), claim that "Positive politeness is oriented towards the positive face of H, the positive self-image that he claims for himself." It means that positive politeness is usually addressed to the hearer's positive face and tends to lessen the distance between the interlocutors by showing interest in the hearer's need (minimize the FTA) and being friendly and nice towards others.

Considering gender, Brown (1980, 1993) found that females are generally more polite than males. For example, in female groups, women tend to employ more positive politeness strategies than males do in male groups. Similarly, Holmes

(1988*b*) discovered that women use more compliments as positively-affective speech acts that function as expressions of solidarity than men.

Brown and Levinson (1987) suggest three strategies that convey positive politeness; the first one is to 'claim common ground' with others. It happens when interlocutors share the same attitudes, opinions and interest. This strategy presupposes that there is a common ground between the interlocutors. It is realised through the following acts:

- Notice, attend to H (interest, wants, needs, goods)
- Exaggerate (interest, approval, sympathy with H)
- Intensify interest to the hearer in the speaker's contribution
- Use in-group identity markers in speech: in-group language or dialect, jargon, slang, contraction or ellipses
- Seek agreement: safe topics, repetition
- Avoid disagreement: token agreement, pseudo-agreement, white lies, hedging opinions
- Presuppose /raise/assert common ground: gossip, small talk, point of view operations, presupposition manipulations
- Joke to put the hearer at ease

The second strategy involves cooperation between interlocutors. It is used to show interest in the hearer such as taking into consideration his/her viewpoint. This strategy is based on the fact that speakers and hearers are co-operators. It is achieved employing the following acts:

- Assert or presuppose speaker's knowledge of concern for hearer's wants;
- Offer, promise;
- Be optimistic that the hearer wants what the speaker wants;
- Include both speaker and hearer in the activity;
- Give (or ask for) reasons;
- Assume or assert reciprocity.

The third strategy of positive politeness is to achieve the other's desires, needs and wants like sympathy. It revolves around the principle to fulfil the hearer want for some X. It is accomplished throughout the following acts:

- Give gift to the hearer (goods, sympathy, understanding, cooperation).

The aim behind using the different strategies by the speaker is to convey solidarity and familiarity. They are also used to mitigate the possible damage of imposition of an FTA in a specific situation.

1.4.3 Negative Politeness Strategies

As opposed to positive politeness, negative politeness is concerned with the hearer's negative face. Brown & Levinson, (1978, p. 75) introduce it as a strategy that is "oriented mainly towards partially satisfying (redressing) H's negative face, his basic want to maintain claims of territory and self-determination." In other words, negative politeness is seen as a 'strategy for self protection' mainly concerned with respect (Brown and Levinson, 1987). It is a redress directed to the hearer's negative face intended to take into consideration "his want to have his freedom of action unhindered and his attention unimpeded." (Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 129).

The main role of negative politeness is to reduce the imposition put on the hearer by means of the FTA using expressions like: 'please,' 'thank you', 'sorry', 'excuse me', etc. It is used to avoid imposition and increase the social distance between interlocutors. For instance, "being conventionally indirect" is one of the negative politeness strategies in which the speaker minimizes the FTA by using conventionally indirect phrases or sentences that have unambiguous meaning, like for example using an indirect request as 'Can you please pass the salt?' (p. 132-133). Using negative politeness for making a request seems less violating because it avoids threatening aspects of communication considering the following components:

1) Social distance;
2) Relative power;
3) Absolute ranking.

Brown and Levinson (1987, p. 129-211) claim that negative politeness strategies are divided into five main mechanisms subdivided into ten strategies:

Be indirect
- Be conventionally indirect

Do not presume/assume willingness to comply
- Question, hedge: hedge on illocutionary force, prosodic/kinesic hedges

Do not coerce H
- Be pessimistic about ability or willingness to comply
- Minimize the imposition
- Give deference

Communicate the speaker's want to not impinge on the hearer
- Apologize: admit the impingement, indicate reluctance, give overwhelming reasons, and beg forgiveness
-Impersonalize the speaker and the hearer: use performatives, imperatives, impersonal verbs, passive and circumstantial voices, replace the pronouns 'I' and 'you' by indefinites, pluralize the 'I' and 'you' pronouns, use point-of-view distancing
- State the FTA as a general rule
- Nominalise to distance the actor and add formality

Redress other wants of the hearer
- Go on record as incurring a debt, or as not indebting H

These strategies are intended by the speaker to maintain the hearer's negative face desires and safe the distance between the interactants while minimizing negative feeling about such division.

1.4.4 The Indirect Strategy (Off-Record)

In Brown's and Levinson's model of politeness (1987, p. 69), off-record mechanisms comprise "metaphor and irony, rhetorical questions, understatement, tautologies, all kinds of hint". They assume that

A communicative act is done off record if it is done in such a way that it is not possible to attribute only one clear communicative intention to the act. In other words, the actor leaves himself an 'out' by providing himself with a number of defensible interpretations; he cannot be held to have committed himself to just one particular interpretation of his act.   (ibid. p. 211)

Off-record means that the speaker does not provide their intentions clearly and avoid the direct FTA. As a result, it allows for plausible deniability on the part of the speaker if the intended recipient takes offence at the face threat inherent in the utterance. It means that the speaker's utterance has more than one interpretation or a hidden. Brown and Levinson (1987, p. 211-227) consider that the FTA is performed 'Off Record' through the use of some linguistic strategies including:

Inviting conversational implicatures

- Give hints

- Give association rules

- Presuppose

- Understate

- Overstate

- Use tautologies

- Use contradictions

- Be ironic

- Use metaphors

- Use rhetorical questions

Being vague or ambiguous (violating the manner maxim)

- Be ambiguous

- Be vague

- Over-generalize

- Displace H

- Be incomplete, use ellipsis

The theory of politeness and face-saving proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987, [1978]) has been till now the most influential politeness model, the basic strategies and sub-strategies used by interlocutors to accomplish different speech acts. Politeness strategies are based upon a theoretical framework of politeness and face-threatening acts (FTAs). According to the politeness patterns, there can be four types of politeness strategies which are direct, less direct and indirect. Each pattern

of the politeness strategies is marked by linguistic realisations. The choice of the appropriate politeness strategy is determined by the social context including social distance, age, social status or power, age, and the amount of imposition. It turns out that politeness strategies are determined culturally.

1.5 Definition of Politeness

It is particularly difficult to agree on a definition of politeness. Many theorists have tried to propose definitions, but a simple one is given by Ide (1989, p. 22) who sees it as "language associated with smooth communication". Politeness is seen as a complex system for softening face threats to convey the utterance as polite as possible which in this case is needed to minimize conflict with others (Brown and Levinson (1978). According to Lakoff (1975, p. 64), "politeness is developed by societies in order to reduce friction in personal interaction". For Leech (1983, p.19), politeness is "strategic conflict avoidance" that "can be measured in terms of the degree of effort put into the avoidance of a conflict situation". Sifianou (1992, p. 86) argues that politeness is a social contract consisting of "the set of social values which instructs interactants to consider each other by satisfying shared expectations". Some divide politeness into two parts: politeness1 and politeness2 (See, Eelen (2001) above p. 22). While politeness1 is considered as the 'lived experience', of politeness, politeness2 is the scientific abstracted view of politeness. Watts (2003, p. 9) argues that:

> the very fact that (im)politeness is a term that is struggled over in the present, has been struggled over in the past and will, in all probability continue to be struggled over in the future should be the central focus of a theory of politeness…investigating first order politeness [politeness1] is the only valid means of developing a social theory of politeness.

When dealing with politeness research, the complexity relies in the difficulty of theorising what is polite and what is impolite. In addition to that, politeness theory should be able to be applied to all societies and all cultures.

1.6 Pragmatics of Politeness

Pragmatics, as a sub-discipline of linguistics, developed in the late 1970s, seeks to explain language use in context and its influence on language users. The term 'pragmatics' is widely used in politeness theory as 'pragmatics of politeness' one of the abilities related to the concept of pragmatic competence which itself originates from communicative competence. For Chomsky (1980, p. 224), pragmatic competence is the "knowledge of conditions and manner of appropriate use (of the language), in conformity with various purposes". With regard to politeness research, Fraser and Rintell (1980, p. 76) first give a broad definition of pragmatic competence as "the knowledge of how to use the linguistic competence in a social context". A few years after, Fraser (1983, p. 29) gives a more elaborated definition of the term considering it as "the knowledge of how an addressee determines what a speaker is saying and recognizes intended illocutionary force conveyed through subtle attitudes in the speaker's utterance". Al-Eryani (2007) assumes that the speaker's ability to use appropriate speech acts in a given situation and to use appropriate linguistic forms to realize this speech act is the main component of pragmatic competence.

Therefore, pragmatic competence can be viewed as the knowledge required determining what such sentences mean when spoken in a certain way in a particular context. Pragmatics, thus, relies on communication and the way people communicate using language. Pragmatic competence comprises the sociopragmatic which is an evaluation of contextual factors and the pragmalinguistic meaning the linguistic resources available to perform language functions (Kasper, 1992; Leech, 1983).

One of the outstanding contributions to the study of pragmatics has been Grice's Co-operative principle and Maxims of conversation. On the other hand, politeness is the pragmatic realisation of linguistic strategies affected by social and

cultural contexts on how to treat others' face. While social context refers to the social distance, the power relation between the interlocutors, age, status, gender, class or ethnicity, cultural context refers to the differences in cultural backgrounds that regulate politeness strategies in a given society. In fact, what may be polite in a culture may be impolite in another.

1.7 Face and Face Threatening acts

In politeness research, the notion of *face* as a technical term borrowed and developed from Goffman (1967, p. 213) who defines face as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact." Consequently, the public self-image of a person and any threat to a person's face is called a face threatening act (hereafter FTA). Goffman' studies (1967, 1971, and 1981) bring out the social construction of the self and the notion of face (roughly, the public image an individual seeks to project). His study has influenced many linguists concerned with the study of politeness, such as Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987), Leech (1983).

Brown and Levinson (1987, p. 61) indicate that "Our notion of 'face' is derived from that of Goffman (1967) and from the English folk term, which ties face up with notions of being embarrassed or humiliated, or 'losing face'". According to the authors, face is "the public self-image that every member of society wants to claim for himself" (p. 66). In this sense, face refers to something which may be lost, conserved, or optimized and should be regularly present in conversation. Interlocutors may display a good or bad attitude referred positive or negative face. The notion of *positive* and *negative face* is found in all cultures, and thus is a universally construct. Positive face is "the positive consistent self-image or 'personality' (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants" p. 61) [...] the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others." (Brown and Levinson, 1987, 61-62) On the other hand, "negative face: [is] the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction- i.e. to freedom of action and freedom from imposition [...] the want of every 'competent adult member' that his actions be

unimpeded by others" (p. 61-62) It means that, while positive face is the participants' desire to be liked and approved by others and their need to be connected and to be a member of the same group, negative face is the members' need to be independent and not to be imposed on by others.

Consequently, face threatening acts may spoil the face of one of the interlocutors by behaving in disagreement to the wants and desires of the other. Face threatening acts can be verbal (using words/language), paraverbal (conveyed in the characteristics of speech such as tone, inflection), or non-verbal (facial expression). Yule (2002, p. 61) proposes that the participants usually should specify, as they speak within an interaction, the relative social distance between them, and thus their 'face wants'. Every person generally tries to respect the face wants of others. In general, people try to preserve their public self-image and that their face is respected when they behave within their everyday social interactions. Central to the notion of face, respect and deference are used to show awareness for another person's face when that other seems as socially disqualified. Solidarity, camaraderie, or friendliness can be expressed to show awareness for another person's face when the other looks socially close. Yule (2002, p. 61-62) explains that when the speaker attempts to save other peoples' face, they have to care for their negative face wants and their positive face wants. The term ' negative' does not include bad meaning, but it proves the opposite extremity from 'positive'.

In fact, face, in many verbal interactions may be threatened. Threatening negative face, which represents damaging participant's autonomy, involves orders, requests, suggestions and advice. Threatening positive face, that decreases an individual's self and social discretion, involves expressions of disapproval, disagreements, accusations and interruptions. Anyhow, by using expressions of apologies and confessions, speakers may threaten their own face.

Brown and Levinson (1987) distinguish between The FTAs that *Threaten Positive Face* and those that *Threaten Negative Face*

FTAs that Threaten the positive face of the addressee

- Acts that show that the speaker has a negative evaluation of some aspect of hearers' positive face:

(a) expressions of disapproval, criticism, contempt or ridicule, complaints and reprimands, accusations, insults (speakers indicate they do not like/want one or more of hearers' wants, acts, personal characteristics, goods, beliefs or values)

(b) Contradictions or disagreements, challenges (speakers indicate that they think hearers are wrong or misguided or unreasonable about some issue, such wrongness being associated with disapproval)

- Acts that show that the speaker is indifferent to hearer's positive face: Expressing violent emotions that embarrassed hearer's positive face, mentioning taboo topics, irreverence. Telling bad news about the hearer or good news about the speaker in order to distress the hearer. Raising emotional or divisive topics like religion, politics, race.

The FTAs that threaten the negative face of the addressee include: The acts that predicate some future act from hearer and put a pressure on him:

- Orders and requests (speaker wants hearer to do or stop him from doing some act A)

- Suggestions and advice (speaker shows that he thinks hearer should do some act A)

- Reminding (speaker reminds hearer of doing some act A)

- Threats, warnings, dares (speaker shows that sanctions will be taken against hearer unless he does A)

Acts that imply some positive future act from speaker towards hearer. These acts put pressure on hearer to accept or reject them, these acts include: Offers and promises.

Acts indicating that the speaker has a desire towards the hearer's or their goods. This makes hearer think to take action and protect this object or give it to

speaker: Compliments, expressions of envy or admiration, expressing strong negative emotions towards hearer like hatred, lust or anger. Some of these acts can threaten both negative and positive face like: threats, complaints, interruption, etc. The FTAs that threaten hearer's face and FTAs that threaten speaker's face

Acts that threaten the speaker's face are as follows:

a.   The FTAs which potentially threaten Speaker"s face include:

-      Acts that offend speaker's negative face: expressing thanks, acceptance of hearer's thanks or hearer's apology, excuses, acceptance of offers, responses to hearer's embarrassment (if speakers' pretend not to notice hearer's discomfort, they are threatening themselves) and unwilling promises and offers.

b.   The FTAs which can damage the speaker's positive face are: apologies, acceptance of compliments, physical breakdown, falling down, self-humiliation, acting stupid, self-contradicting and emotional non-control such as laughs or tears, etc.

To sum up, politeness may be seen as a set of strategies for managing threats to face, for doing face-threatening acts including everyday communicative actions (requesting, apologizing, advising, criticizing, complimenting, etc.) that pose a threat to the speaker's or hearer's positive or negative face wants. It is important to mention that during a conversation different face-threatening acts are performed.

1.8 Gender and Politeness

Researchers on gender and politeness have been concerned with studying linguistic variations related to gender as being the effect of social differences. Several theoretical and influential works on politeness and gender have been initiated by linguists including Lakoff (1973, 1975) Brown (1980) Brown & Levinson (1987) and Holmes (1984, 1995). When women and men use different language behaviours, they just conform to a particular form of language appropriate to their sexes (Trudgill 1974). The term 'genderlect' is used to specify that men and women language behaviours are not to be considered as 'right and

wrong', or 'superior and inferior' but 'just different' (Tannen 1990). There are, in fact, some factors that shape these differences among them:

- *Social pressure*: due to social pressures to acquire prestige or to appear 'correct' women develop a status-conscious ability (Aitchison 1999) more than men.

- *Power talking*: it is generally attributed to men's speech. Contrary to women, men interrupt more their interlocutor (Aitchison 1999) and are more direct in their speech like giving orders.

- *Conversative purpose:* women's speech is expected to be less aggressive, less innovative and more conversative (Trudgill 1974)

- *Level of education:* though things have considerably changed, women are still associated with home and housework, while men are associated with the outer world and the economic activities (Spolsky 1998, p. 17).

On the other hand, Trudgill (1972) discovered that women's language is more hypercorrect and more formal considered as characteristics of polite linguistic behaviour to achieve prestige than men's. Similarly, Brown (1980) found that women hypercorrectness and use of formal language is due to their unstable social position compared to men. Consequently, women compensate for their weakness by speaking more formally and more politely than men.

Recently, women began to think in a rather different way. With the democratisation of education and increasingly engaging in the workplace, the status of women in society is continuously changing. Thus, women pay attention to the language they use, i.e., speak ' nicely' to maximise the opportunity to get new jobs where communication abilities are more decisive than power. Lakoff (1975), one of the early feminist linguists, claims that for a long time, women's language was considered as powerless and weak compared to that of men. She identifies ten linguistic features that support the deficit view often associated with women's talk. She then, explains the reasons that make women's speech more polite than men like when avoiding FTAs through using negative politeness strategies.

However, though time, stereotypes ingrained in peoples' mind about gender and politeness are progressively challenged. For example, discussing the complex relations between gender and politeness, Mills (2003) states that even if there are situations when women speakers appear to behave in a more polite way than men, there are many other situations where women will behave as impolitely as men.

1.9 Gender and Politeness across Cultures

Cultural differences may lead to communication misunderstanding or even breakdowns. In fact, what is appropriate in one culture may be inappropriate or offending in another one. Hence, communicating with people from different cultures efficiently requires knowledge of the culture(s) of the others. The question is even more complex when it comes to be polite with interlocutors from other cultures. Yule (1985, p. 134) explains that the "Ideas about the appropriate language to mark politeness differ substantially from one culture to the next culture".

Cultures view women and men differently which engenders different views of values that affect the criteria of politeness and leads to differences in various aspects. For example, Brown (1980, 1993) argues that females are generally more polite than males in almost all cultures. In the same-gender groups, women are more likely to employ positive politeness strategies than males do in same-gender groups. Brown (1980, p. 112) assumes that:

> it seems reasonable to predict that women in general will speak more formally
> and more politely, since women are culturally relegated to a secondary status
> relative to men and since a higher level of politeness is expected from inferiors.

On the other hand, Brown & Levinson (1987) highlight that politeness is a cultural, specific dimension of language use. Consequently, in each culture, there are different views and values that shape attitudes of interlocutors towards what is polite and impolite and how to perform such actions. For instance, the way of greeting may differ from one culture to another. In fact, in English speaking countries, greeting may be performed orally using 'hi', 'hello' or 'good morning', 'good evening'…etc. Greeting may also be performed physically through shaking hands, kissing, hugging, etc, depending on the familiarity of the interlocutors. In

contrast, in the Arabic speaking world, people may say /marħabən/ 'welcome', /Sabaħ ʔəl χajər/ 'good morning' /ʔasala:mu ʕalajkum/ 'May peace be upon you', etc. In the Arabic culture, physical greeting is highly codified. In fact, greetings between women are particularly affectionate, involving hugs and kisses on each cheek. However, in general women do not physically greet men unless they are closely related or family members. But this may be different depending on the cultural and traditional peculiarities of each country in the Arab word.

When dealing with politeness and culture, most models to analyse politeness were drawn from the western world (Brown & Levinson 1987, etc) or what is called 'universality of politeness'. If it is accurate that some characteristics of politeness are universal, it is crucial that cultural values and differences of a given society should be first identified and then taken into account to study linguistic politeness.

1. 9.1 Universality of Politeness and Variation across Cultures

Politeness as language behaviour and an essential aspect for social interactions and social stability is found in all cultures. However, it is precisely the universal character of politeness that has been questioned because it is too vast and fluctuating from one culture to another. The inconsistency is due to the lack of harmony in both its linguistic representation and the criteria of social assessment. Fraser (1990, p. 234) maintains that:

> there is little agreement among researchers in the field about what, exactly, constitutes politeness and the domain of related research. At times researchers seem more interested in defining the term 'politeness' than with understanding an interactive concept that appears to be relevant in all cultures. […] The notion of politeness as universal is often proposed but seldom validated, even in B & L's work.

Each language has its own culture-specific pragmatic features and strategies used for different purposes. Those features and strategies differ from one culture to another. However, comparing different languages, Gordon and Lakoff (1975) found that the conventional utterances used are almost universal. Lakoff (1975) identified three politeness rules, i. e., *formality: keep aloof; deference: give options;*

camaraderie: show sympathy, as being universal in all cultures, even if different cultures will consider these rules differently according to the priority and conditions in which they are used.

Based on several works about the use of linguistic politeness across cultures, some scholars raised doubt about this universality. For instance, Blum-Kulka (1987) indicates that the most indirect basic strategy, i.e., hints, is not universally acceptable as the most polite strategy. She also found that second/foreign language speakers mastering grammar and vocabulary of the target language might fail to use polite forms of language effectively. She attributes such language problems to cultural differences including gender, age, level of education, status.

Leech (1983) also disputes the concept of universality in terms of his politeness Maxims. He found that though his maxims and Grice's four ones occur in almost all cultures they differ from one culture to another according to the different values related to them. Thus, for example, while in the English-speaking societies people use the 'agreement' maxim to try to be more polite, in Japan the 'modesty' maxim is preferred to the 'agreement' maxim for the same case. Brown and Levinson (1987) explain that politeness strategies function in one culture might be addressed more to support positive face than to avoidance of threatening negative face in another culture, and to assume that there is a cultural spectrum of politeness types ranging from negative politeness cultures to positive politeness cultures.

All in all, research on linguistic politeness reveals that all languages seem to share some characteristics of politeness theory which comfort the idea of universality of politeness. However, cultural specificities, even in the same society, mean that speech communities tend to develop their own politeness strategies. According to Lakoff (1975), politeness is at the same time a phenomenon through which cultures can be categorized and a phenomenon categorized depending on culture. For example, in the Arabic world, the Islamic religion is omnipresent in daily life interactions.

1.9.2 Women and Politeness in Arab Culture

The strong relationship between language, cultural and religious values in the Arab world engenders different linguistic behaviours that are highly codified. Thus, religious and cultural values play a crucial role determining politeness behaviour among men and women.

Despite its importance, the relationship between gender and politeness has been scarcely dealt with in the Arabic-speaking societies. Studies examined this relationship as a secondary issue limited to contrast men's and women's speech with no details on politeness linguistic patterns (Al-Khatib 2006). Recently, an expanded number of studies on gender and politeness have emerged to highlight the effect of gender on the type of strategies employed. Al-Khatib (2006) argues that sociological factors such as gender might have caused observable differences in the choice and variation of politeness strategies among both genders in the Jordanian society. Sadiqi (2003) in Morocco or Bassiouney (2009) in Egypt dealt with religion, gender, language policies and their impact on language behaviour in a systematic way. Samarah (2015, p. 2005) explains that

> The Islamic religion interferes with most aspects of Arabic society ... On the one hand, religion says, that you should show humility in your interaction with other people. On the other hand society recommends strongly that the individual shows dignity.

Similarly, Edwards and Guth (2010, p. 33) report that "Honour, dignity and self-respect are 'sacred' concepts among Arabs since pre-Islamic times, and are considered taboos, which should not be abused by anybody".

In a more detailed description of societies, Scollon & Scollon (1995, p. 150) assume that "History, worldview, beliefs, values, religions, and social organization may all be reflected through different languages and linguistic varieties in a culture." As far as the Algerian society is concerned, the focus of this study, though religion and social norms are crucial factors that guide language behaviours of both

men and women, other factors including history (French colonialism), social transformations, changing status of women in society, etc, are also to be taken into account.

1.9.3 Politeness Strategies in Algeria

The fact that men and women speak differently is simply due to the fact that the two genders have different sociolinguistic subcultures. The history of Algeria reveals that the country boasts different cultures through the invasions of the Romans, the Byzantines, and the Arabo-Islamic expansion, Turkish presence, Spanish and French colonisations. Consequently, the succession of all these periods especially Arabo-Islamic and the French one, have created a multicultural identity in a state of multilingualism typical to the Algerian society. Though the Arabo-Islamic culture is dominant among Algerians, traits of the French culture are clearly displayed in the society.

As far as politeness is concerned, women do not behave linguistically as men, not because of their inferior social status but because they share different norms and values. In fact, in the Algerian culture, respecting elders, listening to them, helping them when they are in need is certainly evidence of good manners. It implies that using specific conversational strategies may change depending on the relationships between the interlocutors like: men, women, adult, neighbours, strangers, etc.

As apposed, to British people, who usually apply indirect statement of request which is more polite than direct one. The interlocutor respects the negative face of other interlocutors through avoiding direct imposition, in the Algerian culture, and other Arab cultures, people may be more direct because they depend on positive politeness in their speech. On the other hand, there are Algerian women and men, especially educated ones, who use French expressions or code-switch[6] between Arabic and French to convey politeness. For example, in Tlemcen when

---

[6]. Code-switch will be dealt with in the next chapter.

people ask about the health of someone, they use direct expressions like /kirik/ 'How are you', /kirik mʕa ʔəSSafifia/ 'How is your health' or / *ça va*, rik ɣaja mʕa ʔəSSaħħa/ 'how are you, how is your health'. The speaker highly respects the positive face of the addressee through being cooperative. People may also adopt bald-on record strategy in request and often use more direct statements. For instance, they may say /bəssif ʕlik dʒi ɣədda ləl ʕurs/ 'You are obliged to come tomorrow to the wedding'.

Being polite is important for Algerians regardless of the gender of the individuals. The Algerian culture has a plethora of devices to express linguistic politeness. However, as El hadj Said (2018) puts it, women use more polite strategies than men do.

1.10 Gender, Politeness and Language Attitudes

Based on males' dominance, language attitudes towards women's speech have long been plagued by the negative evaluative reactions reflected by the society. Various works in sociolinguistics, especially done by Anglophone feminist Lakoff (1975); Tannen, (1990); Holmes, (1984, 1995); Mills 2003, etc) have tried to prove that any attempt to attest the existence of 'women's language' is an evidence to create gender stereotypes built on male dominance and power. As stated by Crystal (1987) language establishes a 'male-orientated view' of the world where women undergo social prejudice because of their sex difference. This bias is observable in the forms of the language used and plays an important part in establishing attitudes towards such language behaviours. Kramarae (1982, p 85) defines

> …attitudes as an organization of motivational, emotional and judgmental processes with respect to, in this case, the way women and men do and should speak, an organization which has a directive impact on what the individual sees and hears, thinks and does.

In this respect, language is regarded as a reflection of reality and affects thought and behaviour. According to Lakoff (1973, p. 45)

Language uses us as much as we use language. As much as our choice of forms of expression is guided by the thoughts we want to express, to the same extent the way we feel about the things in the real world governs the way we express ourselves about these things.

Therefore, 'women's language', with all of its prescribed rules and restrictions, might pose limits to women's thought and behaviour. This clearly implies that language is culture-specific and has nothing to do with gender as a whole. Therefore, 'women's language' is not a natural construct, but a consequence of socially and historically determined attitudes which make it distinct from men's language.

However, unlike most western world countries, in Japan the debate on attitudes towards the stereotypes of language and gender has received little interest because "The Japanese language is believed to have an apparent 'women's language' that is identifiable, a distinct way of speaking and writing about which Japanese themselves are conscious" (Abe, 1995, p. 649). These two situations are facts to reinforce the idea that language attitudes towards language are socially determined and culture-specific. In her study about Arab culture, and especially Moroccan women's language, Sadiqi (2003) discusses stereotyping in language at length, drawing upon proverbs, lexical sexism and other forms of public discourse that define women and women's language as unworthy of consideration. Sadiqi (2003) describes the difference between men's and women's language use in Morocco, as well as the power encoded in such forms. She sets many examples to explain the tacit cultural and ideological biases that work to disempowered women while upholding male dominance. In fact, language does not create, but reproduces and reinforces social stereotypes. In other words, language behaviour reveals and reinforces gender stereotypes and social attitudes towards men and women. As Sadiqi (2003) demonstrates, these detrimental and largely unconscious attitudes are transmitted in modes of education and linguistic socialization. Thus, attitudes towards men's and women's speech are deeply rooted in both genders in Arab societies and transmitted through generations.

1.11 Gender and the Prestigious forms of the language

Regarding differences in language behaviour, gender is one important factor that influences the choices and shapes attitudes of language use in most Arab cultures. As far as language and gender are concerned, it is important to know psychological aspects specific to men and women. The fact that both sexes do not behave in the same way is due to the fact of their psychological aspects and cultural environments. Preferences and choices are crystallized in the childhood and reveal the future personality and gender-specific behaviours. For example, males are violent and rigid while females are shy and soft. As far as language use is concerned, psychological aspects specific to men and women are responsible for prestigious and non-prestigious forms of language. Accordingly, women tend to use more prestigious forms of the language than male speakers as shown by many scholars like Labov (1966, 1972, 1990), Trudgill (1972, 1983), Tannen (1990), Holmes (1988*b*), etc. Those studies reveal that in many speech communities, women's greater use of prestige language depends on their attitudes (power and status) towards language and on the specific position they hold in the society (Labov 1972). Trudgill (1972) also found that women use more forms associated with the prestige standard than men because while male speakers are judged socially on what they do, female speakers are judged mainly on how they appear. Consequently, women pay attention to their speech to improve their public image.

Such attitude about language between male and female speakers is due to the fact that women are considered as more sensitive to prestige language. In fact, females are more likely to use prestigious forms in the core domains of phonological, morphological and lexical than male speakers. Labov (1966, 1972, 1990) explains that attitudes towards language are clearly observed among the speakers themselves when they use what is considered as stigmatized or prestigious forms of the language. Labov (1972, p. 243) mentions that "In careful speech, women use fewer stigmatized forms than men […], and are more sensitive than men to the prestige pattern. This observation is confirmed in numerable times." Labov (1966, 1972) clarifies that prestige may be 'overt prestige' (explicit) and 'covert

prestige' (secret). He found that women are more likely to use the overt prestige form of the language, i.e., the standard language used by a 'culturally dominant group', while men use covert prestige which means to adopt a choice that is different from that of the 'dominant culture group'. This language behaviour is not particular to English. In studies of speech patterns in Arabic, Abu-Haidar (1989) observed that in Baghdad, women are more conscious of the prestige of Arabic than are men. Similarly, in Tlemcen speech community, Dendane (1993, 2007) noted that the occurrence of the prestigious forms of dialectal Arabic is higher among women than men. He found that the use of the glottal stop, a realization that is widely described as 'feminine' and 'soft' in the literature of Arabic, is more likely to be used by female speakers while those forms of [q] and[g] are frequently used by male speakers. In Jordanian Arabic, Abdul El-Jawad (2000) observed in Jordan that swear words usage among men is higher than women.

1.12 Gender and Politeness Stereotypes

In the late 1970s, like many feminist researchers, Lakoff (1975) started looking at how a linguistic code conveyed sexist values and bias. As a result, Holmes (1995, p. 2) affirms that:

> 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, on the other hand, tend to see language more as a tool for obtaining and conveying information, and as a means to an end.

In fact, previous research on gender and language use has shown that there are differences in men's and women's speech. These differences have engendered some gender stereotypes where women and men are assigned characteristics and roles determined by their gender. Among those stereotypes, women talk more/less than men; women break the 'rules' of turn-taking less than men and women's speech is less direct/assertive than that of men.

- *Women talk more/less than men*

The popular view that women are more talkative than men has been challenged by studies such as Lakoff (1975), Kaplan (2016). The challenging view suggests just the opposite (Thomas & Wareing, 2004). Wareing (2004, p. 86) claims that "we do tend to believe that women talk too much, when research shows that men on average talk more than women." In fact, when women and men are together, it is the men who talk most. James and Drakich (1993) reported that based on sixty-three studies examining the amount of talk used by American women and men in different contexts found that women talked more than men in only two studies. On the one hand, in a recent study, Brizendine (1994) states that women talk three times as much as men. On the other hand, Drass (1986), in an experiment on gender identity in conversation dyads found that men speak more than women. According to Cameron and Coates (1985), what determines the amount of speech is mainly influenced by the relationship between the interlocutor and what is the topic under discussion. They also add that a large number of studies have shown that there is little difference between the amount men and women talk. Though based on English speaking societies, such stereotypes are widely spread in the Arabic culture. However, studies in depth are needed to validate or invalidate such stereotypes.

Stereotypes about women's language are not limited to verbosity but spreads to other aspects of speech. Wareing (2004, p. 86) explains that "Stereotypes of women's and men's talking styles usually portray women talking far more than men (see Coates 1993: 16-37 for an overview of common stereotypes and prejudices)."

- Women break the 'rules' of turn-taking less than men

Studies in the area of language and gender often point out dominance as a feature comparing women's and men's speech. Dominance can be attributed to the fact that in mixed-sex conversations, men are more likely to interrupt than women. In a study Zimmerman and West (1975) report that in eleven conversations between men and women, men used forty-six interruptions, but women only two. Rosenblum (1986, p. 160) states that "men are more likely to interrupt and overlap women's speech than the reverse." Similarly, Aries (1987, p.152) observes that "men have frequently been found to interrupt women more than women interrupt men."

Holmes (1991, p. 210) concludes that "the balance of evidence [seems] to confirm the view that men interrupt others more often than women do, and that, more specifically, men interrupt women more than women interrupt men."

The rule seems to apply to the Algerian culture where men interrupt and dominate the speech more than women. Women interrupting men, raising their voice or shouting at men are frowned upon while the opposite is tolerated.

- Women's speech is less direct/assertive than men's

Lakoff (1975, pp. 45-79) established a set of basic suppositions about what characterizes women's language. Those features express and reinforce women's inferior position in society. She claims for example, that women

• Use hedge: using phrases like 'sort of', 'kind of', 'it seems like', and so on.

• Use (super) polite forms: 'Would you mind...', 'I'd appreciate it if...', '...if you don't mind'.

• Use tag questions: 'You're going to dinner, aren't you?'

• Use direct quotation: men paraphrase more often.

• Have a special lexicon: women use more words for colours, men for sports.

• Overuse qualifiers: (for example, 'I think that...');

• Use more intensifiers: especially so and very (e.g., 'I'm so glad you came!');

• Apologize more: (for instance, 'I'm sorry, but I think that...');

• Avoid coarse language or expletives;

• Use indirect commands and requests: (for example, 'My, isn't it cold in here?' - a request to turn the heat on or close a window)

• Lack sense of humour: women do not tell jokes well and often do not understand the punch line of jokes.

Most of these features are found in most of the cultures. In the Algerian context, women use more polite forms, intensifiers and tag questions than men.

The stigmatisation of women's speech is not limited to women themselves but is also used as a bad connotation to describe men's speech. It is generally granted that in the Algerian culture, as in many other Arab ones, one of the most widespread stereotypes is that women talk is 'badly' referred to. For example, the expression /hadra ntaʕ ʔənnsa/ 'women's talk' is an expression frequently used by male speakers to mean 'unimportant or futile talk' like a 'rumour or gossiping', etc. Sadiqi (2003) assumes that the meanings attributed to some words and expressions and the way they are referred to create a powerful ideology that is difficult to get rid of or even change. For example, in the Algerian context the expression /hadak mra maʃi radʒəl/ 'he is a woman not a man' is used to refer to a man who is very weak or has a feminine behaviour. This expression has a bad connotation denoting the fact that women are associated with anything unworthy. Therefore, in the Algerian society, this ideology creates a worldview where men have physical and moral power over women. On the other hand, /baba radʒəl/ 'tomboy' is used to describe a woman who behaves like a man and thus has lost her femininity and sensitivity.

Like many Arab cultures and similarly to Algerian society, women's politeness is to be received as different from men's politeness. In fact, women's speech is seen as polite because it is considered as soft and emotional compared to men's speech. Algerian women's speech is regarded as polite because in the society women are brought up to talk in a 'lady-like' way and are expected to act and talk accordingly. In fact, women use more hedges, interrogatives or question tags like /wəjak, wəlla lla/ 'isnt'it'. They also tend to use more polite expressions like, /ʔəllah jəχəllik/ 'May God bless you' /ʔəllah jaħħafdək/ 'May God protect you' /ʔəllah ja3ətək ʔəSSaħħa/ 'May God give you health'. Furthermore, women are also respectful in the use of forms of address. They tend to use more terms like /χaj/ and/χəti/ 'brother', 'sister' or /bənti/ 'my daughter' and /wəldi/ 'my son' or /ħəbiba/ 'dear', not only as a form of respect and admiration to address people who are not relatives but also to decrease social distance and establish a close

relationship. This correlates with women's general tendency to use compliments more frequently than men (Herbert 1990). Holmes (1988*b*, p. 447) explains that compliments "serve to increase or consolidate the solidarity between the speaker and addressee...This is certainly the most obvious function they serve."

It is evident that Algerian men also use such expressions but not as regularly as women do. All this largely reflects women's nature of softness and their firm feeling of over-sensitiveness. However, stereotypes that stigmatize women's speech stem from social norms and behaviour which reflect shared expectations that members of a specific society have as to what women and men are like and what is expected of them. Indeed, most Arab societies are positively biased toward men and negatively biased toward women. Men have power over women at different levels such as the level of political leadership and legal rights and even in the street. For instance, like in the Western culture, the use of names like /ʔanissa/ 'unmarried girl' and /sajjida/ 'married woman' is biased in the absence of equivalent terms distinguishing unmarried from married men. One implication of this is that women need to be identified, at first sight, as married or unmarried whereas men are not subject matter to this.

Generally speaking, the attributes and values associated with women are more negative than the ones associated with men. Actually, this evidently entails that language behaviour, in this case the use of linguistic politeness, is different among Algerian women and men. Whereas women exhibit affection and attentiveness towards the hearer, men display manhood, power and dominance towards the hearer.

1.13 Sociological Factors in the Choice of Strategy

Many studies in sociolinguistics have attested the close interdependence of patterns of speech variation and the sex of the interlocutors (Labov 1972; Trudgill 1972; Tannen 1993; Holmes 1995, Wardhaugh 2010; etc). Other authors (Lakoff 1975; Zimmermann and West 1975) have shown that gender differences are basically attributable to the socialization period through which young girls and boys acquire the culture or subculture of their group. During that period, each gender

develops its own characteristics. Besides, the same surveys have insisted on the importance of other variables like social distance, age, identity in the analysis of linguistic politeness. Actually, in real life situations, social distance and identity are crucial sociological factors determining the appropriate politeness strategy:

- **Social Distance**

Social distance refers to the relationship (status, familiarity, closeness) between the interlocutors. The more interlocutors know each other the more the social distance decreases. While Arabs have another important perspective about social distance because they interpret closeness and touching other partners as intimate relation, Western people witness distance between speakers in everyday speech. When Arabs and Westerners meet, they constantly shift positions because Arabs try to approach their partners while Westerner people move away trying to maintain a comfortable distance (Nydell, 2006).

- **Age**

Arabs in general and Algerians in particular, allow old people to start speaking in the attendance of young people as part of the concept of politeness. People allow elders to sit in front positions not in the back seats. According to the Arabic traditions, when elders speak young people listen. It is extremely impolite that a young person interrupts an older one when speaking. Address terms like /ʔəlħadʒ/ /ʔəlħadʒdʒa/ 'Al-hajj' basically used to name people who went for pilgrimage to Mecca, are honorific titles often used by young Algerians to address old ones even if those latter did not accomplish pilgrimage. Other terms[7] /ʕammi/ 'uncle', /ʕammti/ 'aunt' or /χali/ 'uncle' and /χalti/ 'uncle' are used to address old people even if the speakers have no family ties.

---

[7]. In Arabic, the kin term 'uncle' has two items: /ʕammi/ refers to the father's bother and /ʕamməti/ to the father's sister, while /χali/ is the mother's brother and /χalti/ is the mother's sister. Also, /ʕammi/ is often used by young people as an address name showing respect to older ones even though there is no kin relationship with them.

Politeness strategies choices that are observable during interactions make sense among people who share the same social and cultural norms. However, though women and men belong to the same group or the same speech community, they develop linguistic politeness choices particular to each gender. As a consequence, some researchers (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1992; Holmes & Meyerhoff, 2006) have introduced the concept of community of practice to explain language behaviours that characterize each gender as a member of a distinct group.

1.14 Gender and Community of Practice Framework

For a long time, the term 'gender' was used to refer to a binary distinction: 'masculine' and 'feminine' in society. Under the feminist movement in the 1960s and 1970s, gender studies evolved fervently. As a result, this abstraction based on sex differentiation was contested. Two influential views about language and gender emerged: the essentialist view and the constructionist view. While the essentialists view gender as based on biological sex, the constructionists consider gender as part of social factors such as age, social class and ethnicity. In fact, gender has long been a crucial factor in investigating its effects on language use.

According to Mesthrie (2011), a speech community is defined as the basic unit of study for the linguistic features of the social setting of a language. For this reason, examining the linguistic features used by members of a speech community can be one of the most helpful methods in understanding the cultural features that distinguish politeness behaviour within this community. One of the most important features that distinguish a speech community is the density of communication, which means that members of each speech community speak to each other more than they speak to those who belong to other speech communities (Mesthrie, 2011). The second feature is the shared norms that are defined as the common knowledge shared by the members of a speech community as to what are the appropriate (linguistic) norms used to describe a social phenomenon (Mesthrie, 2011).

The role of gender in any speech community is among other factors that define a speech community. Consequently, exploring the linguistic features used by members of a speech community helps to understand the cultural features that

distinguish politeness behaviour within this community (Mesthrie, 2011). He says that:

> By density of *communication* is meant simply that members of a speech community talk more to each other than they do to outsiders; [...] The other, equally important, criterion – *shared norms* – refers to a common set of evaluative judgments, a community-wide knowledge of what is considered good or bad and what is appropriate for what kind of (socially defined) occasion. (Mesthrie, 2011, p. 171)

Actually, in addition to being a member a speech community, people are members of different sub-groups including, age, gender, ethnic, professional, etc. Consequently, beyond sharing the same cultural norms, women and men have a distinct subculture that is particular to each group. Thus, understanding the way language and gender interact is only possible if they are considered as part of social practices in which they are produced; in other words, restricted communities of practice better reveal the relationship between language and gender.

Originating from Lave & Wenger (1991)[8], the notion of 'community of practice' (also referred to as CoP), first used as a learning model, was introduced into sociolinguistics by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet in their different works (1992, 1995, etc). In gender studies, the notion of speech community is too vast to explain linguistic politeness phenomenon. Therefore, some sociolinguists use the notion of communities of practice. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992, p. 95) describe it as follows:

> A community of practice is an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavour. Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations - in short, practices - emerge in the course of this mutual endeavour.

In their definition, the authors believe that 'ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations' as entities share 'practices', is crucial in analysing gender and politeness as norm-driven and social behaviour social contexts. Communities of

---

[8] Lave, J. and Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated Learning: Peripheral Participation*; Cambridge University Press.

practice are groups of people sharing similar interests and objectives. When seeking these interests and objectives, they make use of common practices, work with similar artifacts and use a common language (Wenger, 1998).

Wenger (1998, p. 126) argues that there are three main dimensions defining a community of practice: "a community of mutual engagement, a negotiated enterprise, and a repertoire of negotiable resources accumulated over time". Sadiqi (2003, p. 13) equates 'a repertoire of negotiable resources' to 'sharing of routine such as gestures'. For her, women and men have different types of body language. She argues that

> Communities of practice are different from speech communities: albeit a great deal of heterogeneity with respect to age, power, etc. within each community, communities of practice share a common goal in some sense, whereas speech communities do not necessarily share a common goal and, thus, are heterogeneous in the strong sense of the word. Examples of communities of practice are a police force and public vendors.

Sadiqi (2003, p. 13)

Therefore, adopting the notion of community of practice to examine gender politeness in social contexts helps to identify and describe women and men linguistic behaviours. In politeness theory, women and men are considered as different groups not because they are physiologically different but due to fact that they use different linguistic choices in the same context. Those choices are determined by the attitudes and evaluation of members in relation to each group. For example, women are more polite than men because in the same context, women use more polite forms of language than men do.

1.15 Conclusion

This first chapter has dealt with the theoretical background relating to gender and politeness. The review of the main traditional and post-modern politeness theories revealed that there is no predominance of a single theory but that they hold at times complementary and at other times antagonistic ideas depending on the

context. We have also discussed the linguistic realization of politeness strategies which tried to bring to light the cooperation effect between the interlocutors to maintain social order and to avoid conflicts. The chapter, then, has considered some of the main concepts including the cultural aspect of gender and politeness related to the present work. It ends with examining the sociolinguistic aspects of politeness including attitudes and social factors that shape linguistic behaviour. The next chapter deals with gender and politeness within the cultural and sociolinguistic situation of Tlemcen.

Chapter 2: Gender and politeness: The Cultural and Sociolinguistic Context of Tlemcen

2.1 Introduction

The second chapter deals with the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria in general with a focus on Tlemcen speech community as a fieldwork. It attempts to bring light to some of the features relevant to the situation, particularly the impact of gender on politeness and language use in Tlemcen speech community. It will first give a historical overview of Tlemcen and the impact of Arab-Islamic and Western cultures. The coexistence of the different languages gives various and complex language situation in Algeria. Consequently, it will also present the existing languages in Algeria and the speech community of Tlemcen in particular. It will then discuss the outcomes of such language contact resulting in linguistic phenomena including diglossia, bi/multilingualism, code-switching and borrowing.

Additionally, it will also try to explain some of the historical grounds that have led to the development of attitudes among women and men on language and peculiarities of language behaviour including politeness of women and men in the speech community of Tlemcen. In fact, Algerian speakers use the different languages for different functions and to mean different intentions and achieve the different politeness strategies.

2.2 Tlemcen, an Algerian Speech Community

The present work, which intends to investigate politeness strategies in relation to gender in the Algerian context, takes Tlemcen speech community as a fieldwork. A brief overview of the geography and history of the city are a prerequisite to understand its sociolinguistic situation. Tlemcen is a North African town in Algeria, not far from the Moroccan boarder. In the ancient times the town was named under Agadir (Escarpment) by the Berbers (Amazigh), it is also nicknamed 'the pearl of the Maghreb' or 'the city of Cherries'. It was one of the

largest cultural and economic centres in North Africa under the Berbers, the Romans in the 2nd century and under Islamic rule starting from the late 7th century. Historically, Tlemcen has been regarded as characterized with highly conservative attitudes and cultural features.

Regarding the linguistic situation, Tlemcen is typically marked by a set of salient linguistic features which characterize it as an urban dialect contrary to its outskirt villages which are considered as rural ones. As Holmes (2001, p. 1) asserts,

> Examining the way people use language in different Social contexts provides a wealth of information about the way Language works, as well as about the social relationships in a Community, and the way people signal aspects of their social identity through their language.

The distinction between urban and rural dialects lies at the phonological, morphological and lexical levels. Non-Tlemcenian speakers are easily identified through the language forms they use.

At the phonological level, the speech of Tlemcen is characterised primarily by the realisation of *qaaf* , MSA /q/ as a glottal stop [ʔ] while it is realized as [g] in rural dialects: 'He told me' is [ʔalli] rather than [qalli] or [galli]. The glottal stop is thus considered as an indicator or a clue for Tlemcenian speakers; when someone uses the glottal stop when speaking, he is automatically recognized to be from Tlemcen. In his investigation about women's speech in Tlemcen, Dendane (2007) asserts that Tlemcen speech as a whole and its use of the glottal stop in particular is seen as an 'effeminate' sign or a marker of identity and membership. In fact, the glottal stop is mostly used by female speakers whereas male speakers tend to replace [ʔ] by [q] or [g] in constrained situations. Subsequently, Tlemcenian men and especially younger ones feel ashamed when using the glottal stop. This phenomenon is related to the social contexts, i.e., age, gender, social class and geographical distribution, etc.

At the morphological level, Tlemcen speech is characterised by the absence of gender distinction in verb forms where the feminine morpheme {-i} as in MSA /katabt**i**/, 'You (fem. sing.) have written', is not used, and thus [ktəbt] is used to

address a man and a woman alike. In fact, /ʕaћiit/ 'thank you' is used to address both a female and a male, while in rural varieties /ʕaћiit/ is used for a man and /ʕaћiiti/ for a female.

At the lexical level, there are a great number of words and expressions that are particular to the speech of Tlemcen. These are different from their rural equivalents which are seen by Tlemcenians as rude and even impolite, especially by old people. For example, a young man who uses the non-Tlemcen form [waʃʃa] or [waʃta] instead of [ʔasəm] 'what?', may be reprimanded by his parents or grandparents because they consider it as an impolite way to speak to them. On the other hand, many words that are normally used in the rural varieties are considered as vulgar or impolite in the speech of Tlemcen, especially when used by women. For example, /taħʃihali/ 'fool me' is highly impolite and never used by women in Tlemcen while used in rural speech. Tlemcen women use instead [təʃmətni] which is more acceptable.

In fact, a whole set of lexical items are specific to Tlemcen speech, including, for instance, [jeːh], [ʔadʒi], [ʔəgʕud] ('Yes', 'Come!', 'Sit down') whose rural forms are respectively [waːh], [ʔarwaːħ], [ʒəmmaʕ]. Therefore, Tlemcen native spe akers are readily recognizable whenever and wherever such items are heard in Algeria.

2.3 The Status of Languages in Algeria

Algeria is characterised with the existence of different languages including Arabic with its different varieties, Berber in some areas and French, inherited from colonialism. However, in Tlemcen speech community, Berber is not used. As regards to languages of Algeria, Arabic consists of different varieties. Arabic is the official language of the country, but its standard form, MSA, is not used in everyday life conversations. The different Algerian dialects are used in daily life, in informal situations such as with friends, at home, in the market…

On the other hand, French, the colonial legacy still has a special status. It is largely used especially by educated people for interactions. It is also mixed with

Arabic by almost all Algerian speakers in daily interactions. It has a strategic place and it fulfils many social functions.

The coexistence of Arabic and French in the community results in various and complex language phenomena including borrowing, bilingualism and code-switching, but also diglossia. The status of each language engenders different attitudes towards each variety among women and men who may adopt one variety or another to express politeness. Consequently, it is necessary to describe the languages of the speech community of Tlemcen and try to discuss some concepts, in particular bilingualism and the resulting phenomena, code-switching, borrowing as well as attitudes towards language use in relation to gender and politeness.

The Algerian context is not exceptional. While investigating language attitudes in the bilingual community of Oberwart (Felsoor) in Austria, Gal (1978/1997) found that both Hungarian and German are used each with different symbolic statuses and, therefore, generated dissimilar attitudes towards those languages. Whereas Hungarian, equated with peasant life, received negative attitudes, in particular among young people and women, German representing modern non-agrarian lifestyles and having a more prestigious status, received positive attitudes. She found differences in the language-choice patterns of young women and men. When women depart from peasant/agrarian female roles to working lifestyles, they stop using Hungarian and adopt German. The use of German, a more socially valued variety, resulted in their rejection of that peasant and agrarian identity and the adoption of the Austrian working lifestyle through the use of the German language in most situations. Such association between the status of a given language or a language variety and people's attitudes towards that language or those varieties can be regarded as universal, though the strength of attitude may depend on the society in question and other factors.

To understand the sociolinguistic situation prevailing in the Algerian context with the languages and varieties used by Algerians to communicate, it is important to look at the language setting in the country. In fact, the linguistic diversity in

Algeria results from the existence of different languages, as exposed in the next sections.

2.4 The Languages of Algeria

Arabic, with its different varieties, Berber in a few areas of the country and French make up the linguistic profile of the country. Below is a brief chronological portrayal of each language.

2.4.1 Berber

The term Berber or Tamazight is derived from Greek and is used to refer to an ethnic group of North Africa and West Africa especially Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Lybia, Mauritania, Northern Mali and Northern Niger. The first inhabitants of North Africa, what is also known as the Maghreb, were the Berber tribes whose origins are still debatable. Tamazight is a Hamito-Semitic language which unifies the Berber dialects. In Algeria, the major Berber varieties are used in the Kabylian regions, Tizi Ouzou and Bejaia, in the Aures. Chenoua is spoken in Tipaza and Cherchel. In the South of the country, the Sahara, Mozabi is spoken in Ghardaia , Taznatit in Gourara and Touat and Tamahaq of the Tuareg in the Hoggar. As for the Northwest, there were Berber dialects of Beni Senous and Beni Said spoken in some villages of Tlemcen province. Therefore, Berber is the mother tongue of a considerable minority of Algerians. According to Benrabah (2014, p. 45) "Berberophones represent 25-30% and live in communities scattered all over the country." Among all the varieties, the Kabyle, the Chaouia, the Tamacheq and the Mozabi are the most used; they are the principal varieties of Berber.

Although arabization spread all over the Berber country, some tribes kept their linguistic heritage and cultural identity. Benrabah (2014, p. 44) explains that:

> despite the high prestige associated with Arabic, this language did not displace Berber completely. Thirteen centuries after the Arab invasion, and on the eve of French occupation in 1830, about 50% of Algerians were still monolingual in Berber.

Moreover, they succeeded in preserving their various dialects in different geographical areas but none of these dialects was written or developed a common

form of the language that may have led to standardization. In fact, writing was reserved for Arabic which had long been codified as a means to spread Islam.

2.4.2 Arabic

When dealing with Arabic, different labels are proposed. In fact, due to the diglossic character of the Arabic language, many terms are used to distinguish the different existing varieties of the language.

2.4.1.1 Classical Arabic

While the term 'Classical Arabic' was coined by non-Arab linguists, in particular orientalists, to refer to that form of Arabic that had existed since the revelation of the Qur'an and even before Islam[9], the label readily used by Arabs is اللغة العربيّة الفصحى *al lugha l 'Arabiyya l fuṣḥā*, 'the most eloquent Arabic language', with no qualifier meaning 'classical'. In fact, in all Arabic-speaking communities, no distinction is made between that form of Arabic, Qur'anic Arabic, and what is today referred to as Modern Standard Arabic or Literary Arabic, the language taught at school which, for that matter, allows college pupils today to read and understand pre-Islamic poetry and the Qur'an in the so-called Classical Arabic (CA).

Classical Arabic is used for religious purposes, in Friday sermons and Qur'anic schools, as well as in ancient literature, prose and poetry. But, many centuries of use have led to practically no change in its structure, except at the level of stylistics and new lexis introduced in a modern form of Arabic. Significant changes, on the other hand, occurred in the linguistic structure of the various vernaculars that co-existed, and still co-exist, in a diglossic relationship with that prestigious variety in different parts of the Arab world and in different periods of Islamic expansion. These developments have resulted today in several varieties of Arabic, often referred to as dialectal forms, like Algerian Arabic (hereafter AA) consisting of different regional varieties with different degrees of mutual

---

[9] In his book *The Book of Animals*, famous writer Al-JaHiz mentioned that this form od Arabic existed 100 to 150 years before the emergence of Islam..

intelligibility and existing side by side with what western linguists refer to as Modern Standard Arabic (acronymed MSA).

2.4.1.2 Modern Standard Arabic

Modern Standard Arabic is seen as a modernized version of Classical Arabic, from which it takes its normative rules and thus is also regarded as a prestigious form. As a matter of fact, MSA has preserved the linguistic structures and the rules known in CA, to the extent that researchers interested in the Arabic language do not mention structural differences in phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics. The only differences between MSA and CA remain in the modern vocabulary, especially due to the impact of modernity on the language. Indeed, many borrowings like **تكنولوجيا** 'technology', **كمبيوتر** 'computer, تلفاز 'television', الرسكلة 'recycling', **الجندرة** gender, etc., have been integrated to MSA, in addition to a great number of loan translation items formed on the basis of Arabic verb roots or nouns, as in **طائرة** for 'plane', **هاتف** for 'telephone' or ناطحة السحاب for 'skyscraper'.

In fact, MSA is also associated with high prestige and is considered as a superior form, i.e., 'the high variety' (Hv) in Ferguson's term. In the Algerian context, people who lack fluency in MSA variety are seen as illiterate or lacking literacy in Arabic. Cowan (1968, p. 29) argues that "Modern Standard Arabic is traditionally defined as that form of Arabic used in practically all writing of Arabic and the form used in formal spoken discourse such as newsbroadcasts, speeches, sermons and the like". What is important to mention here is that MSA unifies the twenty-two countries where it is the official language and the means of formal instruction in schools and universities. For Ennaji (1991, p. 9) MSA is:

> Standardised and codified to the extent that it can be understood by different Arabic speakers in the Maghrib and in the Arab World at large. It has the characteristics of a modern language serving as the vehicle of a universal culture.

Thus, in Algeria, MSA is regarded as the language used in formal written and spoken contexts, education, business, in religion, mass media, news and official institutions. For example, MSA is employed in religious settings, because it is the

language of the Qur'an and the language of many highly formalized religious sayings which are often used even by lay people in some of their everyday conversations related to faith and religion.

As it will be explained below (see discussion about diglossia, p 71), MSA used in mosques, law courts, the media, schools, universities and for written purposes, is not the mother tongue of Algerians. In fact, it is Algerian Arabic or Berber which is the real mother tongue used in informal situations, with friends, at home and in daily life in general, though people might sometimes switch to MSA when necessary.

2.4.1.3 Dialectal Arabic

Dialectal Arabic, also called Algerian Arabic (AA) or /Ɂəl ʕaːmmija/ ʻ**العاميّة**ʼ Colloquial Arabic or even /Ɂəddaːridʒa/ ʻ**الدّارجة**ʼ**,** is used in everyday speech among Algerian speakers. It is considered as a low variety of the language used in informal situations. It consists of the different dialects according to regions. AA differs from MSA on the phonological, morphological and lexical levels. On the lexical level, AA contains many borrowed words mostly from the French language. Dialectal Arabic may be divided into rural and urban varieties each having specific features. As far as Tlemcen Dialect is concerned, it is considered as an urban one. It consists, like other Algerian dialects, of simplified phonological and morphological forms of MSA with a heavy load of borrowings, mainly from French.

2.4.3 French

The French language in Algeria is a colonial legacy. French colonisation lasted more than a century (1830-1962) and the French rulers did all their best to eradicate Arabic and imposed French as the language of cultural supremacy and value to the local population. As a consequence, many Algerians, especially those living in big cities of the country, were deeply influenced linguistically and almost lost their Arabo-Islamic identity.

After independence, the Algerian political authorities wanted to give back Arabic its status as the official language and to maintain it as a symbol of national identity and Algerian personality. In fact, Algeria aimed at regaining its Arab and Muslim identity and consequently, the Arabization policy was launched in order to replace the language of the colonizer with Arabic as the language of Arabo-Islamic identity. However, the impact of French in Algeria was so deep that nowadays and after 60 years of independence, it still persists. It is common to hear people speak French or use some French words and expressions in their daily speech. French is seen as a prestigious language and many people are influenced by their culture (music, hairstyle, clothes, etc). French is also regarded as the language of social advancement used in business, commerce and in administrations. It still gains important status in all domains and it is still used in some administrations and even by some people, especially educated ones. What is readily noticeable among many Algerians, particularly in big cities, is their common use of French in daily life and their continuous Arabic-French code-switching.

2.5 Language Contact Phenomena

The contact between Arabic, Berber[10] and French in Algeria brings about various language phenomena: the co-existence of Standard Arabic and the different colloquial varieties leads to diglossia; and the contact between Arabic and French engenders bilingualism results in code-switching and borrowing.

2.5.1 Diglossia

One important language phenomenon characterizing the Algerian linguistic situation and all Arabic-speaking communities is 'diglossia'. W. Marçais, a French linguist, was the first to use the term 'diglossie' in 1930 to describe the Arabic language situation in Algeria. In his definition Marçais (1930, p. 401) describes the Arabic language as appearing under two different aspects:

---

[10]. This research work will not be concerned with Berber.

> 1 a literary language called written Arabic, or regular or literal or classical, […] 2 spoken idioms, patois... none of which has ever been written... but which everywhere and perhaps for a long time are the only language of conversation in all popular and cultural circles. [11]

For Marçais (1930), Arabic has two forms; a literary variety used in formal contexts, for instruction and writing purposes; and spoken varieties, the colloquial forms of Arabic, used in everyday and home conversations.

A more elaborated consideration of diglossia, what is sometimes labelled as 'classical diglossia', was introduced into sociolinguistics by Ferguson (1959). A few years later, Fishman (1967) proposed another form that he called 'extended diglossia' to enlarge the scope of diglossic relationship. In the present work, the two versions are examined.

Ferguson (1959, p. 232) claims that diglossia is a language situation "where two varieties of a language exist side by side throughout the community, with each having a definite role to play." According to him (1959, p. 244-5)

> DIGLOSSIA *is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language* [...], *there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety* [...], *which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.* (Italics in origin)

In Ferguson's definition of diglossia, the high variety (Hv) is the formal and prestigious variety used for written purposes and in formal contexts like education and religion whereas the low variety (Lv), the mother tongue of the speakers, is used in informal situations (daily conversations). The low variety in Algeria is used in the daily conversations among the family and friends, etc. Algerian dialects consist of rural and urban varieties each having specific features (Dendane, 1993, 2007). Algerian dialects include many borrowed words mainly from French.

Ferguson (1959) explains that in some diglossic situations the coexistence of the two varieties may result in communication issues and results in an intermediate

---

[11]. My translation of the original text: "La langue arabe se présente à nous sous deux aspects sensiblement différents: 1 une langue littéraire dite arabe écrit ou régulier, ou littéral, ou classique, […] 2 des idiomes parlés, des patois … dont aucun n'a jamais été écrit, … mais qui, partout, et peut-être depuis longtemps, est la seule langue de conversation dans tous les milieux, populaires ou cultivés."

form of language referred to as 'middle variety' in the Arab world. Ferguson (1959, p. 240) explains that:

> The communicative tensions which arise in the diglossia situation may be resolved by the use of relatively unmodified, unstable, intermediate forms of the language (... al-lugha al-wusta,...) and repeated borrowing of vocabulary items from H to L.

In fact, this third variety also called the 'middle language' is a modernised version of Arabic where many foreign borrowings mostly referring to science and technology are used. In Algeria like the Arabic countries, MSA replaces classical Arabic as the high variety (Hv) used formal settings as official writings such as religious sermons, in education, administration, governmental institutions and mass media. On the other hand, the low variety (Lv) is the mother tongue AA Algerian or more precisely the different Algerian dialects used in informal communications, every day speech, the family and friends, etc.

Sometimes the two varieties are used side by side at the same time. For example, during a lecture, a teacher reads a text or instructions using the MSA and uses the local dialect (Tlemcen Dialect) to explain lectures or exemplify especially in technical matters.

Besides the coexistence of different varieties of the same language, Algeria is also characterized by the co-existence of different languages which results in Arabic/French bilingualism.

2.5.2 Bilingualism

The coexistence of Arabic and French brings about a bilingual situation in Algeria. However, though Berber/Arabic bilingualism precedes Arabic/French, this latter is the most widespread. Arabic/French bilingualism goes back to the French colonialism which lasted for more than 130 years. French was so rooted in the Algerian society that after 60 years of independence, it is still present in the speech of many Algerians. The contact between Arabic and French gives birth to different kinds of bilingualism, both on the individual and societal levels.

By and large, bilingualism occurs when two different languages are used by a speaker or a group of people. The degree of language proficiency is important in shaping the bilingual. Thus, a passive or active bilingual is decided on the basis of the four skills. A bilingual can understand the two languages but cannot speak, read or write them correctly. Such a person is called passive bilingual, whereas an active bilingual is someone who communicates effectively in the other language.

The phenomenon of bilingualism has become broader and broader since the beginning of the 20th century. In fact, since the beginning of its study up to nowadays, different opinions and views were given to define bilingualism. Thus, linguists have not agreed on one definition. It is quite hard to understand it in its complexity having social, individual, demographical and political proportions. Sayad (1984, p. 215) claims that:

> The concept of bilingualism, in its wide acceptance, covers multiform linguistic realities, starting from a light sabir, less respectful of the grammar and the morphology of the borrowed vocabulary, to the most accomplished bilingualism which supposes according to the necessities of discourse, a self-confident, correct and distinct practice of two languages.[12]

In its most extreme sense, bilingualism is considered as the equal mastery of two languages. This view is assumed by Bloomfield (1933, p. 56) who considers a bilingual person as someone having a "native-like control of two languages." However, some linguists refuse the idea of native-like control for the description of bilingualism. According to Myers-Scotton (2006, p. 3) "'Being bilingual' doesn't imply complete mastery of two languages... [that] speakers are rarely equally fluent in two languages.". It means that it is almost impossible that people master the two languages equally and if it is the case, they still have a preference to use one rather than the other in some situations. Holding a completely different view than Bloomfield, Macnamara (1967*a*) considers bilingual any person who possesses a minimal competence in only one of the four language skills, listening

---

[12]. My translation of the original text: "Le concept de bilinguisme, dans son acception la plus étendue, recouvre des réalités linguistiques de forme différente, allant du sabir indigent peu respectueux de la grammaire et de la morphologie du vocabulaire emprunté, au bilinguisme le plus achevé qui suppose selon les nécessités du discours, la pratique sure, correcte et distincte des deux langues. "

comprehension, speaking, reading and writing, in a language other than his mother tongue. Between these two extremes different views have been suggested. For Grosjean (2008, p. 13), "the bilingual is *not* the sum of two complete or incomplete monolinguals; rather, he or she has a unique and specific linguistic configuration."

Grosjean (2008) takes into account both bilingualism and biculturalism. In some situations, the dominant language of the community becomes socially valued and provides a privileged position in the society for its users. In Tlemcen speech community, just as in other big cities in Algeria, French a socially valued language is often used by educated people and especially women to show their social position in the community or to appear as modern or educated.

There are different categories of bilingual speakers that can be classified according to different criteria. This research does not intend to give a full description of bilingualism and bilingual people but to give an overview about what everyday speech is made up of. In this case, bilingualism may be societal (at the level of the whole community) or individual.

2.5.2.1 Individual and Societal Bilingualism

The existence of two or more languages in a society may lead to different kinds of bilingualism. For Appel and Muysken (2005, p. 1), "Language contact inevitably leads to bilingualism [where] two types of bilingualism are distinguished: *societal* and *individual* bilingualism." In the Algerian society, the contact between Arabic and French has resulted in these two types of bilingualism.

2.5.2.1.1 Individual Bilingualism

People may develop individual bilingualism through different circumstances. Individual bilingualism may exist in a monolingual community. This kind of bilingualism depends also on some factors which may be social (rural/urban), gender (woman/man) and cultural background (literate/illiterate). For example, in the Algerian context, these three factors are crucial in shaping individual bilingualism.

➢ **Social:** Most urban centres are characterised by the contact of different languages. In Algeria, French is more present and dominant in the urban areas mainly in administrations, media, education, tourism, and sometimes necessary to communicate with foreigners than in rural ones. As a result, people who live in big cities in the north of the country are more exposed to French than people in the countryside or in the south of the country.

➢ *Gender*: Sociolinguistic research has shown that, more than men, women give importance to prestigious forms of their language. They also use another language considered more prestigious. In the Algerian context, for instance, women, especially educated ones, use more French which they consider as a symbol of modernism and social advancement.

➢ *Cultural background*: The French language in Algeria represents the western and dominant culture. Educated people especially francophones women have developed a deep knowledge of the French culture including fashion, culinary, etc.

2.5.2.1.2 Societal Bilingualism

Societal bilingualism emerges when in a society two different languages are use side by side by a significant number of people though the degree of bilinguality will certainly differ among individuals. The two languages are assigned similar or different functions, like Arabic and French in Algeria which are used side by side in different domains, but may also be used in similar domains of life including, education, administrations, mass media and even home. A doctor may speak in Arabic but switches to French to speak about the diagnosis. For the Algerian administration, an individual may write an application letter for a job in Arabic or French. In this regard, Mohanti (1994, p. 13) explains that:

> Bilingual persons or communities are those with an ability to meet the communicative demands of the self and the society in their normal functioning in two or more languages in their interactions with the other speakers of any or all of these languages.

However, though Arabic and French are both used in Algeria in official domains and occasions as languages of interactions, the country is not officially bilingual. Both individual and societal bilingualism engender language situations where the two languages are used in various ways. Such phenomena are called code-switching (CS) or code-mixing (CM). Additionally, loads of French borrowed words, most of the time adapted to Arabic phonology and morphology, are frequently used in the daily speech of Algerians.

2.5.3 Code-switching

Code-switching is the use of two languages in the same conversation. Gumperz (1982, p. 59) defines it as "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems." Hudson (1980, p.57), on the other hand, explains that a bilingual "speaker may switch codes (i.e., varieties) within a single sentence, and may even do so many times." Some researchers observed that using the two languages during the same conversation is a common practice among bilinguals. Romaine (1994, p. 59) explains that CS is "a communicative option available to a bilingual member of a speech community on much the same basis as switching between styles or dialects is an option for the monolingual speaker".

As far as the Algerian context is concerned, people switch in their everyday conversations from Arabic to French to various extents and with varying competency in this latter. When trying to find out the reasons behind code-switching, scholars focus on social factors that influence language choice. Thus, code-switching between Algerian Arabic and French is attested among educated or illiterate Algerian speakers. In fact, most Algerians codeswitch regularly from Arabic to French even if they are not fluent in French. Code-switching occurs in different ways and Poplack (1980) identifies three types code-switching: intersentential, intrasentential and extrasentential.

While codeswitching occurs between sentences or clause boundaries, in situations where exclamations, tags and ready-made expressions from embedded language are inserted into the recipient language,

1. *Inter-sentential code-switching*: it occurs between sentences or at clause boundary as in:
(1) **A:** S'il *te plait, tu peux lui téléphoner.* ʔana marahəʃ ʕandi əlwaʔət
      Please, can you call her?   **I don't have time**

2. *Intra-sentential codeswitching*: it occurs within a single clause or even within a word. This type of switching is also referred to as code mixing, as in:

 (4) *c'est une crème* təʔaplikiha *une ou deux fois par semaine* ki tʊɣsəl ʃaʕrək
    It's a cream **you apply** once or twice a week when **you wash your hair**.

(5) *Jusqu'à maintenant* mazal ma ʕTatniʃ *une réponse définitive* ʕəla hadʊk
    ʔəSSwalaħ
   Until now, she hasn't given me a final answer **about those things**.

3. *Extra-sentential switching or Tag-switching*: it occurs when exclamations, tags or ready-made expressions from one language are used in the other. Poplack (1980, p. 589) explains that **"**Tags are freely moveable constituents which may be inserted almost anywhere in the sentence without fear of violating any grammatical rule".

(6) *Alors*, təmʃi tkəmməl Swalħak wəlla mazal
   So, are you going to finish your work or not yet?

(7) **Bon** rani fəhamt
    Ok, I've understood.

CS has been studied and identified from different angles. Many Researchers like Gumperz (1982), Heller (1988), Miroy and Myusken (1995), Malik (1994) etc., have distinguished various functions of code-switching including pragmatic ones. For example, Gumperz (1982) was among the first who identified six functions of CS. He found that women switch to the other language which is most of the time socially more valued than the first language to signal their social position and reinforce their authority.

Following Gumperz, Myers-Scotton (1993*a*, 2006) came up with the 'Markedness Model' explaining switches in terms of speakers' motivations. On the other hand, Auer (1998) assumes that CS may be seen at the same time as a

'communicative and social function'. It serves for example to show 'group membership'. He observed that CS among bilinguals depends on the "wider social, political and cultural context of the interaction at hand". (Auer 1998, p. 8).

In addition to code-switching, borrowing is another phenomenon that characterises the speech of Algerians as a great number of foreign words and expressions are frequently used in the Algerian society in daily conversations.

2.5.4 Borrowing

Borrowing refers to the process of adopting into the native language words and expressions from another language. A simple definition from Longman dictionary of applied linguistics states that "Borrowing occurs when a word is taken from one language and used in another language". Some scholars like Poplack (1981), Heath (1989), Romaine (1989), Myers-Scotton (2002), believe that borrowing is a process by which new words are introduced into the recipient language. For Gumperz (1982, p. 66), borrowing involves satisfying the morphological and syntactic rules of another language. He explains that:

> Borrowing can be defined as the introduction of single words or short, frozen, idiomatic phrases from one variety (i.e., language) into the grammatical system of the borrowing language and they are treated as if they are part of lexicon of that language and share the morphological and phonological system of the language.

Borrowing usually develops when a speaker lacks vocabulary in the language being used and alters vocabulary from another language to fit the primary language. As Dendane (2007, p. 133-4) puts it,

> Borrowing usually arises from lack of vocabulary for particular items, mostly nouns, in the 'receiving' language, and is somehow distinguished from true code-switching which is characteristic of bi-and multilingual speakers. What is different in borrowings is that words become part of another language system by being assimilated to its linguistic structural specificities

Yet, borrowing is not particular to bilingual situations but also monolingual ones; as many Algerians, usually non-educated ones, use French items without

essentially speaking French: /kuzina/ , [farʃita] [faliza] , come from French '*cuisine*' (kitchen), '*fourchette*' (fork) and '*valise*' (suitcase). There are words with no equivalents in Arabic or for which Arabic words are ignored; such words may be names of machines like 'portable', 'computer' and have been termed 'cultural borrowings' (Myers-Scotton 1993*a*).

As a result of long-term contact with the French during the occupation of Algeria, a great number of French items could be considered as borrowings, integrated phonologically and morphologically to Arabic rules. Such huge number of French borrowed lexical items in AA sounded much more like the original realisations and are considered by some scholars like Bentahila and Davies (1983, p. 302) as due to lack or inexistence of equivalents in Arabic. They state that:

> French words which are regularly used by Arabic monolinguals must be recognized as borrowing which have become part of the competence of the Arabic speaker. It is usually easy to see the motivation for such borrowings, for a word from one language is usually introduced into another to fill a lexical gap in the second, which may process no simple term for the concept represented by the borrowed word.

Many scholars have attempted to distinguish borrowed forms from code-switching, but the debate is still on. For instance, Poplack (1981) argues that borrowings are phonologically, morphologically and syntactically integrated to the recipient language. This study will not spread over the issue but will follow Poplack's view and consider items that are adapted phonologically or morphologically to the recipient language as borrowings while those keeping their original phonological or morphological characteristics as instances of code-switching. The following examples illustrate the two cases:

(9) matənsaʃ <u>tniTwaji</u> *la peau* wə <u>tʔappliki</u> ɣi ʃwijja ntaʕ <u>pomada</u>

(10) matənsaʃ <u>*tu nettoies*</u> *la peau* wə <u>*tu appliques*</u> ɣi ʃwijja ntaʕ <u>la pommade</u>

Don't forget to clean the skin and you apply just a small amount of cream

It is common for the Algerian speakers to use both examples above; (9) and (10) are used by the same speaker. To explain in detail the two occurrences and under

what circumstances they occur is not the focus of this study. However, what is worth mentioning is that the following verbs /tniTwaji/ vs *tu nettoies* 'you clean' and /tʔappliki/ vs *tu appliques* 'you apply' and the noun /pomada/ vs *la pomade* 'the cream', are sometimes adapted to Arabic and sometimes found in their original French form. If adapted borrowings are used by most people, the non-adapted forms, which we consider as cases of codeswitching, are rather used by those who master French to a better extent.

2.6 The Impact of Arab-Islamic and Western Cultures

Algeria is a Berber, Arab and in Islamic country. However, the period that extends from antiquity to the French colonization witnessed successive invasions. The history of Algeria shows that the country was composed of different Berber tribes. The coming of the Arabs through the Islamic expansion waves in the 7th and 11th centuries resulted in the islamization and arabization of the country. However; some tribes in different parts of the country still resisted the Islamization and Arabization. Undeniably, Algeria has been deeply influenced by two periods, after the Islamic expansion in the 11th century and the French colonisation period in all aspects of the life of almost all Algerians and mainly on the cultural and linguistic ones.

In terms of culture, the Arab-Islamic culture is significantly different from Western cultures. As for the different types and the mixture of cultures in the Arab-Islamic countries, mainly reside in the fact that each country is related to colonialism in a specific way. There are historical and other dissimilarities between the countries of the Middle East and North Africa (Taarji 1991, Walters 1981, Elarbi 1997, Haeri 2003). The length and nature of colonialism in Algeria is different from the one of Morocco or Tunisia or other Arab countries. The French colonization in Algeria, which lasted for more than a century (1830 to 1962), has led to a mixture of Algerian and French cultures. After its independence in 1962, Algeria has undergone important social and economic transformations caused by worldwide industrialization, globalization and rapid urbanization have favoured the encounter of the Algerian (Arabo-Islamic) culture with Western culture where the

French one is the dominant. Facing this challenge, Algerians are not equal. Women, especially educated ones and those living in big cities are more influenced by the French culture. In this respect, Oatey-Spencer (2008, p. 4) believes that

> …cultural regularities are not manifested in all members of a given cultural group or to the same degree of strength in all members; some members may display certain regularities but not other regularities, and for any given member, some regularities may be firmly and more extensively displayed than others.

She also explains that women are most of the time more sensitive to these regularities. They, thus, adopt the new patterns which are the most socially valued.

At the linguistic level, Arabization and the French colonisation periods are the most important on the shaping the linguistic profile of the country as a whole and more particularly big cities in the north of Algeria. Regarding the arrival of Arabic to North Africa, Bentahila (1983, p. 2) argues that:

> [t]he Berbers admitted the superiority of Arabic over their own language, probably because of this link between Arabic and religion, and maybe also because of the respect they felt for the written forms which their own language did not possess.

However, some tribes in different parts of the country resisted Arabization and, as a consequence, Berber is still spoken in some parts of the country, though many Berbers learned Arabic along with their acceptance of Islam. This results in the fact that today most Berber people, particularly those settling in big towns, have become multilinguals with Algerian Arabic as a second language and French as a third one. On the other hand, for example, the contact between the inhabitants of Tlemcen and the French engendered linguistic interferences between the two languages. Regarding the rural areas and the south of the country, the lack of amenities like schools, hospitals and other services, significantly slowed down the spread of the French language.

2.7 The Impact of French on Gender and Language Behaviour

Algerian bilingual speakers are able to use Arabic and French with varying degrees of proficiency in the latter. The choice is most of the time influenced by some factors including the attitudes of the speaker towards the two languages. In fact, in Algeria, French is considered as the language of modernity and social improvement, especially by women. Educated ones, more than men, speak French fluently or codeswitch more frequently between AA and Fr. In this vein, Meyerhoff (1996) claims that differences between women's and men's language behaviour are based on 'social network ties' which are dissimilar.

Taleb Ibrahimi (1997, p. 104) says that in Algeria "…women's social position – their ambiguous and contradictory status – made them adopt particular behaviours that distinguish them from their male compatriots"[13]. Similarly, Sadiqi (2003, p. 49) found that in Morocco the "strong position of French in Morocco has given rise to bilingualism (Arabic/Berber and French) and to code-switching." She (p. 158) adds that:

> Moroccan women's code-switching is an efficient linguistic strategy in a socio-cultural context where the use of languages has significant social meaning. Women often code-switch to achieve personal satisfaction and gain social prestige and recognition.

Educated women who live in urban cities where the use of French is highly valued signal their membership by speaking French. They may also use words and expressions that designate their social status. Besides, non-educated and rural women give little or no importance to French. Sadiqi (2003, p. 151) explains that Morocco women

> use semantic and discourse strategies to assert their individuality and achieve conversational gains. These strategies are both semantic and discursive in the sense that they are meant to convey meanings at various levels of language use. The strategies used by Moroccan women to convey discourse-specific meanings include: (i) indirect language, (ii) diminutives, (iii) euphemisms, (iv) polite forms, (v) oaths, (vi) entreaties, and (vii) code-switching.

---

[13] My own translation : "…la position sociale des femmes - leur statut ambigu et contradictoire - leur faisait adopter des conduites particulières qui les distinguent de leurs compatriotes masculins."

She found that in using politeness strategies, women are more inclined to reinforce their language switching to French as it gives more prestige and value to their speech like in greetings, apologies or thanking in the following examples:

(11) *Bonjour*, kirik + rik ɣaja
    Good morning, how are you + are you ok?

(12) *Désolé* maʃətəkʃ
    Sorry, I didn't see you

(13) *Merci beaucoup* fərafit bəzza:f ki dʒit
    Thanks a lot. Very happy that you came.

2.8 Gendered Attitudes towards Language in Algeria

Research in men's and women's language attitudes has drawn the attention of many scholars (Labov, 1972, 1990; Trudgill, 1974; Lakoff, 1975; Tannen, 1990; Eckert and Mc Connell-Ginet, 1992; Holmes, 1995, etc) who point out the crucial role of language in reflecting and maintaining social attitudes towards women and men. This discrimination is noticeable in the forms of language that are used and related attitudes (Belhadj-Tahar 2014, p. 19). Kramarae (1982, p 85) defines:

> ...attitudes as an organization of motivational, emotional and judgemental processes with respect to, in this case, the way women and men do and should speak, an organization which has a directive impact on what the individual sees hears, thinks and does.

Labov (1966, 1972, and 1990) was among the first researchers to deal with the study of language attitudes. For him, attitudes towards language are well observed among the speakers themselves when they use what is seen as stigmatized or prestigious forms of the language and finds that women are more sensitive to prestige factors than men. He argues that "In careful speech, women use fewer stigmatized forms than men [...], and are more sensitive than men to the prestige pattern" (Labov 1972, p 243). He further finds that prestige may be 'overt prestige' and 'covert prestige', adding that women are more likely to use overt prestige form of the language, i.e., the standard language used by the 'culturally dominant group'.

On the other hand, covert prestige means secret-means to take distance instead of identifying with the 'dominant culture group'

Similarly, Trudgill (1974) asserts that men use covert prestige whereas women exploit an overt prestige. In addition, in his research in language patterns of both genders in Norwich in Britain, he finds that men are more fascinated by non-standard forms of English, while women are more attracted by using Standard English. In this regard, Gruyter and Brouwer (1989, p. 9) summarise Trudgill's point of view as follows:

> [...] men may attach a certain value to non-standard language because of the connection of roughness and toughness, which are supposed to be desirable masculine attributes. When questioned directly, many men admitted that they would rather not speak the standard variety to avoid being seen as disloyal by their friends.

Besides, Trudgill (1972) explains that the use of prestigious forms of the language in the pronunciation of 'ing' in words like 'talking' varies depending on gender. Men realized it as /in/ instead of /ɪŋ/, i.e, less prestigious form of the language, while women tend to use the standard form /ɪŋ/.

While dealing with gender differences in speech, we readily find out that men and women have different attitudes. Research in language attitudes has clearly shown that these attitudes depend on the culture and the several stereotypes based on existing ideologies rooted in their speech communities. In fact, a lot has been said by sociolinguists about women's greater use of prestigious language than male speakers, especially in formal situations. However, even if the differences between males and females exist in some societies and some social classes, they cannot be generalized to all speech communities. For instance, in some societies, women's use of language is characterized by negative inferences; women are considered to use adjectives that imply frivolity, and for this reason men avoid standard forms since these are seen as part of 'females' language'. However, such features of weakness do not reflect the true nature of women's speech; they are nevertheless a representation of actual stereotypes of women's language in society's collaborative

mind. This marginality and powerlessness of women is reflected in both the ways they are expected to speak, and the ways in which they are spoken of.

In bilingual communities, the status of each language has an impact on the attitudes towards the existing languages. For Appel and Muysken (2005, p. 8) "Linguistic behaviour and attitudes towards languages in a bilingual society often give further insight into social norms and values." They add that "attitudes are related to the social distribution of languages in the speech community, and the social meanings attached to the various languages. (57).

As a matter of fact, bilingual speakers often develop positive attitudes towards one language over the other. In the Algerian context, as well as in Morocco and Tunisian which also were under French rule, the French language is socially valued to the detriment of Algerian Arabic. Moroccan sociolinguist Sadiqi (2003, p. 50) assumes that:

> Although it is the language of the colonizer, French is considered a symbol of modernism and social ascension in Morocco, and, hence, has a prestigious share in the Moroccan linguistic market.

She adds that "The pragmatic functionality of French makes women's attitude towards this language more positive than men's and explains their greater use of Moroccan Arabic-French code-switching."

Similarly, French in Algeria is seen as a prestigious language especially by female speakers (Taleb Ibrahimi, Belhadj-Tahar, 2014). It means that the more the individual uses French the more she/he holds an important socio-economic position. In this regard, Sadiqi (2003, p. 52) explicates that "Being a power-related factor in Morocco, multilingualism has social meaning and is important in gender perception and construction. Its importance stems from its correlation with class and level of education".

For women in urban cities, French is more than a language of communication. It is also seen as an aspect of their identity that shows their position in the Algerian society. Correspondingly, Sadiqi (2003, p. 52) found that in

Morocco, bi/multilingual women are the 'most economically privileged sections' while "Women who speak only Berber and/or Moroccan Arabic usually belong to the lower classes and are at a disadvantage at the level of communication in comparison to middle and upper class women." She assumes that "multilingualism broadens women's horizons and allows collective emancipator action. They also know that literacy and social ascension in Morocco depend greatly on the knowledge and use of prestigious languages."

As far as the Algerian context, French for educated women is the language that accomplishes social and professional objectives. On the other hand, women with little education try to use some French to appear more educated and civilised.

2.9 Langue Choice in the Speech of Tlemcen

Tlemcen variety is characterised by a set of linguistic features typical to it. It differs from other AA dialects at phonological, morphological and lexical levels. Dendane (2007, p. 174) explains that the distinction between urban and rural Arabic lies in some morphological differences mainly the drop of the 2nd person feminine singular verb-form suffix {-i} when addressing a woman, as in /ku:l/ 'eat', while the MSA morpheme is maintained in most other dialects for which /ku:li/ is the 'correct' form as opposed to /ku:l/ used to address a man. Besides, Tlemcen speech is distinguished from other varieties with the existence of several lexical items like /ʔadʒi/, 'come' /ʔasəm/ 'what?' vs. /ʔarwaħ/ and /waʃta/ in rural varieties.

Tlemcen is considered as a conservative community regarding its variety and cultural features. Tlemcenian speakers have positive attitudes towards the use of the glottal stop. Tlemcen is the sole speech community in Algeria where /q/ is realized as [ʔ]. However, male speakers are embarrassed when using the glottal stop with non-Tlemcenians. Hence, they tend to replace the use of [ʔ] by the two variants used in most parts of Algeria, [q] or [g]. Dendane (2007) assumes that the glottal stop is seen as an 'effeminate' sign or a marker of identity and membership. Consequently, while women stick to Tlemcen variety when interacting with

Tlemcenian and non-Tlemcenian speakers, many men, particularly younger ones, switch to the rural variety when speaking with non-Tlemcenians.

2.10 Women's and Men's Communicative Strategies

When dealing with language variation according to gender, researchers often present men's and women's language behaviour in contrasting terms. Eckert and Mc Connell-Ginet (1992: 90) reflected the different positions of different scholars by stating that:

> Women's language has been said to reflect their [...] conservativism, prestige consciousness, upward mobility, insecurity, deference, nurture, emotional expressivity, connectedness, sensitivity, to others, solidarity. And men's language is heard as evincing their toughness, lack of affect, competitiveness, independence, competence, hierarchy, control.

The authors insist on the significance of gender in language variation as language usage among women is different and seems to hold some attributes that are different from those of men.

Such language behaviour is not particular to English. In studies of speech patterns in Arabic, Abu-Haidar (1989) observed that in Baghdad women are more conscious of the prestige of Arabic than are men. Similarly, in Tlemcen speech community, Dendane (1993, 2007) noted that the occurrence of prestigious forms of dialectal Arabic is higher among women than men. Concerning vocabulary, Braun (1988, p. 16) reports that clear differences are found in the frequency of usage between men and women. He explains that women are more sensitive to the use of weaker and pleasant-sounding swearing like 'oh dear' or 'goodness' whereas men use stronger and vulgar words such as 'shit' or 'damn'. Likewise, in Jordanian Arabic, Abdul El-Jawad (2000) observed that swearwords usage among men is higher than among women who manifest negative attitudes towards their use because considered vulgar and inappropriate for women. Similarly as explained by Dendane (2007), avoiding the glottal stop in the speech community of Tlemcen, for example, for its irrational association with feminine speech, correlates perfectly well with the 'judges' evaluation of Tlemcen Arabic as a less masculine variety, a social negative stereotype that is undeniably regarded as responsible for the overall

'shame' of using idiosyncratic features of Tlemcen speech by males. In addition, such negative attitudes play a vital role in evaluating people's use of the two variants. The co-existence of the two varieties of Tlemcen speech may lead to linguistic variation, especially among Tlemcen native speakers who tend to avoid the most salient feature that characterizes their dialect, the glottal stop [ʔ], and their strong inclination towards its replacement by [g], as in [galli] 'He told me', or [q] in some lexical items like [qahwa] 'coffee'. Trudgill (1983: 23) asserts that "attitudes to languages clearly play an important role in preserving or removing dialects differences." Indeed, non-Tlemcen speakers never get used to the urban variety; as Dendane (2007) explains, they view Tlemcen speech as 'pleasant' but continue to make fun of its users, whereas Tlemcen native speakers, more particularly men, have got used to employing rural speech characteristics any time and even in relaxed settings. On the other hand, in the speech of Tlemcen, many words that are normally used in rural varieties are considered as vulgar or impolite, especially when used by women. For example, /taħʃihali/ 'You're fooling me' is highly impolite and practically never used by women in Tlemcen while it is acceptable in rural speech. Tlemcen women use /təʃəmətni/instead. In fact, the preservation of Tlemcen speech persists especially with women who tend to be more conservative than men do. In fact, women strongly continue to use the [ʔ] whatever negative attitude it may bear.

2.11Gender and Politeness Discourse Strategies

Research demonstrated that female and male sociolects are not solely differentiated by the production of some linguistic features but also by the use of certain discourse strategies (Lakoff, 1973; Leech, 1983; Brown & Levinson, 1987; Fraser, 1990; Holmes, 1995; Talbot, 1998; Eelen, 2001; Watts, 2003; Mills, 2003; etc). Many interconnected factors intervene in the behaviour of men and women in different contexts, such as power relationships and different statuses within their group. As demonstrated by Sadiqi (2007), women's linguistic behaviour is a reflection of the different types of status women have in society concerning economy, law, education, etc.

In this sense, gender differences are socially conditioned. Sadiqi (2006) found that in Morocco, women's access to public sphere is restricted in comparison to men. Hence, some forms of the language, considered as feminine, are used in private like Moroccan Arabic and Berber, while Modern Standard Arabic, associated with masculine formal speech, is used in public environment. French may also be used by women because when using them they do not invade men's territory and their relationship with MSA. According to Sadiqi (2006), women who have some education and access to other languages code-switch between Moroccan Arabic and French, while illiterate women use genres of oral literature.

In North African countries, women are generally more attached to languages with higher social prestige such as French in some contexts. French is used as an euphemistic alternative. Trabelsi (1991: 92) argues that "it is due to the fact that the culture conveyed by French does not understand these taboos, or, at least, does not forbid them so severely"[14]. However, this is restricted only to a specific group of women who are relatively young, educated and from an urban environment.

2.12 Gender and Politeness

Following the works on ethnography of communication initiated by Hymes (1964), many researchers on cross-cultural communication have considered the difference in strategies used by women (cooperative) and men (competitive) in relation to their culture. Women are considered to be more polite, less critical than men (Lakoff, 1975; Tannen, 1990; Holmes, 1995). For example, Holmes (1995, p. 2) claims that women are generally more polite than men. Most women enjoy talk and consider talking as an important means of keeping in touch, especially with friends and intimates. They use language to establish, nurture and develop personal relationships. On the other hand, men tend to consider language as a means for obtaining and conveying information.

---

[14] My translation : "Cela est dû au fait que la culture que véhicule le français ne comprend pas ces tabous, ou, du moins, ne les interdit pas aussi sévèrement".

For Arabic-speaking countries too politeness is an important feature in differentiating between women's and men's speech. In fact, men may be heard to use offensive and swearwords while women are discreet and respectful. In fact, in Arab culture, women are required to be decent in their behaviour, including speech. In this respect, Sadiqi (1996) says that:

> Polite forms are used by Moroccan women as a linguistic device to avoid conflict, secure respect, and express parenthetical softness, all of which being highly appreciated in Moroccan culture.

Similarly, El hadj-Said (2018) reports that women in the Algerian context use polite expressions more than males in the same context. This is due to the fact that women pay more attention to the feelings of their interlocutors.

2.13 Factors that Constrain the use of Politeness Strategies in Algeria

In everyday communication, different variables and factors often interact with each other and speakers need to choose appropriate strategies according to all the variables possibly involved in specific situations. In the Algerian culture, politeness strategies may be constrained by three major social variables including social distance, power and rank of imposition (Brown & Levinson 1987). Social distance is seen as different degrees of familiarity (close and distant relationships) between interlocutors like parents or strangers. For example, in Japan people use two kinds of honorific expression depending on the relationship between the interlocutors. They may use either respect to elevate the listener or modesty to humble the speaker. Besides, in Japanese culture, a lot of euphemism is used to express politeness. It means that interlocutors avoid rejecting something categorically and straightforwardly. The Japanese avoid replying 'no' directly, which often causes confusion in cross-cultural communication. Furthermore, in Japan people use different terms to call their parents depending on the interlocutor. While 'Oto-san' is a formal and polite word to call one's father, 'Oyaji' (Old man) is an informal one. Besides, 'Chichi' is used to refer to one's father when talking to

others. The main concern of politeness is to create harmony and to show good intentions and consideration towards the others.

Similarly, in the Algerian culture, there are different terms to call one's father. In fact, /bbʷa/, /baba/, /ʔabi/, /papa/ and also the two honorific terms /ʔəlħadʒ/ and /ʔəlwalid/, while /ʔəʃʃibani/ or /ʔəʃʃiχ/ are less polite but accepted terms when referring to the father, but not in his presence. On the other hand, in the Algerian society, it is impolite to call parents with their first name, whereas in other societies, as in the United States, this may be acceptable.

In Arabic, the word /ʔadab/ is used to refer to politeness and, in Arab culture as a whole; there is a profusion of polite expressions used sometimes in every interaction. According to Lakoff (1974, p. 13-14),

> all languages have devices to indicate politeness and formality. But, for some languages, politeness must be encoded into every sentence: there are obligatory markers of status, deference and humility. Other languages express politeness less overtly, or differently: perhaps in choice of vocabulary, perhaps in intonation patterns, perhaps by smiling, or in the stance, or distance kept between participants in an encounter. A speaker from one culture translated to another will not, perhaps, know how to match his feelings to the signals he is supposed to give.

In addition to the fact that politeness expressions are omnipresent, a multitude of words or expressions are used to mean the same thing or to say more. Many politeness expressions have spread in the Arabic-speaking countries with Islam (Ferguson 1976). The Islamic formula of greeting /ʔassala:mu ʕalajəkum/ is the perfetct example. Moreover, many Arabic formulas are used in pairs, a given initiator formula and its appropriate response are noticed. Ferguson (1976, p. 143-44) observed that

> Many Arabic exchanges of greetings follow the simple principle of 'the same or more so'. Thus, the common informal 'hello' of Syrian Arabic is marhaba (original meaning 'welcome'), and the responses most often heard are, in descending order of frequency marhaba, marhabten, mit marhaba, and mardhib, i.e., 'hello, two hellos, a hundred hellos, hellos'.

The persistence of polite formulas has been mentioned by ethnographers like Ferguson (1976, p. 148) who claims that:

> ...politeness formulas, in so far as they constitute a folk-literature genre similar to proverbs, riddles, and nursery rhymes, tend to include archaic forms and constructions which have disappeared from ordinary conversational speech. Many Syrian Arabic politeness formulas are wholly or partially Classical Arabic in form, ... For example Classical Arabic *'in šâ'a llâhu* 'if God wills' ... has been weakened to *nšalla* or *nšâlla*.

The same situation is attested in the Algerian context where the different forms of the same expression [ʔin ʃaʔallah] 'If God willing' occur in different occasions.

2.14 Some Aspects of Politeness in Algeria

Culture and language are tightly intertwined. The influence of culture on language is characterised by a set of norms and values which vary from one society to another. Those cultural norms and values are shared by people of the same society or group and used on different situations. Politeness is a culturally defined phenomenon seen as appropriateness in communication. Therefore, each culture has its own way of expressing it. What is considered as polite in one culture may be rude in another. As in all Arab societies, politeness is a cultural aspect central in the Algerian society. In fact, on different occasion, Algerians use various linguistic expressions to convey different aspects of politeness. The aim behind using politeness is to create harmony and to show good intentions and consideration towards the others. In fact, speakers have a variety of strategies to express concern, requests, thanks, apologies, greetings, offense, dissatisfaction, etc.

Below are some illustrations of selected politeness strategies in the Algerian context (Tlemcen speech community):

➢ *Requests:*

Requests are essential parts of daily communication since people live in groups and need each other to ask for information, permission, etc. According to Searle (1979, p. 14), "the point of a request is to try to get the hearer to do

something (and not necessarily to commit or obligate him to do it)." Requests are usually beneficial to the speaker but may cost something from the hearer. However, there are some rules, though implicit, operating when requests are formulated. When a request is made, the speaker supposes the hearer is able to perform the action. It means that a request is an action which must be within the hearer's control and that it leaves options for the hearer to do the action or refuse to do it. Because requests are face-threatening acts which may impinge on the hearer's freedom of action and that the speaker may fear to be refused, they usually employ strategies to minimize the threats (Brown & Levinson, 1987). In the Algerian culture, different politeness strategies including positive, negative politeness, bald-on record, off-record and do not do FTA are used to perform requests. Sometimes, requests are formulated using direct forms like /ʃħal riha əssaʕa/ 'What time is it?' or using softeners like in /ʔəllah jəχəllik ʃħal riha əssaʕa / 'May God keep you, what time is it?'. It is also worth mentioning that Algerians heavily use blessing formulas taken from Islamic teachings: 'blessing formulas + a request' as in /ə jədʒazi:k fajən da:r ʔəl ʕurs/ 'May God reward you, where's the wedding house?'.

> *Apologies:*

Apologies are expressions used to express regret and/or to remedy a fault. According to Holmes (1990), an apology is a speech act formulated by a speaker to remedy a past offence or mistake that he/she is responsible for, and therefore to restore the relationship between interlocutors. Apologies are most of the time acts used to remedy past acts where the speaker believes he/she has offended the hearer and he/she should take responsibility. In this sense, apologies are speech acts similar to thanking, also performed on a past act. Therefore an apology is performed to achieve the goal of restoring the relationship between the speaker and the hearer. According to Leech (1983), performance of apology has the social function of maintaining harmony between the speaker and the hearer, and therefore appropriate expression of apology is an important part of appropriate communication in everyday life. Chinese speakers think from others' perspectives and show

consideration toward others. Therefore, speakers often choose to use the strategy of apologizing to express their appreciation in Chinese.

Sometime, after receiving a favour from a hearer, a speaker may feel that the favour might have caused trouble or inconvenience to her/his interlocutor. Thus, in the Algerian culture, apologizing is a polite and appropriate way used to show kindness and consideration to their interlocutors. Similarly to requests, many expressions of apologizing strategies are used by Algerians. It must be noted that for Algerians /smaﬁli/ 'forgive me' or 'sorry' is a frequent expression to formulate apologies alone or to introduce an apology like in /smaﬁli nsit baʃ ndʒiblək əlkta:b/ 'Sorry, I forgot to bring you the book'

➢ *Thanking*:

Thanking is an essential social function expressed in all languages and cultures, used to enhance friendly feelings and express gratitude to the interlocutors during communication. Most of the time, thanking is used to convey gratitude to the hearer on a past act. In such situations, the speakers believe they benefited from an act like a favour, a gift, a service, etc., and feel grateful toward their interlocutors. In the Algerian culture, there are various possibilities to express thanks or gratitude. Additionally, thanking expressions may vary according to specific situations and interlocutors. While in some situations a single expression is used to express thanks like /ʃukran/, /Saﬁﬁit/, /merci/, 'thank you' or /baraka allahu fi:k/ 'May God bless you', in other situations two or more formulas are used /Saﬁﬁit + jaʕTek əSSaﬁﬁa/ 'Thank you, May God 'illuminate' you' or *Merci* + /ʔəllah jnawwrək/.

➢ *Greeting:*

Greeting is one of the widely used politeness strategies in communication. For Brown and Levinson (1987), greetings provide the best example of positive politeness. Indeed, in addition to conveying positive intentions towards the hearer, greetings have three 'general functions': opening a sequence of communicative acts,

defining and affirming identity and rank, and manipulating a relationship to achieve a specific result, as explained by Goody (1972).

Greeting is one of the main important attributes of the Algerian culture. Algerians consider greeting as expressing respect for others when meeting or saying good-bye. Even if greeting expressions are found in all cultures, the way they are used depends on the culture and society they occur in. Greeting forms for each language vary according to age and gender, relationship between the interlocutors and the context of the interaction. According to Ferguson (1976, p. 137)

> The use of interpersonal verbal routines such as greetings and thanks is examined as a universal phenomenon of human languages, [...] ritual used in everyday encounters between people, expressions like good morning, or thank you, or God bless you said when someone sneezes, or bye-bye said to an infant by a departing guest. All human speech communities have such formulas, although their character and the incidence of their use may vary enormously from one society to another.

In almost all cultures, greeting is the first and the last actions people state to each other. Because greeting is an aspect of politeness related to the culture of each society, it is one of the basic things to acquire when learning a foreign language.

As regards the Algerian culture, greetings are an important part of daily communication. In fact, various expressions are used to express greetings. Among those expressions, many originate from Islamic teachings. In this respect, Ferguson (1976, p. 148) states that "a striking number of Arabic greetings and thank you formulas have spread along with Islam to speech communities which have not shifted to Arabic."

A widespread religious greeting expression used among Algerians of different ages end genders suitable for almost all contexts is 'السلام عليكم' /ʔəssala:mu ʕalaɪkum/ 'Peace be upon you' to which the fuller form /ʔəssala:mu ʕalaɪkum wa raħmatu llahi wa baraka:tʊh/ is often used as a response. Greetings are performed in MSA, DA or Fr and may vary according to age, gender, the relationship between the interlocutors and the formality of the context. Here are some illustrations of the different occurrences:

- /ʔəssala:mu ʕalaɪkum wa raћmatu llahi wa baraka:tuh/ 'peace on you and God's mercy and his blessings', it is the most formal (MSA) religious complete expression used in formal situations.

- /Sabaћ əlχir/, /masaʔ lχir/[15] and /ʔahlan/ 'good morning', 'good evening' and 'welcome' are DA expressions used as common ways for greeting.

- '*Bonjour'*, '*bonsoir'* and '*salut'* meaning 'good morning', 'good evening' and 'hello' are also used by French-educated people, especially women.

2.15 Conclusion

This chapter has sketched the sociolinguistic situation of Algeria and more particularly on Tlemcen speech which varies from other varieties at the different linguistic levels. It also reveals that the impact of the Arab-Islamic and Western cultures on the one hand, and the bilingual situation on the other hand, have an impact on the local population illustrated in language behaviour and more particularly gender and linguistic politeness. The chapter has also dealt with some aspects of politeness in Algeria and factors that constrain the use of politeness strategies in Algeria. The next chapter will expose the research design and the procedure opted for.

---

15. The two occurrences are variations of MSA /Sabaћʊ lχajri/ or /masaʔʊ əlχajri/.

3. DATA COLLECTION: RESEARCH DESIGN AND PROCEDURE

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the research methodology and data collection methods used during this investigation. Research methodology serves as the backbone of any research study. It also relies on some strategic inquiries to shape the facts and specificities of the study.

This research design is intended to obtain answers to research questions related to politeness strategies used in relation to gender in the Algerian context. The chapter discusses the different types of data collection methods in politeness research including a questionnaire, recordings, observations and note-taking of naturally-occurring data and interviews. Each technique is discussed and justified. In the next step, the subjects who participated in this research are identified, along with the data collection procedure and the data analysis processed quantitatively and qualitatively.

3.2 Complexity of Data Collection in Gender Studies

The objective beyond data collection is to gather information systematically to achieve reliability in research. Data collection is used to answer questions about the relationship between the stated research questions, hypotheses and evaluate outcomes. According to Schwardt (2007), Creswell and Tashakkori (2007*b*) and Teddlie & Tashakkori (2009) methodologies elucidate and define the kinds of problems that are worth investigating; what constitutes a researchable problem; testable hypotheses; how to frame a problem in such a way that it can be investigated using particular designs and procedures; and how to select and develop appropriate means of collecting data.

Undeniably, research is under the influence of several factors such as the sampling process, the design of the study, social interaction between the researcher and the participants of the study, the context of the study, the field of study, the

applied procedure and the researcher's biases and perceptions (Sapsford & Jupp, 2006). Furthermore, it seems that data collection in research could also differ according to cultural features (Pishghadam, 2014).

One of the most interesting findings in sociolinguistics is the impact of gender on language use. Studies on gender may deserve particular attention and a substantial amount of research. Since there is a correlation between gender and politeness, it is important to make out the research design of a study as it requires information about key features of the actual study on the effect of gender on the use of politeness strategies. The mode of gender research emphasises gender as a socio-cultural aspect that tends to change over time and differs according to cultures. Therefore, qualitative studies try to collect and analyze qualitative data; quantitative studies resort to collecting and analyzing quantifiable data. In this sense, researchers like Brown & Levinson (1987) and Leech (1983) state that there is an influence of cultural features on data collection as far as politeness study is concerned.

3.3 Data collection Methods

Scientific research is meant to discover and interpret facts that exist in daily life using research methods. According to Cohen *et al*., (2007), research methods refer to the practical issues of choosing an appropriate research design to answer a research question and then designing and adapting instruments to general data. More specifically, MacMillan and Schumacher (2014, p. 114) explain that

> The term research design refers to a plan for selecting subjects, research sites, and data collection procedures to answer the research question(s). The design shows which individuals will be studied and when, where, and under which circumstances they will be studied. The goal of a sound research design is to provide results that are judged to be credible.

Depending on the approach, scientific research can be quantitative or qualitative which both stand out for their usefulness and wide acceptance in the scientific community. Case studies, field research and focus group are the most adopted methods within the qualitative methodology. On the other hand, surveys and correlational studies are the most common methods to perform quantitative

research. In several types of research, both quantitative and qualitative methods are used to complement each other, a procedure called 'mixed methods approach'.

3.4 Mixed Methods Approach and Data Collection

Mixed methods consist of the combination of the qualitative and quantitative methods to make the most of their differences for dealing with research questions (Harwell, 2011). Though regarded as a relatively new methodology based on philosophical, methodological, and practical standards largely used and developed since the 1990s (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009), mixed methods originated from the multi-trait, multi-method approach of Campbell and Fiske (1959). The advantage of using mixed methods research rather than being limited to qualitative or quantitative data is that collecting multiple kinds of data with different strategies and methods gives more strength to the research (Harwell, 2011). Greene (2007, p. xiii) argues that mixed methods research offers the "opportunity to compensate for inherent method weaknesses, capitalize on inherent method strengths, and offset inevitable method biases" On the other hand, one of the most complex issues in the field of linguistics is what can be considered data for analysis. Mills (2003, p. 43) assumes that

> what constitutes data for analysis is a very complex issue. Quantitative analysis has been subject to a great deal of criticism within linguistics, because of the difficulties of assuming that the language behaviour of people in experimental settings can be generalised to their behaviour in 'real life' and to the behaviour of the population as a whole.

A research design is driven by the type of investigation guiding the study. Mills (2003, p. 10), argues that "it is essential to draw on real data (audio-recorded conversations) in conjunction with other kinds of information about language". For that reason, linguists often use quantitative, qualitative or both (mixed approaches). Kemper *et al*. (2003) describe mixed methods design as including both qualitative and quantitative data collection and analysis in parallel form (concurrent mixed

method design in which two types of data are collected and analyzed in sequential form).

The two modes differ from each other; however, a combination of both quantitative and qualitative approaches provides a variety of perspectives and they explain the ultimate aim from which a particular phenomenon can be studied and they share a common agreement and goal of spreading knowledge for practical use. They are both effectively used to find patterns and habitual behaviours as well as generalising findings to a wider population. Duff (1994) states that relying on one method is not sufficient, researchers should view the two approaches as complementary rather than incompatible and thus claims that the two methods should be combined. Indeed, both approaches provide a more complete understanding of the topic being undertaken as they also give the achievement of complementary results by using the strengths of one method to enhance the other (independence of research methods). Anderson and Poole (1994, p. 29) assume that "it is sometimes desirable to combine qualitative and quantitative research to maximize the theoretical implications of research and findings".

On the other hand, Creswell *et al.* (2004, p. 7) claim that that mixed methods research

> .... is more than simply collecting both quantitative and qualitative data; it indicates that data will be integrated, related, or mixed at some stage of the research process. The underlying logic of mixing is that neither quantitative nor qualitative methods are sufficient in themselves to capture the trends and details of the situation. When used in combination, both quantitative and qualitative data yield a more complete analysis, and they complement each other.

There are some perspectives as to why qualitative and quantitative research methods can be combined and used as a mixed method because, as Johnson and Onwuegbuzi (2004, p. 17) explain,

> Its logic of inquiry includes the use of induction (or discovery of patterns), deduction (testing of theories and hypotheses), and abduction (uncovering and relying on the best of a set of explanations for understanding one's results).

The combination of the two methods offers a better understanding of the social and cultural contexts in which people live. Similarly, Sale *et al.* (2002), Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2006) believe that mixing qualitative and quantitative approaches contributes to the methods enrichment, instrument fidelity, and significance enhancement.

In the present research, methods enrichment may refer to the involvement of both genders in the survey while instrument fidelity refers to maximizing the appropriateness of the research tools used in the study. Adapting the DCT questionnaire made it easier to be filled out. Finally, the significance enhancement means that all the data collected by means of the different instruments are exploited optimally during the analysis.

Additionally, if the two methods use different tools, they share the same perspective and the same rules of deduction are relevant to both (King *et al*., 1994). The choice of the research methodology tries to best suit the situation under analysis. In fact, in this research, using both methods allows not only to investigate linguistic politeness but also to explore how such phenomenon interacts with gender differences in the Algerian context. The choice of methods to be adopted should take into account the advantages and disadvantages of each method, and also the questions, specificities and nature of the research study.

Table 3.1: Quantitative and qualitative approaches (adapted from Haase and Myers, 1988, p. 134).

Quantitative approach	Qualitative approach
- Distance between investigator and subject ensures objectivity. - Boundaries between subject and research must be controlled and maintained.	- An interactive unity exists between researcher and participant. - Both inquirer and respondent are integrally involved in the research process.

Though quantitative and qualitative approaches use different procedures, they both provide valuable results and play important roles in research. While the quantitative approach seeks to obtain accurate and reliable measurements that allow quantification and numerical analysis, the qualitative approach is concerned with aspects of reality that cannot be quantified, focusing on the understanding and explanation of the dynamics of social relations. Additionally, the two approaches can be extremely effective in combination with one another. However, both approaches offer a set of methods, strengths and limitations that must be explored and known by researchers (Harwell 2011).

Quantitative research is a particularly appropriate structured procedure for data collection from a sample population. The quantitative approach offers results that are considered general and gives a sufficiently comprehensive view of the whole population (Martin & Bridgmon, 2012). On the other hand, the qualitative approach is not concerned with numerical representation, but with widening the understanding of a specific phenomenon. Its main concern is investigating aspects of reality that cannot be quantified, focusing on the understanding and explanation of the dynamics of social relations in a given context. Maxwell (2013) claims that the qualitative approach deals with the universe of meanings, motives, aspirations, beliefs, values and attitudes, which corresponds to a deeper space of relationships, processes and phenomena that cannot be reduced to the implementation of variables.

3.4.1 Quantitative Approach

The main principle of the quantitative approach is the quantification of the data to generalise the results by measuring the sample population's views and responses. It is usually conducted on a section of a target population and not on the whole population. The outcome of this research is then generalised as the view of the entire population. The aim of using the quantitative approach is to collect data from respondents and then convert them into statistics to analyze. In quantitative research, the variables are manipulated to test hypotheses in which there is usually quantification of data and numerical analyses (Mackey & Gass, 2005). It relies

predominantly on logic and attempts to maximise objectivity and generalisation of findings which could facilitate prediction in a measurement obtained from numerical and statistical viewpoints. In this vein, Glesne and Peshkin (1992), observe that quantitative research is based on careful sampling strategies and experimental designs aiming at providing explanations and predictions that can be generalized. The quantitative approach is characterized as outcome-oriented, reliable, involving 'hard', generalizable and replicable data (Mackey & Gass, 2005). The main aim of quantitative research in linguistic politeness is observation and measurement of language behaviour while striving to ensure 'objectivity' and avoiding the contamination of the data through personal involvement with participants.

The questionnaire is the most common method of collecting data and obtaining information in quantitative research studies. It is generally based on the attitudes and opinions of a large group of participants using sampling methods and sending out surveys and questionnaires. As a result, a quantitative analysis is depicted from statistical and numerical data. Creswell (2003, p. 18) assumes that

> A quantitative approach is one in which the investigation primarily uses post-positivist claims for developing knowledge (i.e., cause and effect thinking, reduction to specific variables and hypotheses and questions, use of measurement and observation and the test of theories), employs strategies of inquiry such as experiments and surveys, and collects data on predetermined instruments that yield statistical data.

Quantitative research deals with quantifying and analyzing variables to get results. Mackey (2005, p. 137) explains the distinction between associational and experimental quantitative approaches as follows:

> The goal of associational research is to determine whether a relationship exists between variables and, if so, the strength of that relationship. This is often tested statistically through correlations, which allow a researcher to determine how closely two variables are related in a given population...Many types of experimental research involve a comparison of pre-treatment and post-treatment performance.

However, though quantitative research methods are widely used, they present some limitations which may be beyond the researcher's control (Simon 2011). One of the main limitations is that it is not applicable and suitable in all cases of research. For example, using a quantitative research method to assess details about language behaviour, emotions and individual characteristics, etc, in a research where qualitative research method should be used will not produce expected results.

On the other hand, quantitative methods are time-consuming as sending out questionnaires to respondents who may take time to reply late or not reply at all, then converting such data into numerical and statistics takes a long time. Additionally, due to some pitfalls that arise during any point in time of the research process and which are beyond the researcher's control, the methods should be adapted accordingly. In this research which addresses gender and linguistic politeness in the Algerian context, the quantitative approach tries to provide statistical analysis to understand how women and men employ politeness strategies in different situations and with different interlocutors including the relationship between them. On the other hand, using DA or Fr during communication was also assessed. For example, during the data collection of the present work the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic crisis has seriously hampered data collection through the conventional way. Consequently, the use of other ways like online questionnaires has provided quick and effective answers. In addition to the quantitative approach, the qualitative method was also used to collect data that the first method cannot provide.

3.4.2 Qualitative Approach

While quantitative research provides numerical and statistical comparisons, qualitative research requires flexibility and usually involves naturalistic observation such as ethnography or structured interviews. Qualitative methods intend, as Hennink et al (2011, p. 8-9) explain, "to examine people's experiences in detail, by using a specific set of research methods such as in-depth interviews, focus group

discussion". The qualitative approach is, therefore, widely directed to examine issues that focus closely on participants "as the purpose is to achieve depth of information (rather than breadth)" (Hennink *et al.*, 2011, p. 17). Additionally, Denzin and Lincoln (2008, p. 4), believe that qualitative research "involves an interpretive naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring to them".

Qualitative research is based on a systematic investigation of social phenomena in natural settings. It seeks to provide a detailed description of participants' social and cultural settings, i.e., where they live and the way they communicate with each other (Myers, 2009). Thus, the qualitative approach is appropriate for understanding people's views and life because it is based on naturalistic data.

The nature of the qualitative research based on data obtained first-hand allows for a detailed exploration of a topic under study. Data which are most of the time non-numerical can be collected through different methods such as observation, interviews, focus groups, participant-observation, recordings made in natural settings, etc. Despite such a limitation, the qualitative method "is less willing to question the possibility of generalizing from its finding" (Mills, 2003: 44). Therefore, qualitative research is usually recommended for exploring people's beliefs about complex topics. Since politeness during interaction is a complicated issue, using this type of research will be useful for improving our evaluation of this phenomenon.

3.5 Data Collection in Pragmatic Research

The primary aim of pragmatics is to explore how people use language in socio-cultural contexts. Observation of language behaviour as it occurs has long been used since Austin (1962), Searle (1969) and Grice (1975). Their works were based on recordings of naturally-occurring data in addition to other various

elicitation methods. Additionally, Kasper (2008) classified data collection methods in pragmatic research into nine categories: observational data of authentic discourse, elicited conversation, role-plays, production questionnaires (DCTs), multiple-choice questionnaires, rating scales, interviews, diaries; and think-aloud protocols. The different instruments including the DCT questionnaire, interviews, recordings and note-taking for collecting data used in this study are described below.

3.6 The Difficulty of Choosing Appropriate Methods

One of the major difficulties in pragmatic research is the method used to collect valid, yet, different types of data and, "...their adequacy to approximate the authentic performance of linguistic action" (Kasper and Dahl 1991, p. 215). Manes and Wolfson (1981) claim that the most authentic data are collected from spontaneous speech through ethnographic observation. However, difficulties in using this method were reported by many researchers like Blum-Kulka *et al.* (1989), Mills (2003), etc. These limitations urged researchers to use an elicitation procedure known as 'discourse completion test' (DCT) as resource pragmatics chiefly rely on.

However, the use of DCT as a qualitative method was criticised on the ground that it is an instrument that limits the collection of authentic speech because of the presence of the researcher. For example, Mills (2003, p. 44) conveys that:

> One of the difficulties [of qualitative method] is that often the people drawn on belong to the same linguistic community as the linguist, so there are numerous studies of the language of university students, of middle-class white people, and fewer studies of other groups of people.

Besides, Eelen (2001, p. 217) claims that

> In practice [social norms] are not derived directly from individual behaviour, but rather from the abstract(ed) social average behaviour. In this sense norms are not empirically *found* at the individual level, rather they are *posited* as explanations for the social findings'[16]

---

[16]. Emphasis in original.

In this sense, the quantitative analysis offers a valid tool to generalise the findings. In sociolinguistic research, it helps infer patterns of language behaviour.

3.7 Data Collection in Gender and Politeness Research

How data are collected to meet the objectives of the study is a crucial step in sociolinguistic research. In this respect, Nurani asserts that "the data collection instrument will determine whether the data gathered are reliable and fairly accurate to represent the authentic performance of linguistic action" (2009, p. 667). The methodology for analysing the data using a mixed-methods approach includes using appropriate numerical and textual analysis methods and triangulating multiple data sources and viewpoints, to make appropriate inferences and maximize the credibility of the expected findings. Therefore, this mixed-methods approach leads to the need for multiple data collection sources. Besides, the diversification of methods aims at collecting diverse perspectives on the targeted situation**.** As Burns (1994, p. 272) mentions says, "if different methods of investigation produce the same result then the data is likely to be valid." To compare between women's and men's linguistic behaviour and explore strategies used in Tlemcen speech community to express politeness, the combination of different eliciting instruments including a DCT questionnaire, interviews, recordings and note taking allows getting reliable data and enables the establishment of a systematic analysis which reveals the statistically significant variables, particularly for comparison purposes (Einstein & Bodman 1986). For example, collecting data through the DCT is a means of controlling social variables present in the natural context (e.g., gender, power, the distance between the interlocutors, status, age, etc.). The gathered data will be analysed and synthesized to answer the research questions raised and test the formulated hypotheses.

3.8 Questionnaire and the DCT Questionnaire

The questionnaire is among the most common and essential instruments used for collecting information on a large scale. Babbie (1990, p. 377) views the

questionnaire as "a document containing questions and other types of items designed to solicit information appropriate to analysis". Thus, questionnaires are regarded as part of quantitative methods which help obtain background information from participants and provide information about peoples' beliefs, attitudes and motivations using lists of questions. According to Brown (2001, p. 6), the questionnaire is "any instrument that presents respondents with a series of questions or statements to which they are to react either by writing out their answers or selecting from among existing answers". There are three main types of questions, namely open-ended, close-ended and mixed questions.

➢ **Open-ended questions**: this type of question is designed to allow the researcher to elicit the respondents' knowledge, attitudes and preferences, providing thus possible suggestions and recommendations. Most qualitative data collection procedures use this kind of questionnaire which help the researcher to reach rich data. In other words, as Kumar (2011, p. 151) explains, open-ended questions "[...] provide the respondents with the opportunity to express themselves freely, resulting in a greater variety of informants." The questionnaire may include different types of questions which vary between open and close questions depending on the objective of the study.

➢ **Closed-ended questions:** closed-ended questions are represented in the form of multiple choices questions which provide participants with multiple answer options. They may also be asked to select among many categories scale (frequency, importance or an agreement). Multiple questions are designed to provide the respondents with suggestions and give them the chance to select one of the proposed possibilities according to their views and attitudes. Informants are asked to choose an answer from the suggested responses. In this vein, Kumar (2011, p. 151) states that: "In a closed question the possible answers are set out in the questionnaire or schedule and the respondent or the investigator ticks the category that best describes the respondent's answer".

Likewise, Wilson and McLean (1994, p. 21) claim that :

> closed questions prescribe the ranges of responses from which the respondents may choose. In general, closed questions are quick to complete and straightforward to code and do not discriminate unduly on the basis of how articulate the respondents are.

In the present work, closed-ended questions are provided by suggestions as to offer explicit options for a respondent to select from and to facilitate the role play. The aim of using multiple-choice close-ended questions is that it helps to obtain data that are clear and easy for quantitative analysis. These are popular in survey research because they provide greater consistency of responses and permit the collection of reliable and reasonably valid data easily.

➢ **Open-ended questions:** Open-ended questions are designed to collect opinion-type questions without providing suggestions. Such questions are open for answers and are used in focus group discussions or during interviews. Open-ended and closed-ended questions are used in the present work but adapted to pragmatic research revolving around the use of politeness strategies among women and men to achieve some speech acts. However, in pragmatic research, the questionnaire is adapted to fulfil the needs of the discipline. Therefore, it has been developed and improved to give what is called the discourse completion test (DCT), an elicitation technique largely used in pragmatics research.

3.9 Discourse Completion Test (DCT)

A Discourse-Completion Task (DCT) is a data collection tool used in sociolinguistics and chiefly in pragmatics to elicit particular speech acts. Kasper and Dahl (1991) believe that the DCT is unquestionably one of the main data collection instruments in pragmatic research. Ogiermann assume that the DCT is "the only data collection instrument that provides sufficiently large samples of comparable, systematically varied data". ($2009a$, p. 67).

It consist of a written questionnaire with short descriptions of particular situations originally developed by Blum-Kulka (1982) to investigate the speech act

realization patterns in speech acts of native and non-native speakers of Hebrew. One of the greatest advantages of employing this method is the ability to elicit controlled responses from large samples of participants in a relatively short time. Later, it was used by Blum-Kulka & Olshtain (1984) in their investigation to compare across languages the realization patterns of requests and apologies. DCT is a written questionnaire form consisting of brief situational descriptions distributed to participants who are asked to imagine themselves in and to write down what they believe they would say in real-life situations. Its main advantage is effective responses rather than just a simple yes or no response. Since then, it has become largely used as a survey tool in pragmatic research. However, due to the complexity of investigation in some situations, modifications to DCT were made to improve it (e.g. Rose 1992; Varghese and Billmyer 1996; Johnston *et al.* 1998; Beltrán-Palanques 2014). Thus, different shapes and forms have emerged.

The DCT also enables the classification of speech act strategies as they provide a wide range of formulas (Schauer and Adolphs 2006; Bou-Franch and Lorenzo-Dus 2008; Jucker 2009) taking into account variables proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987) including power, distance and degree of imposition between interlocutors.

The main objective of the current research study is to compare speech act realizations between women and men, including the strategies employed to perform requests and apologies thanking and greetings. in the Algerian context, namely Tlemcen speech community.

3.9.1 Types and Evolution of the DCT Questionnaire

The DCT questionnaire may be designed in six different types: *1 Classic (with rejoinder); 2 Non-rejoinder; 3 Open-item verbal response only; 4 Open-item free response construction; 5 Detailed description; 6 Oral discourse completion task.*

1. Classic (with rejoinder): In the classic DCT type, each situation ends up with the rejoinder's reply (the hearer). In this case, the speaker's (participant) answer is solicited. For example:

A & B work in the same building, but they only know each other by sight. One day, the car of A broke down and didn't find how to go home. A knows that B lives not far from him.
A (Speaker): ....
B (Hearer): I'm sorry but I'm going downtown.

The above example contains only a rejoinder, 'a hearer's response', which aids in the elicitation of the correct speech act, in this case, a request from *A* to *B* to give her a ride home. The utterance is analyzed according to the study's objective. However, the rejoinder (the hearer's reply) has been pointed out as problematic because its presence may affect the answers given by the participants in some cases. In this research, the use of DCTs without a rejoinder was adopted since the rejoinders may influence the responses provided by the participants. In other words, the participants may choose a response that corresponds with the rejoinder. The aim is to get answers without relying on the rejoinder's answer.

2. Non-rejoinder: In the second type the rejoinder (hearer's response) does not appear. The speaker's *(A)* action is used to clarify to the hearer the type of speech act required in the situation. For example: A friend, who frequently loses her umbrella, asks to borrow yours but you do not want to give it to her.

Your friend: you know I lost my umbrella and I have to go out for a while. Could you please lend me your umbrella?
You refuse by saying: ....

3. *Open-item verbal response only:* The third type is an open-item design where the participants are free to respond the way they want without any limitation from a speaker's initiation or a rejoinder. In this type, it is indicated that a response is necessary. The participants may be asked to answer freely. For instance:
You have selected the dress to buy and it is time to ask the salesgirl to give you a discount.
What would you say? ....

4. Open-item free response construction: The fourth type is also an open-item questionnaire both initiator and rejoinder do not occur. The participants are given the option to choose to provide an answer or refrain from answering. The abstention of answering may be treated as significant in analysis for some particular situations. For example: *You are at a party and it's very hot. You borrow a fan from your neighbour sitting near you. Then, you go to see someone in the back of the hall and let the fan on the chair. After a while, you come back and realise that the fan is no more there. After a moment the owner comes back.*
You: ....

5. Detailed description: The fifth type is a developed version of the open-item DCT proposed by Billmyer and Varghese (2000), where the situational background is described in detail. Below are two versions of the same situation; an old shorter version and a new longer modified with more detailed version:

➢ The old version:
You are in a restaurant and at the next table, three kids whose mother went to talk on a phone call are making too much noise and disturbing people. You decide to ask them to calm down stop annoying the others.
What would you say: ....

The new version:
It's a sunny day and you are with your family members in the restaurant to have dinner. You like to enjoy the meal with your kids and eat in peace. A woman with three kids sat down at the next table. After a while, the woman received a phone call and went away to talk on the phone. The kids started to behave in an ill-mannered way. They started making noise and disturbing people who seem frustrated by their behaviour. The situation became so unbearable that you decide to interfere and to ask them to calm down and stop annoying the others.
What would you say: ....

Comparing the two versions, Billmyer and Varghese (2000) argue that the modifications they brought to improve the description of the situation produced significantly longer and more detailed requests. However, the second version's

model was criticised on the ground that the descriptions of the situation are extremely long and may be cumbersome for the participants. Moreover, some participants may find having to read such long texts boring and time-consuming. The negative impact is then that some participants either skim-read the descriptions without paying attention to all the necessary details or stop answering the questionnaire.

6. Oral discourse completion task: the sixth type of DCT is an elicitation type where the participants answer orally. Contrary to all other types based on written answers by participants, in this type of DCT questionnaire, the researcher or the collaborator reads each situation aloud and asks the respondents to answer verbally on a recording device. While investigating similarities and differences between Egyptian Arabic and American English refusals where participants were asked to respond orally a modified version of DCT, Nelson *et al.* (2002) advocate the use of verbal answers saying that instead of the classical way to fill in the DCT questionnaire, participants were asked to listen to situations and answer orally. The answers are recorded on a device. Nelson *et al.* (2002, p. 168) found that "Spoken elicitation [...] were used because they more closely resemble real communication than written role plays."

Other versions of the DCT computer-based questionnaire were proposed as consequences of advances in the use of technology in pragmatics research.

In this study, the type of DCT used is *a close-item verbal response only*, a modified version of the *open-item verbal response*.

➢ *Close-item verbal response only* is a close-item design where the participants choose from pre-selected answers and interlocutors suggested by the researcher. They have just to tick the corresponding box. In this type, it is indicated that a response is necessary for each suggestion. The following example illustrates the situation: it is worth mentioning that expressions are in Dialectal Arabic and French to be faithful to everyday speech.

Situation 1

You feel cold (at home, work, on the bus) and you want someone to close the window. What would you say to...?

N	Expressions	Sister	Brother	Neighbour	Friend	Boss	Stranger
1	بلّع الطّاء [bəllaʕ əTTa;ʔ] 'Close the window'						
2	**Tu peux fermer la fenêtre?** الله يخليك 'God keep you, can you close the window'						
3	الله يخليك تنجم تبلّع الطّاء؟ 'God keep you, can you close the window'						
4	علاش ديك الطّاء ريها محلولة ؟ 'Why is that window open?'						
5	شو بلّع الطّاء [ʃu bəllaʕ əTTa;ʔ] 'Look! Close the window'						
6	**Est-ce-que vous pouvez fermer la fenêtre** ؟ 'Can you close the window?'						

3.9.2 Advantages of the DCT

In pragmatics, and more particularly in politeness research, the use of DCT to elicit reliable and naturally-occurring data has set itself as a valid instrument. Kasper 2008, p. 294) claims that "DCTs remain a valuable instrument in the researchers' toolkit." In the present work dealing with gender and politeness, DCT was a logical choice offering various advantages summarized below:

1- It can be administered to a large number of people in a relatively short time;

2- It proposes answers and suggestions that are likely to occur in spontaneous speech for a socially appropriate response (Beebe and Cummings 1996);

3- It is designed for quantitative research generating frequencies of realisation patterns and their relation to the manipulated variables (Nurani 2009);

7- It does not require to be conducted face to face but may be administered in different ways especially in exceptional situations like the Covid-19 pandemic crisis which has restricted or even prohibited contact between people especially in large numbers.

However, the DCT questionnaire raised some issues which this work tries to overcome. One of the main limitations of the DCT is that it is based on hypothetical situations. Answers provided to the questionnaires do not necessarily match with what they say in real situations (Brown and Levinson 1987) mainly because the respondents have limited options of responses. To overcome the difficulty in this research, various politeness formulas were suggested for the different situations to help them reproduce real-life situations. On the other hand, the use of DCT questionnaires was backed up with the use of recordings as an additional data collection tool.

3.9.3 Disadvantages of the DCT (including counterarguments)

Many researchers like Kasper & Dahl (1991) and Cohen (1996) claim that one of the limitations of the DCT is that it does not always provide real language behaviour. They consider that participants have enough time to think about their answers and even change them before submitting the questionnaires. Similarly, Brown and Levinson (1987) raised some reserves concerning the DCT and assume that the hypothetical nature of the situations may not reflect what people say in reality. However, others (Beebe and Cummings 1996, p. 7) maintain that the answers "reflect the values of the culture" and the cultural norms that are in effect and which dictate appropriate behaviour in a given group. It is the type of language behaviour that politeness research attempts to elicit and study. Thus, the use of the DCT questionnaire is considered as appropriate data collection method because it is useful in establishing linguistic options that meet speakers' pragmatic norms and the contextual factors which influence their choices.

Golato (2003, p. 91-92), asserts that "DCTs can provide interesting, informative results' and 'measure phenomena other than (or additional to) actual language use'; thus, they are 'legitimate in their own right" particularly for cases where discovering systematic differences between different samples of respondents like in gender differences. On the other hand, investigating compliments, Golato (2003) discovered that responses in the DCT experiment were confirmed the compliment responses in naturally-occurring data. Similarly, Beebe and Cummings'

(1996) found in a study where they compared DCT with naturally-occurring speech responses that both share many aspects regarding the content and the form of linguistic behaviour especially politeness formulas used refusals.

To overcome some current issues, it must be explained that in the DCT there are no right or wrong answers. Respondents are required to write down what they believe they would say in that particular situation. Additionally, the DCT should propose common situations identified by the participants. Long DCT are boring to fill in while short ones do not reflect the different politeness strategies. The number of situations should be under politeness strategies used by both women and men in the speech community of Tlemcen. The questionnaire should not include unfamiliar or low-frequency words that the average Tlemcenian speakers would find difficulty to understand.

Finally, the design of the DCT may be adapted to meet the study's objectives. Indeed, as the present work deals with gender and politeness strategies, some modifications were brought (see below) during the design of the DCT questionnaire.

3.9.4 The DCT Design

The DCT was the main instrument used to collect data in this research. It was designed in a closed-ended questionnaire form and consisted of four situational descriptions for both women and men. The situations elicited were as follows: requesting, apologizing, thanking and greeting. Each situation began with background information (age and gender) about the participants, then a description of the context in which it occurs. It also specified the relationship between the interlocutors (the social distance and power) between the interlocutors and suggested some politeness formulas to help the respondents to facilitate the completion of the questionnaire. All the suggested politeness expressions were given in dialectal Arabic and in French to stress the bilingual character of the Algerian speech. The participants were asked to link each expression with the corresponding interlocutor and to provide answers they would produce in daily life.

3.9.5 DCT Questionnaire Situations

The DCT questionnaire strives to reflect real-life situations. The most important variable is gender. Other features including the social distance (SD), power relation between the interlocutor (PR) and the degree of imposition (DI) were added to elicit their impact on the language behaviour of both women and men. For example, in all the situations, the respondents were asked which expression they would say to their sister, brother, neighbour, friend, boss or a stranger. It was supposed that the respondents would not use the same expression with all the suggested interlocutors. Expressions were provided in Dialectal Arabic and French on purpose to elicit the formality of the situation. It means that French would be used in formal situations (with a boss) or as a prestigious language especially by women to highlight their social position. For instance, social distance, power relation and degree of imposition may decrease (-) or increase (+) depending on the interlocutor (sister, brother, friend, neighbour, boss or a stranger). To illustrate, the social distance (+SD), happened in situations where the participants addressed a stranger or a boss. On the other hand, a high degree of imposition (+DI), was manifested in a situation where the speech act (request and apology) was highly imposing on the potential addressees. The situations of the questionnaire with their (SD, PR and DI) rankings are provided below:

Table 3.2: Sump up of the DCT situations with Brown and Levinson's (1987): three variables (SD, PR and DI)

N	Situations	Speech act	Sister	Brother	Neighbour	Friend	Boss	Stranger
1	You feel cold (at home, work, on the bus) and you want someone to close the window	**Requesting**	-SD -PR -DI	-SD -PR -DI	-/+SD -PR -/+DI	-/+SD -PR -DI	+SD +PR -DI	+SD -PR -DI
2	You borrowed some money and promised to return it in a week. You meet the person and realize that you forgot to bring the money	**Apologizing**	-SD -PR -DI	-SD -PR -DI	-/+SD -PR -/+DI	-/+SD -PR -DI	+SD +PR -DI	+SD -PR -DI
3	You forgot your cell phone and it is urgent to make a phone call. Someone lent you her/his phone.	**Thanking**	-SD -PR -DI	-SD -PR -DI	-/+SD -PR -/+DI	-/+SD -PR -DI	+SD +PR -DI	+SD -PR -DI
4	How do you greet people	**Greeting**	-SD -PR -DI	-SD -PR -DI	-/+SD -PR -/+DI	-/+SD -PR -DI	+SD +PR -DI	+SD -PR -DI

The four situations were tested beforehand by some participants including three teachers for the validity and clarity of the situations based on the criteria of Brown and Levinson's (1987) three variables (SD, PR and DI). Suggestions and modifications were brought to the final version to the DCT questionnaire.

3.10 Natural Data

Since natural speech is considered as an authentic representation of people's daily life, observing language behaviour is essential for collecting reliable data. The aim behind observing naturally-occurring data for investigating gender and politeness strategies is to bring validity to the study since occurrences are taken from spontaneous authentic speech. According to Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford (1992) and Beebe & Cummings (1996), natural speech offers realistic situations from which reliable data are drained. Wolfson (1983, p. 85) explains that to study rules and patterns of conversation, researchers "...must have access to data taken from real speech samples across a range of speech situations", though as Ogiermann

(2009*a*, p. 71) "recording longer stretches of data in the hope that a particular speech act will materialise at some point" is not always guaranteed. For example, Blum-Kulka and Kampf (2007, p. 7) state that during their investigation on apology behaviour during three years, only "57...apology events were identified in natural peer interactions".

On the other hand, observing natural speech then transcribing the recordings is time-consuming and the sole fact of the researcher's presence may lead to the 'observer's paradox'[17] and may produce a 'Hawthorne's paradox'[18].

To overcome such impediments, different techniques are used such as recording people secretly or asking another person to do the recordings, especially when the context calls for it (gender, age, a particular job, etc). For example, in the present research to record a group of men a woman in the Arab culture is not the ideal person.

3.11 Data Collection Procedure

Almost all the informants contacted readily agreed to answer the questionnaires. However, those who did not return the questionnaires did not mention any reason. It was explained to all potential participants that the purpose of the study is to find politeness strategies used by women and men in everyday speech. For that reason, expressions were written in DA to ordinary speech. Paradoxically, writing expressions in MSA would fail to reproduce ordinary speech. It is worth mentioning that the data collection process was temporarily interrupted by the COVID-19 pandemic crisis and therefore, other ways to collect data were used including online surveys and phone calls, in particular on-line questionnaires.

---

[17]. Labov (1972, p. 209) argues that "The aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain this data by systematic observation."

[18]. 'Hawthorne's paradox' is a phenomenon related to the 'observers' paradox' where the participants improve their behaviour because they are aware of being observed.

3.12 Pilot Study

It was important to perform a pilot study test first before using it more generally. Hence, because the DCT questionnaire design was modified, two versions were formulated: the first one was the classical DCT questionnaire where situations with different potential interlocutors were provided; the second one consisted of providing different politeness formulas, in addition to the various situations and potential interlocutors. The two questionnaires were administered to a restricted group for comparison and to validate accuracy and clarity of the design and bring some modifications if required. The questionnaires were distributed to 20 respondents (10 women and 10 men) to see the feedback of each gender. The pilot administration revealed some ambiguities that were soon fixed. The participants were asked which version of the two proposed questionnaires they preferred. All the participants declared that the second questionnaire with more detail was clearer and easy to fill in manly because of the suggested expressions. One of the main advantages is that respondents do not spend time thinking about what to do but only choose one of the suggested possibilities. In addition to that, the pilot study showed that some participants provided more than one answer for each politeness expression which was not the expected aim. Consequently, in the new version, it was specified that the respondents should choose only one interlocutor for each politeness formula. The questionnaire was designed in Arabic with politeness formulas in DA.

The methodology of analysis used in this work is based on a DCT questionnaire, interviews, tape recordings and note-taking. The DCT questionnaire was submitted to 150 informants (75 women and 75 men). As this research does not focus on a particular age, all age groups have been included. In addition to the DCT questionnaire, 10 women and 10 men who filled in the questionnaire were interviewed. Therefore, the choice of requesting, apologizing, thanking and greeting as politeness strategies among women and men in Tlemcen speech community is driven by the fact that those strategies are commonplace in the Algerian culture.

In situation n° 1: The informants were put in the position of having to ask a request.

You feel cold (at home, work, on the bus) and you want someone to close the window. What would you say to...?

In situation n° 2: The informants were put in the position of having to apologize.

You have borrowed some money and promised to return it in a week. You meet the person and realize that you have forgotten to bring the money. What would you say to...?

In situation n° 3: The informants were put in the position of having to thank.

You have forgotten your cell phone and it is urgent to make a phone call. Someone lends you her/his phone. What would you say to…?

In situation n° 4: The informants were put in the position of having to greet.

How do you greet the following people?

Different interlocutors (sister, brother, neighbour, friend, boss and stranger) are suggested to the informants who have to address them in the DCT questionnaire. The aim of proposing different interlocutors is to see how gender, social distance, power and rank of imposition (Brown & Levinson 1987) affect the choices of politeness strategies. In doing so, participants are allowed to imagine the right answer in a given situation. In addition to the DCT and questionnaires, data were collected through recordings and interviews (face-to-face interactions). During the DCT and questionnaires, participants were asked to imagine themselves addressing different interlocutors and providing only one answer they believe was adequate to the situation.

First of all, participants were asked to provide a single answer for each speech act. Unlike face-to-face interaction, the questionnaire and DCT are asynchronous and, thus, the answer is given in one-shot. However, questionnaires and DCT both lack feedback as they both are unidirectional. This study tries to investigate whether the same situations create different responses based on the type of interlocutor.

Questionnaires were administered in different ways. The first way consisted of self-administered questionnaires which were handed in to the informants. The second one involved the group-administered questionnaire. The advantage of such a

method is that questionnaires are administered to groups of individuals all at the same time and place. The advantage of the latter method is that the researcher is present to explain any ambiguous questions and make sure the respondents return the questionnaires. The last way consisted of sending out the questionnaires online. However, the different methods imply some major weaknesses among which some informants did not return the questionnaires inadvertently or due to Internet problems. Since the present research work scrutinizes the impact of gender on the use of politeness strategies, it was essential to have the same number of women and men involved. The questionnaire was divided into four situations including requesting, apologizing, thanking and greeting. A special emphasis was placed on the choice of examples that sought to reflect real-life situations. The questionnaires were first designed in English, then translated into Arabic.

The respondents were asked to consider each situation where many politeness expressions were proposed and to choose one possibility and match it with one interlocutor among the six suggested. While filling in the questionnaires, some participants encountered some ambiguities but these were clarified by the researcher. Along with the questionnaire, a DCT as a research tool was also used.

3.13 Interviews

During the interviews, the participants were asked to perform some speech acts and comment on one or more points of the questionnaire or were asked if they would confirm or disconfirm the answers given in the questionnaire forms. Participants belong to different social classes and age groups. To avoid problems of bias such as the interviewer effect and interference, the questions were clearly and carefully formulated. On the other hand, the researcher's views were avoided in order not to hinder observation. However, due to the COVID-19 pandemic crisis, some interviews were conducted through phone and social media.

3.14 Recordings

The important advantage of observing naturally-occurring conversation for the collection and investigation of speech act performance is the assurance of the

internal validity of the study since it represents spontaneous authentic speech. Some linguists (Wolfson 1983, Wolfson and Manes 1981) strongly advocate the method of observing natural speech for the collection of speech acts arguing that to study native speakers' rules and patterns of conversation, "we must have access to data taken from real speech samples across a range of speech situations" (Wolfson 1983, p. 85). In the same vein, Mills (2003, p. 43) asserts that "samples of conversation are tape-recorded from small samples of men and women, [...], and so on, and tentative generalisations about people's linguistic behaviour is made on the basis of these data."

On the other hand, many linguists acknowledge the shortcomings of using this method in speech act research. For example, Ogiermann (2009a) criticised the impracticality of "recording longer stretches of data in the hope that a particular speech act will materialise at some point" (2009a: 71). Blum-Kulka and Kampf (2007) endorse Ogiermann's criticism, stating that through their three-year longitudinal study, in which they recorded Israeli children's speech aimed to track their development of apology behaviour, only "57 (taped and transcribed) apology events [were] identified in natural peer interactions" (2007, p. 1). The same can be sustained for Eshtereh's (2014) cross-cultural Palestinian Arabic (PA) and American English (AE) invitation study. As regards anonymous recordings, only conversations that include utterances that contain the speech act of requesting, apologizing, thanking and greeting were considered. As a consequence, 8 conversations were selected for the study. The conversations were not gender-specific but involved both genders.

3.15 Observation and Note-Taking

Using observation and note-taking along with recordings as ethnographic methods offers an additional possibility to study how people interact with each other in their natural socio-cultural environment. Wolfson and Manes (1981) and Wolfson (1983) argue that observation is one of the methods of collecting natural speech for the study of any specific phenomenon of speech of native speakers' rules and patterns of conversation including paralinguistic features (body language,

gestures, facial expressions, tone and voice pitch). For Wolfson (1983:85), researchers "… must have access to data taken from real speech samples across a range of speech situations."

Accordingly, note-taking is used both within the interview and direct observation, Taylor Sinha and Ghoshal (2008: 107) that

> In participant observation, it should be apparent that you might choose to utilize a variety of methods for obtaining data. These direct observation, respondent interviewing, informal interviewing, archival study and actual participation in the processes in which subjects are involved.

The objective behind the use of such instruments is to obtain a systematic account of the impact of gender on the use of politeness strategies in the Algerian context, more particularly in Tlemcen speech community. However, some interviews were conducted through phone and social media during the COVID pandemic. During data collection, primary observations characteristics such as the date, time of day, location, participating actors, and interruptions were noted. Marshall and Rossman (1989, p. 79) consider observation as "the systematic description of events, behaviors, and artifacts in the social settings chosen for study."

Note-taking was an additional tool used along with recording to collect data. It was a helpful way to collect data when recording was not possible for different reasons including the unavailability of the recording device, the researcher to gather natural data about the subject being studied. The main objective of observing naturally-occurring conversation for the collection and investigation of speech act performance is the assertion of the internal validity of the research since it represents spontaneous and real speech as it is. While taking notes, the main concern is to be completely unnoticed. A notebook or a piece of paper must be hidden so as not to arouse the participants' feeling of being observed. It is also important to have something to write on because to rely on memory to jot passages of natural speech is risky because it may be unfaithful to what has been said especially after some time. In fact, in pragmatic research expressions such as

"hedges, intensifiers, conjunctions, modifiers… discourse markers, and gestures" (Golato 2003, p. 5) may be forgotten and not reported. On the other hand, particularly to this research, switching between Arabic and French may occur at any point in the speech and delaying transcribing what has been said important elements in classifying responses into different categories may be lost.

3.16 Conclusion

This chapter has dealt with the methodology of data collection through various research instruments. It started with explaining the complexity of data collection in pragmatic research in general and particularly in gender and politeness studies and the difficulty of choosing appropriate methods. Afterwards, the different data collection methods are exposed and discussed. This study adopts a mixed methods (quantitative and qualitative) approach to data collection. Selecting the most appropriate instrument to be used in a particular research lies in the ability of the data collection method used to fit the study's objectives and answer the research questions. In this work, the DCT was used as the main data collection instrument questionnaire since it has proven to be highly reliable (Yamashita 1996, Jianda 2006). Additionally, the use of the DCT questionnaire is discussed and its advantages and types are dealt with. Following that, the reasons behind adopting then adapting the DCT are explained. The data were collected from DCT questionnaires administered to women and men. It is worth mentioning that during the data collection period, the Covid-19 pandemic crisis hampered data collection limiting the mobility and gathering of people. Reacting accordingly was then necessary to carry on the investigation. Consequently, some questionnaires were distributed to participants and others were sent online. The survey also consisted of the use of interviews, audio recordings and note-taking which provided interesting data. The combination of data collection instruments was beneficial in many ways to investigate gender and politeness strategies in the Algerian context. In the next chapter, the results of the data collected throughout the different instruments are analyzed and interpreted quantitatively and qualitatively to confirm or invalidate our research hypotheses and to draw conclusions.

4. DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents results and analyses of the data obtained from the different research instruments. It provides answers to the research questions and tests the hypotheses about gender and politeness strategies in using speech actssuch as: requesting, apologizing, thanking and greeting speech acts in the Algerian context more particularly in the speech community of Tlemcen. The analyses are both quantitative and qualitative. The data collected by means of the DCT questionnaire are analysed quantitatively while those collected through interviews, recording and note-taking are analysed qualitatively. While quantitative analysis provides statistics of politeness occurrences, qualitative analyses will discuss instances of politeness strategies used by women using Brown and Levinson' (1987) model.

The chapter begins with the quantitative analysis of the DCT questionnaire. Results are presented according to each situation (request, apology, thanking and greeting). Politeness strategies choices of both female and male participants are provided in the tables and graphs are discussed for each situation. In the next step, results of the interviews dealing with requests and apologies are also analysed quantitatively and presented the tables and graphs. The interviews are also analysed qualitatively. While the main focus the DCT questionnaire is to elicit which politeness expressions are used by participants to address different people, the main emphasis of the interview is to bring out politeness strategies choices. The last step concerns the qualitative analysis of recordings and note-taking of naturally occurring conversations. The discussion covers politeness strategies used by women and men in Tlemcen speech community. The chapter ends with discussing the cultural aspect of politeness in the Algerian context and the variables that affect Politeness in the Algerian context. The analyses and discussions of the collected data through different means and their discussions will help testing the formulated hypotheses to validating or invalidate them. It is hoped that the findings will aid

gaining more insights concerning patterns in linguistic politeness among women and men in the Algerian context.

4.2 Quantitative Data Analysis

The quantitative analysis of both the DCT and the interviews aims at disclosing language behaviour and politeness strategies choices among female and male speakers in the speech community of Tlemcen and validate or invalidate the proposed hypotheses. The analysis begins first with the results of the DCT questionnaire.

The first section of the questionnaire shows the respondents' background information. The sample is made up of 120 participants aged 20 years and over. Though gender is the principal variable taken into account, it was interesting to consider age variable. The results below will display and discuss the most noticeable percentages.

The first two tables display information about the respondents' gender and age.

Table 4.1: Respondents' Gender

Gender	
Male	**Female**
60	**60**

The results reveal that both genders are equally represented. In fact, the same number of questionnaires was administered to women and men. The aim was to have an equal representation.

Table 4.2: Respondents' Age

Age			
20-30	**30-40**	**40-60**	**+60**
20	30	55	15

The table below represents the participants by age. Results show that the age of the respondents ranges between 20 to over 60 years old. Thus, almost all age groups are represented.

128

4.2.1 DCT Questionnaire Results

The analysis of the DCT questionnaire reveals interesting results about the politeness strategies are commonly used by women and men to address different people in different speech acts representing four situations (requesting, apologising, thanking and greeting). It was hypothesized that both genders use similar strategies as universal language behaviour.

4.2.1.1 Acts that Threaten H's Negative Face

For Brown Levinson (1987), there are various acts that can threaten the hearer's negative faces. In these acts, the speaker indicates that the hearer has to perform acts and thus, it can damage the latter's negative face. Among acts that threaten the hearer's negative face are requests, orders, suggestions, etc. In the present work, request is selected to be studied.

4.2.1.2 Results of Requesting among Women

The first question is: You feel cold (at home, work or in the bus) and you want the person to close the window. What would you say to:

Table 4.3: Requesting Strategies among Women

N	Expressions	Politeness Strategies	Parents	Siblings	Friend	Neighbour	Boss	Stranger
1	بلّع الطّاء	**Bold on record** Imperative form of direct	1	40	14	3	0	2
			1.66%	66.66%	23.33%	5%	00%	3.33%
2	tu peux fermer la الله fenêtre? يخّليك	**Negative politeness** gives the opportunity to the listener refuse.	1	13	25	6	10	5
			1.66%	21.66%	41.66%	10%	16.66%	8.33%
3	الله يخليك تنجم تبلّع الطّاء؟	**Negative politeness** gives the opportunity to the listener to refuse.	11	20	8	2	10	9
			18.33%	33.33%	13.33%	3.33%	16.66%	15%
4	علاش ديك الطّاء ريها محلولة ؟	**Off-record** Not impose	00	32	17	9	0	2
			00%	53.33%	28.33%	15%	0%	3.33%
5	فيك ربي بلّع الطّاء.	**Negative politeness** Closeness form	2	33	12	10	0	3
			3.33%	55%	20%	16.66%	00%	5%

6	Est-ce-que tu peux fermer la fenêtre ?	**Negative politeness** gives the opportunity to the listener to refuse.	3	24	14	8	4	7
			5%	40%	23.33%	13.33%	6.66%	11.66%
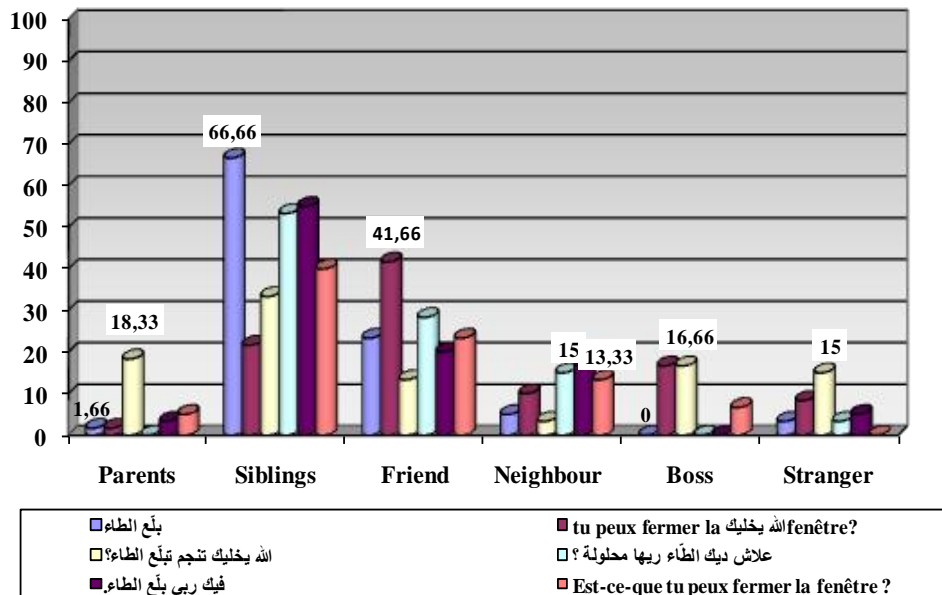
Fig 4.1: Requesting Strategies among Women

The first situation deals with request, a speech act used for asking someone something or a favour. Request is among the group of directive or exhortative speech acts. In this research, three different politeness strategies are used: bold on record; negative politeness; off-record.

Results show that when asking their interlocutors to perform the act of closing the window as an order (bold on record) the majority of women (66.66%) use the direct way to when addressing their brother and sisters and to a lesser degree (23.33%) to address friends. However, none of the participants use a direct way to when addressing the boss (00%) and a tiny minority (1.66%) gives such an order to the parents. Results also reveal that women use polite forms when addressing their bosses 16.66% or strangers 10.83%. The use of French is not particularly related to a category of interlocutors.

Findings also disclose that respondents use a less direct perform for the requesting. The highest percentages are noticed among siblings (55%) and friends (41.66%) while the lowest rates are related to boss and parents.

Female participants also use the off-record strategy to reduce the imposition. The highest percentage is found while addressing siblings (53.33%) and (28.33%) with friends.

Concerning neighbours, findings disclose that the use of imperative (bold on record) is barely noticed 5%. Negative politeness indicating the opportunity to the H to refuse is rarely used 3.33%, 10% and 13.33% while negative politeness that denotes closeness with the H is little more used 16.66%. Finally, women use the off-record strategy not to impose on the H in 15% cases.

When addressing strangers, female speakers seem to adopt a cautious attitude when addressing the neighbours or strangers. In fact, only two women (3.33%) use a direct way to make request (bold on record) and equally the same (3.33%) use an off-record strategy to impose on the H. On the other hand, when giving the opportunity to H to refuse (negative politeness) the rates are slightly increasing 8.33%, 11.66% and 15% while it is still low (5%) when denoting closeness.

4.2.1.3 Results of Requesting among Men

The first question is: You feel cold (at home, work or in the bus) and you want the person to close the window. What would you say to:

Table 4.4: Requesting Strategies among men

N	Expressions	Politeness Strategies	Parents	Siblings	Friend	Neighbour	Boss	Stranger
1	بلّع الطّاء	**Bold on record**	**2**	**36**	**14**	**3**	**0**	**5**
		Imperative form of direct	**3.33%**	**60%**	**23.33%**	**5%**	**00%**	**8.33%**
2	tu peux fermer la fenêtre? الله يخليك	**Negative politeness**	**1**	**12**	**27**	**7**	**10**	**3**
		gives the opportunity to the listener refuse.	**1.66%**	**20%**	**45%**	**11.66%**	**16.66%**	**5%**
3	الله يخليك تنجم تبلّع الطّاء؟	**Negative politeness**	**11**	**15**	**15**	**1**	**10**	**8**
		gives the	**18.33%**	**25%**	**25%**	**1.66%**	**16.66%**	**13.33%**

		opportunity to the listener to refuse.						
4	علاش ديك الطّاء ريها محلولة ؟	**Off-record**	00	32	18	9	0	1
		Not impose	00%	53.33%	30%	15%	0%	1.66%
5	فيك ربي بلّع الطّاء.	**Negative politeness**	2	31	16	6	0	3
		Closeness form	3.33%	51.66%	30%	10%	00%	5%
6	Est-ce-que tu peux fermer la fenêtre ?	**Negative politeness**	3	24	16	9	2	6
		gives the opportunity to the listener to refuse.	5%	40%	26.66%	15%	3.33%	10%
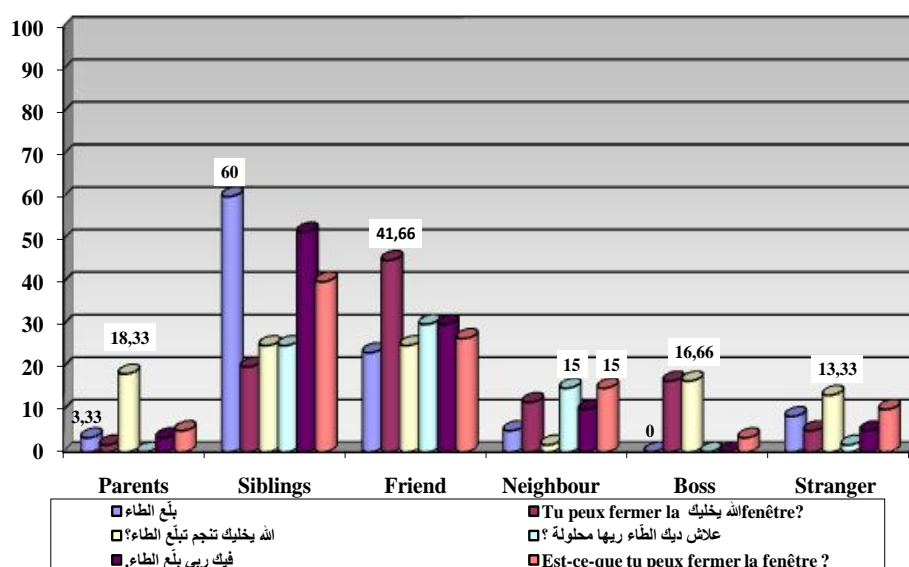
Fig 4.2: Requesting Strategies among Men

Just as women, men express request through three different politeness strategies including bold on record, negative politeness and off-record. Consequently, results of men's questionnaires are similar to that of women. In fact, the majority (60%) of men use a direct way (bold on record) to ask their siblings to close the window and equally as women (23.33%) to address friends. Besides, using imperative with the boss is non-existent (00%) and a minority (3.33%) uses orders

with parents. Findings also reveal that men use expressions to convey negative politeness especially with siblings (20%, 25%, 51% and 40%) and comparably (45%, 25%, 30% and 26%) with friends. Negative politeness as a strategy is rarely used with parents (18%, 5%, 3% and 1.66%), with the boss, the neighbour or a stranger (16.66%, 11%, 1.66% and 3%).

Men do not use off-record strategy (not to impose) at all with parents and the boss (00%). It is also scarcely employed with strangers (1.66%) while dominant with siblings and less with friends (30%). Besides, men do not impose on their neighbours (15%).

Results show that few men (5%) use the imperative (bold on record) with their neighbours. Interestingly, the same percentage is attested among women in the same situation. A minority of men (1.66%, 11.66% and 15%) uses negative politeness in both situations: giving the opportunity to the H to refuse or indicating closeness with the H 10%. Identically to female speakers, nine out of sixty male participants (15%) employ the off-record strategy not to impose on the H.

Results also disclose that men follow the same politeness strategies as women. In fact, men are thoughtful when ad strangers like when addressing strangers. No more than five male participants (8.33%) use a direct way to make request (bold on record) while hardly any participant (1.66%) utilises the off-record strategy in order not to impose on the H. Besides, an extremely small number of men use negative politeness expression either to give the opportunity to H to refuse 5%, 10% and 13.33% or to denote closeness (5%) with his interlocutor.

4.2.1.4 Discussion of Requesting among Women and Men

The first situation represents an act that threatens the hearer's negative face. Orders are requests which are performed baldly on record. Speakers performing an exhortative act always tend to influence the hearer's behaviour.

According to Brown and Levinson (1987 [1978]), face-threatening acts may threaten either the speaker's face or the hearer's face. Negative face is threatened when speaker challenges her/his interlocutor's freedom of action. It

results in damage to the hearer. As a consequence, one of the interlocutors bends to the will of the other. According to Haverkate (1992), there are two kinds of requests impositive and non-impositive. The impositive request threatens H's negative face and hence calls for redress while non-impostive request influences the S's behaviour to her/his own benefit. Among the FTAs that impede the hearer's personal want consist of acts including orders, requests, suggestions, advice, reminding, threats, warnings, etc. The present research focuses on request as an act frequently in everyday social interaction where the speaker has an intention to the hearer to do something that is beneficial to her/him. Request may be produced through different politeness strategies. In this study, bold on record, negative politeness, off-record are used as language behaviour among women and men.

Both women and men adopt similar language behaviour when asking the hearer to 'close the window' /بلّع الطاءء. In fact, results showed a minor difference to indicate immediate will for the S's advantage. Negative politeness is the most favoured strategy frequently formulated as a question by the speaker to give the opportunity to the hearer to refuse. The speakers usually use this strategy when there is distant relationship and higher power with their interlocutors. Hence, the speaker tries to be as polite as possible when expressing his request. On the other hand, request is also performed through the off-record strategy where speakers use incomplete, allusive statements and giving clues because they consider that their interlocutors knew what they were talking about and in order not impose their will. By using those two strategies, the Ss avoid to be direct. In this respect, Brown and Levinson (1987, p. 57) assume that "when making a request that is somewhat bigger, one uses the language of formal politeness (the conventionalized indirect speech acts, hedges, apologies for intrusion, etc.)." The last strategy is the direct or the imperative form expressed though bold on record strategy.

For both genders asking the different interlocutors the parents, neighbours, strangers or the boss to perform a request is regulated by the social distance, power and rank of imposition between interlocutors (Brown & Levinson 1987). It is seen as impolite to put parents to perform acts but rather the other way around. Similarly,

it is also inappropriate to use directives with once boss. Thus, the participants refrain from asking and simply do not do the FTA at all. The degree of power and the degree of imposition inhibit the action of the speaker. Speech acts that perform FTA are not used with parents and bosses. As request is mainly a face threatening act especially for the Hs Algerian speakers generally avoid asking older or someone hierarchically superior. When it happens, it is performed in a form of a question to give the impression that the H has the possibility to refuse. Besides, Algerian speakers have the tendency towards the use of softeners and well-wishes In fact, religious formulas like يخليك الله / [ʔallah jəχallik] 'May Allah keep you', /الله يحفضك/ [ʔallah jəħħafḍak] 'May Allah protect you' or /الله ينوّرك/ [ʔallah jənawwərək] 'May Allah enlighten you', etc., are also used as polite forms to soften the act which remains threatening for H. However, it is common to make the siblings doing things for them. It seems that the relationship, the social distance and the power between the interlocutors determine the politeness choices. Finding show that politeness strategies among Algerian in request go along a continuum where at one extreme is the boss and at the other one siblings. The more the social distance, power and degree of imposition increases between the interlocutors the more Ss avoid direct and imperative. In fact, bald on record strategy expressing requests is avoided because it involves high degree of imposition on the hearer. One of the reasons determining the use of this strategy in those situations is that the position of S is lower than the position of H in social position and power (Brown and Levinson, 1987). The next reason of the use of bald on record is that expressing the request directly is considered more effective to gain the speaker's desire.

As it was hypothesized, negative and positive politeness are the most dominant strategies used to achieve different purposes. Results seem to confirm the hypothesis. In fact, fort both female and male speakers negative politeness is the most used strategy to express requests. Such language behaviours reflect stable and dominant norms of communication in the Algerian culture. In fact, the relationship, the social distance, the power and the degree of imposition between interlocutors (Brown & Levinson 1987) seem to regulate the politeness strategies. Most of the participants of both genders avoid asking baldly request as a speech act is extremely

135

imposing and thus threatening H's face. Findings above also confirm the hypothesis that the politeness strategies are socially constrained.

4.2.1.5 Acts that Threaten Speaker's Positive Face

The speaker's positive face is threatened by acts indicating a transgressing or losing the control of the situation like in apologies, compliment, etc. When using apologizing, the speaker shows regret or acknowledges her/his own shortcomings and thus brings damage to her/his own face.

4.2.1.5.1 Results of Apologizing among Women

In this situation, the respondents were asked: You borrowed a sum of money from the following people and you promised to return it in a week. You meet the person and realize that you forgot to bring the money. The person wants the money back. What would you say to:

Table 4.5: Apologizing Strategies among Women

N	Expressions	Politeness strategies	Parents	Siblings	Friend	Neighbour	Boss	Stranger
1	نسيت	Off-records	5	25	18	5	1	6
		Giving hints	8.33%	41.66%	30%	8.33%	1.66%	10%
2	سمحلي نسيت	**Negative politeness**	2	24	13	9	7	5
		Saying sorry	3.33%	40%	21.66%	15%	11.66%	8.33%
3	والله يلا كامل تسيت	Off-records	1	12	26	8	10	3
		Giving hints	1.66%	20%	43.33%	13.33%	16.66%	5%
4	معليكش؟ نسيت كامل	Off-records	1	20	19	11	5	4
		Giving hints	1.66%	33.33%	31.66%	18.33%	8.33%	6.66%
5	بوه... ما جبتش	Off-records	14	10	23	8	1	4

			Parents	Siblings	Friend	Neighbour	Boss	Stranger
	الدّراهم	Giving hints	23.33%	16.66%	38.33%	13.33%	1.66%	6.66%
6	حاي ما بأولش الدّراهم	**Off-records**	8	23	9	15	0	5
		Giving hints	13.33%	38.33%	15%	25%	00%	8.33%
7	J'ai complètement oublié	**Off-records**	2	40	15	2	0	1
		Giving hints	3.33%	66.66%	25%	3.33%	00%	1.66%

معليكش؟ نسيت كامل ☐   والله يلا كامل تسيت ☐   سمحلي نسيت ☐   نسيت ☐
بوه... ما جبتش الدّراهم ☐   حاي ما بأولش الدّراهم ☐   J'ai complètement oublié ☐
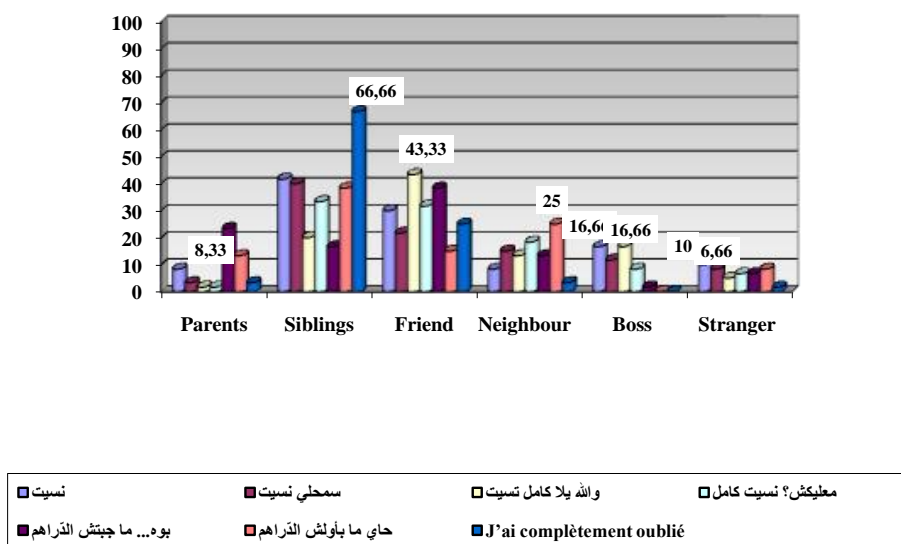
Fig 4.3: Apologizing Strategies among Women

The second situation represents an apology, a speech act used as a remedial action where the speaker tries to save her/her face because of a former action. Two different politeness strategies are identified: off-record and negative politeness. The apologies might be modified by using a combination of apology strategies together or with intensifiers such as adverbs to intensify the apology, or they might be modified to decrease the responsibility of the offender.

Findings reveal that among the indirect expressions to apologies classified as off-record (giving hints), the highest frequency (66.66%) occur when participants

address their siblings followed by 43.33% when speaking with friends. The indirect way of apologizing is also used with neighbours 25% and parents 23.33% while at a lesser degree 16.66% with bosses. Finally, only 10% prefer that strategy with strangers.

Off-records strategy consists of different expressions including interjections invocation (swearing) and question tag. Findings disclose that women make usage of emotional expressions with interjections /بوه/ [buh] or [ħħaj] /حاي/ 'damn' with parents 23.33% and 13.33% more than when invocation (swearing) [wallah] / والله / 'By God' or a question tag [maˀəlikʃ] / معليكش؟ / 'do you mind' which show the same amount 1.66%. It is also noticed that interjections /بوه/ [buh] or [ħħaj] /حاي/ 'damn' are avoided with the boss 1.66% and 0% while little more used strangers 6.66% for both. As for the question tag, it is barely used with parents (1.66%), the boss (8.33%) and with strangers (6.66%). The two interjections /بوه/ [buh] or [ħħaj] /حاي/ 'damn' are emotional particles used as equivalents to mean self-blaming and soften the imposition on the H. It is important to note the place of those interjections in the utterance. Their occurrence in the beginning of the apology serves to better convey the apology by assuming the responsibility of the act of 'not giving back the money'.

Using the negative politeness (expressing regret) to apologize, the outcomes disclose that 40% of respondents use that strategy with their siblings and 21.66% with friends. The lowest rates are assumed when addressing neighbours 15%, bosses 11.66%, strangers 8.33% and finally 3.33% with parents.

Comparing the results, women use direct apology in [nsi:t] /نسيت/ 'I forgot', a bare form off-record strategy and [smaħħəli nsi:t] /سمحلي نسيت/ 'excuse, I forgot' a negative politeness strategy quite equally with all interlocutors except with the boss where 'saying excuse me' is more privileged 11.66% and the bare form [nsi:t] /نسيت/ 'I forgot' 1.66%. Besides, /سمحلي/ [smaħħəli] 'excuse me' in /سمحلي نسيت/ 'excuse, I forgot' serves to prepare the apology and at the same time seeks to save the S's face. It seems, thus, that using 'sorry' with the boss is more adequate to show deference and apologize at the same time.

138

Contrary to what was expected, women do not use French equally with all interlocutors. Female participants use French at a high rate 66.66% with siblings and less 25% with friends. Women seem to rarely apologize in French with parents and neighbours 3.33% while insignificantly with strangers 1.66%. Finally, they avoid French with the boss 00%.

4.2.1.5.2 Results of Apologizing among Men

You borrowed a sum of money from the following people and you promised to return it in a week. You meet the person and realize that you forgot to bring the money. The person wants the money back. What would you say to:

Table 4.6: Apologizing Strategies among Men

N	Expressions	Politeness strategies	Parents	Siblings	Friend	Neighbour	Boss	Stranger
1	نسيت	Off-records	11	20	15	2	5	7
		Giving hints	18.33%	33.33%	25%	3.33%	8.33%	11.66%
2	سمحلي نسيت	**Negative politeness**	10	2	5	11	20	12
		Saying sorry	16.66%	3.33%	8.33%	18.33%	33.33%	20%
3	والله يلا كامل تسيت	Off-records	1	16	25	5	10	3
		Giving hints	1.66%	26.66%	41.66 %	8.33%	16.66%	5%
4	معليكش؟ نسيت كامل	Off-records	1	20	15	11	6	7
		Giving hints	1.66%	33.33%	25%	18.33%	10%	11.66%
5	بوه... ما جبتش الدَّراهم	Off-records	13	10	23	7	1	6

		Giving hints	21.66%	16.66%	38.33%	11.66%	1.66%	10%
6	حاي ما بأولش الدّراهم	Off-records	7	24	9	15	0	5
		Giving hints	11.66%	40%	15%	25%	00%	8.33%
7	J'ai complètement oublié	Off-records	1	40	15	2	0	2
		Giving hints	1.66%	66.66%	25%	3.33%	00%	3.33%
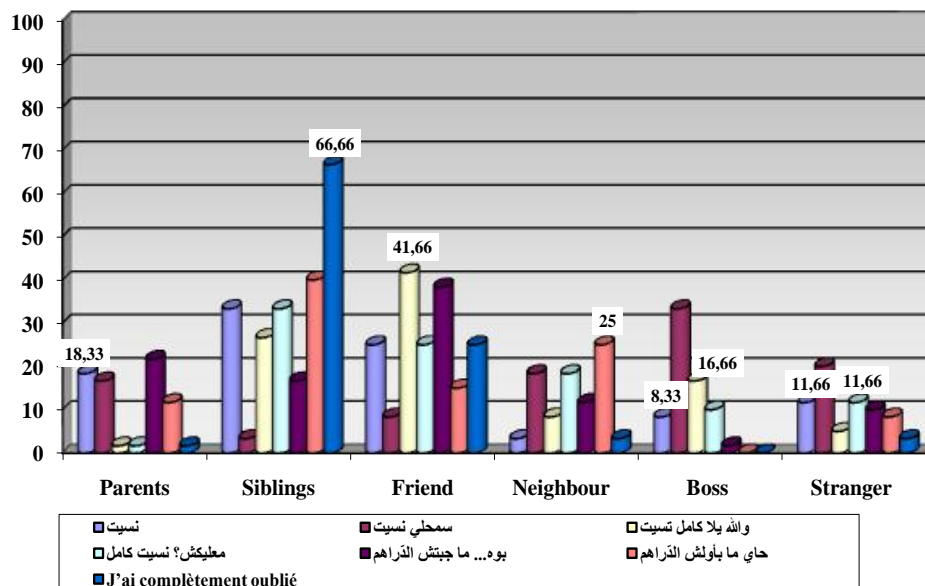
Fig 4.4: Apologizing Strategies among Men

Men seem to adopt, to a large extent, analogous language behaviour as women regarding apologies. Off-record and to a lesser degree negative politeness are the prevailing politeness strategies used when apologizing.

Results disclose that among the indirect expressions to apologies classified as off-record, men do not apology directly but rather circumvent the situation by

giving hints. Siblings (33.33%, 40% and 26%) and friends (25%, 21.66%, 41.66%) are the most targeted by the indirect way to apologize. Besides, results show that men use a direct way to apologize by saying 'sorry' more with the boss (33.33%) and with strangers (20%). Men hardly ever directly apologize by saying 'sorry' to siblings (3.33%) and friends (8.33%).

Findings show that men use expressions with interjections /بوه/ [buh] or [ħħaj] /حاي/ 'damn' 21.66% and 11.66% far more than when invocation (swearing) [wallah] / والله / 'By God' 1.66% or a question tag [maﻼalikʃ] / معليكش؟ / 'do you mind' 1.66% with parents. It is also noticed that interjections /بوه/ [buh] or [ħħaj] /حاي/ 'damn' are avoided with the boss 1.66% and 0% whereas little more used strangers 10% and 8.33% respectively. Likewise interjections and invocation (swearing), the usage of the question tag is rarely used with parents (1.66%) and little more with the boss (10%) and strangers (11.66%).

Invocation (swearing) [wallah] / والله / 'By God' is used to confirm or insist on what is said. For As Al-Zubaidi (2012, p. 141), swearing is "a religious vocative utterance employed by the speaker to assure his/her interlocutor of what s/he said or done is true".

Regarding the negative politeness (expressing regret) to apologize, the outcomes disclose that 40% of respondents use that strategy with their siblings and 21.66% with friends. The lowest rates are found when addressing neighbours 15%, bosses 11.66%, strangers 8.33% and finally 3.33% with parents.

Male respondents favour French to apologize mostly with siblings 66.66% and less with 25% friends. Men hardly use French with neighbours and strangers 3.33%. and even less with parents1.66%. On the other hand, French is avoided with the boss 00%.

4.2.1.5.3 Discussion of Apologizing among Women and Men

The second situation represents apology, an act that threatens S's positive face classified under the expressives serving as a face saving act of speech. Both women and men adopt similar language behaviour as a remedial act of speech, where the speakers try to save their faces because of a previous act 'forgetting to give money back'. The results confirm the first hypothesis that both genders adopt the same language behaviour concerning politeness strategies choices. For most people, the question of lending anything especially money from someone is sensitive in the sense that it requires compensation which consists in giving back the loaned thing. In case the borrower does not meet the deal for different reasons, she/he resorts to apology as a politeness strategy considered as remedial speech act to save her/his face. Cohen & Olshtain (1983) argue that apologies as a speech act occurring between two interlocutors where one of the S perceives oneself providing explanation because of an offense committed against the H. Additionally, Cohen & Olshtain (1983) assert that apologies usually include utterances or formulaic expressions indicating regret acknowledging responsibility, offering of repair or promising of forbearance.

The participants were given different expressions within the off-records strategy indicating that the S does not apologize directly but rather hinting at regret to lessen the impact of not being able to meet the date in this case 'to give the money back'.

In the first instance, both women and men use the formulaic expression using direct apology [səmaħli] 'excuse me' as a direct apology. In the case of English, Holmes (1990) argues that direct apologies are the most widely use apology strategies. In her study in New Zealand English, she found out that direct apology strategies is the most dominant strategy. However, in the present work the indirect way of apologizing is the most dominant among both women and men.

Off-records strategy consists of different emotional formulaic expressions including interjections /بوه/ [buh] or [ħħaj] /حاي/ 'damn'; the use of invocation and swearing [wallah] / والله / 'By God' as well as the use of question tag [ma\əlikʃ] /معليكش؟/ 'do you mind' seen as sarcasm are meant to help reduce threats to S's face

142

and at the same time seek for excuse in an indirect manner. The social distance, power and degree of imposition between the parents, the boss and strangers on the one hand and the speakers on the on the other hand, suggest that the speakers avoid such expression.

As regard to the use of the negative politeness (expressing regret) to apologize, the outcomes disclose that 40% of respondents use that strategy with their siblings and 21.66% with friends. The lowest rates are seen when addressing neighbours 15%, bosses 11.66%, strangers 8.33% and finally 3.33% with parents.

Off-record and to a lesser degree negative politeness are the dominant politeness strategies to apologize. Results disclose that among the indirect expressions to apologies classified as off-record, men do not apologies directly but rather circumvent the situation. Siblings (33.33%, 40% and 26%) and friends (25%, 21.66%, 41.66%) are the most targeted by the indirect way to apologize. Besides, results show that men prefer a direct way to apologize by saying 'sorry' more with the boss (33.33%) and with strangers (20%), while it is the least used with siblings (3.33%) and friends (8.33%).

One of the most prominent findings is that French is attested among both genders with the same interlocutors. The highest rates are found among both women and men with siblings 66.66% followed by friends 25% while the lowest frequency occur among women 1.66% when addressing strangers and the same amount 3.33% parents and neighbours. For male respondents, choices are little different. While French is used with both neighbours and strangers at an equal frequency 3.33%, it is scarcely used with parents 1.66%. It is noteworthy to mention, contrary to what was expected French representing prestige and social advancement occurring as a formal language would be used with mainly with the boss. However, results reveal that for both genders, French is not used once with the boss 00%.

It can be concluded from the results that the speech act of apology in the Algerian society as a whole is strictly codified. The relationship, the power relation and the degree of imposition among the interlocutors play a determining role in

choosing the politeness strategy to use. The findings confirm the third hypothesis. In fact, a high degree of respect and politeness are shown to parents and the boss. As an example, the off-record strategy (a direct bare form to apologize) is not used at all with parents and the boss (00%). In assuming such language behaviour they adopt 'Do not do the FTA strategy'. Besides, using a bare form to apologize is scarcely employed with strangers (1.66%) while dominant with siblings and less with friends (30%). On the other hand, using emotional expressions (self-blaming) is the most used with parents (23.33%) and 13.33%. It seems that in these two cases the fear of disappointing the parents urges children to avoid being direct and blame themselves.

4.2.1.6 Acts that Threaten Speaker's Negative Face

They are acts that challenge the face wants of the speaker. They include thanking, accepting thanks, etc. In thanking, the speaker expresses thanks as an obligation for a previous or future action. Her/his freedom is threatened when expressing the act.

4.2.1.6.1 Thanking among Women

In situation three, the informants were asked: you forgot your mobile and it is urgent for you to make a phone call. One of the following people lent you her/his phone. What would you say?

Table 4.7: Thanking Strategies among Women

N	Expressions	Politeness strategies	Parents	Siblings	Friend	Neighbour	Boss	Stranger
1	برك الله فيك	**Positive politeness** Closeness form	11	20	15	8	2	4
			18.33%	33.33%	25%	13.33%	3.33%	6.66%

2	شكرا	**Positive politeness** formal form	3	6	8	10	18	15
3	يعطيك الصحّة	**Positive politeness** Closeness form	5%	10%	13.33 %	16.66%	30%	25%
			1	13	26	12	3	5
			1.66%	21.66%	43.33 %	20%	5 %	8.33%
4	يرحم والدك	**Positive politeness** Closeness form	2	18	15	11	6	8
			3.33%	30%	25%	18.33%	10%	13.33%
5	الله يحَفضك	**Positive politeness** Closeness form	13	9	23	7	2	6
			21.66%	15%	38.33 %	11.66%	3.33%	10%
6	روح الله ينورك	**Positive politeness** Closeness form	3	25	21	7	0	4
			5%	41.66%	35%	11.66%	00%	6.66%
7	يحمر وجهك	**Positive politeness** Closeness form	1	40	15	2	0	2
			1.66%	66.66%	25%	3.33%	00%	3.33%
8	**Merci beaucoup**	**Positive politeness** Closeness (Formal form)	3	12	15	1	20	9
			5%	20%	25%	1.66%	33.33%	15%
9	**C'est gentil**	**Positive politeness** Closeness (Formal form)	4	9	23	7	10	7
			6.66%	15%	38.33 %	11.66%	16.66%	11.66%
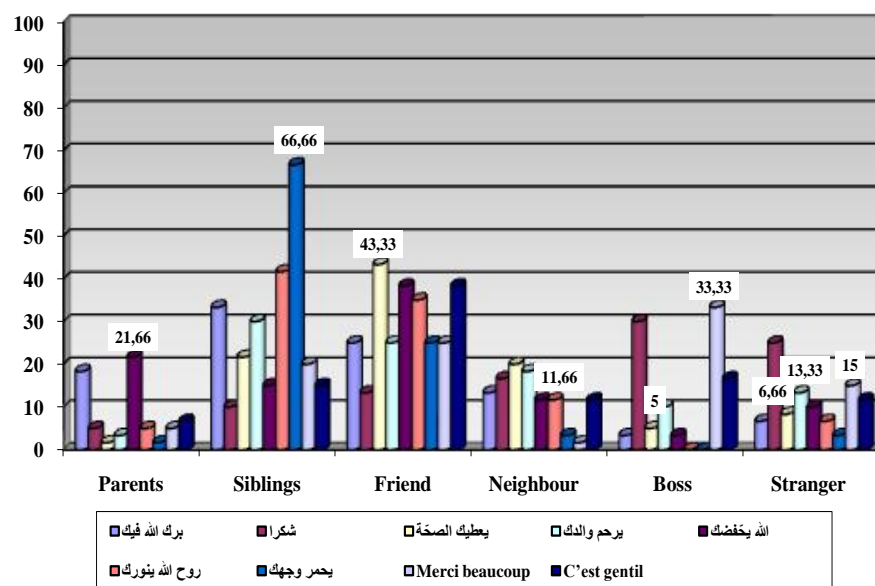
Fig 4.5: Thanking Strategies among Women

The third situation represents thanking, a speech act used as an expression of gratitude and appreciation as a reaction to a previous action that the speaker considers beneficial to her/her. In this regard, Brown and Levinson (1987) assume that positive face is the want of every member that her/his wants be desirable to at least some others. In this research, positive politeness is expressed baldly (bare form), through benediction (explicit or implicit), using blessings and prayers and with intensifier to thank the H for a favour.

Though the expressions [ja‌əTik ʔəSSaħħa] **/يعطيك الصحّة** 'God give you health' and [jəħammar wadʒəhək] **/يحمر وجهك** literally 'God reddish your face' meaning 'God reward you' are used by female speakers as implicit benedictions. For the majority of women, the highest percentage 66.66 % is noticed when addressing implicit benediction [jəħammar wadʒəhək] to siblings and 25% to friends. However, the same expression is scarcely used with neighbours and strangers 3.33% and even less with parents 1.66% while not used at all with the boss.

Female speakers also make usage of explicit benediction [Ɂəllah 'God protect you' mostly with friends 38.33% followed by يَحَفضَك الله yaħħafəDak] / parents 21.66%. Siblings receives a lower rate 15%, neighbours 11.66%, strangers 10% and finally only 3.33% with bosses. Another expression for explicit / 'God bless you' preferred with بَرك الله فيك benediction is [baraka Ɂəllahou fik] / siblings 33.33% and friends 25% followed by parents 18.33% while little used with neighbours 13.33%, strangers 6.66% and finally bosses 3.33%. It seems that the occurrence of the expression depends on the relationship between the interlocutors.

The greater the social distance between the S and H is, the lesser it is used.

The two expression [baraka Ɂəllahou fik] / بَرك الله فيك / 'God bless you' and [ruħ Ɂəllah jənawwərə] / روح الله ينورك / 'Go, God enlighten you' are of the same category, explicit benediction. However, in the second one an interjection [ruh] 'go' is added as an intensifier used with parents and bosses. In fact, its higher rates are observed with siblings 41.66%, friends 35% and less with neighbours 11.66%. Besides, its occurrence decreases noticeably with parents 5% and non-existent 00% with bosses. In this case, it seems that [ruħ] /روح/ 'go' an imperative verb is used as an interjection emphasis the benediction but at the same time an order. Its absence with parents and bosses may be due to the fact that it is inappropriate to impose on the latter people by giving them orders 'go', while common with siblings 41.66% and 35% friends. Findings also show that in the Algerian culture, expressing benediction by glorifying the parent [jərħam walədik] /والدك يرحم/ 'God bless your parents' is a common way of thanking. Honouring the parents seems to be used with all kinds of interlocutors including siblings 30%, friends 25%, neighbours 18.33% strangers 13.33% and bosses 10%. Finally, the lowest rate is observed with parents 3.33%. Praising the parents seems to be a good way to reach the H's favour. Women also use French politeness formulas like in '*c'est gentil*' [sɛst ʒɑ̃ti] 'that's kind of you' to express implicit benediction. The highest percentage 38.33% is observed among friends followed by the bosses 16.66% then 15% with siblings. The French thanking expression is the least used with neighbours and strangers 11.66% and much less used with the parents 6.66%.

Thanking is also expressed through short and direct form [ʃukran] /شكرا/ 'thanks'. It is interesting to mention that the bare form [ʃukran] /شكرا/ 'thanks' is taken from MSA and its use decreases with the social distance between the interlocutors. Its uppermost rate is with bosses 30% followed by strangers 25% then neighbours 16.66% after that neighbours 13.33% and siblings 10% to end with parents 5%.

The last strategy expressed through benediction with intensifier 'merci beaucoup' [mƐʁsi boku] 'thanks very much' where the French word 'beaucoup' [boku] is favoured to amplify the action of thanking. It is chosen mainly with bosses 33.33%, friends 25%, siblings 20% and strangers 15%. It is less used with parents and scarcely with neighbours 1.66%.

For women using formal expressions /شكرا/ in Arabic and /merci beaucoup/ in French seems to be dominant with bosses. The power relationship, social distance and the degree of imposition seem to be prevailing among employer and employee. It is a way to show respect and deference.

4.2.1.6.2 Thanking among Men

Situation: You forgot your mobile and it is urgent for you to make a phone call. One of the following people lent you her/his phone. What would you say?

Table 4.8: Thanking Strategies among Men

	Expressions	Politeness strategies	Parents	Siblings	Friend	Neighbour	Boss	Stranger
1	برك الله فيك	**Positive politeness** Closeness form	11	14	15	1	11	8
			18.33%	23.33%	25%	1.66%	18.33%	13.33%
2	شكرا	**Positive politeness** Formal form	3	2	4	10	26	15
			5%	3.33%	6.66%	16.66%	43.33%	25%
3	يعطيك الصحّة	**Positive politeness** Closeness form	1	12	25	9	10	3
			1.66 %	20 %	41.66%	15%	16.66%	5%
4	يرحم والدك	**Positive politeness** Closeness form	1	20	15	11	6	7
			1.66%	33.33%	25%	18.33%	10%	11.66%
5	الله يَحَفضك	**Positive politeness** Closeness form	13	9	23	7	1	7
			21.66%	15%	38.33%	11.66%	1.66%	11.66%
6	روح الله ينورك	**Positive politeness** Closeness form	8	23	9	15	0	5
			13.33%	38.33%	15%	25%	00%	8.33%
7	يحمر وجهك	**Positive politeness** Closeness form	1	40	15	2	0	2
			1.66%	66.66%	25%	3.33%	00%	3.33%
8	**Merci beaucoup**	**Positive politeness** Closeness (Formal form)	2	4	8	9	25	12
			3.33%	6.66%	13.33%	15%	41.66%	20%
9	**C'est gentil**	**Positive politeness** Closeness (Formal form)	5	6	7	10	24	8
			8.33%	10%	11.66%	16.66%	40%	13.33%
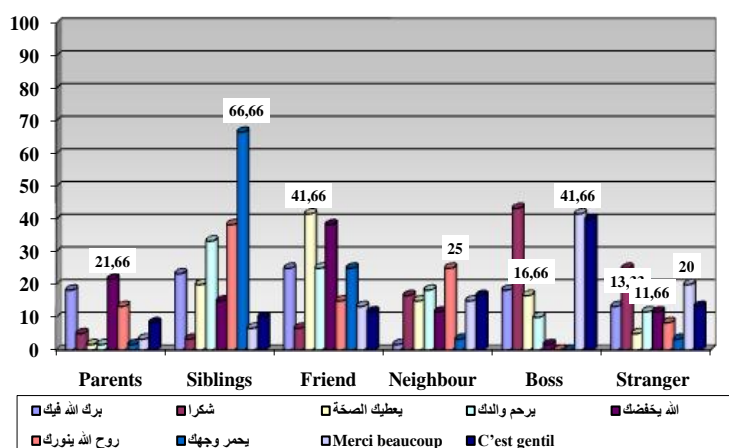
Fig 4.6: Thanking Strategies among Men

Similarly to women, thanking is conveyed through positive politeness in in different ways: baldly (bare form); through benediction (explicit or implicit); using blessings and prayers as well as with intensifier to thank the H for a favour.

Though the expression [jəħammar wadʒəhək] /يحمر وجهك/ literally 'God reddish your face' meaning 'God reward you' conveying implicit benediction is attributed to women, in this survey, men surprisingly adopt identical language behaviour as female speakers. In fact, the majority of male speakers (66.66%) use [jəħammar wadʒəhək] with siblings and 25% with friends. Besides, it is hardly used with neighbours and strangers 3.33% and almost nonexistent with parents 1.66% while avoided with the boss. Such language behaviour may be explained by the fact that [jəħammar wadʒəhək] /يحمر وجهك/ is an expression that denotes close relationship and affection between interlocutors. Concerning the expression [ja‵əTik ʔəSSaħħa] /يعطيك الصحّة/ 'God give you health' that also indicates implicit benediction, men adopt slightly different language choices than women. The only noticeable difference is when men expressed thanks to bosses. While only 3 women (5%) make use of the utterance with the bosses, 10 men (16.66%) did. It may be assumed that it is not convenient that in the Algerian culture and the Arab culture as

150

a whole that woman are so close and affectionate with their bosses especially if they are men, while it is acceptable for men.

When thanking parents using explicit benediction [ʔallah yaħħafəDak] / الله يخَفضك 'God protect you', the highest rates are found when men address friends 38.33%, 21.66% parents and siblings 15%. The lowest scores are noticed among neighbours and strangers 11.66% and bosses 1.66%. Male speakers have different choices than female speakers concerning the utterance [ruħ ʔəllah jənawwərək] / روح الله ينورك / 'Go, God enlighten you'. Results show that 38.33% of men privileged using it with siblings and contrary to women who score 35% friends only 15% of men use it with friends. Another difference lies when addressing the parents. While 13.33% of women declare thanking the parents employing that expression, only 5% of men do. It seems that [ruħ] /روح/ 'go' as an interjection used as a general expression of approval to introduce the benediction is inappropriate with parents while common with siblings 41.66% and 35% friends. Findings disclose that honouring the parent [jərħam walədik] /يرحم والدك/ 'God bless your parents' for thanking among women and men is identical.

Men use French expressions for thanking differently than women. Comparing the results, to express implicit benediction, female speakers make usage of the expression '*c'est gentil*' [sɛst ʒɑ̃ti] 'that's kind of you' 38.33% with friends while 16.66% with bosses. Male speakers, on the other hand, are at opposite. Men employ the expression 40% with bosses whereas 11.66% with friends. It is also worth mentioning that both men and women utilise little the French expression with parents 8.33% and 6.66% respectively

When using a direct way to thank [ʃukran] /شكرا/ 'thanks', men behave nearly like women. In fact, men use the expression mostly with bosses 43.33% and strangers 25% whereas, it is the least used with parents 5% and even less with siblings 3.33%. It seems that for men frequency of using the formal expression [ʃukran] /شكرا/ 'thanks' is equated with the relationship between the interlocutors. The more the social distance decreases from boss to sibling the less it is used.

Expressing thanks through benediction with intensifier /***merci beaucoup***/ 'thanks very much', men are different than women concerning language choices. The expression is preferred with bosses 41.66%, strangers 20%, neighbours 15 % and friends 13.33%. It is scarcely used with siblings 6.66% and lesser with parents 1.66%.

For both women and men, using formal expressions /شكرا/ /ʃukrən/ in Arabic and 'merci beaucoup' [mɛʁsi boku] 'thanks very much' seems to be dominant with bosses 41.66% and 33.33% for women. The power relationship, social distance and the degree of imposition seem to be prevailing among employer and employee. It is a way to show respect and deference.

4.2.1.6.3 Discussion of Thanking among Women and Men

Thanking is one of most commonly used speech acts in daily interactions. Coulmas (1981) assumes that the speech act of thanking is a universal illocution existing in all languages and cultures. Thanking as a speech act is considered as "an illocutionary act performed by a speaker based on a past act performed by the hearer that was beneficial" (Searle, 1993, p 65). It means that while expressing thanking, the speaker expresses her/his gratitude to the hearer for an action the speaker benefited from like solving a problem in the present work. .

According to the results, thanking expressions are found almost identical among both genders. Findings show that there are minimal differences in terms of the frequencies of use by female and male speaker to express thanking for a favour. Thanking behaviour has significant social value. This is why the failure to express to gratitude expressions according to the social norms that are known among Algerian speakers can affect the relationship between the interlocutors. According to Al-Zubaidi (2012); the speaker's choice of a particular strategy for giving thanks depends on different contextual factors such as the relationship between the interlocutors, their ages and the occasion.

As explained by Mills (2003), 'formal politeness' alluding to those ritualised phrases such as 'please' and 'thank you' are seen by most people as polite language behaviour. In this work, it seems that formal expressions like /شكرا/ 'thank you' in Arabic /merci beaucoup/ [mɛʁsi boku] 'thanks very much' in French seem to be dominant with bosses 41.66% and 33.33% for women. They are principally employed to indicate respect, deference and formality in language use by the speaker.

In thanking, benedictions are used by both women and men to value the H and show her/him affection. Besides, the length of the thanking and the use of religious invocation [ʔallah] 'God' as well as the intensifiers [boku] /beaucoup/'very' may depend on the size of the favour, the relationship between the interlocutors as well as the sincerity of the speakers. Correspondingly to the findings in the literature (Brown and Levinson, 1987, etc) which suggest that the higher the level of intimacy between the interlocutors, the more intensely gratitude is expressed.

As it was expected, in the Algerian culture, high degrees of respect and politeness are shown to parents, bosses, strangers and neighbours. Findings disclose that some participants including women and men, scarcely use [jəħammar wadʒəhək] with neighbours and strangers 3.33% and almost nonexistent with parents 1.66% while avoided with the boss 00%. In this last situation, speakers simply assume the 'Do not do the FTA' strategy. It is concluded that thanking speakers confirm the third hypothesis that social variables mentioned above impact politeness behaviour of both female and male speakers.

4.2.1.7 Acts Conveying Positive Politeness

They are acts that intend to avoid doing offense by highlighting friendliness. When doing so, the hearer feels good about her/him self. Examples of positive politeness are greeting, praising, congratulating, etc.

4.2.1.7.1 Greeting and Thanking in Same-Gender and Cross-Gender Dyads

Situation four represents greeting and thanking[19]. Greeting is a speech act used as an expression of gratitude and appreciation as a reaction to a previous action that the speaker considers beneficial to her/her. In addition to positive politeness which is the dominant strategy in thanking, off-record is also used though at a lesser degree. Unlike the previous situations, the latter elicits politeness strategies in greeting between women and men. Additionally, the use of Arabic or French in conveying greeting is also an additional focus of this inquiry

Table 4.9: Greeting and thanking among same-gender and cross-gender dyads

Expressions	Politeness strategies	Women to Women	Women to Men	Men to Men	Men to Women
صباح الخير/ صباح النور	Positive politeness	6	7	14	33
		10%	11.66%	23.33%	55%
Bonjour	Positive politeness	26	18	5	11
		43.33%	30%	8.33%	18.33%
أهلا	Positive politeness	12	8	6	34
		20%	13.33%	10%	56.66%
Salut	Positive politeness	42	11	2	5
		70%	18.33%	3.33%	8.33%
شكرا	Positive politeness	5	11	25	19
		8.33%	18.33%	41.66%	31.66%
صحّية	Positive politeness	6	10	25	19
		10%	16.66%	41.66%	31.66%
الله يعطيك الصحّة / الصّحيحة	Off-records Giving hints	30	8	12	10
		50%	13.33%	20%	16.66%
Merci	Positive politeness	41	12	3	4
		68.33%	20%	5%	6.66%

---

[19]. It was already explained above.
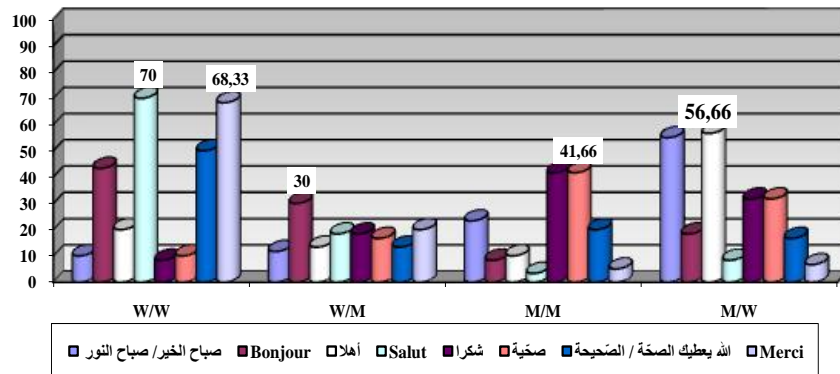
Fig 4.7: Greeting and thanking among same-gender and cross-gender dyads

4.2.1.7.2 Results and Discussion of Greeting and Thanking in Same-Gender and Cross-Gender Dyads

As expected, results disclose a general tendency that French is dominantly used by women while Arabic is largely preferred by men. In greeting; women use principally French in the three politeness formulas [bɔ̃ʒuʁ] /***Bonjour***/ 'good morning' 43.33%, [saly] /***salut***/ 'hello' 70% and [mɛʁsi] /***merci***/ 'thank you' 68.33% , while they use 30%, 18% and 20% respectively with for the same expressions with men. Contrary to women, Arabic is predominant for men to greet both genders. Results show that male speakers use Arabic in 55% with women and 23.33% with men while greeting [Səbaħ ʔəl χir] / صباح الخير or [Səbaħ ʔənnur] / صباح النور / both meaning 'good morning' and 56.66% of men use [ʔahələn] /أهلا/ 'welcome' with women and 10% with the same gender. The same tendency is observed in thanking among men. Men use both expressions [Saħħit] /صحّية/ and [ʃukran] /شكرا/ 'thank you' equally 41.66% to thank other male speakers while 31.66% with women.

Thanking is also expressed through the off-record strategy where the speaker does not state the act directly but implies it. The results reveal that women surpass men when using Arabic to thank [ʔəllah ja\əTik ʔəSaħħa] /الصّحيحة الله يعطيك/الصحّة/ 'God give you health'. In fact, women use Arabic in 50% of cases when thanking the same gender while 13.33% when addressing men. Besides, 20% of men use Arabic with the same gender and 16.66% with women.

Concerning men, results disclose that unlike women, men use dominantly Arabic with both genders, i.e., 55% with women and 23.33% with men. Men make less use of French with male speakers than when addressing women. It is found that 10% of men prefer French with women while only 3.33% with men.

Interestingly, greeting and thanking are expressed in different forms using different languages (Arabic or French). Findings reveal that while women prefer French with both genders, men on the other hand, privilege Arabic with the same sex and French with women. Expressions like [bɔ̃ʒuʁ] **/bonjour/** 'good morning' and **[saly]** /salut/ **'hello'** are more used by women to address both genders. For women in the speech community of Tlemcen, French is considered as the most prestigious, modern and socially valued, especially among women. Such language behaviour seems to confirm previous studies including Coates (1996), Eckert, P. & McConnell-Ginet, S. (2003), and Trudgill's (1972) assuming that women are more likely to use more prestigious linguistic forms to secure and signal their social status. For instance, in a previous investigation, Belhadj-Tahar (2014, p. 115), found that "women, more than men, are more likely to attempt to secure and signal their social identity and wish for social advancement through their use of French, a language seen as prestigious and conferring higher status and success."

4.2.2 Interviews Analysis

While the DCT questionnaire consists of *Close-item verbal response only* where the participants choose from pre-selected answers and interlocutors suggested by the researcher, in the interview, the participants are free to answer without being limited in the answers. In addition to the quantitative results, the interviews bring

qualitative ones. To elicit politeness strategies choices employed by participants to address the different interlocutors and to get access to 'real' sentiments which elicit natural and spontaneous speech two speech acts were selected. The first one is request, a speech act that threatens the hearer's negative face and apology, a speech act that threatens the speaker's positive face. Interviews area analysed following Brown and Levinson's (1987) categorization bald on-record, negative politeness, positive politeness, and off-record (indirect) as well as simply not using the face-threatening act (not do the FTA).

4.2.2.1 Interviews Results of Requesting among Women

You feel cold (at home, work or in the bus) and you want the person to close the window. What would you say to:

Table 4.10: Politeness among Women in Situation 1 (requesting)

Situations	Politeness strategies / Interlocutors	Bald-on Record		Negative politeness		Positive politeness		Off-record		Do not do FTA	
Situation 1	Parents	0	00%	3	25%	6	50%	0	00%	3	25%
	Siblings	6	50%	5	41.66%	0	00%	1	8.33%	0	00%
	Friends	3	25%	6	50%	3	25%	0	00%	0	00%
	Neighbour	0	00%	6	50%	3	25%	3	25%	0	00%
	Boss	0	00%	5	41.66%	1	8.33%	4	33.33%	2	16.66%
	Stranger	0	00%	10	83.33%	0	00%	0	00%	2	16.66%
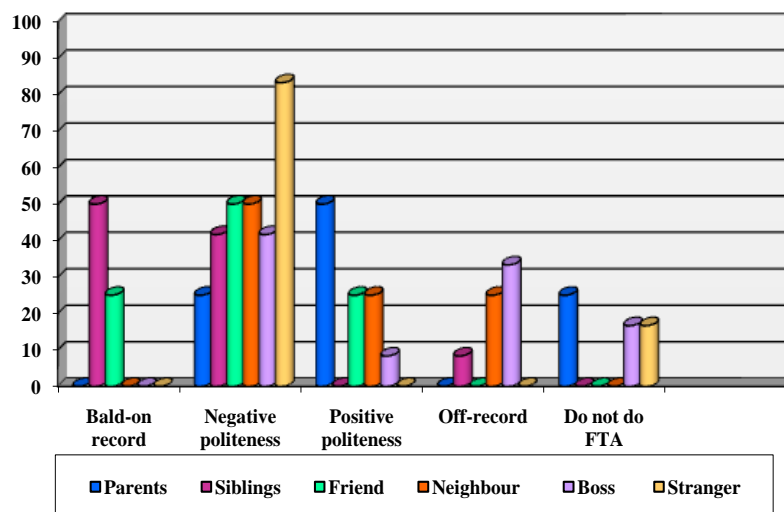
Fig 4.8: Requesting among women

The speech act in the first situation illustrates a request where the speaker has an intention to the hearer to do something (close the window) that is beneficial to her/him. Thus, when doing so, the speaker is imposing on the hearer. In return, the hearer has to pay cost of carrying out the request. Since request belong to face threatening acts (FTA), politeness strategies are used to redress the situation and reduce the imposition.

Negative politeness is the dominant strategy chosen by female speakers with all the interlocutors to different degrees. In fact, the highest rate (83.33%) is observed when addressing strangers followed by friends and neighbours (50%). Results also reveal that 41.66% prefer negative politeness with siblings and bosses. The fact that negative politeness is the least used with parents (25%) may be explained by the fact that almost all the request utterances are performed in a way that gives the hearer the possibility to refuse. Hence, the act becomes less imposing on the hearer. The social distance with the interlocutor is a crucial determinant in selecting such strategy.

Positive politeness is mostly used with parents (50%) and to a lesser rate with friends and neighbours 25%. When addressing the boss, few women (8.33%) use that strategy. Positive politeness is mainly expressed using benediction forms like [ʔəllah yəħħafəDək] **الله يَحَفضك/** 'God protect you' or [ʔəllah yəχəllik] **يخَلّيك /الله** / 'God keep you' to denote closeness and affection.

Findings also reveal that bold-on record is only used with siblings 50% and to a lesser degree friends ('25%). None of the female respondents use bold-on record with parents, neighbours bosses or strangers (00%). It appears that it is inappropriate and impolite to impose on those people while it acceptable to do it with siblings and friends.

Using an indirect way (off-record) to imply a request is preferred with bosses 33.33% and to a lesser degree with neighbours 25%. Few women imply requests (8.33%) while talking with siblings. Finally, the strategy is avoided (00%) with parents, friends 00%. If it is considered as rude and impolite to be direct or to use trickery with the parents and strangers due to their age or social distance, it is incomprehensible why it is not used with friends.

Unexpectedly, 25% of women declare they never ask their parents to do such an act but prefer to do it themselves or ask someone else present like siblings or younger people. Finally, 16.66% of female participants prefer remaining silent in the same situation.

Interestingly, results show that closeness between the siblings explains the lack of redress or benediction forms found among friends or neighbours. Some participants state they could never ask neighbours, bosses and strangers 'to open the window for them' due to the social distance between them. They, thus, embrace silence and adopt the 'Do not do the FTA' strategy. Moreover, those who respond have chosen the negative strategies most using apologies such as: [ʃukran] **شكرا'** 'thanks'.

4.2.2.2 Interviews results of requesting among men

Table 4.11: Politeness Strategies among men in Situation 1 (requesting)

Situations	Politeness strategies / Interlocutors	Bald-on Record		Negative politeness		Positive politeness		Off-record		Do not do FTA	
Situation 1	Parents	1	8.33%	4	33.33%	3	25%	0	0	4	33.33%
	Siblings	7	58.33%	3	25%	2	16.66%	0	00%	0	00%
	Friends	7	58.33%	2	16.66%	3	25%	0	00%	0	00%
	Neighbour	0	00%	6	50%	6	50%	0	00%	0	00%
	Boss	0	00%	8	66.66%	2	16.66%	0	00%	2	16.66%
	Stranger	0	00%	8	66.66%	4	33.33%	0	00%	0	00%
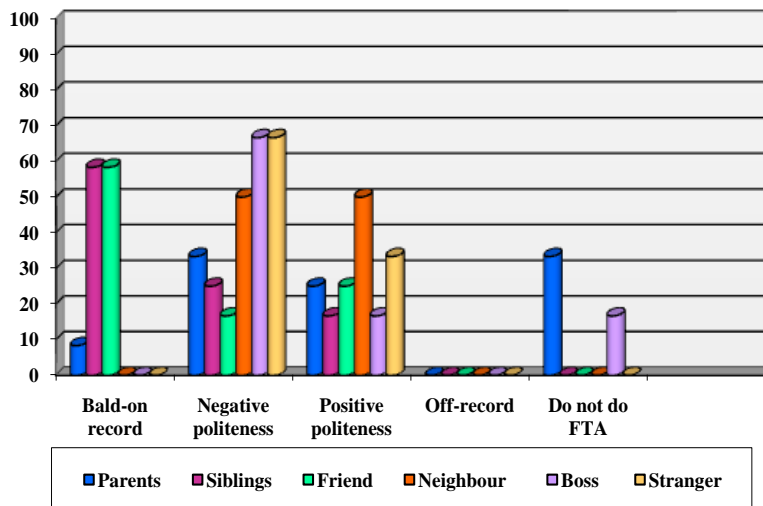
Fig 4.9: Requesting among Men

Similarly to women, negative politeness is the prevailing strategy used by men. The highest percentage (66.66%) is found when speaking with strangers and bosses followed by neighbours 50%. It is found that 25% preferred negative politeness with siblings. However, negative politeness is the least strategy used by men with their siblings (16.66%). When asking their interlocutors 'to close the window' men also seem to give freedom to the hearer to refuse and thus, soften the imposition.

Men use positive politeness the least with the siblings and the bosses 16.66% and the highest rate with neighbours 50% while women do not employ positive politeness (00%) with the strangers, 33.33% of male respondents. It seems that the results support a general view that women do not address strangers while men do.

Another interesting result is that contrary to women who do not use a direct request (bald-on record) 00%, a man (8.33%) did. On the other hand, both women and men dominantly favour direct request with siblings and friends 58.33%. The absence of polite expressions to address siblings and friends may be explained by the closeness between them

Another major finding is that the indirect way (off-record) to suggest to the hearer to do the action is not chosen by none of the participants. In opposition to women, men are more direct to express their wants. In the same vein, many scholars among them Tannen (1993), argue that women tend to be less direct by making suggestions and negotiations so as not to be dominating or imposing, while men tend to be direct putting forward their masculinity and force.

As far as avoiding asking their interlocutors to close the window, men behave nearly like women. Male participants also refrain asking parents 33.33% and to a lesser extent the bosses 16.66%. Another noticeable difference between female and male participants is that while 16.66% of women do not ask strangers to perform the action (remain silent), men dare asking strangers. For Tannen (1993), male speakers make decisions bearing in mind that if their interlocutor disagrees, they express it or challenge the decision afterwards.

4.2.2.3 Interviews Results of Apologizing among Women

In this situation, the respondents were asked: You borrowed a sum of money from the following people and you promised to return it in a week. You meet the person and realize that you forgot to bring the money. The person wants the money back. What would you say to:

Table 4.12: Politeness Strategies among Women in Situation 2 (Apologizing)

Situations	Politeness strategies Interlocutors	Bald-on Record		Negative politeness		Positive politeness		Off-record		Do not do FTA	
Situation 2	Parents	0	00%	8	66.66%	1	8.33%	3	25%	1	8.33%
	Siblings	1	8.33%	5	41.66%	0	00%	6	25%	0	00%
	Friends	0	00%	8	66.66%	1	8.33%	3	25%	0	00%
	Neighbour	0	00%	9	75%	0	00%	2	16.66%	1	8.33%
	Boss	0	00%	8	66.66%	2	16.66%	0	00%	2	16.66%
	Stranger	0	00%	9	75%	0	00%		00%	3	25%
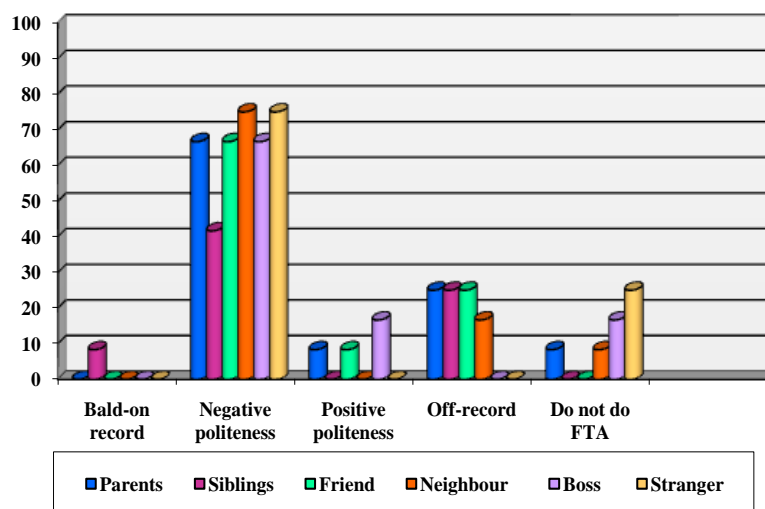
Fig 4.10: Politeness Strategies among Women in apologizing

In the second situation, the fact forgetting to bring the money is in itself embarrassing because felt as a failure to meet ones responsibility. To provide remedial to the damage is a way to save the speaker's face. According to Smith (2008), apologies are complex interactions, and '*sorry'* is one of many attempts that are used to make it simple and acceptable.

Findings indicate that the dominant strategy for women to apologize is negative politeness. Compared to other strategies, female participants opt for negative politeness mostly with neighbours and strangers (75%) while least employed with siblings (41.66%). Women also choose using that strategy equally 66.66%.

On the other hand, positive politeness is favoured mainly with bosses 16.66% and less (8.33%) with parents and friends while not used at all with siblings, neighbours and strangers 00% where other strategies are privileged.

Positive politeness is preferred because denoting closeness between the interlocutors.

Women do not usually apologize directly but hinting at it in their speech, thus, going off-record. Results show that 25% of the female participants use it with parents, siblings and friends while 16.66% with neighbours. It is worth mentioning that this strategy is not used at all with bosses and strangers. Not apologizing directly seems a way not to recognize the wrongdoing caused with people they have a close relationship with. Besides, they used negative politeness where the expression [smaɧiɧəli] **/سمحلي/** 'excuse me' is dominantly used with the bosses and strangers with whom the social distance is much more important.

Results disclose that though the majority of women apologize in such situation, only one the participants does not apologize and use the bare expression /nəsi:t/ 'I forgot' without any redress or softening with siblings. The close relationship between brothers and sisters may explain such language behaviour (not to apologize).

Finally, women remain silent (do not do FTA) with strangers 25%, bosses 16.66% and 8.33% with parents and neighbours. They declare they never borrow money from those people. It seems that the social distance, power relationship and the degree of imposition are determinant in such situations.

4.2.2.4 Interviews Results of Apologizing among Men

Table 4.13: Politeness Strategies among Men in Situation 2 (Apologizing)

Situations	Politeness strategies / Interlocutors	Bald-on Record		Negative politeness		Positive politeness		Off-record		Do not do FTA	
Situation 2	Parents	0	00%	6	25%	1	8.33%	1	8.33%	4	33.33%
	Siblings	2	16.66%	5	41.66%	3	25%	2	16.66%	0	00%
	Friends	0	00%	10	83.33%	2	16.66%	0	00%	0	00%
	Neighbour	0	00%	11	91.66%	1	8.83%	0	00%	0	00%
	Boss	0	00%	9	75%	1	8.33%	0	00%	2	16.66%
	Stranger	0	00%	7	58.33%	0	00%	0	00%	5	41.66%
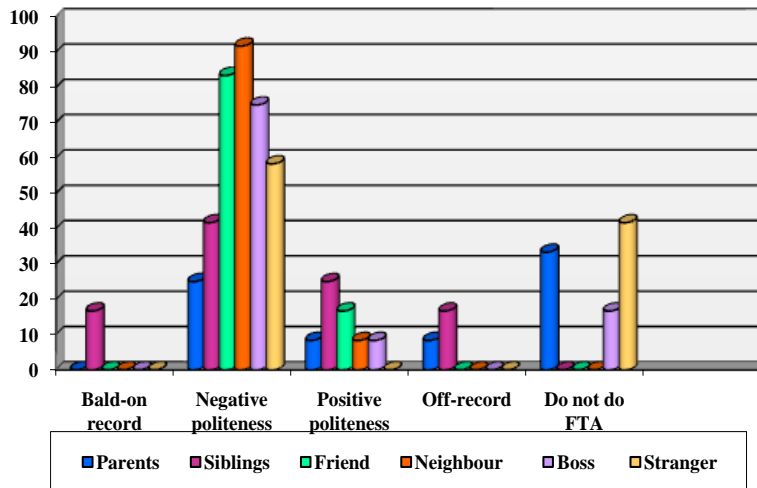
Fig 4.11: Apologizing among Men

Men adopt almost similar politeness strategies like women except for off-record. In fact, only 16.66% of male participants opt for /nəsi;t/ 'I forgot' a direct way (bald-on record) without excuse or any repair to address siblings. Such expression may be expected among brother and sisters. Result also show that this strategy is not chosen with the other interlocutors.

Men opt dominantly for negative politeness with all the interlocutors contrary to female participants who make little use of the off-record strategy with siblings 16.66% and parents 8.33% but avoided with the other interlocutors. It confirms the idea that men are more direct and prefer to face up their responsibilities instead of circumventing the problem.

Positive politeness is mainly preferred with bosses 16.66% and less, 8.33% with parents and friends, but not used at all with strangers 00%. Male speakers appear to prefer using the expression /سمحلي/ [smafifiəli] 'excuse me' to try to repair the damage caused to the hearer.

Just like women, some men keep silent (do not do FTA) with strangers 41.66%, bosses 16.66% and 33.33% with parents. They refrain asking money from their parents, their bosses and strangers because such an act is highly imposing and may result in conflictual situation.

4.2.2.5 Discussion of Women's and Men's Results

At the beginning, it was hypothesis that both genders use the same politeness strategies as a universal representation of face. The general findings show that in requests negative politeness and to a lesser degree positive politeness are the dominant strategies used by both female and male participants to redress the situation and reduce the imposition on the hearer. On the other hand, results of apologies reveal that negative politeness is the main strategy preferred by women and men as a remedial strategy to save face. In fact, women are less direct by

making suggestions to avoid imposing, while men are direct assuming their masculinity and force to express their wants.

The hypothesis formulated about the factors that impact on the choice of politeness among women and men in Tlemcen speech community confirmed. In fact, the relationship between the interlocutors, power and the degree of imposition play a crucial role in choosing the politeness formulas in both situations.

4.2.3 Recordings and Note-Taking Analysis

In addition to the interviews, recordings along with note-taking are further data collection tools. The results serve to investigate the politeness strategies pattern used in the Algerian context and more particularly Tlemcen speech community.

The aim of analysing the recordings and the note-taking is to highlight the most common politeness strategies used by both genders in naturally occurring speech. On the other hand, it also tests the research questions formulated above to validate or invalidate the suggested hypothesis. Finally, findings will lead to gain more insights in language behaviours patterns regarding gender and politeness in the speech community of Tlemcen.

Various politeness expressions in DA, MSA and French are identified in recordings and note-taking data. Once the those politeness expressions of different types are identified classified, they are analyzed and discussed following Brown and Levinson's taxonomy which distinguishes between groups of basic FTAs. Excerpts from conversation and note-taking are provided to illustrate politeness strategies found in the corpus. It is worth mentioning that sometimes in the same speech turn-taking more than one speech act occurs (for example, thanking and welcoming, etc). Besides, in a single or various strategies is/are used for the same speech act.. While Arabic utterances are transcribed, those in French appear in italics and bold. Besides, politeness expressions that convey the acts are underlined to facilitate their

identification in the selected excerpts below. In order to preserve the anonymity of the participants some names are changed.

4.2.3.1 Request among Women and Men in recordings

Table 4.14: Expressions of Requests used by Women in naturally occurring speech

N	Requests among Women	Translation
1	ʔallah jəχəllik təndjəm təfahhamna	May God keep you can you explain to us?
2	qulənna ʔallah jəχəllik	Tell us may God keep you
3	min faDlika təndjəm tqulenna ʔaj sana	Please can you tell us which year?
4	ʔallah jəχəllik TTbiba dʒat	May God keep you is the doctor here?
5	ʔallah jəχəllik ʔulli ʃkun le pédiatre lli rik təˋabbi wəldək ˋandu	May God keep you tell me whose pediatrician do you take your son to?
6	maˋlabaləkʃ jəla rah kajən əl *vaccin* ntaˋ *onze mois*	Do you know if the vaccine for eleven months [baby] is available?
7	ʔassəm ʔatlək	What did she say?
8	kajən *le vaccin*	Is there the vaccine?
9	ʔallah jχəllikum lli təDrəb libari riha hna	May God keep you, is the one who does the injections here?

Table 4.15: Expressions of Requests used by Women in naturally occurring speech

N	Requests among Men	Translation
1	hadi nta⟩kum ?	Is it yours?
2	fawaʔ ħallitu	When did you open ?
3	ʃəħal riha ʔəssa⟩a	What time is it?
4	⟩andaʃ rakum təħəllu	At what time do you open?
5	⟩andaʃ rakum təbəllə⟩u	At what time do you close?
6	ʔassəm təħitadʒ	What do need?
7	wəldi təsmaħli nəg⟩ud	My son [young man] do you allow me to sit?
8	smaħli əl ħadʒ ma lari Smaħli əl ħadʒ ma larrƐ təħəwwəd	Excuse me El hadj which bus stop you get off at?
9	mazal ʔa wəldi lari	Is the bus stop close my son [young man]?

In the examples above, most of the requests addressed by both women and men intend to ask for information. Few of them are addressed to make the interlocutor do something. However, women and men opt for different strategies as illustrated in the examples below.

Requests formulated by women in the table above show that negative politeness strategy is the most used (7 out of 9 times) while bald-on record is little used (twice).

The following example illustrates the use of politeness strategy:

Example 1:

Fatima: bəTTabə⟩ nnəsa human lli 3ajəʃiːn *le stress le plus* + ja⟩əTik əSSaħħa…

       Of course, women are those who are the most stressed [May Allah] give you health

təfaDDal kamməl əlʔuχət wə ʔəllah jəχallik təndjəm təfahhamna

Please carry on sister (dear) and 'may Allah keep you' can you please explain to us?

Amaria: *donc* kəmma ʔəlt ˋəməlna had ənnəhar baʃ nəmʃiw natəməʃʃaw fə

So, as I said, we organised this day to go to walk in

stade en groupe + hadi əlhadʒa ələwwəla.

the stadium in group + this is the first thing

Fatima: *Très bien* .. hadi ħadʒa məliħa …*surtout en plein aire*.

Very nice, this is a good thing… especially in the open air

In the above excerpt from a conversation between three women, one of them uses the expression /ʔəllah jəχəllik təndjəm təfahhaməna/ 'May Allah keep you' can you please explain to us?' a negative polite strategy for a request. In doing so, the woman avoids being direct /fəhhaməna/ 'explain to us' (bald-on record) and gives the opportunity to her interlocutor to refuse. The expression /ʔallah jəχallik/ 'May Allah keep you' is used as a softener to introduce the request procedure. It is also worth mentioning that the same excerpt contains a well-wishes politeness formula which is ja ˋəTik əSSaħħa '[May Allah] give you health'. The social distance between the interlocutors and the formality of the topic being discussed dictate the choices.

On the other hand, results also reveal that female speakers use direct requests (bald-on record) twice /kajən *le vaccin*/ 'Is there the vaccine?' or 'ʔassəm ʔatlək 'What did she say?' as illustrated in the following extract:

Example 2:

Ahlem: Saħħit ʔəlla jəħħafədək. nəmʃi nəTabTab w nəSaʔSi

Thank you. May God protect you. I go to knock at the door to ask

170

baʃ manəgˋudʃ nəssənna ˋla baTəl

not to wait for nothing

Ikram: jih χir SaʔəSiha maʃi əʃʃaʔwa baTəl

Yes. It's better to ask her for not coming for nothing

Ahlem: kajən *le vaccine*

Is there the vaccine?

Doctor: jih rah *disponible* bəSSaɦ manɦəlluʃ ɦatta nləmmu əlɣaʃi

Yes it's available but we don't open it until we gather enough people

Ikram : ʔassəm ʔatlək

What did she say?

Ahlem : jih rah *disponible* bəSSaɦ majəɦəlluʃ ɦatta jələmmu əlɣaʃi

Yes it's available but they don't open it until they gather enough people

In these two utterances, the FTA performed in a direct and clear way seems at first glance to be rude and impolite. However, the importance of the topic spoken about (the vaccination of her child) urges the speaker to be direct and concise to avoid ambiguity and the risk not to be understood.

While negative politeness is the dominant strategy opted for by women, it is scarcely chosen by men for whom the bald-on record strategy is the main used one while requesting. In fact, the bald- on record is used 6 out 9 times while negative politeness is chosen only 3 times as illustrated in the examples below:

Example 3:

A: ˋandaʃ rakum təɦəllu

At what time do you open?

B: ˋand ʔəttlata

At three.

A: ʃħal rəha ʔəssa‿‿a

   What time is it?

B: tlata ghil rba3

   Fifteen to three

A: ʔəssəmma mazal ʃəwijja + wə ‿andaʃ rikum təbəllə‿u

   So it's not yet + and at what time do you close?

B: əl wəld rah təmmak ħatta lə ssəb‿a + ʔassəm təħətadʒ

   My son is there until 7 pm + what do you need?

A: jih χaSSna ʃi Swalaħ

B: SaHHa marħba bikum

   Ok. You're welcome.

In the example above, /‿andaʃ rakum tħəllu/ 'At what time do you open?', /ʃəħal riha ʔəssa‿‿a/ 'What time is it?' or /ʔassəm təħətadʒ/ 'What do you need?' the speakers ask the question directly without any softener or mitigation. Such behaviour may be explained by the close relationship between the interlocutors who are friends. The strategy change and negative politeness is adopted when the situations involve an old and young man who met in the bus:

Example 4:

Hocine: ʔəssalamu ‿alajkum + wəldi təsmaħəli nəg‿ud

   Peace upon you. My son [young man] do you allow me to sit?

Ilyes: jih əlħadʒ təfəDDal

   Yes El Hadj, you're welcome.

Hocine: səmaħili ʔa wədi rik ‿arəf ħalət əlkbur

   Excuse me My son [young man] you know old people

Ilyes: ma‿likʃ ʔa əl ħadʒ ɣi bəʃəwijja ‿əlik

   Never mind El Hadj, take it slow

When the old man addresses the young one he uses the softener /təsmaħli/ 'do you allow me' and /wəldi/ 'my son' though the two people are strangers to one another. Similarly, the young man adopts the same strategy:

Example 5:

Ilyes: <u>smaħli əl ħadʒ ma lari SmaHli əl ħadʒ ma larré təhəwwəd</u>

 'Excuse me El hadj which bus stop you get off at?'

In this utterance, two softeners /smaħli/ 'excuse me as an apology and /Ɂəl ħadʒ/ 'El hadj', a term of address which denotes respect are used to formulate the request. It is interesting to mention that the two interlocutors took the same path to reduce the social distance existing between them. While the old man uses /wəldi/ 'my son' to address the young man, this latter chooses /Ɂəl ħadʒ/ 'El hadj'.

Examples 4 and 5 reveal that the relationship and the importance of the topic are determinant in choosing the politeness strategy. The closer is the distance between the interlocutors the more is the imposition (bald-on record) like between friends. However, when the social distance increases, the strategy changes and negative politeness is preferred. Additionally, the topic being discussed is also important in choosing the strategy. For example, when the woman wants to ask about the vaccine for her child, she uses a direct way, however, when the other woman wants more explanation, she prefers a softener to reduce the imposition and not be considered as rude. Therefore, the findings confirm the third hypothesis.

In general, negative politeness acts remain that strategy intended to avoid giving offense by showing deference used by both women and men. It also tries to minimize threat to the interlocutor's negative face by giving the listener the right to refuse by being indirect.

4.2.3.2 Apology as an Act that Threatens Speaker's Positive Face

Generally, apologies depend on the severity of the consequences of the apology appears to depend on the severity of the consequences of the wrong-doing as perceived by the speaker who admits the responsibility. Consequently, she/he selects the appropriate strategy that that shows sympathy and provides repair to the hearer. The data show that apologies formulated by both women and men concerned previous actions. The expressions employed by both women and men are illustrated in the tables below.

Table 4.16: Expressions of apologies used by women in recordings

N	Requests among Women	Translation
1	əl ˋafw ʔuχti	Pardon sister [dear]
2	smaɦili wəllah jəla nsitək	Excusue me I swear by God I forgot you
3	smaɦili wəllah ma ʔaddit	Excusue me I swear by God I couldn't
4	baˋda maχəSSəni rani smaɦət had *les derniers temps*	What a pity, I gave up lately
5	*désolé*	Sorry
6	ʔijja ləbnat *désolé* ʔana nəχəllikum ʔana nəmʃi	So girls sorry, I let you, I leave
7	wəllah *aucune idée*	I swear by God I've no idea

Table 4.17: Expressions of apologies used by men in recordings

N	Requests among Women	Translation
1	wəllah ɣi madʒjatʃ əl hadra	I swear by God, it's just because

		we didn't talk about
2	smaɦili ɣi futha	Excuse me, skip it
3	lla χaj smaɦili bəssaɦ maʃchi kaməl matʃ	No brother [dear] excuse me but I wasn't a match
4	smaɦili ə wəldi rik ˋarəf ɦalet əlkbur	Excuse me my son [dear] you know old people
5	rik ʃajəf ə wəldi manʔadiʃ ənnəfs	You know my son [young man] I can't breathe when it's crowdy
6	ʔəllah jəssmaɦənna məl waldin	May God forgive us what we did to our parents

As illustrated in the table (??) above, negative politeness (direct apologies) is the most widely used strategies by women. On the other hand, the off-record politeness (giving hints) is less used. In fact, among the seven utterances expressing apologies found in the corpus five are considered to be direct apologies negative politeness where the speakers say 'sorry' or 'excuse me'. In the two other apologizing expressions; the participants do not apologize overtly but give hints (off-record). The examples below illustrate the two strategies used by women:

Example 6:

Esma: *trés bien merci beaucoup*. fajən rik ʔa bnəjti maʃi ʔultli duʔ ndʒi

    Very fine, thank you. Where are you my little daughter [dear]? Didn't you tell me you'll

    come?

  ++ wə <u>smaɦili wəllah jəla nəsit</u> baʃ nˋajjəTlək wə *chaque semaine*

    And excuse me I swear by God I forgot to call you and every week

    nʔul ələjum nˋajjəT

    I say that today I'll call

Example 7:

Imane: <u>wəllah ya ʔəsma ɣi smaħli</u> <u>wəllah ma ʔaddit</u> m⟩a dʒat *la periode*

   By God [I beg you] Esma excuse me I swear by God I couldn't especially with the period

   nta⟩ *les controles* ⟩awəd *just* murahum *les examens donc* ɣi χəlliha wə skut

   of tests then right after the exams, so just forget about.

In those two examples, while speaking between friends, both women employ /səmaħli/ 'excuse me' to introduce apologies. The utterances with direct utterances of apology using the performative verb 'to excuse' serve as a way to repair the caused damage. The fact that both interlocutors try to apologize by acknowledging their responsibility and providing explanation for why they did not show off, indicates the strong relationship between them and their willingness to reinforce it.

Example 8:

Ahlem: ma⟩labaləkʃ jəla rah kajən əl *vaccin* nta⟩ *onze mois*

   Do you know if the vaccine for eleven months [baby] is available?

Ikram: ʔih… <u>wəllah *aucune idée*</u> …ʔana dʒit na⟩məl əlwəldi nta⟩ *trois mois*

   Yes. I swear by God I've no idea.... I came to do [the vaccine] of three months to my son

   wə ləbarəħ radʒli dʒa rfəd *rendez-vous*

   and yesterday my husband came to make an appointment

The second woman (Ikram) uses an indirect way (off-record) to apologize /wəllah *aucune idée*/ 'I swear by God I've no idea', for not being able to fulfil the request of the first woman and carries on explaining why she ignores it. She says being here for another reason. Even if the two women do not seem to know each other, the second woman feels regret and the need to offer explanation (repair) for not able to help her interlocutor.

Contrary to women, men use the direct (negative politeness) and indirect ways (off-record) equally. In fact, men 3/6 negative politeness saying 'excuse me' 3/6 off-record (giving hints). The two strategies are presented below:

Example 8:

Hocine: <u>səmaħli ja wəldi rik ⟍arəf ħalət əlkbur</u>

   Excuse me my son [young man] you know old people

Ilyes: ma⟍likʃ a əl ħadʒ ɣi bəʃʃəwijja ⟍lik

  Never mind El Hadj go easy

Example 9:

Hocine: nħəb a wəldi nəg⟍ud ⟍and əTTaʕ <u>rik ʃajəf ə wəldi manʔadiʃ ʔənnəfs</u>

    I like my son [young man] to sit near the window. You know my son [young man]

    I can't breathe when it's crowdy

Illyes: lla bbʷa ma⟍əlikʃ

  No daddy [Sir] it's okay.

Hocine: ʔəllah jaħħafdək a wəldi

   May God protect you my son [dear]

Example 10:

Ilyes: <u>səmaħəli əl ħadʒ ma larrɛ təhəwwəd</u>

  Excuse me El hadj which bus stop you get off at?

  The above excerpts of the conversation illustrates both strategies. Speakers make usage /səmaħəli/ 'excuse me' to introduce different speech acts. If in the first turn-taking (example 9), <u>/səmaħli</u> ja wəldi rik ⟍arəf ħalət əlkbur/ 'Excuse me my son [young man] you know old people', the speaker seems to recognise that he has bothered his interlocutor (the young man) by imposing on him and thus, apologized to justify his act and bring remedial. In this case, the use of /smaħəli/ 'excuse me' servers to initiate the negative politeness. On the other hand, in example 10, the young man, starts the request by apologizing /<u>səmaħli</u> ja wəldi rik ⟍arəf ħalət əlkbur/ 'Excuse me my son [young man] you know old people'. In fact, an apology may be used to express a request. The speaker may feel it is imposing or offending

asking her/his interlocutor. At the same time, in this case the expression /səmaħəli/ 'excuse me' is also selected to draw the hearer's attention.

In the example 9, the old man (Hocine) does not apologize directly but uses an implicit apology by giving hints: /nəħəb a wəldi nəg⟩ud ⟩and əTTaʔ <u>rik ʃajəf ə wəldi manʔadiʃ ʔənnəfs</u>/ 'I like my son [young man] to sit near the window. You know my son [young man] I can't breathe when it's crowdy'. The speaker uses an off-record strategy to perform the apology. The feeling of indebtedness to the favour granted by the young man made the old man apologizing but indirectly. The absence of a direct apology may be explained by the fact that the act is already performed.

4.2.3.3 Thanking as an Act that Threatens Speaker's Negative Face

The speech act of thanking is one of the most common speech acts in the daily life that has a significant social value. Jung (1994, p. 20) explains that thanking is an expression of gratitude with the "effect of enhancing rapport between the interlocutors". For Brown and Levinson (1987), people appreciate that their actions are recognised and rewarded by others. Thanking contributes to value the individuals and maintain good relationships between them. It means that the speakers feel happy of getting something from their interlocutors and therefore say thanks as the way to address someone or to express their gratitude. On the other hand, refusing to thank is considered as extremely rude and highly impolite. It may seriously affect the relationship between people. In this survey, most of thanking expressions are responses for a favour. Thanking expressions used by both women and men are listed below.

Table 4.18: Expressions of thanking used by women in recordings

N	Thanking among Women	Translation

1	ʃukran	Thanks
2	Səħħit	Thanks
3	jəslləmək	Thanks
4	mƐʁsi	Thanks
5	mƐʁsi boku	Thanks a lot
6	rəbbi jədʒazik	May God reward you
7	jərħam walədik	[May God] have mercy on your parents
8	nəʃʃukərək	I thank you
9	jə⸜əTik ʔəSSaHHa	[May God] give you health
10	ʔəllah jədʒazik	May God reward you
11	barak ʔəllahu fik	May God bless you
12	ja⸜Tək ʔəl χir	[May God] give you goodness
13	ʔəlħamdullah	Thanks God

Table 4.19: Expressions of thanking used by men in recordings

N	Thanking among Men	Translation
1	Səħħit	Thanks
2	ʃukran	Thanks
3	barak ʔəllahu fik	May God bless you

4	jərħam waldik	[May God] have mercy on your parents
5	nəʃkurkum	I thank you
6	ʔəllah jədʒazik	May God reward you

The corpus reveals that the participants convey thanking using different expressions. Though almost all formulas conveying thanking are among positive politeness, the direct form /Səħħit/ 'Thanks' is the most commonly used by both women and men. Additionally, other thanking expressions using benediction (explicit or implicit), blessings and prayers are utilised.

Results show that women use the following forms of thanking which are: the direct short form /ʃukran/ and /Səħħit/ 'Thanks' the first being more formal; thanking with intensifier /mɛʁsi boku/ 'Thanks a lot'; the implicit benediction /ja˺Tək ʔəl χir/ '[May God] give you goodness' and explicit benediction form /ʔəllah yəħħafəDək/ 'May God protect you'. The following excerpts illustrate the different politeness expressions forms.

Example 11:

Fatima: ʃukran lik ˺ammarija wə ja˺əTək ʔəSSaħħa ˺əla ʔəlħuDur dijalək wə

    Thanks to you Amaria and [may God] give you health for you presence and

    tajənik lli χəmməmt fəl ʔaχawət wə fina kaməl ʔəllah ja˺əTək ʔəSSaħħa.

    also for thinking to the sisters and to all of us, may God give you health

Example 12:

Amaria: jəsəlləmək faTima wə ʃukran lik ˺əla ləʔistiDafa ….ja˺əTək ʔəSSaħħa wə

    [May God] bless you Fatima and thanks to you for the invitation.... [May God] give you health

    nətəmənna nʃallah lə˺adad jəkun kəbir nəhar ssəbət wə ləʔaχawat

    I hope if God willing the number will be greater on Saturday and the sisters

    jaħħaDru mə˺ana bi quwwa

will be present with us in force

Fatima: ʔinʃallah ….. ʃukran mussətamiˋina lʔafaDəl ʔila lə multaka ʔinʃallah

God willing…. thanks dear audience to the next time if God willing

Esma: *bɔ̃ʒur* ləbnat kirukum *sa va*

Good morning girls how are you, are you ok?

Imane: *sa va* ʔəlħamdullah wəntina *sa va*

It's ok, thanks God and you are you ok ?

Esma: *tʁə bjɛ̃ mɛʁsi boku* fajən rik bənijjəti maʃi ʔətli duʔ nədʒi ++

Very well, thanks, where are you. Didn't tell me that you'll come ++

wə ʔana smafəli …. wəllah jəla nəsit baʃ nəˋajjətələk wə *ʃak səmɛn* nəʔul

and for me excuse me … I swear to God that I forgot to call you and each week I say

ljum nəˋajjəT

today I'll call

In the above excerpt, the first woman (Fatima) uses three forms of thanking in a single turn-taking (example 11). She initiates thanking using a direct short form /ʃukran lik/ 'Thanks to you' then immediately continues with an implicit benediction /jaˋəTək ʔəSSafiħa/ 'God give you health' and finally closes her speech with explicit benediction using /ʔəllah jaˋəTək ʔəSSafiħa/ 'May God give you health' to thank her interlocutor. It is noteworthy the way the speaker exploits the language in a strategic way. In fact, the short direct thanking /ʃukran lik/ 'Thanks to you' is used as a polite way to interrupt her interlocutor and take the floor, while the second time of thanking /jaˋəTək ʔəSSafiħa/ 'God give you health' is to express the gratitude to the same person. At the end, Fatima closes her speech turn-taking by thanking again using explicit benediction /ʔəllah jaˋəTək ʔəSSafiħa/ 'May God give you health' for what she did for the female audience and the present women.

In the second turn-taking (example 12), Amaria starts by accepting her Fatima's thanks by replying /jəsəlləmək/ '[May God] bless you' and goes on using a short and direct thanking for the invitation /ʃukran lik ⸜əla ləʔistiDafa/ 'thanks to you for the invitation' then opts for an implicit benediction /ja⸜əTək ʔəSSaħħa/ '[May God] give you health' for the radio show she presents and the same time to value her.

Data also divulge that women use French expression to thank like in /mƐʁsi/ 'thanks' in:

Example 13:

 Esma: jəsəlləmək ʔafiələm ***mƐʁsi*** ħətta nətina səlləm ⸜əlihum kaməl

    [May God] bless you Ahlem <u>thanks</u>, you too greet them all

    wə bus ⸜əlijja wəlidatək

    and kiss your kids for me

Ahlem: jəsəlləmək jəbələɣ nʃallah + ʔijja rəbbi jə⸜awənkum ləbnat

    [May God] bless you I'll do if God willing, so, may God help you girls

In the third turn-taking, Esma starts first by accepting her interlocutor's thanks /jəsəlləmək/ '[May God] bless you] in Arabic then switch to French to thank her using short and direct form ***mƐʁsi*** 'thanks'. It is common that people reply to thanking by accepting it before thanking again.

In **example 6** above, the woman uses an intensifier ***boku*** 'a lot' in /***mƐʁsi boku***/ 'Thanks a lot' in French to thank her interlocutor. The use of intensifiers is to insist and intensify the gratitude.

Similarly to women, men adopt the same language behaviour concerning thanking strategies including the short forms /ʃukran/ and /Səħħit/ 'Thanks'; the implicit benediction /jərħəm waldik/ '[May God] have mercy on your parents' and explicit benediction in /ʔəllah jədʒazik/ **'**May God reward you'. However, the

corpus also reveals that contrary to women, men do not use French expressions for thanking.

These occurrences show that thanking may serve different purposes. It may be employed to maintain and strengthen relationships and/or to enhance conversations among interlocutors. It may also be suggested that the use of thanking forms depends on the nature of the thanking objective. Jung (1994, p. 20) argues that thanking may serve different functions depending on the situation including "conversational openings, stopping, leave takings and offering positive reinforcement". Besides, the example indicates that the more the act is significant the more the thanking formula is elaborated. The data also show that women make use more French viewed as a prestigious language, than men to signal their social position in the Algerian society. In this vein, in her study on Tlemcen speech community Belhadj-Tahar (2014, p 120) found that "French is considered as the most prestigious, modern and socially valued, especially among women."

4.2.3.4 Greeting as an Act that Conveys Positive Politeness

Positive politeness acts are intended to minimise the threat to the hearer's positive face by highlighting friendliness and camaraderie. These strategies include greetings, compliments, welcoming, condolence, well-wishes, etc.

Table 4.20: Expressions of greetings used by women in recordings

N	Greeting among Women	Translation
1	ʔəssala:mu ʕalajkum wa raħmatu llahi wa baraka:tuh	peace on you and God's mercy and his blessings
2	ssalam	peace on you
3	ʔahlən wə sahlən	Welcome
4	marħəba	Welcome
	Sbaħ ʔəl χir	Good morning
5	*bɔ̃ʒur*	Good morning
	məsəl ʔəl χir	Good evening
6	*bai*	Bye

7	nətəlaʔaw fə sa‵ət ʔəl χir	Let meet at a good hour (occasion)'
8	səlləm ‵əla	Say hello to
9	ʔahələn	Hello or welcome
10	jəslləmək	May God bless you
11	təfaddəl	Welcome
12	kirakum	How are you ?
13	*sa va*	Are you ok ?
14	bouss 3liya wlidatek	Kiss the kids for me

Table 4.21: Expressions of greetings used by women in recordings

N	Greeting among Men	Translation
1	ʔəssala:mu ʕalajkum wa raħmatu llahi wa baraka:tuh	Peace on you and God's mercy and his blessings
2	ʔəssala:mu ʕalajkum wa raħmatu llah	Peace on you and God's mercy
3	ʔəssala:mu ʕalajkum	Peace on you
4	ssalam	peace on you
5	wa ‵alajkum ssalm	Peace on you too

6	Sbaħ ʔəl χir	Good morning
7	ʔahələn	Hello
8	kirak	How are you ?
9	*sa va*	Are you ok ?
10	səlləm ˹əlihum bəzzaf	Say hello very much to them

Greetings are included amongst the expressive acts (Leech 1983) and classified as illocutionary acts conveying positive politeness common verbal interaction in all cultures. El hadj Said (2018, p. 168) explains that

> greetings serve as the best example of Brown and Levinson's notion of positive politeness [since] They indicate that S took notice of the addressee's arrival or presence, and this will satisfy his positive face wants, they also tend to open the communication channel with the intention to engage in conversation."

It means that greetings are the general rituals of beginning and finishing an encounter. According to Schottman (1995, p. 489), "Greetings are the essential 'oil' of encounters of all types and a reassuring confirmation of human sociability and social order." Holmes (2001, p. 308) assumes that "Greeting formulas universally serve an affective function of establishing non-threatening contact and rapport but their precise content is clearly culture specific."

For Akindele (2007) greetings are "…extremely important strategies for the negotiation and control of social identity and social relationships between participants in a conversation". Undeniably, greetings have an important social function in maintaining relationships between people in the Arabic culture.

Besides, there are various and context or situation-specific greetings terms. Data show that there are various types of greetings illustrated below used by both women and men to express positive politeness:

- *religious greetings:* /ʔəssala:mu ʕalajkum wa raħmatu llahi wa baraka:tuh/ 'peace on you and God's mercy and his blessings' is considered as the most complete and polite greeting term in Arabic due to its socio-religious significance. There are other shorten forms /ʔəssala:mu ʕalajkum wa raħmatu llah/ 'peace on you and God's mercy', /ʔəssala:mu ʕalajkum/ 'peace on you' and /ssalam/ 'peace on you'. These greeting formulas are not time-specific used during the day or night with old or young male or female interlocutors and on any social encounters.

Example 14:

Fatima: mustami˥ina ʔəl ʔafaDil ʔəssala:mu ʕalajkum wa raħmatu

      Honarable audience, peace on you and God's mercy

    llahi wa baraka:tuh wa ʔahlan wa marħaban bikum fi lamssat

    and his blessings and hello and welcome in Hanane' Touches [show] for today

    ħanan linahar ʔəl jwəm

In this example, the radio presenter, a woman, starts first greeting then welcoming the listeners. She uses the most formal and complete formula /ʔəssala:mu ʕalajkum wa raħmatu llahi wa baraka:tuh/ 'peace on you and God's mercy and his blessings' to greet them. Addressing a large and mixed audience seems to motivate her choice. She, then, goes on welcoming them /marħaban/ 'welcome' to introduce the show and the topic.

Example 15:

Hocine: ssala:mu ʕalajkum wəldi təsmaħli nəg˥ud

     Peace on you   My son [young man] do you allow me to sit?

Ilyes: ssala:mu wa raħmatə llah jih ʔəl ħadʒ təfəDDal

    Peace on you and God's mercy, yes Al Hadj you're welcome.

In **example 15**, the young man (Ilyes) replis to the old men's greeting by a longer and better greeting. He then immediately welcomes him to show the old man respect and esteem.

- *secular greetings:* which Dzameshie (2002) calls 'Time-of-day' or time-specific greetings used when initiating a social encounter like /Sbaħ ʔəl χir/ and */bɔ̃ʒur/* 'Good morning' and məsəl ʔəl χir 'Good evening'; inquiries about health such as /kirakum/ 'How are you ?' and */sa va/* 'Are you ok ?' like in the following examples:

Example 16 :

Esma: *bɔ̃ʒur* ləbna:t <u>kirukum</u> + *sa va*

       Good morning, how are you? Are you ok?

Imane: *sa va* ʔəlħamdullah wə ntina *sa va*

       It's fine, thanks God and you are you fine?

Esma: *tʁɛ bjɛ̃ mɛʁsi boku*

       Very well. Thanks very much

In **example 16**, the first woman (Esma) make use of three greeting expressions in the same speech turn-taking twice in French */bɔ̃ʒur/* 'good morning' and */sa va/* 'Are you ok?' and once in Arabic */kirukum/* 'how are you?'. Her interlocutor (a woman) follows her choice and replies in French /sa va/ than greets her in the same language /sa va/ 'It's fine' 'are you fine?'. It is worth mentioning that the same expressions /sa va/ is used for greeting /sa va/ in the form of an inquiry (question form) 'are you fine?' and replying to greeting showing benevolence 'It's fine'.

Data also reveal that French expressions are only used by women contrary to men who greet in Arabic. In the Algerian society, French is seen especially by women as a prestigious language used to bring forward modernity and social advancement (Belhadj-Tahar, 2014).

- *Cultural greeting:* they are terms or expressions such as /marħaba/ 'welcome' Ɂahələn/ /Ɂahlən wə sahlən/ 'welcome or hello' commonly employed to greet but also sometimes used for welcoming as in the following excerpt:

Example 17:

Fatima: Sbaħ Ɂəl χir ˋammarija marħaba bik məˋana

   Good morning Amaria welcome with us

Amaria: SbaH el khir Ɂuχət faTima wəllah jaˋəTik ɁəSSaħa ˋla ləɁiSətiDafa

   Good morning sister [dear] Fatima may God give you health for hosting [us]

Fatima: marħaba bik + Ɂahlən wə saħələn

   Welcome to you + welcome

In the last speech turn-taking, Fatima responds to thanking by welcoming her guest twice. A strategy commonly used to show insistence and friendliness.

Both secular and cultural greetings expressions are considered less formal and having less effects than /Ɂəssala:mu ʕalajkum wa raħmatu llahi wa baraka:tuh/ 'peace on you and God's mercy and his blessings'.

- *the leave-taking (farewell) greetings:* they are crucial when terminating a social encounter as /***bai***/ 'bye' or /nətəlaɁaw fə sa:ˋət Ɂəl χir/ 'Let meet at a good hour (occasion)'

Example 18:

Esma: jih nʃallah *ʒə vɛ fɛʁ mɔ̃ pɔsibl* wə nəwəlli + Ɂijja ***bai***

   Yes, if God willing, I'll do my best and come back. So, Bye.

Imane: bə ssəlama

   With peace [Goodbye]

In this example, Esma makes a promise (to come again) and ends up her speech by a farewell /***bai***/ 'bye' to leave. Imane immediately, replies to her leave-taking by

a well-wishing expression /bə ssəlama/ 'with peace [Goodbye]' to show importance and care to her interlocutor.

El Hadj Said (2018, p. 175) found that "...leave-takings in Tlemcen community seem to pass through three steps:

- The guest indicates his will to leave and the host presents his kind protests.
- The host asks the guest to transmit his regards to his members of family.
- Greetings are finally exchanged."

- ***Accepting and replying to greeting:*** most of the time the greeted person replies with equal or more courteous greeting. Data show that participants used expressions like /jəsəlləmək/ 'May God bless you' /wa ʕalajkum ssalm/ 'Peace on you too' or /wə ʕalajkum ssalam wa raħəmatu llah wa baraka:tuh/ as a reply to greeting like in the following example:

Example 19

A: ssala:mu ʕalajkum wa raħmatu llah

   peace on you and God's mercy and his blessings

B: <u>wə ʕalajkum ssalam wa raħəmatu llah wa baraka:tuh</u>

   And peace on you [too] and God's mercy and his blessings

In greetings, two general rules are followed by most of the interlocutors: the first is that greetings are followed by welcoming to show respect and warmth of welcome to interlocutors; the second is that greetings are followed by inquiries about the interlocutors' health. In doing so, the speakers show consideration and friendliness. The more the relationship between the interlocutors is close the more welcoming and inquiry about health are more intimate and enhanced.

It is also common that women may inquire about each others' health and about children's and relatives' health to show thoughtfulness and strengthen social relations as in compliance with the recognized social rules of etiquette in force in the Algerian society. Data show that forms of address used by the both women and men denote closeness or deference:

- Forms of address detonating closeness are kinship relations terms like: /əlʔuχət/ /ʔuχti/ 'sister [dear]'; /χaj/ 'brother'; /bbʷa/ 'daddy [Sir]'; /wəldi/ 'my son [young man]', etc., used to display camaraderie and increase solidarity. The term /bnəjti/ literally 'my little daughter' is a diminutive of /bənti/ 'daughter' used here to mean 'dear' is used typically by women to emphasis the closeness affection towards the interlocutor who may not have any kinship relations.

- Forms of address denoting deference are terms with extension meaning (e.g. /ʔəlħadʒ/ 'piligrim or El hadj[20]' and friendly and solidarity /ləbnat/ 'girls'. These social titles are employed to exhibit courtesy and solidarity with the hearer. For example, the term /ʔəlħadʒ/ 'El Hadj' originally addressed only to people who have gone to Mecca to perform pilgrimage is also used show respect to old people. In this vein, Parkinson (1985, p. 156) explains that in Arabic "when used to real pilgrims the term (hajj [hadj]) does not mark social class, whereas when used as a mark of respect to an older person". On the other hand, /wəldi/ 'my son [young man]' or /bənti/ 'my daughter' [young lady or Miss]' are employed by old people to address younger ones to show camaraderie and decrease social distance. Findings confirm what El Hadj Said (2018, p. 172) found

> ...that the exchange of greetings in Tlemcen follows an arrangement of four organized adjacent pairs which are: greeting, inquiry about the addressee's health, inquiry about the health of the family members of the addressee, and closing expressions.

---

[20]. The term El hadj or hajj refers in Islam to a man who has accomplished the pilgrimage to the holy city of Mecca in Saudi Arabia, which every adult Muslim must make at least once in his lifetime.

4.3.2.5 Other Politeness Manifestations in Tlemcen speech

In addition to the speech acts (requests, apologies, thanking and greetings) dealt with above, the corpus contains other strategies to convey politeness in different speech acts employed by Tlemcen speakers in daily conversations. These speech acts are classified following El Hadj Said's (2018) model itself based on Brown and Levinson's (1987) typology.

- **Invitations and Welcoming:** in addition to greeting which was dealt with above invitations and welcoming are also categorised as acts conveying positive politeness. When invited the guests may find themselves in a place they are not familiar with or meet people they do not know. As a result both interlocutors try to behave politely to each other. El hadj Said (2018, p. 174) claims that in such situations, the speaker has "to protect the guest's positive face, and the guest has in turn to express his appreciation to the hospitality." Data reveal that the most common expressions used by both women and men to invite or welcome their interlocutors are /təfəDDal/ and /marħəba/ 'welcome'. The first expression is also used to invite someone to do something for example to sit, to enter, to speak, etc.
In return, the guest thanks her/his interlocutor.

- **Well-wishes:** in general well wishes are kind words used to express good health, good things or indicate support to other people. Well-wishes are among the most prolific speech acts to convey positive politeness in the Algerian society. El hadj Said (2018, p. 181) explains that "Its [positive politeness] main concern is to create and establish a harmonious and good bonds between members of a community. ....in different situations in which S tends to save H's face in order to signal closeness."

Data also reveal plenty of expressions of good will towards the others. Expressions used by women are /bəʃʃəfa ⸜əlih/ or /labas ʕəli:h/ 'a quick recovery for him' to show interest and compassion to 'ill children of their interlocutors'. The following expressions, /ja⸜əTik ʔəSSaħħa/ 'God give you health', /jəħammar wadʒəhək/ 'God reddish your face' /rəbbi jə⸜awənək wə jə ʔaddərək/ 'God help you

and make you capable' are used by women and /ʔallah jəʕawənək/ 'God help you' /barakə ʔəllahou fik/ 'God bless you' by men to value and show sympathy towards their interlocutors.

- **Promises:** in addition to requests dealt with above, promises are classified among commissive speech acts whose illocutionary force is that the speaker commits her/himself to accomplish a future action in favour of a hearer (Searle, 1969). For Austin (1962, p. 10), "promising is not merely a matter of uttering words it is an inward and spiritual act." Austin (1962,) distinguishes between two types of promises 'explicit' and 'implicit'. Explicit promises which contain performative expressions that makes explicit what kind of act is performed and implicit promises which contain no performative expressions. In the same vein, Searle (1969) distinguishes between 'direct' and 'indirect' promises. The direct promises are formulated 'I promise that..', while indirect promises are elusive 'I'll.....'.

Data disclose that both women and men use indirect more than direct promises.

- *Direct promise*:

  Example 20:
  Imane: *pʁɔmi* nʃallah duʔ had la *səmɛn* nʃallah nə‿ajjəTlək
         I promise if God willing this week if God willing I call her

  In this example, the woman opts for a direct (explicit) way /*pʁɔmi*/ 'I promise' in order to appear sincere and show obligation to keep her word.

- *Indirect promise*:
  Example 21:
    Esma: …….*dɔ̃k* nətəlaʔaw nʃallah.....
       …........So we'll meet if God wiling

Example 22:

   Esma: ....wə <u>nətəlaʔaw</u> fə saːˋət ʔəl χir nʃallah
                    ....we'll meet in good moments if God willing

.

  Example 23:

   Youcef: rana hna bəʃ nətəhallaw

                    We are here to take care [of you]

Both women in examples 21 & 22 and the man example 23 adopt the same strategy which is not explicitly make a promise to avoid the obligatory aspect of the latter but use the illocutionary force of the utterance to perform the act of promising. It is also important to note that sometimes the formula /ʔinʃallah/ 'if God willing' is added as to avoid committing a binding promise.

4.2.4 Gender and politeness phenomenon in the Algerian context

The analyses and discussions above lead to bring out some facts about gender and politeness as language behaviour that characterise the Algerian context. Below are some elements to sketch the sociolinguistic profile of the Algerian society and more particularly Tlemcen community

4.2.5 Formulaic Expressions

Data disclose that some politeness formulas contain some ritualised expressions called 'formulaic' expressions Watts (2003). Formulaic expressions are repetitive utterances used in a ritual kind. Formulaic expressions can be kinship terms as /əlʔuχət/ /ʔuχti/ 'sister [dear]'; /χaj/ 'brother'; /bbʷa/ 'daddy [Sir]'; /wəldi/ 'my son [young man]' or religious terms as /ʔəlħamdullah/ 'thanks God',

/ʔinʃaʔalah/ 'if God willing'; fillers like /sa va/ meaning both 'are you ok ?' 'It's ok' depending on the intonation, /səmafifiəli/ 'excuse me' are used to maintain the flow of the conversation show affection and establish camaraderie. The absence of those expressions can be interpreted by the participants in the conversation as being rude or distant (Yule, 2002).

4.2.6 Cultural Aspect of Politeness in the Algerian Context

The core of politeness in all cultures is to take other people into consideration by avoid 'face-threatening acts'. Therefore, to be polite to other people, individuals try to call on either their interlocutors' positive face to enhance their self-esteem or negative face by making them feel not having been imposed upon or taken advantage of. However, as pointed by many scholars (Leech, 1983; Blum-Kulka, 1987; Mills, 2003; etc) appropriate politeness strategies differ from culture to culture. Their major aim is to fulfil conversational goals by saying what is socially appropriate based on communication skills in force within the community to maintain a smooth communication and avoid communication breakdowns. Politeness is culturally-specific since cultures favour positive while others negative politeness strategies.

As expected, findings reveal that the Algerian context and typically Tlemcen speech community are is hierarchical and respectful for traditions and values. Data expose that the culture-specific politeness norms governing politeness strategies choices seems to bring out some ritualised language behaviours for both women and men. Negative politeness is being most of the time indirect, giving the opportunity to the hearer to refuse, not impose or to denote closeness like requests. Negative politeness is also present in apologies because speakers tend to 'say sorry' to redress the situation or to be less direct by giving hints to repair the damage caused to the hearer. On the other hand, positive politeness emphasizing closeness between interlocutors is used to decrease social distance and establish friendliness in thanking and greetings. In this regard, Watts (2005, p. 51) argues that "...many of

the strategies of positive and negative politeness suggested by Brown and Levinson will be explicable as socio-culturally determined politic behaviour."

As the findings attest, it is common in the Algerian culture that people multiply and diversify politeness strategies for a single speech act like in greeting, thanking, etc. For example, polite, the speakers sometimes use double thanking as in /Safiɦit + mɛʁsi/ 'thank you + thank you' to emphasis. Results also show that while greeting people especially women ask about their interlocutors' health then husband/wife's and kids' news. Such language behaviour is considered as highly valuable for the hearer. Those politeness norms and behaviours are culturally and socially learned and transmitted from one generation to another.

4.2.7 Factors Affecting Politeness in the Algerian Context

Unsurprisingly as suggested in the third hypothesis, results reveal that in the Algerian culture, politeness strategies are governed by social variables including: the social distance; the power and the degree of imposition between interlocutors (Brown & Levinson 1987). In fact, politeness strategies used by both female and male Tlemcenian speakers do not occur randomly. Those social variables help interlocutors evaluating the degree of threat to their own and other's faces and thus choosing the adequate politeness strategy to opt for:

- The greater the social distance between the interlocutors (e.g., boss, stranger, neighbour, etc), the more politeness is used to reduce the social distance;

- The greater the (perceived) relative power of hearer over speaker, the more politeness is used to show respect and deference;

- The heavier the imposition made on the hearer, the more politeness is preferred to reduce the imposition and redress the situation.

4.2.8 Conclusion

In this last chapter, results of the data collected through different research instruments are explained and discussed in the light of the theoretical background. It was concluded that both female and male speakers use the same strategies in the different speech acts dealt with. In fact, achieve requests individuals opt for bold on record, negative politeness and off-record strategies. While negative politeness is used to protect the hearer's face by giving her/him the opportunity to refuse, the off-record strategy is opted for not impose hearer's will. In adopting such choices, the speaker avoids doing FTA (Brown and Levinson, 1987). In apologies, the off-record and the negative politeness are the two strategies chosen as a remedial way to save the speaker's face and offers repair to the hearer. Sometimes the speaker does not apologize in a direct way to minimise her/his his responsibility. As regards thanking and greeting positive politeness is preferred. It is a strategy used to nurture H's face by making her/him feel appreciated and maintain smooth relationships between individuals.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

This research has addressed the stereotypical assumptions about gender and politeness and challenges the notion that women are necessarily always more polite than men. It has examined the impact of gender on politeness in everyday communication in an Algerian context. More particularly, women's and men's speech in the community of Tlemcen was taken as a case study. The first motivation that triggered this work is the lack of works on gender and politeness from the pragmatic perspective. The basic idea of the study is that both female and male speakers use language in everyday interactions to express politeness towards their interlocutors and maintain interpersonal relationships. The study focuses on politeness strategies used to achieve speech acts, including requesting, apologizing, thanking and greeting. The choice of these speech acts was motivated by the fact that they are the most common ones in the Algerian society. The aim of this

research is to better understand and identify language behaviours patterns regarding gender and politeness in the speech community of Tlemcen.

The study was guided by a set of questions as to the strategies commonly used to express politeness, to wonder whether women are more polite than men in the same context and try to discover the factors that impact the choice of politeness strategies in the speech community of Tlemcen, and on the whole to examine the extent to which gender affects politeness in the community.

In an attempt to account for such questionings, some hypotheses have been formulated; in particular, we assume that negative and positive politeness are the most dominant strategies used by both female and male speakers to achieve different purposes such as redressing the situation and reducing the imposition on the hearer as a remedial strategy to save face. We also put forward the claim that, on the basis the existing stereotypes of femininity in the literature, women are necessarily always more polite than men. As a matter of fact, we believe that in Tlemcen speech community the choice of politeness strategies is not random but constrained by social factors such as the relationship with others, social distance and the power and degree of imposition between interlocutors. One last aim of our research was to verify the assumption that women tend to be less direct by making suggestions and negotiations so as not to be dominating or imposing, while men put forward their masculinity to express their wants in a more direct manner.

We started in the first chapter of this study by considering some key concepts in reference to gender and linguistic politeness. If the first and most influential theory is the one developed by Brown and Levinson (1978 [1987]), other scholars have tried to study the phenomenon. The most leading theories, grouped in traditional and post-modern approaches of gender and linguistic were reviewed. Besides, different politeness strategies have been exposed based on Brown and Levinson's (1987) model and the relationship between gender and politeness has been highlighted. The chapter also examined the controversial idea of the universality of politeness theory and demonstrated with examples across the world that gender and politeness are culturally-specific. It showed that language attitudes

towards language behaviour and the differences in women's and men's speech are socially shaped. The second chapter exposed the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria in general and more specifically Tlemcen speech community with its peculiarities. It also discussed the outcomes of language contact such as diglossia, bi/multilingualism, code-switching and borrowing. It also underlined the impact of Arab-Islamic and Western cultures in the emergence of a multilingual and multicultural identity observed in language behaviour of individuals. The third chapter discusses the research methodology and data collection methods in politeness research including the DCT questionnaire, the interview, recordings and note-taking of naturally-occurring data. The fourth chapter presented the results and analyses of the data collected through the different research tools. It discussed the hypotheses about gender and politeness strategies in the speech community of Tlemcen.

The findings revealed interesting facts about gender and politeness in the speech community of Tlemcen. One of the major findings was that, though politeness as a universal phenomenon is present in the speech community, its practice by women and men in different speech acts like requesting, apologising, thanking and greeting is not random but highly regulated and constrained by cultural values and norms in force in the community.

The results obtained by means of the different data collection tools, including the DCT questionnaire, the interview, recordings and note-taking, are complementary and suggest that some emerging patterns concerning gender and linguistic politeness in the speech community of Tlemcen. One of the general findings is that both female and male speakers use the same strategies for the different speech acts. It means that though the speech acts dealt with may be expressed through the different strategies, as proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987), almost the same strategies are chosen by both female and male speakers to express politeness.

In requests, both genders favour negative politeness to avoid doing FTA by granting the hearer the possibility to refuse and, thus, protect her/his face. On the

other hand, Algerian speakers in general attach great importance to apologizing. To achieve such purpose, the negative politeness and at lesser degree the off-record are the two strategies privileged used by both genders for two ends. In fact, it is at the same time a remedial way to save the speaker's face and provide repair to the hearer's face. In fact, a high degree of respect and politeness are shown to parents and the boss but also the frequent use of formulaic expressions like [səmaɤli] 'Excuse me' helps is evidence that people feel highly concerned and seek to reinforce regret and offer repair to the damage caused to the hearer. As regards thanking and greeting, positive politeness is the most prevailing speech act among women and men. It is a strategy used to protect H's face by making them feel appreciated and to maintain friendliness between individuals. Additionally, it is perceived that thanking as a universal illocutionary act to express gratitude for a favour, has an important social value in the Algerian society: the use of Arabic and French ritualised expressions to show gratitude and respect; the use of religious invocation, usually introduced with God's name [ʔallah], as well as intensifiers like French **beaucoup** 'very/much' may depend on the size of the favour. The more religious invocations and intensifiers are used the more the feeling of gratitude is intense. The first research question was addressed to elicit which strategies are commonly used by female and male speakers to express politeness. The general findings show that negative and positive politeness strategies are the most dominant strategies used by both female and male speakers to achieve different purposes, including redressing the situation, reducing the imposition on the hearer, as a remedial strategy to save face. It was found also that women are less direct by making suggestions to avoid imposing, while men are direct assuming their masculinity and force to express their wants. Thus, the hypothesis is confirmed.

The second research question was one of the most challenging endeavours in this work. It addresses the widespread myth that in the same context women are more polite than men. It was then, hypothesised that, based on the stereotypes of femininity (emotional and sensitive nature) to guide their language behaviour and relying on the language and gender literature claims (Mills 2003), women are necessarily always more polite than men. Surprisingly, results show that in general

women and men use the same politeness strategies. The differences are so minor that they cannot sustain the idea in question. It was found that men also care about the hearer's face because of the religious principles and cultural values which urge Muslims to be polite and respectful towards others. Thus, the second hypothesis is invalidated.

In order to explain language behaviours among women and men and the factors which have an impact on politeness strategies choices in the speech community of Tlemcen, it was hypothesized that in Tlemcen speech community, the choice of politeness strategies is not random but constrained by social factors such as the relationship, the social distance, the power and degree of imposition between interlocutors. In fact, the relationship between the interlocutors, power and the degree of imposition play a crucial role in choosing the politeness strategy. Results reveal that addressing siblings, friends, bosses or strangers requires different choices of strategies. The more the social distance, power and degree of imposition increase between the interlocutors the more redressive strategies (positive and negative politeness' (Brown & Levinson, 1987). The third hypothesis is confirmed.

The question posed at the beginning was about the way gender affects politeness in the speech community of Tlemcen. Following such research question, it was hypothesized that though both genders adopt the same strategies, the minor differences are attributed to the fact that women tend to be less direct by making suggestions and negotiations so as not to be dominating or imposing, while men are direct put forward their masculinity and force to communicate their wants. Thus, our results confirm the fourth hypothesis.

This work showed that, though Brown and Levinson's model (1987 [1978]) has been criticised (Eelen, 2001; Mills, 2003; Watts, 2003, etc), it remains a working and significant starting point for studying linguistic politeness across cultures and societies. Another interesting conclusion drawn from the finding is that, as it was expected, women privilege some French for greeting and thanking with both genders while men opt for Arabic with the same sex and some use of French with women. In this case, language choices are motivated by the attitudes

towards French seen as a prestigious language. They also seem to reflect dominant norms of communication among Algerians, especially urban and educated people. Such language behaviour seems to confirm previous studies like those of Trudgill (1972) Holmes (1995), Eckert, P. & McConnell-Ginet, S. (2003) and Belhadj-Tahar (2014) assuming that women are more likely to use more prestigious linguistic forms to signal and secure their social status.

Being a woman belonging to the speech community of Tlemcen has facilitated the endeavour and the interpretation of the language behaviours of the studied population since, as claimed by Mills (2003), it is only participants in specific communities of practice who are competent to judge whether a linguistic behaviour is polite or not.

Finally, despite its limitations, this work shows that politeness is a fundamental aspect in maintaining relationships between interlocutors during communication. It has helped to gain some knowledge about the complexity of gender and linguistic politeness in an Algerian context. It is not just to give a simple classification of particular types of language behaviour but also to bring to light some language behaviour patterns regarding gender and politeness in the speech community of Tlemcen. Yet, many things are left to be done. It is hoped that this work will open the path to other researchers for studying the phenomenon in all its complexity. It is hoped that it will contribute to a better understanding of the phenomenon and pave the way for future investigations in the Algerian context and the whole Arabic-speaking world.

References

Abdelhay, B. (2008). *Males' and females' voice quality in Mostaganem Spoken Arabic: A Community of Practice Perspective.* (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis). University of Oran.

Abdel-Jawad, H. (2000) A linguistic and sociopragmatic and cultural study of swearing in Arabic. *Culture and Curriculum,* 13, pp. 217-240.

Abe, H. N. (1995). From Stereotype to Context: The Study of Japanese Women's Speech. *Feminist Studies*, *21*(3), 647–671.

Abu-Haidar, F. (1989). Are Iraqi women more prestige conscious than men? Sex differentiation in Baghdadi Arabic. *Language in society*, 18(4), 471-481.

Aitchison, J. (1999). *Linguistics*. London: Book point Ltd.

Akindele, D. (2007). Lumela/Lumela: A Socio-Pragmatic Analysis of Sesotho Greetings. *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 16(1): 1–17

Al-Eryani, A. A. (2007). Refusal strategies by Yemeni EFL learners. *Asian EFL Journals*, 9 (2), 19-34.

Al-Khatib, M. (2006). The pragmatics of invitation making and acceptance in Jordanian society. *Journal of Language and Linguistics*, 5, 272-294.

Al-Zubaidi, N. (2012). *Expressions of gratitude in American English and Iraqi Arabic*. (1ˢᵗ ed., p. 376). LAP LAMBERT Academic Publishing.

Anderson, J., & Poole, M. E. (1994). *Thesis and assignment writing*. Brisbane: John Wiley & Sons.

Appel, R. & Muysken, P. (2005). *Language Contact and Bilingualism*. Amsterdam University Press. Published in 1987 at Edward Arnold, London.

Aries, E. (1987). Gender and communication. In Phillip, S. & Clyde, H. (Eds.) *Sex and gender* (pp. 149-176). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publication.

Auer, P. (1998). *From code-switching via language mixing to fused lects: Toward a dynamic typology of bilingual speech*. Freiburg: Deutsches Seminar, Univ. Freiburg.

Austen, J. L. (1962), *How to Do Things with Words*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Babbie, E. (1990). *Survey research methods*. Belmont, CA: Academic Press.

Barron, A. (2003). *Acquisition in interlanguage pragmatics. Learning how to do thingswith words in a study abroad context*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Bassiouney, R. (2009). *Arabic sociolinguistics, Topics in Diglossia, Gender, Identity, and Politics,* Washington: Georgetown University Press.

Beebe, L. & Cummings, M.C. (1996) Natural speech act data versus written questionnaire data: How data collection method affects speech act performance. In S.M. Gass & J. Neu (eds.) *Speech acts across cultures: Challenges to communication in a second language* pp. 65-86. N.Y: Mouton de Gruyter.

Belhadj-Tahar, K. (2014). *Aspects of Women's Bilingual Behaviour in Tlemcen Speech Community*. (Unpublished Magistere Thesis). University Of Abou Bekr Belkaid. Tlemcen.

Benrabah, M. (2014). Competition between four "world" languages in Algeria. *Journal of World Languages*, 1:1, 38-59.

Bentahila, A. (1983). *Language Attitudes among Arabic-French Bilinguals in Morocco*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Bentahila, A. and Davies, E. (1983). The syntax of Arabic-French code switching. *Lingua* 59. 301-330.

Billmyer, Kristine & Manka Varghese. (2000). Investigating instrument-based pragmatic variability: Effects of enhancing discourse completion tests. *Applied Linguistics* 21. 517–552.

Bloomfield, L. (1933). *Language*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Blum-Kulka, S, Kampf, Z. (2007) Do children apologize to each other? Apology events in young Israeli peer discourse. *Journal of Politeness Research* 3(1) pp. 11-38.

Blum-Kulka, S. (1982) Learning how to say would you mean in a second language: A Study of the speech act performance of learners of Hebrew as a second language. *Applied Linguistics,* 3 pp. 29-59.

Blum-Kulka, S. (1987) Indirectness and politeness in requests; same or different. *Journal of Pragmatics.* 11(2) pp. 131-160.

Blum-Kulka, S. and Olshtaihn, E. (1984). "Requests and apologies: A crosscultural study of speech act realization patters (CCSARP)." *Applied Linguistics* 5: 196-213.

Blum-Kulka, S., House, J., *et al.* (1989). Cross-Cultural Pragmatics: Requests and Apologies. Vol. XXXI *Advances in Discourse Processes*. Norwood NJ: Ablex.

Bou-Franch, P., & Lorenzo-Dus, N. (2008). Natural versus elicited data in cross-cultural speech act realisation: The case of requests in Peninsular Spanish and British English. *Spanish in Context, 5,* 2, 246-277.

Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bousfield, D. (2010). *Impoliteness in interaction*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Braun, F. (1988). *Terms of address: Problems of patterns and usage in various languages and cultures*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Brizendine, L. (1994). *The Female Brain., Women's Mood & Hormone Clinic*, UCSF.

Brown, D. H. (2001). *Teaching by Principles: An Interactive Approach toLanguage Pedagogy*. (2nd Edition). Addison Wesley Longman, New York.

Brown, P and Levinson, S, C. (1987 [1978]) *Politeness: some universals in language usage. Cambridge*: Cambridge University Press.

Brown, P. (1980), How and Why Women More Polite: Some Evidence from a Mayan Community. In *Women and Language in Literature and Society*. ed., by McConnell-Ginet, Borker and Furman, New York: Praeger.

Burns, R. B. (1997). *Introduction to research methods*. South Melbourne [N.S.W.: Addison Wesley Longman.

Cameron, D and Coates, J. (1985) Some problems in the sociolinguistic explanation of sex differences. *Language and communication* 5: 143-51.

Cameron, D., Mc Alinden, F. and O'Leary, K. (1989), Lakoff in context: the social and linguistic functions of tag questions. in Cameron, D. and Coates, J. (eds.) 1989.*Women in Their Speech Communities*, 74-93. Longman.

Campbell, D. T., & Fiske, D. W. (1959). Convergent and discriminant validation by the multitrait-multimethod matrix. *Psychological Bulletin*, 56(2), 81-105.

Chomsky, N. (1980). *Rules and representations*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Coates, J. (1993) *Women, Men and Language* (2nd edition), London: Longman.

Coates, J. (1996), *Women Talk*, Oxford: Blackwell Publisher

Cohen, A. & Olshtain, E. (1983). Apology: A speech act set. In Wolfson & E. Judd (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics and Language Acquisition* (18-35). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Cohen, A. (1996). Investigating the production of speech act sets. In S. Gass & J. Neu (Eds.), *Speech Acts across Cultures: Challenges to Communication in a Second Language*, (pp. 21-43). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Cohen, L. Manion, L. & Morrison, K. (2007). *Research methods in education*. (6th Ed.). New York: Routledge

Cole, P., & Morgan, J. L. (1975). *Syntax and semantics*. New York: Academic Press.

Coulmas, F. (1981), Poison to Your Soul: Thanks and Apologies Contrastively Viewed." In *Conversational Routine: Explorations in Standardized Communication Situations and Pre-patterned Speech*, Coulmas, F (ed.), 69–91. The Hague, Netherlands: Mouton.

Cowan, W. (1968). Notes toward a definition of Modern Arabic. *In Language Learning*. Vol. 37. Issue 1, pp. 29-34.

Cresswell JW, Fetters MD, Ivankova NV. (2004). Designing a mixed methods study in primary care. *Ann Fam Med*. 2: 7-12.

Creswell JW & Tashakkori A (2007*b*). Editorial: Differing perspective on mixed methods research. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 1:303-308.

Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Research Design Qualitative and Quantitative andMixed Methods Approaches*. (2nd Ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Crystal, D. (1987). *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language*. Cambridge University Press Cambridge.

Culpeper, J. (2011). *Impoliteness: Using language to cause offence*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.

Dendane, Z. (1993). *Sosiolinguistic Variation in an Urban Context: The Speech Community of Tlemcen*. Unpublished Magister Thesis, University of Oran.

Dendane, Z. (2007). *Sociolinguistic Variation and Attitudes toward Language Behaviour in an Algerian Context: The Case of Tlemcen Arabic*. Unpublished Doctorate Thesis. University of Oran.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2008). *Handbook of critical methodologies*. London: SAGE.

Dimitrova-Galaczi, E. (2005). Issues in the definition and conceptualization of politeness. Teachers College, Columbia University Working papers in *TESOL and Applied Linguistics*, 2(1):1-20.

Drass, K. (1986). The effect of gender identity on conversation. *Social Psychology Quarterly* 49/4: 294-301.

Duff, P. (2007). *Case study research in applied linguistics*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Eckert, P and McConnell-Ginet, S. (2003). *Language and Gender*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Eckert, P. & McConnell-Ginet, S. (1992). Think Practically and Look Locally: Language and Gender as Community-Based Practice. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 21, 461-490.

Eckert, P., & McConnell-Ginet, S. (1995). Constructing meaning, constructing selves: snapshots of language, gender, and class from belten high. *Gender Articulated : Language and the Socially Constructed Self*. Hall, K and Bucholtz, M. Editors.

Edwards, L., and Guth, S. (2010). *Verbal Festivity in Arabic and other Semitic Languages*. Deutsche Morgenlandiche Gesellschaft Harrassowitz Verlage.

Einstein, M. & Bodman, J.W. (1986). 'I Very Appreciate': Expressions of gratitude by native and nonnative speakers of American English. *Applied Linguistics*. 7 pp. 167-185.

El Hadj Said, N. (2018). *A Pragmatic Investigation of Politeness Strategies in the Algerian Setting: Case of Tlemcen Speech Community*. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis. Tlemcen University.

Elarbi, N. (1997) Face and politeness in traditional and modern Tunisia: An application of Brown and Levinson's politeness theory. *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 58(07) 2460A.

Ellen, G. (2001). *A Critique of Politeness Theories*. Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing.

Ennaji, M. (1991). Aspects of Multilingualism in The Maghreb. International Journal of The Sociology of Language. 87, 7-25.

Eshtereh, M. (2014). *A cross-cultural socio-pragmatic study of invitations in Palestinian Arabic and American English*. Doctoral thesis. Universidad Complutense, Madrid.

Fasold, R. (1990). *Sociolinguistics of Language*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Félix-Brasdefer, J. C. (2008). *Politeness in Mexico and the United States: A contrastive study of the realization and perception of refusals*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Ferguson, C. A. (1959). Diglossia; in *Word,* Vol. 15. 325-40; in Giglioli ed. (1972): 232-51.

Ferguson, C. A. (1976). The Structure and Use of Politeness Formulas. *Language in Society*, *5*(2), 137–151.

Fishman, J. A. (1967). Bilingualism with and without Diglossia; Diglossia with and without Bilingualism. in *Journal of Social Issues*, 23, 29-38.

Fishman, P. (1998), *Conversational Insecurity, reprinted in D. Cameron (ed.) The Feminist Critique of Language*. 2nd ed., London: Routledge, pp. 253-8. [Article first published in 1980.]

Fraser, B and Rintell, E. (1980). An approach to conducting research on the acquisition of pragmatic competence in a second language. In R. Larsen and Freeman (Eds.) *Discourse Analysis in Second Language*. Massachusetts: Newbury house publishing.

Fraser, B. (1975). Hedged Performatives. In *Syntax and Semantics* 3: Speech Acts, eds. P. Cole and j. Morgan, 187-210. New York: Academic Press.

Fraser, B. (1980). Conversational mitigation. *Journal of Pragmatics* 4: 341- 50.

Fraser, B. (1983). The Domain of Pragmatics, In: J. Richards and R. Schmidt (Eds.), *Language and Communication*. New York: Longman, 29-59.

Fraser, B. (1990). Perspectives on politeness. *Journal of Pragmatics* 14. 219-236.

Fraser, B. and Nolen, W. (1981). The association of deference with linguistic forms, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 27, pp. 93–109.

Gal, S. (1978[2008]). Peasant men can't get wives: Sex roles and language change in a bilingual community. *Language in Society* 7:1:1-16.

Glesne, C., & Peshkin, A. (1992). *Becoming qualitative researchers: An introduction*. White Plains, N.Y: Longman.

Goffman, E. (1971). *Relations in public: Microstudies of the public order*. New York: Basic Books.

Goffman, E. (1981). *Forms of talk. Philadelphia*: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Goffman, E. (1967). *Interaction ritual: Essays in face-to-face behavior*. New Brunswick, NJ: Adeline.

Golato, A. (2003). Studying compliment responses: A comparison of DCTs and recordings of naturally occurring talk. *Applied Linguistics*, 24(1), 90-121.

Goody, E. (1972). 'Greeting', 'begging', and the presentation of respect. In J. S. La Fontaine (ed.) *Interpretation of ritual.* London: Tavistock. 39-72

Gordon, D., and Lakoff, G. (1975). Conversational postulates. *Syntax and semantics (Vol. 3): Speech acts*, ed. by Cole, P. and Morgan, F., 83-106. New York: Academic Press.

Greene, J. C. (2007). *Mixed methods in social inquiry*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Greer, G. (1971), *The Female eunuch*, London: Paladin.

Grice, H. P. (1975). Logic and conversation. In *Syntax and Semantics 3: Speech acts*, ed. Cole et al. (pp. 41–58). Brill.

Grosjean, F. (2008). *Studying Bilinguals*. Oxford University Press.

Gruyter, D. and Brouwer, D. (1989). *Introducing Sociolinguistics.* Holland: Foris Publications.

Gumperz, J. (1982). *Discourse Strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gumperz, J. J. and Hymes, D. (Eds) (1972) *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication* (New York: Holt, Reinhart & Winston; also published by Blackwell).

Haase, J. E. & Myers, S. T. (1988). Reconciling paradigm assumptions of qualitative and quantitative research. *Western Journal of Nursing Research* 10: 128–137.

Haeri, N. (2003). *Sacred Language, Ordinary People: Dilemmas of Culture and Politics in Egypt*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Hartford, B. S., & Bardovi-Harlig, K. (1992). *Experimental and Observational Data in the Study of Interlanguage Pragmatics*.

Harwell, M. R. (2011). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods*. University of Minnesota.

Heath, J. (1989). *From Code-Switching to Borrowing: A Case Study of Moroccani Arabic*. London, England: Edward Amold.

Heller, M. (1988). *Codeswitching: Anthropological and sociolinguistic perspectives*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Hennink, M. M., Hutter, I., & Bailey, A. (2011). *Qualitative research methods*. London: SAGE.

Herbert, R. K. (1990). Sex-Based Differences in Compliment Behavior, *Language in Society* 19: 201–24.

Holmes, J. (1988*b*). Paying compliments: A sex-preferential positive politeness strategy. *Journal of Pragmatics* 12: 445-65.

Holmes, J. (1984). Women's Language: A Functional Approach. *General Linguistics*, 24 (3).

Holmes, J. (1990). Hedges and boosters in women's and men's speech. *Language and Communication, 10,* 3, 185-205.

Holmes, J. (1991). Language and gender. *Language Teaching* 24:207-220.

Holmes, J. (1995). *Women, Men and Politeness*. London: Longman.

Holmes, J. (1997).Setting New Standards: Sound Changes and Gender in New Zealand English. *English World-Wide* 18 (1): 107-142.

Holmes, J. (2001). *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*, London: Longman.

Holmes, J., and Meyerhoff, M. (1999). The Community of Practice: theories and Methodologies in Language and Gender Research. *Language in Society* 28: 173–183

Hudson, R. A. (1980). *Sociolinguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge U.P.

Humm, M. (1989). *The Dictionary of Feminist Theory*, London, Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Hymes, D. (1964). Introduction: Toward Ethnographies of Communication. *American Anthropologist, 66,* 1-34.

Ide, S. (1989). Formal forms and discernment: two neglected aspects of universals of linguistic politeness. *Multilingua* 8 (2-3):223-248

James, D., & Drakich, J. (1993). Understanding gender differences in amount of talk: A critical review of research. In D. Tannen (Ed.), *Gender and conversational interaction* (pp. 281–312). Oxford University Press.

Jianda, L. (2006). Assessing EFL learners' interlanguage pragmatic knowledge: Implications for testers and teachers. *Reflections on English Language Teaching* 5(1) pp. 1-22.

Johnson, R. B., & Onwuegbuzie, A. J. (2004). Mixed methods research: A research paradigm whose time has come. *Educational Researcher*, 33(7), 14-26.

Johnston, R. B., Kasper, G.and Ross, S. (1998). Effect of rejoinders in production questionnaires. *Applied Linguistics* 19.2: 157-182.

Jucker, A.H. (2009). Speech act research between armchair, field and laboratory: The case of compliments. *Journal of Pragmatics* 41 (8): 1611–1635

Jung, W. H. (1994). Speech acts of "Thank You" and responses to it in American English. Paper presented at *The 16th AnnualMeeting of the American Association for Applied Linguistics*, Baltimore, MD.

Kaplan, A. (2016). *Women talk more than men: - and other myths about language explained*. New York, N.Y: Cambridge University Press.

Kasper, G. (1992). Pragmatic transfer. *Second Language Research*, 8 (3), 203-231.

Kasper, G. (1994), Politeness. In: Asher, R.E. (ed.)/Simpson, J.M.Y. (coordinating ed.), *The encyclopedia of language and linguistics*, vol. 6. Oxford: Pergamon: 3206-11.

Kasper, G. (2008) Data collection in pragmatics research. In Helen Spencer-Oatey (eds.) *Culturally Speaking: Culture, communication and politeness theory* (2nd edition 2008) pp. 279-303. London & New York: Continuum.

Kasper, G. and Dahl, M. (1991). Research methods in interlanguage pragmatics. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition,* 13 (2), 15 – 247)

Kemper, E.A., Stringfield, S. and Teddlie, C. (2003). Mixed Methods Sampling Strategies in Social Science Research. In: Tashakkori, A. and Teddlie, C., eds., *Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social and Behavioral Research*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, 273-296.

King, G., Keohane, R. O. & Verba, S. (1994). *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

King, G., Keohane, R. O., & Verba, S. (1994). *Designing social inquiry: Scientific inference in qualitative research*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.

Kramarae, C. (1982). Gender: How She Speaks. In Ellen Bouchard Ryan and Howard Giles (eds.) *Attitudes Toward Language Variation: Social and Applied Contexts*. London: Edward Arnold Publishers.

Kumar, R. (2011). *Research Methodology: A Step-by-Step: Guide for Beginners.* Sage Publications Ltd.

Labov, W. (1966). *The Social Stratification of English in New York City.* Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Labov, W. (1972). *Sociolinguistic Patterns.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell

Labov, W. (1990). The intersection of sex and social class in the course of linguistic change. *Language Variation and Change,* 205-254.

Lakoff, R. (1973). Language and woman's place. *Language in Society*, 2 (01), pp. 45-79.

Lakoff, R. (1974). Remarks on 'this' and 'that'. In *Proceedings of the Chicago Linguistics Society* 10, pages 345-356.

Lakoff, R. (1975), *Language and Women's Place*, New York: Harper and Row.

Lakoff, R. (1990). *Talking Power: The Politics in language in our lives.* Glasgow: Harper Collins.

Lakoff, R. (2014). Perspectives on language, grammar, and gender. In L. Sutton (Ed.), *Context counts: Papers on language, gender, and power.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation.* Cambridge England: Cambridge University Press.

Leech, G. N. (1983) *Principles of Pragmatics.* London: Longman.

Leech, G. N. (2003). Towards an anatomy of politeness in communication'. *International Journal of Pragmatics* 14, 101-123.

Leech, G. N. (2005). Is there an East-West divide in Politeness?. *Journal of Foreign Languages* 6: 1-30.

Mackey, A., & Gass, S. M. (2005). *Second language research: Methodology and design.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Macnamara, J. (1967). The bilingual's linguistic performance: *A psychological overview. Journal of Social Issues* 23.

Malik, L. (1994). *Socio-linguistics: A study of code-switching.* New Delhi, ND: Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd

Manes, J. and Wolfson, N. (1981). The compliment formula. In: Coulmas, F. (ed.), *Conversational Routine: Explorations in Standardised Communication Situations and Prepatterned Speech*, 115–132. The Hague: Mouton.

Mao, L. R. (1994). Beyond Politeness Theory: 'Face' Revisited and Renewed, *Journal of Pragmatics*, Vol. 21: 451 - 486.

Marçais, W. (1930). La diglossie arabe dans l'enseignement public.- Alger, *Revue pédagogique*, tome CIV, n° 12, p.p. 401-409.

Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. B. (1989). *Designing qualitative research.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Martin, W. E., & Bridgmon, K. D. (2012). *Quantitative and statistical research methods: From hypothesis to results*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Maxwell, J. A. (2013). *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach*. Los Angeles. SAGE.

McMillan, J. H., & Schumacher, S. (2014). *Research in education: Evidence-based inquiry*. Harlow, England: Pearson.

McMillan, J. H., & Schumacher, S. (2014). *Research in education: Evidence-based inquiry*. Harlow, England: Pearson.

Mesthrie, R. (2011). *The Cambridge Handbook of Sociolinguistics*. London: Cambridge University Press.

Meyerhoff, M. (2006). *Introducing Sociolinguistics*. New York: Routledge.

Mills, S. (2003), *Gender and Politeness*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge

Mills, S. (2009). Impoliteness in a cultural context. *Journal of Pragmatics* 41, 5: 1047-1060.

Milroy, L. (1999). Women as innovators and norm-creators: The sociolinguistics of dialect leveling in a northern English city. In Wertheim. S, Bailey. A and Corston-Oliver. M, (eds.) *Engendering Communication: Proceedings of the 5th Berkeley Women and Language Conference*. 361-376.

Milroy, L., & Muysken, P. (1995). *One speaker, two languages: Cross-disciplinary perspectives on code-switching*. Cambridge [England: Cambridge University Press.

Mohanty, A. (1994). *Bilingualism in a Multicultural Society: Psychosocial and Pedagogical Implications*, Mysore: Central Institute of Indian Languages

Morgan, R. (1977). *Going too Far: The Personal Chronicle of a Feminist*. New York: Random House.

Myers, M. D. (2009). *Qualitative research in business & management.* Sage Publications Ltd.

Myers-Scotton, C. (1993*a*). *Social Motivations for Code Switching: Evidence from Africa*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Myers-Scotton, C. (2002). *Contact Linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Myers-Scotton, C. (2006) *Multiple Voices: An Introduction to Bilingualism*. Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Nelson, G., Carson, J., Al-Batal, M. & El-Bakary, W. (2002). Cross-cultural pragmatics: Strategy use in Egyptian Arabic and American English refusals. *Applied Linguistics* 23 (2) pp. 163-189.

Nurani, L. (2009). Methodological issue in pragmatic research: Is discourse completion test a reliable data collection instrument?*" Jurnal Sosioteknologi Edisi 17 Tahun* 8: 667-678.

Nydell, M. (2006). *Understanding Arabs: A Guide for Modern Times*. Boston: International Press, Inc.

Ogiermann, E. (2009*a*). *On apologising in negative and positive politeness cultures*. John Benjamins Publishing Company. Amsterdam, Philadelphia.

Onwuegbuzie, A. J., & Leech, N. L. (2006). Linking Research Questions to Mixed Methods Data Analysis Procedures 1. *The Qualitative Report*, *11*(3), 474-498.

Parkinson, D. B. (1985). *Constructing the Social Context of Communication: Terms of Address in Egyptian Arabic*. Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter.

Pishghadam, R. (2014). An investigation into data collection methods in language studies: A movement towards localizing research in Iran. *Language Related Research*, 5(2), 55-70.

Poplack, S. (1980). Sometimes I'll start a sentence in English y terminó in espagñol: towards a typology of code-switching, in *Linguistics* 18.

Poplack, S. (1981). Syntactic structure and social function of codeswitching, in Duran, R.P. (ed.). *Latino language and communication behaviour*, Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex.

Reiter, R. M. (2000). *Politeness in Britain and Uruguay: A Contrastive Study of Requests and Apologies.* John Benjamins B.V.

Romaine, S. (1989). *Bilingualism.* Blackwell Publishers: Cambridge.

Romaine, S. (1994). *Language in Society. An Introduction to Sociolinguistics* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rose, K. (1992). Speech acts and questionnaires: The effect of hearer response. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 17(1) pp. 49-62.

Rosenblum, K. E. (1986). Revelatory or purposive?: Making sense of a 'female register'. *Semiotica,* 157-170.

Sadiqi, F. (1986). *Studies in Berber Syntax*. Würzburg: Königshausen and Neumann.

Sadiqi, F. (2003). *Women, gender, and language in Morocco*. Brill Academic Publishers, Boston.

Sadiqi, F. (2007). Language and Gender in Arabic. In *Encyclopaedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*. Brill: Leiden, vol. 2.

Sale, J. E. M., Lohfeld, L. H., & Brazil, K. (2002). Revisiting the quantitative-qualitative debate: Implications for mixed methods research. *Quality & Quantity*, 6, 43-53.

Samarah, A. Y. (2015). Politeness in Arabic Culture. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies, 5,* 10.

Sapsford, R., & Jupp, V. (2006). *Data collection and analysis*. London: SAGE Publications in association with the Open University.

Sayad, A. (1984). *Les étudiants algériens de l'université française*. Editions El Hikma.

Schauer, G. A., & Adolphs, S. (2006). Expressions of gratitude in corpus and DCT data: Vocabulary, formulaic sequences, and pedagogy. *System, 34,* 1, 119-134.

Schwardt, T.A. (2007). *The SAGE Dictionary of Qualitative Inquiry* (3rd ed.). University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.

Scollon, R., and Scollon, S. W. (1995). *Intercultural Communication: A Discourse Approach*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Searle, J. R. (1969). *Speech acts: An essay in the philosophy of language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Searle, J.R. (1979). A taxonomy of illocutionary acts. In J.R. Seattle (eds.) *Expression and Meaning* pp. 1-29, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sifianou, M. (1992). *Politeness phenomena in England and Greece: A cross-cultural perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Simon, M. (2011). Validity and Reliability in Qualitative Research. *Curationis*, 16, 35-38.

Smith, N. (2008). *I Was Wrong: The Meanings of Apologies.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Spencer-Oatey, H. (2008). *Culturally speaking: Culture, communication and politeness theory*. London: Continuum.

Spencer-Oatey, H. (2008). *Culturally speaking: Culture, communication and politeness theory*. London: Continuum.

Spender, D. (1980). *Man-Made Language*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Spolsky, B. (1998). *Sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sunderland, J. (2006). *Language and Gender: an advanced resource book*. London and New York: Routledge.

Taarji, H. (1991). *Les voilées de l'Islam*. Casablanca: Eddif.

Talbot, M. (1998). *Language and gender: An introduction*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Taleb Ibrahimi, K. (1997). *Les Algériens et leur(s) langue(s): Eléments pour une approche sociolinguistique de la société Algérienne*. Les Editions El Hikma, Alger.

Tannen, D. (1984). *Conversational style: Analyzing talk among friends*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Tannen, D. (1990). *You Just Don't Understand*: *Women and Men in Conversation*. New York: Morrow.

Tannen, D. (1993). *Gender and conversational interaction*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Taylor, B., Sinha, G., & Ghoshal, T. (2009). *Research methodology: A guide for researcher in management and social sciences*. New Delhi: PHI Learning Private Limited.

Teddlie, C., & Tashakkori, A. (2009). *Foundations of mixed methods research: Integrating quantitative and qualitative approaches in the social and behavioural sciences*. Los Angeles: SAGE.

Thomas, J. (1995) *Meaning in interaction: an introduction to pragmatics*. London: Longman.

Thomas, L. Wareing, S. (2004). *Language, Society and Power: an introduction*, 2nd ed. Routledge. London.

Trabelsi, C. (1991). *De quelques aspects du langage des femmes de Tunis*. Walter de Gruyter.

Trudgill, P. (1972). Sex, Covert Prestige and Linguistic Change in Upper British English of Norwich, *Language and Society*, Vol. 1, pp.179–195.

Trudgill, P. (1974). *Sociolinguistics*: *An introduction to language and society*. London: Penguin Books.

Trudgill, P. (1983). *On Dialect*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Varghese, M., & Billmyer, K. (1996). Investigating the Structure of Discourse Completion Tests. *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics*, 12(1), 39-58.

Walters, J. (ed). (1981) The sociolinguistics of deference and politeness. Special Issue of the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 27, The Hague.

Wardhaugh, R.. (2010). *An introduction to sociolinguistics*. London: Wiley-Blackwell.

Wareing, S. (2004). Language and gender. in Thomas, et al. *Language, Society and Power: an introduction*, 2nd ed. Routledge. London.

Watts, R J. (2003). *Politeness: Key Topics in Sociolinguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Watts, R. (1989*c*). Relevance and relational work: linguistic politeness as politic behavior, *Multilingua* 8 (2/3): 131-67.

Watts, R. J. (2005) [1992]. Linguistic politeness and politic verbal behaviour: Reconsidering claims for universality. In Watts, R. J., Ide, S., & Ehlich, K. (Eds) *Politeness in language: Studies in its history, theory and practice*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 43-69.

Watts, R. J., Ide, S., & Ehlich, K. (2005*a*), *Politeness in Language: Studies in its History, Theory and Practice,* (2. ed.), Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter & Co. Wierzbicka, A.

Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning, and identity*. Cambridge, U.K: Cambridge University Press.

Wierzbicka, A. (1985). Different cultures, different languages, different speech acts: Polish vs. English. *Journal of Pragmatics.* 9 (2-3) pp. 145-178.

Wilson, N., McClean, S. I. (1994). *Questionnaire design: A practical introduction*. Newtownabbey, Northern Ireland: University of Ulster.

Wolfson, N. & Manes, J. (1981). The compliment formula. In F. Coulmas (ed.) *Conversational routine: Explorations in Standardized Communication Situations and Prepatterned Speech*. Mouton: The Hague. 115-132.

Wolfson, N. (1983). An Empirically based analysis of complimenting in American English. In N. Wolfson and E. Judd (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics and Language Acquisition* (pp. 82-95). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Yamashita, S.O. (1996). *Six measures of JSL Pragmatics. (Technical Report #14).* Honolulu, HI: Second Language Teaching and Curriculum Center, University of Hawaii at Manoa.

Yule, G. (1985). *The Study of Language*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Yule, G. (2002). *Pragmatics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Zimmerman, D. H. & West, C. (1975), Sex roles, Interruptions and Silences in Conversation. *Language and Sex: Difference and Dominance*, ed., by Thorne and Henley, 105-29. Rowley, Mass: Newbury House.

APPENDICES

Questionnaire

This questionnaire is part of a research on politeness strategies among women and men in the speech community of Tlemcen. Please, read carefully the situations below and tick the answer you opt for with the different suggested people. Choose only one answer for each addressee. Thanks.

Gender: **Male** ☐ **Female** ☐ **Age:** ☐

A. Requesting

Situation: You feel cold (at home, work or in the bus) and you want the person to close the window. What would you say to:

N	Expressions	Parents	Siblings	Friend	Neighbour	Boss	Stranger
1	بلّع الطّاء						

2	tu peux fermer la الله يخليك fenêtre?						
3	الله يخليك تنجم تبلّع الطّاء؟						
4	علاش ديك الطّاء ريها محلولة ؟						
5	فيك ربي بلّع الطّاء.						
6	Est-ce-que tu peux fermer la fenêtre ?						

B. Apologizing

Situation: You borrowed a sum of money from the following people and you promised to return it in a week. You meet the person and realize that you forgot to bring the money. The person wants the money back. What would you say to:

N	Expressions	Parents	Siblings	Friend	Neighbour	Boss	Stranger
1	نسيت						
2	سمحلي نسيت						
3	والله يلا كامل تسيت						
4	معليكش؟ نسيت كامل						
5	بوه... ما جبتش الدّراهم						
6	حاي ما بأولش الدّراهم						
7	J'ai complètement oublié						

C. Thanking

Situation: You forgot your mobile and it is urgent for you to make a phone call. One of the following people lent you her/his phone. What would you say?

N	Expressions	Parents	Siblings	Friend	Neighbour	Boss	Stranger
1	برك الله فيك						
2	شكرا						
3	يعطيك الصحّة						
4	يرحم والدك						

5	الله يَحَفضك					
6	روح الله ينورك					
7	يحمر وجهك					
8	**Merci beaucoup**					
9	**C'est gentil**					

D. Greeting

Situation: **How would these people greet each other?**

Expressions	Women to Women	Women to Men	Men to Men	Men to Women
صباح الخير/ صباح النور				
Bonjour				
أهلا				
Salut				
شكرا				
صحّية				
الله يعطيك الصحّة / الصّحيحة				
Merci				

Interview

This interview is part of a research on 'Politeness strategies among women and men in the speech community of Tlemcen'. Please listen to the situation carefully before you respond. In every situation, you are asked to imagine a response you give to different people. Try to speak as naturally as possible. All the information provided will remain confidential. Thanks for your help.

Gender: | **Woman** | | **Man** | **Age:** | |

Situation 1: Requesting

1. **You need to borrow 1000 dinars. What would you say to**

Brother:

Sister:

Friend:

Neighbour:

Boss:

Stranger:

<u>**Situation 2: Apologizing**</u>

1. **You promised to return in a week a sum of money you borrowed from someone. You have met that person and realize that you forgot to bring the money. What would you say to:**

   Brother:

   Sister:

   Friend:

   Neighbour:

   Boss:

   Stranger:

Recordings and Note-taking

Recording n° 1

The first recording is a radio show between two women.

The participants
Fatima: 48 years.

Amaria: 40 years.

Time: 30 Minutes.

The conversation was about a specccial day for women.
Fatima: *SbaH el khir Amaria. Marhbabik m3ana.*

Amaria: *SbaH el khir oukht Fatima w ALLAH ya3tek sahha 3la isstiDafa.*

Fatima: MerHba bik + Ahlen wa sahlen…lyoum jit bach tahder lel akhawat 3la la journneé ta3 nhar essebt welli hiya khessissane liHoum ….. Tfeddal Amaria … 3labali kamel sayidat w l akhawat rahoum Habin ya3arfou assem fiha had *la journeé …surtout* f had *la periode* madabina Ha *l'occasion pour deffouler*.yak ?

Amaria: *Biensure*….donc lyoum jit bach bach n oulkoum 3la had *la journée* eli rana 3amlinha *le samedi* nchallah *à neuf heures* rahna machien na3amlouha l kamel nssa li rahoum y3ichou *par example* doghoutat nafssia *surtout* Fatima khti had *la periode difficile* ta3 covid rana 3aychine f *le stress* w zid taynik nssa mssaken m 3a dar w terbia + koulchi yzid 3lihoum..

Fatima: Bitab3 nssa houman li 3aychin stress le plus …. ya3tek saha…tfedel kammel l oukht. Allah ykhellik tandjem tafahhamna

Amaria: *Donc* kima oult 3melna had nhar bach nemchiw netmechaw f stade en groupe hadi lhaja lawla..

Fatima: *Très bien* ..hadi Haja mliha …surtout en plein aire.

Amaria: Yih..3awed taynik na3amlou des éxercises enssemble w 3awed ki nkamlou nego3dou w nahadrou w nahkiw (laugh).

Fatima: Donc kamel li yhob yji ya ?ad yji ?.

Amaria: Yih marhba bihoum kamel da3wa 3amma lel jami3 w c'est gratuit ma3likoum ri jiw w tcharkou m3ana w tnaHiw 3la khaterkoum …hadi 3melnaha khississan lel akhawat li rahoum y3aniw m Dart naffssi w massabouch m3amen yahkiw w ydeffouliw w meme li ri riha Haba triyaH chwiya mel 3ya ta3dar w drari……merHba bikoum kamel. W meme li riha Haba tneHi 3la khaterHa machi chert tkoun mrida (laught). ….W kayen li meme tHoub hadak jaw li en groupe m3a nssa w yatlakaw mabinathoum w yet3arfou 3la ba3deyathoum…..

Fatima: meme y3amlou desconnaissance w yetbedlou afkar matalen….. ana personelement nHoub na3mel des connaissance w netbadel afkar m3a ?akharin…..Hadja mliHa.

Amaria: C'est vrai hadi tweri lhadi w net3almou men ba3dana…..

Fatima: Choukran AMARIA w ALLAH ya3tek saha li khemet fihoum… 3awed fakarhoum faywak w 3andach …

Amaria: Yih nhar sebt a 9h nchallah netlakaw kodam stade w namchiw enssemble

Fatima: Donc nhar sebt n3awed ndakkar kamel nssa w l akhawat li rahoum Habin Ybedlou la routine wala rahoum yHossou b l3ya ta 3 had l merd w machakil w doroutat … riha oukht Amaria 3amlet had nhar likoum ntouma .ajiw kamel haja mliha likoum **une bouffeé d'oxygéne** ba3da Haja mliha .

Amaria: Rabi ydjazik Inchaalah.

Fatima: W tbedlou lmoural taynik (laugh) kima ykouli Ha chikh ykoulek lmoural maraHch mlih (laugh) …..ki nchoufou li kal mena nreyhou ….

Amaria: Bessah Ya3tek saha **c'est vrai**.

Fatima: EST-ce que kayen ri had la journée ta3 samedi wela kayen dautres journée ?

Amaria: lla raHna 3amline a chaque fois n3amlou un programme. Inchallah la prochaine fois na3amlouha f salle de sport. Cest pas encore confirmé m3a quelle salle de sport n3amlha mais Inchallah ki yji waktha nkouloulkoum Inchallah.

Fatima: Est-ce que jawkoum 3oroud men 3and sHabine les salles de sport ? walla kayen jam3iyat riha t3awenkoum ? Tfedel Amaria

Amaria: Choukran FATIMA 3la had sou ?al…..ana bidawri Habit nkadem nidaa ? lil jam3iyat wala meme sHabin les salles de sport wala les piscines et aussi dar takafa bach y3awnouna w yawakfou m3ana bach n3awnou had nssa mssaken….je parle surtout 3la li ma 3andhoumch les moyens w mssaken Habin de temps en temps ybadlou chwiya Hata houmane w ynaHiw 3la khaterhoum…….donc SVP 3awnouna beli tkadou 3lih …..Wel Hahamdoulah raHna tlakina bezaf da 3awat men 3and bezaf surtout sHabine les salles de sport pour faire des evenements kima le 8 mars par exampe ….. Allah ya3tehoum saha w mazal lkhir f bladna.

Fatima: Ya3tehoum saha wana bidawri nachkorhoum 3la had iltifata tayiba lel nissa ? w li houman khwatatna w oumahatna w bnatna……

Amaria: C'est vrai ……bla ma nenssa FATIMA teynik pour le 8 mars nchallah douk n3amlou taynik une journée special nchallah w da3wa tkoun 3amma lel jami3.

Fatima: Inchallah ya rebi . Rah nchallah nesstadifek mara majiya nchallah w netkalmou akter 3la les details ta3 Hafl inchaalah.

Amaria: Incallah.

Fatima: Choukran lik AMARIA w ya3tek saha 3la lHodour dialek w taynik li khememt fel akhawet w fina kamel Allah ya3tek saha.

Amaria: Ysselmek FATIMA w choukren lik 3la isstidafa ….ya3tek saha w netmena nchallah l3adad ykoun kbir nhar sebt w l akhawet yaHadrou m3ana bi kouwa.

Fatima: Inchallah …..choukran mousstama3ina l afadel ila el moultaka Inchaallah.

Recording n° 2

The second recording is a radio show.

2 women and 2 men aged between 30 and 50 years old.

Time: 30 minutes.

Fatima: Moustami3ina al afadil Assalamou 3alaykoum wa rahmatou Allah wa barakatouh wa ahlen wa marHbabikoum fi lamssat hanane linahar elyawm lyawm nasstadif essayid Amine ra iss fi madrasset el mou3akine sam3iyane ...ahlen bik sayidi wa marHaben bik sayid Abderrazak mokhtassane nafssiyane 3ala mousstawa el madrassa.Ya merHaba sayidi.

Amine: Choukran l oukht.

Abderrazak: Shoukran lik 3la da3wa.

Fatima: Allah ya3tekoum saha.wa taHdour ma3ana aydane sayida Rahma 3andha ibn 3andou Hala khassa w rayha tahkina 3la tejroba ta3ha m3a ibn ta3ha. Ya3tek saha li lebit da3wetna sayida Rahma sa3ida jiddan bi Hodourek m3ana ya marHaba.

Rahma: El 3afw okhti…nechokrek 3la da3wa.

Fatima: kouna tkelemna m3a l akh Amine fi Hissa li fatet 3ala kawka3a wa lmou3ak sam 3iyane wa Harakiyane w tkelemna 3ani madrassa wama tokadimoha min khidma wali mayafahmouch ma dawr hadihi el madrassa wali mayjibouch wladhoum wa tkalemna 3ani elklassikiya li bkina fiha w matawernache.

Amine: Chokran lik Fatima… assou al rah matrouH 3la el mousstawa el watani hna f ljazayer w hderna taynik 3la l waldine li Hassbinha markez yjiw yHotou wladhoum w mayjiwch y3abiwhoum ……sema dewr ta3 madrassa bach weldek wala bentek yedekhlou w yet 3almou…..

Fatima: Machi bach ygardiwholek.

Amine: hadi hiya …..donc machi yakra kima yakraw khoutou lokhrine wa inama yakraw 3la hssabhoum w yakhod Horfa ….w chorl charil wa howa kifach nwasslou had drari yamchiw lel jami3a.Ennasse machi riha Hata frassha hadi ... ri kach mayat3almou Haja khfifa w yemchiw.

Fatima: Qoulena Allah ykhalik ousstad Abderrazak…hal tkharjou matalan mina madrassa ta3koum………….. hel tkharjou nass mou3akine sam3iyane matalan w wasslou leljami3a ?

Abderrazak: Chokran…bissmi Allah Arrahmane Arrahim. Nechekroukoum 3la isstidafa oukht ... Binissba li takharouj etalamid mina el jami3a kayen bessah fi a klila laHkou.

Fatima: ChHal 3andkoum iHssa iyat matalane ?

Abderrazak: la …..robama Halatayn fakat .

Fatima: Min fadlek tenjem tkoulena ay sana ?

Abderrazak: Sana lmadiya kanet wahda wasslet .

Fatima: Haja mliha el Hamdoulilah.

Abderrazak: Ih wa lakine el ichkal mourafaka…..netkalmou 3la el mourafaka li anou 3la moustawa el madrassa metwafra w Hamdoulilah…wa lakine etilmid lamma yechra3 lijtiyaz chahadet eta3lim el moutawassit houna ykoun el barnamej tkil 3lihoum.

Fatima: Nefsse el barnamej kima atfal 3adiyine ?

Abderrazak: Na3am….kima ljil tani.kim par example madat fizyaa w logha Haya donc c'est la meme chose et c'est difficile pour eux.. kolna fi ijtiyaz imtiHane chahadet ta3lim el motawassit etilmid yawad3ouh fi nafss el chorout m3a 3adiyine.

Fatima: wa hada khalal + etfeddal

Abderrazak: Bi tab3 hna ykoun khalal makanch mourafaka lel tefl .Hna biHokm el 3amal ta3na wa el mo assassa w 3alakat el mousstamira na3arfou nikat el do3f mina el janibe nafssi .

Fatima: Chokran lik .w l an rani haba na3ref hal fih moutafawikine matalan wa tafawout fi tafawok m3a l3adiyine. Na3am tafadal sayid Amine

Amine: Tab3an hadou nssamouhoum el kodourat el khassa .Tab3an w kayen kodourat kharika aHyanen sawaane fi dirassa aw fi janib el mihani aw el riyadi.

Fatima: Donc el Hamdoulilah rahoum atfal 3adiyine….Kima sbak w koulna lyoum riha m3ana sayida Rahma li 3andha wlidha mo3ak sam3iyane bessah yo3tabar wahad men Had atfal li 3andhoum kodorat khassa .manzidch nahki ?akter nkhali sayida Rahma tetfedel w taHkilkoum . marHba bik sayida RAhma maratene oukhra tafadali .

Rahma: Yzid fedlek Fatima…… ana oum Adam…… ki zad weldi w bda yekber ktechefna beli Adam 3andou *probleme* fi sam3 w fel hadra ….

Fatima: *A quel age* ktechefti beli wlidek marahch yessma3 ?

Rahma: *A l'age de 1an et demi* hakdek .

Fatima: Ih zidi tfadli .

Rahma: *Donc* ……men dak waat wana nejri bih hata lhaa *l'age de six ans* dekheltou l madrassa khassa lel atfal mou3akine sam 3iyane w temak ktachfou beli weldi 3andou……kima n oulou *il est intelligent ……même* ana meli kan sghir nchoufou beli 3andou mawahib raghma i3aka diyalou..

222

Fatima: Donc kounti t3abih lel madrassa khassa w kounti dayman mrafka wlidek massmaHtich fih

Rahma: *Oui* ana w *meme le papa* ta3ou daymen mrafkinou w *jamais* massmaHna fih. .bessif ana *malgré* a Fatima khti machi sahla 3anit m3ah bessah el Hamdoulah derwaa ki nchouf weldi wssal w ferHane n oul Hamdoulah kima n oulou echaa khrej le dow. .el Hamdoulilah.

Fatima: El Hamdoulilah w Allah ya3tek essaha w zid hadi amana w ni3ma rebi 3tahalna lazem nHafdou 3liha…ih tfedli

Rahma: W *biensure* el fadl yarja3 lel assatida kamel w mokhtassine nafssaneyine w l'hortophoniste. Allah ya 3tehoum essaHa w yaja3lou fi mizane Hassanathoum.

Fatima: wlidek min bayn atfal li had l3am Thasslou 3la chahadet ta3lim motawassit b imtiyaz.

Rahma: Yih Adam tHassal 3la mo3adel 18 .

Fatima: Machaalah…. Na3am tfedl sayidi

Amine: Adam wahed min atfal li yetmeyez b dakaa   meli kan sghir w yetmeyez kadalik bel Hayawiya nachit w yhob yet3alem w zid 3la lakraya 3andou 3idat mawaheb kima *le dessin* w yhob ya3mel *les plan par example* yekhdem *des maisons en carton, des voitures……….donc il est douer* machaalah 3lih.

Fatima: *Donc* na3tabrouhoum houman atfal 3adiyin khasshoum ri mourafaka w da3m w moutaba3a w morafaka ta3 waldine mayassamHouche fi wladhoum.

Choukran lik sayida Rahma 3la Houdour ta 3ek m3ana w lyoum kounti mital lil maraa moukafiHa w wakfa m3a wlidha raghma i3aka dialou. Allah ya3tek saha w nchallah lmera jaya tzourina w tkoulina wlidek jab *bac avec mention*.. nchallah tchoufih fi a3la el maratib nchallah.. Kalima akhira Rahma.

Rahma: Nchallah ya rebi Fatima nchallah yferehna kamel b wlidatna w l farha ta3i ki nchouf weldi fel jami3a ncallah w ykoun najaH. choukrane 3la istidafa Fatima Allah ya3te saha.

Fatima: Ana bidawri nachkour sada Hodour nechkour koul men sayid Amine w sayid Abderazzak li cherfouna b Hodourhoum w nedrebelkoum waw3id l arbi3aa moukbil inchaallah fi nafss tawkit 3la sa3a 10h sabaHane 3la amwaj ida3et Tilimssane ila el moultaka.

Recording n° 3

Participants:

Women: 3 about 20 years old.

Time: 20 minutes.

Esma: *Bonjour* labnat kirokoum *ça va* ?

Imene:*Ça va* elhamdoulah wantina *ça va* ?

Esma: *Tres bien merci beaucoup*. fayen rik a bneyti machi oultli dou nji ++ smaHli wallah yla senitek w *chaque semaine* n oul sayi lyoum douk Imene tji sa3a walou la bina la dahra.

Imene: Wallah ya Esma ri smaHli wallah ma addit m 3a jat *la periode* ta3 *les controles* 3awed *just* mourahoum *les examens donc* ri khelliha w skout (laught)

Manel: kanet Hassla meskina (laught)

Esma: Yih yahssen 3awnek ma3lich 3liha makountch tban *meme* fel facebook marikch tedkhoul manich kamel nssibek *connectée*.

Imene: Yih kount m3a *les revisions* rik chayfa ri nedkhoul nbedi mena mena sayi nssib rassi mdey3a *des heures et des heures*.

Esma: Yih bessah ….w yadra *ça va* khdemt chwiya ?

Imene: Iywa *ça va* ..n oulou *ça va* w dou nchoufou *les notes* …. BessaH chahtouna *surtout* f *contabilité* wa3er bezaf w *sujet* twil.

Esma: Cheti iywa fedHou *surtout* Had l3am ma3andkoum ma aritou.

Imene: Rik tchouf hadik la raya zina w yzidoulna (laught)

Esma: Wantina Manel yadra rik temchi l sport ? ana hadi chHal mamchitch.

Manel: Yih rani nemchi …ih 3lia macheftekch ana oult balak bedelt *les horaires* wala rik glebtha *aquagym*.

Esma: Ba3da makhessni rani smaHt had *les derniers temps* rani dekhletha ri makla w r aad (laught)

Manel: Nesta3ref bik a saHabti rik jaybetha (laught)

Imane: Ya3tek lkhir a lala (laught)

Esma: Yarrħam weldik khelatek Karima b les recettes nta3ha .

Imane: yih chet assem riha jib ta3 *les recettes* …bessah *elle fait des merveilles* .

Esma: Yih ya3teha saha.

Manel: Yih chatra machaalah w riha ta3mel hata *les formations*.

Imene: Yak oul sayi lanssat f khedma.

Manel: Yih debbret *un local* w riha ta3mel.

Imane: Marikch 3arfa *le prix* ta3 *la formation* ?

Manel: *Désolé* wallah j'ai *aucune idée* ana ri cheftha Hata f *les stories* ta3ha.

Imane: Ih saHa. Iywa yla cheftha saassiha w ouli Allah ykhalik.

Manel: saHa sans probleme.

Esma: Assem rik Haba tedkhoul ta3mel *formation* ?

Imane: Yih madabiya *surtout* rani kamelt araya khassni Haja neltha fiha w zid *j'adore* had *les formations surtout* Nadira t3alem men albha .

Esma: Yih bessah ya3teha saha.

Manel: Yih wallah matendemch w *surtout* had lmera riha machiya ta3mel ta3 *layer cake*.

Imane: wallah *je vais la contactée* (promis) ki nedkhoul ledar….w faywa? *la formation* ?

Manel: Atek *le debut* ta3 *Mars* le *quattre* w fiha *3 jours d'apres* li cheft f les stories.

Imane: Iya raya Hata ana *ça m'arrange*.

Esma: Iya lebnat ana nkhelikoum nemchi… *donc* netlaaw nchalah machi ta3meli kima khetra li fatet tkhelini nessenna iywa sayi rik kemelt araya?

Imane: *Promis* nchallah dou had *la semaine* nchallah n3ayetlek w netfahmou faywaa ? wn3aytou Hata lelbnat Ikram w douaa w Aya dou nchouf m3ahoum w n oulek sayi ?

Esma: *C'est bon d'accord* nchallah iya salem 3la *tata* w bnat kamel.

Imane: Allah ysselmek *ma cherie* Hata ntina salem 3la tata w 3la Ghizlane.

Esma: Ysselmek yeblegh nchalllah. Manel salem 3la *tata* Hayet wnetlaaw f sa 3et lkhir nchallah.

Manel: Yeblegh nchllah hata ntina sallem 3lihou kamel iya 3mel l alb w wali l sport bach tetchawfou

Esma: Yih nchallah *je vais faire mon possible* w nwweli iyya *bye*.

Imane: Besslama.

Recording n° 4

Participants: 2 men between 40 and 50 years old.

Time: 10 minutes

Karim: Salam echerif kirak?

Nadir: *ça va* chikh Hamdoullah w antina kifach alHwal?

Nadir: *ça va* …yadra tferejt match ta3 lbarH?

Karim: Skut alıa allah jχalli:k matfakkarnish

Nadir: lla khay smaHli bessaH machi kamel match hadak karita….mala3bouch kamel.

Karim: W hadak ras al3awd..... ri yadjri 3la baTal

Nadir: Wallah yla karita mziya matferejtch ana ma beditch match malawel kount felblad
m3a drari 3awed mchit garit loto fkhatri w mchit ledar.

Karim: Ih khirlek ana bedit l match kicheft les joueurs ri yrawssou iya ki markawena but
lawel a khay khrejt ….iywa y gabdoulek stress.

Nadir: Ah oui stress kbir w l'arbitre hadak el kelb kan m3ahoum bayna match mabyou3
3amlouna kima nhar Masser.

Karim: Na3lat allah 3lih + bessah w Hata *les joueurs* 3ayanin bezaf b iywa a sahbi hadouk
mdegdgine yerebHouna.

Nadir: SmaHli ghi foutha …. Haka yadra cheftli dik l'affaire l iphone li gotli 3lih …li
Mohammed rah ybi3ou

Karim: Ih rani nessennah lyoum *normalement* rah maji 3andi *l'institut* bi iddni llah

Nadir: Takhdem eljoum

Karim: Yih 3andi nhar *chargé*

Nadir: Allah y3awnek 3la el khedma

Karim: Baraka allahou fik

Nadir: Iya matenssanich Allah yaHafdek Karim khay kanch Haja sawarhouli w zafetli f
viber.

Karim: Sayi d'accord khay houwa 3la Hssab ma ali rahoum 3andou zewj rah Hab
ybi3houm w yjib iphone 13 promax.

Nadir: SaHa ....ntina yla jabHoum *les deux* sawarli w nchouf .normalement 3awed ywalli l
Dubai

Karim: Yih *le mois prochain* nchallah rah machi iywa howa rah 3amel y staller temet
pour debon wala sab *l'occasion* 2ali mentemak nzid l Canada.

Nadir: Yak howa melewel kan 3amel 3la *l'emmigration* ….khirlou yethena men had lebled.

Karim: Wach djab a khay hna bedrahmek w ma t3ich.

Nadir: Kayna ….lmouhim matenssanich hakda khay ana nemchi njib drari riha 11h iyya nchoufek nchallah wala kima 3ada nchoufek samedi nchalah f ahwa.

Karim: Nchallah khay iya nharek mebrouk.

Nadir: Allah ybarek fik khay .

Recording n° 5

PARTICIPANTS: 2 women between 30 and 40 years old.

TIME: 15 minutes.

Ahlem: Mselkhir 3ach menchafek kirik?

Esma: Meslkhir rani bkhir ykhalik ... ychoufek lkhir. *ça va* rik raya wallah yla twahachtek hadi ghiba

Ahlem: Wallah yla Hata ana twahachtek

Esma: *ça va* drari bkhir .khtanek w darkoum kamel bkhir ?

Ahlem: *ça va* kamel bkhir ykhelik w ntina kiriha mamak w khiyatek kirohoum W mamak riyhat chwiya ?

Esma : lla *ça va* Hamdoulah khir meli kanet.

Ahlem: Iywa *a part ça ça va* ?

Esma: *ça va* Hamdoullah iywa rana m3a l khedma w dar rik chayfa khedma matekmelch.

Esma: Rik *toujours* f centre ta3 Briya? Wallah Hnhar ndjio 3andek bash nshoufak

Ahlem: Yih *toujours* temak?

Esma: Iya mliH m3a temak ybali khir m centre ta3 Niriyi ?

Ahlem: Ih m3a *surtout* ana yjini 2rib ledar machi kima li kount f Nigriyi Hassla ri f *le transport* wallah yla nekcheft.

Esma: Yih rabbi m3ak bessaH makanch kima da3wa kitkoun ?riba tekhdem alaise w surtout yla kount temchi f *bus* kechfa a khti … *donc* rik sakna f Briya ?

Ahlem: Yih yak RHalt m Oujlida w bnit f Briya hadi Ha 2ans meli rHalt.

Esma: Iya mabrouk 3lik raya rik thenit makanch kima lwaHad dwirtou.

Ahlem: Yih Hamdoulla marrokoum nchallah

Esma: Nchallah ….iya jatek khiriya ki bedlouk l Briya .

Ahlem: Yih ni3ma

Esma: Iywa rebi y3awnek w y ?adrek.

Ahlem: Amine ya rebi ya3te saHA

Ahlem: Yballi ntina derwaa tfout ?assem jit ta3mel t aassesse ?

Esma: Yih n assesse w na3mel les meches iywa nbedel chwiya (laught) alek bedel look yHobouk.

Ahlem: BessaH (laught)

Esma: Wallah yla khteft rassi wjit *surtout* lyoum maarawch drari iywa jit lawkan mana3melch hakda wallah 3omri manji.

Ahlem: Wallah yla bessaH manach nssibou lwaat Hata la3marna a khti chrol dar maHach kamel yakmel. Iya nbadlou chwiya Hata ana jit naassesse w Hata khetra majia w na3mel Hatana les meches mazal…

Esma: Iya bssaHtek jatek teghwi *la coupe*.

Ahlem: Ysselmek Hata ntina bssaHtek d'avance. iywa salem 3lihoum kamel.

Esma: Ysselmek Ahlem merci Hata ntina salem 3lihoum kamel w bouss 3liya wlidatek.

Ahlem: Ysselmek yeblegh nchallah iya rebi y3awenkoum lebnat.

Recording n° 6

Participants: 2 Men aged between 40and 50 years old.

Time: 15minutes

Ahlem: SbaH el khir khti

Ikram: SbaH el khir

Ahlem: Allah ykhalik tbiba jat? Riha hna?

Ikram: Yih riha hna hadi chwiya meli jat

Ahlem: Ma3labalekch yla rah kayen *le vaccin* ta3 *onze mois* ?

Ikram: Ih… wallah *aucune ideé* .ana jit na3mel lwaldi ta3 trois mois w lbarah rajli ja rfed *rendez-vous*.

Ahlem: Ih *donc* rahoum yerefdou ri c'est par *rendez-vous* ?

Ikram: Yih ana mwalfa hagda *chaque fois*.

Ahlem: SaHHit allah yaHafdek. nemchi ntebteb w nssaassiha bach manag3oudch nessena 3la batel.

Ikram: Yih khir saassiha machi chaawa batel

Ikram: Assem atlek?

Ahlem: Yih atli rah disponible bessaH manHolouch Hata nlemou lghachi

Ikram: Iywa ma3lich zid stena balak dou yHolou .. mata3ref dou khetra majia tssib wala la yak rah alil

Ahlem: Yih bessaH ...la neg3oud *déjà* rah *retard normalement* rani 3meltlou ta3 *dix-huit mois*

Ikram: Cheti wa2ila kan yemred *la period* ta3 *le vaccin* ?

Ahlem: Yih machi la *déjà* ki zad zadli b *le virus donc 15 jours* wana biH f sbitar abtouh *hospitalisé*

Ikam: Makhiti meskin labass 3lih.

Ahlem: Amine saHit

Ikram: W bach abatlek had *le virus* Mnach jah? Allah yaHfed w yester

Ahlem: Wallah ma3refna a khti? Alouli abtou mezyada.

Ikram: W derwa? raya *ça va* ?

Ahlem: lla lHamdoulah rah raya w lHaa ablouhouli raya f sbitar Allah ya3tehoum saHa wa afou m3aya lHa?

Ikram: Iya mziya yih lHa rahoumy ablou raya f sbitar kamel alek meli zayrou da3wa raHoum lHa y abou mliH

Ahlem: Yih lHa? *Quinze jours* refdou weldi f sma w felil ri machien majien ....iywa wallah meli neweldou waHna nssoufriw iywa w Hamdoulah.

Ikram: Yih bessaH w zid mssaken Hna nssoufriw w Houma taynak mssaken yssoufriw w surtout sghar wallah yla ychefou

Ahlem: Labess 3lih bessah w mata 3refch Hata assem 3andhoum *le malheur* ;

Ikram: Yih … Iywa bach alek mayekber rass Hata ychib rass ..Wallah lla yassmaHana mel waldine.

Ahlem: Amine .Ih kima y oulek mana 3arfouch imet lwaldin Hata neweldou w nweliw *des mamans* 3ada dak lwaa nHossou

Ikram: Wallah Hata mama ki nabda nechkilha w n oulha bayta ga3da m3a weldi t ouli a benti hadi hiya terbiya w liyah Hna kebernakoum ri hagdek iywa bessif a benti hadi hiya terbiya machi sahla …T ouli douk yekebrou w dak lwaat taoul mziya li neyet wlidati.

Ahlem: 3andha sah w *des fois* tchouf a khti Hadouk li ma 3andhoumch drari mssaken kifach mchawtin w y oulek lawkan ri Ha lwHiHed wallah ychafou.

Ikram: Yih 3maret ddar.bessaH w allah y3amer 3la koul moumen

Ahem: Amine amine ++ hayek ttbiba riha bdat tfewet.

Ikram: Yih wa ila ybediw b *les nouveaux nées*

Ahlem: Yih wa ila. . . allah yj3al rebi ri nfout lyoum majatch Hata ad Had tebkira.

Ikram: Hhhh wallah. *Normalement* dou jdji lghachi .Hna rana mbekrin bezaf dou chwiya ybediw yjiw ri matkhafch kayen li mayHobch ybakar dou ribelaada 3liHoum w yjiw.

Ahlem: Inchallah 3la lah yjiw .

Samia: Salam allah ykhalikoum li tedreb leybari riha hna ?

Ahlem: Nekdeb 3lik .. rouh saassi toba li ya3amlou *le vaccin des fois* tkoun m3ahoum .

Samia: Ih saHHiti khti.

Ahlem: Ma3likch a khti.

Samia: Gatli rahi 3ada majatch .hadi Hala tbiba makanch rahoum yza3qou 3lina.

Ikram: Allah ykhalik 2ouli chkoun *le pediatre* li rik teba3 waldek 3andou?

Ahlem: Ana n3abih 3and Dr Benhabib....

Ikram: Hata ana Halwaat kount n3abi 3andou weldi lkbir iywa 3awed na3touli Dr....Cherif Benmoussa iywa bdit n 3abi wladi ri 3andou.

Ahlem: Yih nessma3 bih Hata houwa chakrinou bessah ana jamais mchit3andou ri nessma3 3lih y oulou mlih…, ana mdak benhbib houa li yabeli weldi mour li mred donc ya3reflou mliH w manHobch nbedel tbib ki nwalef waHed sayi.

Ikram: Yih khirlek meme ana sema rani ri 3and cherif benmoussa waleft sayi.

Ahlem: Ana N oulhoum tbib ntina w fayen tssib raHtek wallah yla kaynen tbib li yachakrouhoulek bessaH ntina lawkan temchilou matssibch raHtek 3andou

Ikram: Ya3tek saHa

Ahlem: Ana pediatre w genycologue ta3i manbedelHoumch sayi weleft ri 3andhoum w lHaa nssib raHti 3andhoum.

Ikram: Iywa yih.

Ahlem: *Donc* wa ila 3andek zoudj drari ?

Ikram: Yih 2 garcons marrahom 3andak

Ahlem: Iywa rebi ykhelihomlek

Ikram: Amine + w yaHfedlek wlidatek Hata ntina.

Ahlem: Ana 3andi ri hada *le premier* ta3i + maʃaʔallah

Ikram: Iywa rebi yfarHak bih nchallah w jetreba f 3azkoum nchallah

Ahlem: Nchallah.

Ikram: Iywa zid Ha chwiya w zidlou Ha khtou wala khah

Ahlem: Nchallah .hhh

Ikram: Ih riha t3ayetli jat tourti iywa ana nkhelik a khti ma3rifet khir nchallah w allah yssahel w bechfa 3lih.

Ahlem: Ysselmek a khti saHit w bechfa 3lih Hata ntina netlaaw f sa3et lkhir nchallah.

Ikram: Nchallah el Hbiba

Recording n° 7

Participants: 2 Men aged between 30 and 40 years old

Time: 15 Minutes

Riad: Sbah el khir khay belbaraka 3likoum….

Salim: Sbah el khir merhba khay Allah ysselmek

Riad: Fawaa Hallitou ana 3la rebi jit fayet dkhelt.

Salim:*ça fait pas longtemps la semaine passe* Halina

Riad: hadi nta3kom?

Salim: Wallah ri majatch hadra

231

Riad: Iywa *ça fait plaisir* machaalah jat kbira w chaba.

Salim: Ysselmek..iywa *ça va* lewlidat raya ?

Riad: ça va khay.donc rahom hna ?

Salim: Yih iywa sayi Hadi 32 ans temak iywa kemlou Hna *donc ils ont decidé* ya3amlou *une superette* hna.

Mohamed: Ih iywa Allah ybarek

Salim: Ybarek fik tfedel. Iywa kifach de3wa mazal matHolena *l'institut* ?

Riad: Iywa mazal rik te3ref meli jat corona de3wa 3ayana w bdit nkheless lekra 3la batel rik chayef .bessaH sayi rani ndeber local w douk nlancer nchallah

Salim: Ih iya nchallah ri3lemni drari rahoum mHam inni ….

Riad: (laught) Allah yahfedhoum sellemli 3lihoum bezaf

Salim: Nchallah. Sellemli 3la Hafid iywa kanch Haja 3lemni

Recording n° 8

Participants: 2 Men aged between 30 and 70 years old.

Time: 15 Minutes

Hocine: Salamou 3alaykoum weldi tesmahli neg3oud?

Ilyess: Yih elHadj tfadal

Hocine: SmaHli a weldi rik 3aref Halet lekber

Ilyess: Ma3likch a el hadj ri bechwiya 3lik

Hocine: Nhob a weldi neg3od 3and Taa rik chayef a weldi man adch lenefss bezaf

Ilyess: Lla bba ma3likch

Hocine: Lah yahafdek a weldi

Ilyess: SmaHli El Hadj ma l'arret thowwed?

Hocine: 3and la casorant a weldi + SaHit a weldi

Ilyess: SaHa el Hadj ma3likch

Hocine: 3aytoli 3la control w khassni ana nemchi m3a wladi lyoum kamel yakhadmou iywa rani machi baHdi medari lHa ? wladi y3abiwni lyoum rahoum kamel machghouline.

Ilyess: Ih Allah yssahel a el hadj

232

Hocine: Amine w rebbi yHot 3lina rahamtou w nchallah yarfa3 3lina hada wabaa nchallah.

Ilyess: Amine ya rebbi.

Hocine: Wallah manjemna a weldi w zadouna had les bavettes ghemmouna ma adinach

Ilyess: Bessah iywa bessah da3wa riha ri zayda bezaf allah yeltof allek sbitarat rahoum m 3amrin……w kayen bezzaf elmouta Allah yerhamhoum

Hocine: Amine ya weldi Allah ysabbar Hbahhoum msaken + bessaH a weldi hatta ana Ha jari yekhdem f sbitar ali da3wa marihach te3jeb Hdiw rissankoum iywa a weldi w ch Hal adna derwaa ki tkoun 3andek Ha salHa ta3 bessif wala Ha tbib temchilou kifach ta3mel?

Ilyess: Nichen lwahed ya3mel *iHtiyatat* ta3ou w setar Allah

Hocine: Bessah a weldi lkatba telHaa.... alek 3mel *le vaccin* 3melna iywa w mana3ref rebi rah ychouf fina.

Ilyess: 3melt *les deux doses* Hadj ?

Hocine: Yih a weldi ana saHeb weldi yekhdem f centre ta3 Bouhanek houwa segedni

Ilyess: Ana chibani ta3i Hata howa 3mel *la dose* lawla w m3a simana majiya yzid zawja

Hocine: Ana 3mel kamel m3a lwala wladi alek a babessif te3mel iywa 3melt.

Ilyess: ki 3melt Hadj la dose lawla ma atretch 3lik ana chibani ta3i nderb lawla

Hocine: la weldi zawja mata3mel walou machi kima lawla kamel nderina biha bessah zawja sayi corp ta3na ykoun walef l virus.iywa a weldi chouf rebi assem rah katebena + alek chahal men wahed 3amlou w mred iywa mana3ref….mafhamnech walou …

Ilyess: Lah yjib lkhir wsalam ma3lich a Hadj lwahed ya3mel w li ketba tji 3awed lwaHed ya3mel bach mayendemch

Hocine: BessaH a weldi... mazel a weldi l'arret?

Ilyess: Sayi mour hadi

Hocine: SaHa bba. Allah ynawerkoum w yaHfedkoum w a weldi thalaw f waldikoum makanch kima d3awi lkhir ta3 waldin biHoum terbHou.

Ilyess: Bessah a Hadj Allah yssmaHana m lwaldin b d3awihou rana rabHine.

Hocine: yih d3awi lkhir + a weldi makanch kima waldine…iya weldi ana nhowad Hna

Ilyess: SaHa Hadj Allah yssahel bechwiya 3lik 3 andek derja kiji mhowed

Hocine: SaHa weldi iya salam 3likoum

Ilyess: Wa3alaykoum salam el Hadj baraka allah fik.

Note-taking

The first recording is a radio show between three men.

The participants

Amine: 48 years.

Farid: 40 years.

Time: 20 Minutes.

A: Ssalamou 3alaykom wa rahmatou allah

B: Wa 3laykom essalam wa rahmatou allahi wa barakatouhou

A: 3andach rakom tHellou?

B: Maranach nballe3ou kamel

A: W 3andach rakom tballe3ou?

B: L weld rah temak Hata mour meghreb + assem taHtadj ?

A: Yih madamme khassha tji….iywa thala

B: MerHba + rana hna bach nthallaou.

A: SaHit + iyya ssalam 3likoum

B: Nchoufoukom bikhir.

الملخص

الهدف من هذا البحث دراسة أثر الجندرة على الأدب في الخطاب ضمن السياق الجزائري، ولا سيما في مجتمع الكلام في تلمسان. الفكرة الأساسية للدراسة هي أن المتحدثين من الإناث والذكور يستخدمون اللغة في التفاعلات اليومية للتعبير عن الأدب تجاه محاوريهم والحفاظ على العلاقات الشخصية. الهدف من هذا البحث هو فهم وتحديد أنماط سلوكيات اللغة بشكل أفضل فيما يتعلق بالجنس والأدب في مجتمع الكلام في تلمسان. وتتألف المنهجية المستخدمة من أنواع مختلفة من أساليب جمع البيانات في بحوث التهذيب، وهي استبيان DCT، والمقابلة، والتسجيلات، وتدوين ملاحظات البيانات التي تحدث بشكل طبيعي. وتبين النتائج ظهور بعض الأنماط فيما يتعلق بنوع الجنس والأدب اللغوي. يستخدم كل من المتحدثين الإناث والذكور نفس الاستراتيجيات لأفعال الكلام المختلفة على التوالي. الأدب السلبي والإيجابي هي الاستراتيجيات الأكثر هيمنة المستخدمة لتحقيق الأدب. وتكشف النتيجة أيضا أن اختيار استراتيجيات التهذيب تحكمه عوامل اجتماعية مثل العلاقة، والمسافة الاجتماعية، وقوة ودرجة الفرض بين المحاورين.
الكلمات الرئيسية: الجندرة ـ التأدب ـ الاستراتيجيات ـ الثنائية اللغوية ـ تغيير الشفرة ـ ازدواجية اللغة ـ اختبار إكمال الخطاب.

Summary

The present work examines the impact of gender on politeness in the Algerian context more particularly in the speech community of Tlemcen. The basic idea of the study is that both female and male speakers use language in everyday interactions to express politeness towards their interlocutors and maintain interpersonal relationships. The aim of this research is to better understand and identify language behaviours patterns regarding gender and politeness in the speech community of Tlemcen. The methodology used consists of different types of data collection methods in politeness research, namely the DCT questionnaire, the interview, recordings and note-taking of naturally-occurring data. The results show that some emerging patterns concerning gender and linguistic politeness. Both female and male speakers use the same strategies for the different speech acts respectively. Negative and positive politeness are the most dominant strategies used to achieve politeness. The finding also reveal that choice of politeness strategies is governed by social factors such as the relationship, the social distance, the power and degree of imposition between interlocutors.

Key words: Gender - Politeness - Strategies - Bilingualism - Diglossia – Code-switching - Discourse Completion Test – Face-threatening acts

Résumé

Le présent travail examine l'impact du genre sur la politesse dans le contexte algérien, plus particulièrement dans la communauté de Tlemcen. L'idée de base de l'étude est que les femmes et et les hommes utilisent le langage dans les interactions quotidiennes pour exprimer la politesse envers leurs interlocuteurs et maintenir les relations interpersonnelles. Le but de cette recherche est de mieux comprendre et identifier les comportements linguistiques concernant le genre et la politesse. La méthodologie utilisée consiste en différents types de méthodes de collecte de données dans la recherche sur la politesse, à savoir le questionnaire (DCT), l'interview, les enregistrements et la prise de notes des données tirées de la vie de tous les jours. Les résultats montrent que certains modèles émergents concernant le genre et la politesse linguistique dans la communauté de Tlemcen. Les femmes et les hommes utilisent les mêmes stratégies pour les différents actes de parole respectivement. La politesse négative et positive sont les stratégies les plus dominantes utilisées pour exprimer la politesse. La conclusion révèle également que le choix des stratégies de politesse est régi par des facteurs sociaux tels que la relation, la distance sociale, le pouvoir et le degré d'imposition entre les interlocuteurs.

Mots clés: Genre – Politesse – Stratégies – Bilinguisme - Diglossie – Alternance Codique- Test d'achèvement du Discours