

Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria
Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research
University of Tlemcen

Faculty of Letters and Languages
Department of Foreign Languages

English Section

**Forms of Address in Algerian Arabic:
The Speech Community of Maghnia**

Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Letters and Languages in fulfilment of the
requirement for the Degree of Magister in Linguistics.
- Sociolinguistic option -

Presented by

Mrs. NAOUEL OUASTI

Supervised by

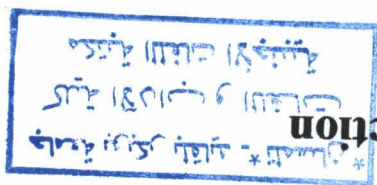
Dr. Z. DENDANE

Board of examiners

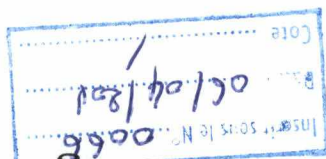
- President: Prof. Abbès Bahous, University of Mostaganem.
- Supervisor: Dr. Zoubir Dendane, MC, University of Tlemcen.
- Examiner: Dr Hafèda Hamzaoui, MC, University of Tlemcen.
- Examiner: Dr. Ilham Serir, MC, University of Tlemcen.
- Examiner: Dr. Amine Belmekki, MC, University of Tlemcen.

2009-2010

Faculty of Letters and Languages
Department of Foreign Languages



English Section



Forms of Address in Algerian Arabic: The Speech Community of Maghnia

Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Letters and Languages in fulfillment of the
requirement for the Degree of Magister in Linguistics.
- Sociolinguistic option -

Presented by

Mrs. NAOUEL OUASTI

Supervised by

Dr. Z. DENDANE

Board of examiners

- President: Prof. Abbès Bahous, University of Mostaganem.
- Supervisor: Dr. Zoubir Dendane, MC, University of Tlemcen.
- Examiner: Dr. Haféda Hamzaoui, MC, University of Tlemcen.
- Examiner: Dr. Ilham Serir, MC, University of Tlemcen.
- Examiner: Dr. Amine Belmekki, MC, University of Tlemcen.

My parents

To whom I owe everything

Grand-mother

To the memory of my



CONTENTS

Dedications.....v

Acknowledgements.....vi

Abstract.....vii

List of abbreviations.....viii

List of figures.....x

List of tables.....xi

General introduction.....1

Chapter one: Linguistic Situation in Algeria and Literature review on Address Form.....4

Introduction.....5

1. 1. The linguistic situation before independence (1962).....6

1. 1. 1. Before the Arab conquest.....6

1. 1. 2. The Arab conquest.....7

1. 1. 3. The French period.....8

1. 2. The linguistic situation after independence (1962).....8

1. 2. 1. Diglossia.....10

1. 2. 2. Bilingualism.....10

1. 3. Research Methodology.....12

* Reprint of the questionnaire.....12

a) Questions concerning the informants' background.....12

b) Terms of address.....13

c) Gratitude expressions i.e. thanking.....17

* Collection of data.....18

1. 4. Address Forms.....19



a) Address and its analysis.....	20
b) Factors affecting rules of address	21
c) Lexical versus address meaning.....	22
d) Register	23
e) Reciprocity	23
f) Address change	24
g) Address and social structures	24
h) Organisation (choice of address)	25
Conclusion	26

Chapter two: Address Behaviour in Algerian Arabic.....27

Introduction	28
2. 1. A survey of address terms in Algerian Arabic.....	28
2. 1. 1. Names	28

a) Nicknames	32
*Positive nicknames.....	33
*Negative nicknames.....	33
b) Name Avoidance	34
2. 1. 2. Kinship and age terms	34
a) Terms for younger addressees.....	36
b) Terms for older addressees.	38

* Paternal and maternal.....	39
* The family's dark side.....	39
* The family's bright side.....	40
c) Terms for same generation addressees.....	42

2. 1. 3. Titles	43
2. 1. 4. Pronouns	44
2. 1. 5. Other terms of address	47



2. 2. Other aspects of address usage.....	41
2. 2. 1. Address frequency.....	48
2. 2. 2. Social distinctions.....	49
a) Distinctions of age.....	42
b) Distinctions of kinship.....	51
c) Distinctions of rank.....	53
d) Distinctions of gender.....	55
Conclusion.....	59
Chapter three: Address System and Politeness.....	60
Introduction.....	61
3. 1. Politeness realizations in address behaviour.....	61
3. 1. 1. The Politeness principle.....	62
3. 1. 2. Definitions of politeness.....	65
3. 1. 3. Perspectives and models.....	66
a) Pronouns of power and solidarity.....	67
b) Conversational – Maxim view-.....	69
* Grice's (1975) Cooperative Principle.....	69
* Lakoff's (1973-1979) P's and Q's of politeness.....	71
* Leech's (1983) Grand's scheme.....	75
c) Brown and Levinson's Model (1978/1987).....	80
* Brown and Levinson's politeness strategies.....	82
* Factors influencing the strategies' choice.....	80
3. 2. Address Forms in Brown and Levinson's Model.....	86
3. 2. 1. Positive Politeness.....	88
* Use of in-group identity markers.....	89
3. 2. 2. Negative Politeness.....	98



Conclusion	105
Chapter Four: Address Forms in Speech Act Realizations.....	106
Introduction	107
4. 1. Speech Act Theory.....	107
4.1. 1. Pragmatics, Speech Acts and communication.....	107
4. 1. 2. Socio-pragmatics: Situational Variables.....	108
4. 2. Levels of Speech Acts.....	109
4. 3. Speech Acts Classification.....	110
4. 4. Direct and Indirect Speech Acts.....	112
4. 5. The speech act of thanking.....	115
* Issues on data collection.....	111
* Results of the questionnaire.....	119
Conclusion	125
General conclusion.....	126
Bibliography.....	128
*Theses and journals.....	130
*Webography.....	131



Dedications

My thanks go to Almighty God who gave me two lovely daughters **Anfel & Alaa** to whom I dedicate this simple work.

A grand tribute goes to my husband Mohammed for his support and encouragement during the realization of this work.

I am especially grateful to my dearest sisters **Saliha and Besma** for their motivation and moral help.

I am also indebted to my unique brother **Mohammed Hachim**.

Many thanks to my grandparents and parents-in-law, aunts, uncles and their wives, my cousins and all my friends without forgetting my brothers and sisters - in-law.

A final dedication is to all my students; high among them: **Amrina, Wassinia, Nabila, Asmaa**.



Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I wish to thank all my teachers of the English departments both in Tlemcen and Oran University.

I would like to extend my deepest appreciation to my supervisor Dr. Z. Dendane for his motivation and formative advice throughout this work, his patience and wide guidance, his insightful comments and invaluable suggestions.

Heartfelt thanks go to all my teachers of linguistics in Tlemcen and Oran for their encouragement and assistance. I am also grateful to Professor B. Benmoussat for his great effort to help me.

I am also indebted to all my colleagues and headmaster Mr Nor at Moufdi Zakaria secondary school in Maghnia for their encouragements and motivation.

And final great thanks to all the informants who did their best to provide valuable data to achieve this work, high among them my students at Moufdi Zakaria School.



Abstract

Language is a complex system of words which are tools or instruments employed for verbal purposes. It is used to convey messages and establish social relationships; but it is closely related to other norms of behaviour studied under the field of 'Sociolinguistics'. This term is believed to have been used since 1950's. As the term indicates it is the study of language in society. This field has extended a great amount of investigation into the analysis of various social factors which govern that language behaviour and word choice to address people in different situations.

This research work intends to discuss, within a sociolinguistic framework, different rules of address using as a corpus from Algerians' everyday speech - Algerian Arabic of the extreme west of Algeria - bearing in mind researches carried out by other sociolinguists such as the pioneering work of Brown and Gilman (1960) and S.M Ervin Tripp (1969).

The choice of this topic has been made for two main purposes; the first is that to our knowledge, no previous study has examined address rules before in Algerian Arabic, more precisely, in Maghnia. The second is the vital importance of these rules in the socialization process and their role as one interesting aspect of language functions as stated Kerbrat-Orchioni (1990) in the analysis of the French forms of address whose prior function is to establish and maintain a close connection between interlocutors.

In the present study, I will also take into consideration the diglossic and bilingual character of the Algerian speech community, the ethnic and social heterogeneity of its citizens, i.e. of the region analysed .



List of abbreviations

- AA: Algerian Arabic.
CA: Classical Arabic.
ESA: Educational Spoken Arabic
MSA: Modern Standard Arabic.
T/V: Tu /Vous French pronouns.
H.V: High Variety.
L.V: Low Variety.
FN: first Name.
LN: Last Name/Family Name.
T: Title.
TLN: Title+ Last Name.
FN+ LN: First Name + Last Name.
Kts: Kin terms/ Kinship terms.
Ats: Age terms.
FTA: Face threatening Acts/Face threats.
FTA: Face threats / Face threatening Act.
FSA: Face Saving Act.
PP: The Politeness Principle.
CP: The Cooperative Principle.
SAT: The Speech Act Theory.
P's and Q's: Pints and Quarts.
R: Rule.
PC: Pragmatic Competence (Rules of politeness).
A: Addressee.
S: Speaker.
H: hearer.
Fts: Friendship terms.
x: act

List of tables

Table 2.1. Kin terms Vs Kin types.....36

Table 2.2. Terms of affection and esteem.....45

Table 2.3. Spoken Arabic insults used in address.....47

Table 3.1. Diminutives in Algerian Arabic.....93

Table 3.2. Address forms for family members.....94

Table 3.3. Address forms at schools.....103

Table 3.4. Address forms at the court of justice.....103

Table 3.5. Address forms in a café.....104

Table 3.6. Address forms for a shop-keeper.....104

Table 4.1. The five general functions of a speech acts
(following Searle 1969).....112

Table 4.2. Speech act Vs sentence types.....113

Table 4.3. Gratitude expressions in Algerian Arabic.....120

Table 4.4. Percentage of address terms' features combined to thanks....121

Table 4.5. Number of informants and determinant factors or GF.....124



List of figures

Figure 3.1. Lakoff's rules of pragmatic competence..... 74

Figure 3.2. Leech's politeness, cost-benefit and indirectness relation..... 79

Figure 3.3. Brown and Levinson's model of politeness..... 82

Figure 4.1. Factors determining the choice of thanking expressions..... 124



General Introduction

Since the first human communities, people have needed to communicate in order to integrate within their group. Human communication is therefore an intrinsically social phenomenon that gradually evolved from gestures and shouts to a form of communication observable only in the human species.

Sociolinguists believe that the study of language must go beyond the sentences that are the principle focus of descriptive and theoretical linguistics. It must go beyond language and bring in social context. It must deal with the 'real' texts that make up human communication and the social situations in which they are used. The focus of attention shifts from the sentences to the act of communication, the speech event. Dell Hymes (1974) suggested that any communicative use of language or speech event is constituted by seven distinct factors proposed first by Jacobson (1963:213-214) in the study of discourse has been carried out with a focus on meaning or topic rather than the other social factors. But here our focus is social, and we will analyse in some detail the influence of the social aspect of the relation of the speaker – hearer in the limitations set in choice of the message form. First, we will look at the socially controlled choice of forms involved in the selection of an appropriate term with which to address the person to whom we are talking. Second, we will consider how these forms are reflected in the politeness theories, more precisely the universal theory of Brown and Levinson (1978-1987) and third their combination with specific speech acts.

Then, three questions require answers here: a/What are the social variables governing any choice of address terms in Algerian Arabic? b/ How is politeness reflected through different choices of those terms expressing both familiarity and respect? c/ Are there any preferred combinations of types of address with realizations of speech acts or can address forms be combined with speech acts realizations relatively freely?

Chapter two will deal with the basic norms or categories into which forms of address fall; they are (1) Nouns, (2) Pronouns and (3) Verbs. The first includes address by First names, Last names (FN + LN), and other modifications of the name. Another type of address is by kinship terms. Kinship terms are labels whose meaning implies relations by blood or marriage. They are assigned to relatives or used fictively to other persons for e.g. by using /'ammi/ to an old man who is not a real uncle. Besides, there is another type of address associated with occupation called occupational titles that are generally employed to show a difference in rank and status. A further way of addressing people is by the use of pronouns, singular Vs plural indicating different types of relationships.

Furthermore, there are other words used for addressing small children and people with whom we have close relations, they are endearing terms or terms of affection, endearment and pity. Insults or derogatory terms are common types of address in Algerian Arabic low registers, very often used when being seriously angry. The second part of chapter two examines how the Algerian address system works as far as age, rank, kinship and gender of selected groups of speakers are concerned.

The present dissertation is divided into four chapters. It starts with a general introduction that summarizes the main steps of the work. The first chapter is devoted to the linguistic situation in Algeria before and after independence. The second part is about the research methodology and the literature review of address forms. This part also deals with some theoretical concepts related to the address behaviour and terms and their change over time.

To answer these questions, several methods of collecting data were adopted serving as a basis for the analysis; for instance, judgments of speakers through interviews, questionnaires and in case of observed occurrences, note taking and recordings that give a better picture of real language use.

Finally in the last chapter, we intend to deal with one kind of speech acts: thanking, with the purpose of analysing the combination of address forms with the realization of this speech act and examining whether there are preferred combinations or free selection. This will be done through the evaluation of an utterance within a given situation, compared to a reference speech act; the test items are combinations of selected prototypical realizations of gratitude expressions with types of address.

Chapter three will be concerned with another phenomenon that is closely related to address studies and has much to contribute to it, namely 'politeness'. This part will be devoted exactly to what politeness is, its major models which recognize the two macro-sociological notions of 'power' and 'solidarity' as determining factors and have come to be regarded as important tools for the analysis of politeness and social indexing through different types of address and expressing the two parameters: positive and negative politeness. The latter two strategies will be examined in different contexts with a view of focussing on in-group identity markers.



**Linguistic Situation in Algeria and Literature
Review on Address Forms**

CHAPTER ONE

North African boundaries have shifted during various stages of the conquests which certainly influenced in one way or another the Algerian speech community and of course its linguistic code. So, we will attempt in what follows to draw an overall picture of the linguistic situation in Algeria before and after independence.

Therefore, how speakers organize what they want to say, to whom, where, when and under what circumstances they, are all tied to how close or distant the listener is. This notion of distance is linguistically reflected in the specific terms they select for the addressee namely as rules or forms of address.

The (1) addresser sends a (2) message to the (3) addressee. To be operative the message requires a (4) context referred to as a (5) code common to the addressee; and finally a (6) contact, a physical channel and psychological connection between addresser and addressee.

Gumperz here states that people who are raised in the same environment and share the same linguistic code show at least slight differences in its usage. Hence, what accounts for differences in language use has been the subject matter of a great number of sociolinguists who try to find out the relevant factors that contribute to our language choice. A number of factors were identified in the communications theory and adapted to linguistics by Jakobson (1960) put briefly as follows:

Within the sociolinguistic approach, it has been argued that language is not an abstract system but rather a social phenomenon used by members of a speech community in a given context. The analysis of such phenomenon requires the analysis of the speech community defined by Gumperz (1968) as "any human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language usage."

Introduction

Since prehistoric times, Algeria has always been the homeland of people from different races, and this has certainly influenced its linguistic situation. The first inhabitants of Algeria were the Berbers. Thus, North Africa including Algeria was a Berber world. Later, the Phoenicians colonized Algeria with a purpose of using it as a route to other places they needed in their trade. But their language had no linguistic influence on the Berbers; The North African autochthones spoke Berber in the countryside and in the cities. They also used Punic, a language related to both Hebrew and Arabic. After that, under the Numidian Kings Juba 1st and Juba 2nd, the Romans colonized Numidia or Barbary in 100 B.C, displacing therefore a vast number of Berbers from the region's most fertile land. Hence, forced off their lands, the Berbers found refuge in the wildest, rockiest and most inhospitable terrain of the country. Some Berbers became quasi nomads, others worked for the Romans in the colonial cities or in the fields. During this period, Latin was established as the official language of the elite living in urban cities, while Berber was spoken by peasants in the countryside. Between 340 and 535, the Roman empire was destroyed but the Berbers could only survive as scattered tribes in the mountains and deserts and did all their best to preserve their linguistic heritage intact from any foreign destruction or eradication. Nevertheless, the linguistic impact of the Romans upon the population was important. Indeed, the people

1. 1. 1. Before the Arab conquest

Since Algeria is situated on the coast, it was the homeland of many people from different races; the Berbers, the Phoenicians, the Romans, the Turks, the Arabs and then French. This fertile coastal plain of North Africa, especially west of Tunisia served as a transit region for people moving towards Europe or the Middle East. So, they left remarkable traces on its linguistic situation. Out of this mix developed the Berber people, whose language and culture, dominated most of the land until the spread of Islam and the coming of the Arabs.

1. 1. The linguistic situation in Algeria before independence (1962)

in North Africa continued to speak Latin and Punic in the towns but maintained Berber in the countryside even after the fall of the Roman Empire (Mostari, 2005:39).

1. 1. 2. The Arab conquest

In the late 7th century and early 8th century (642 AD), the first Arabs came to spread the new religion and settled in North Africa; this was an important event in the history of the country because the coming of Islam penetrated all segments of the society bringing with it a new language, a new religion, tribal loyalties and practices with new sociolinguistic norms and popular idioms (kind of language used by particular people at a particular time or place). It is important to note that the relations between the Berbers and the Muslim settlers were not only marked by struggles but also by mutual recognition. Hence, after the Arab conquest, Islam was obviously implemented in all the Maghreb; the Arabs were more advanced, and had a rich literature, they started the first Arabisation process which was quite slow because of the Berber revolts. Even though many Berber tribes became arabised, they were not dislodged from their lands; they continued to speak their language among themselves. Besides, they succeeded in preserving their various dialects in different geographical areas. As a written form, it had been used for over 2000 years although the tradition has been frequently disrupted by various invasions. It was first written in the Tifinagh alphabet, still used by the Tuareg; the oldest dated inscription is from about 200BC. Later, between about 1000AD and 1500AD, it was written in the Arabic alphabet (particularly by the Shelha of Morocco). One might think that, the arrival of the Arabs prevented the Berbers from developing a written form.

In the late 15th century, North Africa plunged into the struggle between the Christian and Muslim world. Threatened by the rise of Christian Europe, North Africa asked for the help of the Ottomans who eventually governed most of Central Maghreb until the 19th century. Thus, Algeria became part of the Ottoman Empire and was governed by a 'dey' (a Turkish governor). Indeed, the Ottomans were not really concerned with political, social or economic conditions of Algeria (Mostari, 2005:40).

During the French occupation, Algeria was so deeply influenced linguistically; however, after independence, the Algerians had an urgent need to regain their Arab

1.2. The linguistic situation in Algeria after independence (1962)

In June 1830, a military force of the French power entered Algeria and imposed its socio-economic and linguistic control upon the speech community. French colonization and its population. By 1948, nearly all of the northern Algeria was under French control. Thus, French became the official language of Algeria and classical Arabic was the language of Academics both in traditional and religious schools. The French policy attempted to make Algeria an extension of Metropolitan France on the southern side of the Mediterranean Sea. Such a goal could be achieved by eradicating Muslim values and civilisation from Algeria. They started to do so by limiting the teaching of Classical Arabic (CA) and fighting the Koranic schools. France sought to impose French as the official language of the country enacting a law which deemed Arabic a foreign language. On the other hand, it favoured the Berbers (the Kabyles) of Algeria in education and employment in the colonial system and they were represented in large numbers in the French elite. As a matter of fact, in the years after independence, they moved into the levels of state administration across the country. This policy generated anger and led to national consciousness under the leadership of Ben Badis who deserved credit for being the first to define the Algerian identity as Arabo-Islamic. Consequently, the leaders of the war of Independence (1954-1962) committed themselves to reviving CA and to establishing it as a national language, and also to restore a national identity and personality for the new state.

1.1.3. The French period

but some Turkish language traces can still be found in Arabic. In fact, Berber and Arabic maintained themselves almost intact until 1830 when Algeria witnessed the beginning of the French occupation.

It should be pointed out that in Algeria four varieties are used and each one has a particular socio-cultural position in the country: Classical Arabic the official language, Algerian Arabic spoken by almost all Algerians, French in addition to other Berber varieties spoken in a number of places of the country. Accordingly, we will deal with the linguistic situation in Algeria through two linguistic phenomena: diglossia, as a typical characteristic of the Arabic speaking countries in general and bilingualism with the co-existence of Arabic belonging to the Semitic family and French belonging to the Indo-European family.

In fact, for the Algerian Francophones, the Arabisation policy was a real catastrophe since it reduced the status of French to a foreign language. However, for the Arabophones, Arabisation was a natural process to be led after independence to gradually replace French with Classical Arabic; this was considered a real fight between freedom and colonialism, between Classical Arabic and French. Thus, CA was progressively established in various domains such as administration, and the educational system, mainly in primary and middle schools. However, it partially failed and partially failed at the university where French remained the main medium of instruction because Classical Arabic was regarded as unable to cope with modernity and technology. Indeed, many Algerian people understand French more easily than CA and use it in day-to-day interactions. Therefore, Arabisation was applied progressively and the use of Arabic began to generalize step by step since it is the native language of the nation, the soul of nationalism and associated with religion. Besides, the role of the French language in the Algerian social life started to change.

and Muslim identity. So, they made great effort to launch Arabisation in order to replace French, the language of the colonizer, by Classical Arabic (CA) as the language of Arabo-Islamic identity. The first aim of the group, consisting of Algerian nationalists and political leaders promoting the Arabisation process, was to build the Algerian identity upon two major points which are Islam and "Arabity" (Mostari, 2005:43) and this goal could not be achieved without an effective language policy.

1. 2. 1. *Diglossia* is a term that was put forward by Ferguson (1959) to describe a

Linguistic situation in which two varieties of the same language are used in complementary distribution, each one having specific functions. Ferguson distinguishes "the high variety" (H) from "the low variety" (L)". He describes the first

as

a 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.

(Ferguson, 1959)¹

The High Variety is used in formal situations and is the medium of the written language, whereas the Low Variety is used in everyday speech. In the same vein, Ferguson (1959) writes: "These two varieties, classical and colloquial, exist side by side in the Arabic speech community in a diglossia relationship."²

Linguistically speaking, there is a third variety named "the middle language" which is easier to use than complicated Classical Arabic (CA). This consists of a spoken form borrowing vocabulary extensively from both the High and the Low varieties. El-Hassan (1978) describes this variety as Educational Spoken Arabic (ESA) which is said to be a mixture of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and Colloquial Arabic.

1. 2. 2. *Bilingualism* defined as the "native-like control of two languages"

(Bloomfield 1933:56). In other words, it is a linguistic phenomenon that has appeared due to the French colonialism which lasted more than one century and during which French was imposed as the official language of Algeria, a fact which left deep impact

on the linguistic situation of the country. The contact between two different cultures led to a complex linguistic situation. Therefore the diglossic situation, involving two Arabic varieties: CA and the colloquial Arabic (Ferguson 1959, Fishman 1967) was confronted

¹ Quoted in Pride and Holmes (1979: 116)

² Quoted in Bouhania (2003:5)

To end, we would point out that the sociolinguistic situation of Algeria is particular as it went through several stages greatly linked to its social, cultural, and political realities.

In the case of Algeria, borrowing is a relevant sociolinguistic phenomenon. It shows the great impact that French had on Algerian Arabic, especially on the regional dialects, because they are spoken vernaculars. This fact of being oral rather than written facilitated the integration of foreign items. Algerian borrowing is not individual; rather it is a whole socio-cultural phenomenon (Bouhania, 2003: 14).

The way out of this problem is to consider lexical items from one language that are integrated on the three levels of phonology, morphology, and syntax, into another, as borrowings, and to arbitrarily consider them as switches when they are neither phonologically, morphologically, nor syntactically adapted.

After independence, all the Maghreb countries to varying degrees, more particularly Algeria, pursued a policy which aimed at displacing French from its colonial position as the dominant language of education and literacy. This could not be achieved without the establishment of 'Arabic' as the national and official language of the state. This was done by the Arabisation process which was meant to put an end to the use of French, but it was not so easy since a great number of Algerians were Francophones. As a matter of fact, both French and Arabic were used and continue to be used in everyday speech and official situations. This led to the emergence of 'code switching' and 'borrowing'; the former refers to a change of language involving more than single words, whereas the latter involves a change in language in terms of only single words or phrases. Bouamrane (1986:116) says in this respect:

After independence, all the Maghreb countries to varying degrees, more particularly Algeria, pursued a policy which aimed at displacing French from its colonial position as the dominant language of education and literacy. This could not be achieved without the establishment of 'Arabic' as the national and official language of the state. This was done by the Arabisation process which was meant to put an end to the use of French, but it was not so easy since a great number of Algerians were Francophones. As a matter of fact, both French and Arabic were used and continue to be used in everyday speech and official situations. This led to the emergence of 'code switching' and 'borrowing'; the former refers to a change of language involving more than single words, whereas the latter involves a change in language in terms of only single words or phrases. Bouamrane (1986:116) says in this respect:

Some of the questions here related to address terms are inspired from Braun (1988:1)

- 1- Where were you born?
- 2- Do you live in the town of your origin?
- 3- How old are you?
- 4- Are you male or female?
- 5- What is your family status (i.e. married, single, etc)?
- 6- Please give me in chronological order the places you have lived in for more than one year

Date:

Total number:

In this section we ask you some questions concerning your past life, as they are of great importance to us. We hope that such information will help us to determine the influences which have led to your present language usage. Of course; all personal information will be kept in strict confidence so that conclusions about the identity of the informants are impossible.

a) Questions concerning the informants' background

Please read and fill it attentively

*Reprint of the questionnaire

The following section contains a reprint of our questionnaire as well as some remarks concerning our experience in working with this questionnaire. Sometimes informants were unable to fill it in on their own, so this anonymous questionnaire should be regarded as the basis of a structured interview. That is why very often introductions, explanations, and examples were added to the forms included here; they were given just as the situation demanded but not included in the next reprint.

1. 3. Research Methodology

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Your father - Your mother - Your brothers and sisters - a- Older than you - b- Younger than you - Your grand-parents : - a- Paternal - b- Maternal - Your father's brother - Your mother's brother - Your father's sister - Your mother's sister - Your parents-in-law: - a- Father-in-law - b- Mother-in-law - Your son - Your daughter
Modes of Address	Members

1-How do you address members of your family?

b) Terms of address

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1- 2- 3-
Length of occupation	Kind of job practised

- 1- If you are a student, what schools and colleges have you attended?
- 2- What is your level of education?
- 3- If you are not a student, what jobs have you done for more than one year?

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1- 2- 3-
How long did you live there?	Name of the place

2-How are you addressed by members of your family?

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - By your father - By your mother - By your brothers and sisters - a- Older than you - b- Younger than you - By your grand-parents : - a- Paternal - b- Maternal - By your father's brother - By your mother's brother - By your father's sister - By your mother's sister - By your parents-in-law: - a- Father-in-law - b- Mother-in-law - By your son - By your daughter
--	---

3- How do you address your neighbours?

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Male - Female - Younger than you - Same age as you - Older than you - Very young - Very old - Higher in social status than you - Lower in social status than you - The same social status as you

4- How are you addressed by your neighbours?

Forms of Address in Algerian Arabic: The Speech Community of Maghnia

- Male
- Female
- Younger than you
- Same age as you
- Older than you
- Very young
- Very old
- Higher in social status than you
- Lower in social status than you
- The same social status as you

5- At school: How do you address friends, teachers and staff?

Friends
 Teachers: a- In class
 b- Not in class
 Members of the administration staff
 (Responsibles):

- a- Males
- b- Females
- c- Secretaries
- d- Simple workers
- e- Headmaster
- f- Inspectors

6- At work: How do you address colleagues, juridical Magistrates in the court of

justice?

Colleagues
 Juridical Magistrates

7- In a restaurant, in a cafe: How do you address the waiter?

	The waiter a- Name known b- Name unknown
--	--

8- How do you address the shop-keeper?

	The shop keeper a- Young b- Old
--	---------------------------------------

9- Do you use any pronouns for a direct address?

**Singular*

	a- Male b- Female c- Neutral
--	------------------------------------

**Plural*

	a- Male b- Female c- Neutral
--	------------------------------------

10- How do you address God in your dialect?

11- In many cultures a speaker is not allowed to address certain people i.e. he must not talk to them at all. Are there any such prohibitions of address in your cultural/traditional environment? (Give examples please)

Yes:

No:

12- Do you use other kinds of behaviours for address (non-linguistic such as gestures, movements of the body?)

13- When do you prefer address avoidance?

c) Gratitude Expressions (i.e. Thanking)

Forms of Address in Algerian Arabic: The Speech Community of Maghnia

- 14-Why and when do you thank people (Circumstances and obligations)?
- 15-On what basis do you choose a gratitude expression?
- 16-What kind of expressions do you use to thank a person?

Gratitude Expressions	To an inferior	To an equal	To a superior

- 17-What kind of terms can you associate /combine to your thanking formulas?
- 18-Are you obliged to add a term of address when thanking a person?

- Yes
- a- To an inferior:
 - b- To an equal:
 - c- To a superior:
- No
- a- To an inferior:
 - b- To an equal:
 - c- To a superior:

19- Imagine the following situations and provide an answer to each:
Have been given a gift, have been done a favour, have been given a help by:

- a- Someone younger than you and lower in social status (inferior).
- b- Someone of the same age as you and equal in social status (equal).
- c- Someone older than you and higher in social status (superior).
- d- Younger and higher in status.
- e- Older and lower in status.

Most of them belonged to the 14-50 age range; there were only few people who were above 50 years old.

The persons interviewed had different educational backgrounds (graduate, undergraduate, primary, middle and secondary education); very few of them were illiterate.

The third part of the questionnaire was devoted to how the two famous concepts put forward by Brown and Levinson (1978-1987) namely positive and negative politeness are reflected in the spoken repertoire of my speech community through the use of different terms of address to perform the speech act of thanking.

In the second part, informants were asked to give a taxonomy of different terms they use to address various categories of people in the speech community under investigation. (Family members, friends, colleagues and their responsible, neighbours, teachers, etc)

In the first part of the questionnaire, personal information about the informants was gathered to find out the factors affecting the linguistic choice such as: age, sex, birthplace, educational background, jobs practiced and social rank were collated.

**Collection of data*

To differentiate the two pronouns function, Brown and Gilman (1960) studied the semantic dimensions underlying the pronominal usage in French, German, Italian introducing the two notions of 'power' and 'solidarity' (1978). They mean by the first the social distance that exists between the speaker and the listener, whereas the second is always associated with familiarity and intimacy. Brown and Gilman correlate their analysis of the two pronouns selection with semantic, stylistic and psychological as well as linguistic factors. They conclude that solidarity is reciprocal since it is used between equals while power is non – reciprocal because it is used with people of social distance, to whom we show a certain kind of respect. In addition, they say that "power" and "solidarity" are not only expressed through titles, names, nicknames or no titles at all but also through pronouns inflected in verb ending.

A growing core of investigators has done great work, the most relevant ones being first, the famous article of Brown and Gilman (1960) entitled 'Pronouns of Power and Solidarity'; studied the two-choice system of "tu" and "vous" starting by the semantic evolution of the two pronouns which refer back to the fourth century when two emperors, one of the east and one of the west, sat in Constantinople and Rome but unified their work administratively. Therefore, the words addressed to one man were addressed to both and accordingly, the use of "vous" was used in response to their plurality of power. Eventually, this extended from the emperor to other power figures. Thus, the French language has established an address system that includes the "tu" and the "vous" pronouns, each one having a semantic implication.

1. 4. 1. Sociolinguistic background

In this field, a great deal of research has been done by a number of linguists to provide an answer to the following question: On what bases do people choose their forms of talk or address in different speech communities sharing either different or the same varieties?

1. 4 Address Forms

Terms of address are divided into free and bound forms. The first are those which are not integrated into the syntax of a sentence whereas the second are those integrated

A number of works have devoted immense amounts of time and energy to surveys of addressees and noticed that the choice of forms is not made at random, but intimately based on some factors that will be discussed later. In defining such forms, Braun (1988, 7) writes: "Address is a speaker's linguistic reference to his / her collocutor(s)" This definition of address includes pronouns, names, verb endings in inflected languages, titles, ... These words are not only used to get the addressee's attention but also to refer to him or her for example when saying: 'excuse me' or 'hey'.

a) Address and its analysis

Furthermore, Dickey (1996) describes the Greek forms of address dealing with the basic forms and what determines their presence or absence; she also studies the position of those forms within the sentence with a view to give significance of these forms.

A third study is a comparison between English and Vietnamese forms of address in formal meetings who focused on the relevant factors people take into account to select their address form in addition to the type of participants (literate or not, old, young, male, female...). Culture is also of great importance because in some cultures it seems impolite to call an older person by his name even if we have a close relationship with him. In this study, other paralinguistic features have been covered such as eye-contact, silence, turn-taking, gestures, and so on.

The second is the pioneering work of Ervin-Tripp (1967) 'Sociolinguistic Rules of Address' where she made an attempt to know what determines the choice of rules of address not only what those forms are. She found out that these rules change as far as age, rank, social class, marital status and setting are concerned. She also made a comparative study between American, Korean and Puerto Rican systems of address.

⁵Quoted in Dickey (1996:7)

⁴Quoted in Dickey (1996:6)

The second criterion—social context- (setting, audience, and topic of discourse) is less recognised by linguists despite its importance in determining address usage. Some settings require certain forms of address which can be rude in other settings as suggested below by Holmes (1971:297):

In all languages one person may receive different addresses from different speakers : in Arabic, for example, a woman could be addressed as 'Mrs x' title plus family name, as 'y' her first name by her colleagues , with a surname by her family and as 'Mum' by her children.

A form of address is governed by a set of rules that decide which forms can be used in which circumstances as shown by Parkinson (1985:225) "Knowledge of the proper use of terms of address is as important as the conjugation of verbs would be."⁴ It is not easy to work on which factors affect the choice of one term over another but the first important elements that we take into consideration when addressing a person are the relationship of the speaker/addressee and the social context of the utterance. The first criterion does not only mean the identity of the addressee but also that of the speaker (age, sex, status, familiarity, kinship and membership of a group); therefore address usage is not predictable from properties of the addressee or of the speaker alone but only from properties of the dyad (Brown and Ford 1961:234)⁵

b) Factors affecting rules of address

into the syntax of a sentence. On the other hand, free forms can express a strong social meaning as lack of respect for the addressee while bound forms have little social meaning.

⁷Quoted in Dickey (1996:8)

⁶Quoted in Dickey (1996:7)

An important distinction must be made between the lexical usage of an address form and the referential one. For instance, the word 'Monsieur' in French which has the lexical meaning of 'my lord' doesn't correspond to the lexical meaning 'my lord' in the following sentence "Je connais pas ce monsieur" (I don't know this man) but it refers to the address usage of "Monsieur" for any adult male. A good example could be the use of /fammī/which means 'my uncle' but is also used as a sign of respect when a young addresses an adult. Besides, there are some words which are used only referentially but not as an address, for example /farmīja/ (a nurse) in Arabic. A further complication is that the way we refer to each other is related to the way we address each other. For example, if three persons are friends and address each other by first names they will also use the first name when one is talking to the other about the third. Thus, lexical and address meaning are separate but not unrelated.

c) *Lexical versus address meaning*

The same phenomenon happens in our speech community; if your father is presenting a lesson and you call him /bb^wa/ (Dad) in class, it is considered disrespectful while at home calling him 'teacher' will be perceived as equally inappropriate. The factor of audience can be of vital importance; a recent study reports the case of a woman who addressed her mother-in-law with a familiar pronoun when two other daughters-in-law who used a formal address were not present (Muhlhauser and Haré, 1990:145)⁷.

If he (your brother) is acting as the judge in a law court then calling him Tom will be considered disrespectful, while at the dinner table calling him 'your honour' will be perceived as equally rude.⁶

Reciprocal address is also called symmetrical and is defined as the use of the same address by both speakers. This criterion is of great importance to keep in mind, for the

Brown and Gilman (1960) have made distinctions between T and V pronoun functions. The first is used with intimates or inferiors and the second is used with non-intimates and superiors. But for languages which have only one second-person pronoun such as English can have T / V distinctions in nominal address: address by first name being equivalent to T, title and last name being equivalent to V. This implies the idea of reciprocity and symmetry; the former indicates intimacy but non-reciprocity shows inferiority.

e) Reciprocity

Speakers of a language often make distinctions between 'higher' and 'lower' registers; each for a particular context. They will use forms associated with people of higher social status when aiming at a higher style and forms associated with people of lower social status when aiming at a lower style. In other words, there are certain linguistic characteristics belong to high register because they are associated with people who occupy a high status in the community; others belong to a low register associated with people of lower status. This is equally applied to the forms of address employed with addressees of both high and low statuses.

Register is the use of different types of language in different situations. For example, in the classroom, a student employs with his friends a language that is different from the one he uses with his teachers in office and uses another variety when writing a piece of prose (an essay). Therefore, he uses three different styles or genres that he applies to three particular situations and particular social dimensions as the kind of speakers he is associated with. This is applied for both literary and non-literary forms of language.

d) Register

Linguists believe that "there is a correlation between the form and content of a language and belief values and needs present in the culture of its speakers" (Saville - Troike 1989:32)⁸; this applies to addresses as well as to other elements of language.

g) Addresses and social structures

[... those at the bottom seek to minimize their difference in status from those at the top and those at the top seek to maximize that difference. In trying to do this, members of each group use address terms as a resource in the resulting 'power' struggle, with those at the bottom using the most familiar terms they can manage to use and those at the top the most formal ones.

The sociolinguist, Wardhaugh asserts (1992: 271) that in a hierarchy: until a new form was introduced and the old one was relegated to a less polite status. address was initiated by the inferior in a given dyad and took the form of being polite which led people to address their superiors with more and more deference. Thus, brought about by "the universal human trait to honour – and to reach for - power", Studies devoted to historical address change concluded that address change was

Address system, like other aspects of language, may change over time but the question that arises is whether there are regularities in the way it changes. Very little work has been done on the diachrony of address systems; even historical work on the subject tended to confine studies of this system to relatively short periods of time, although Brown and Gilman did discuss this issue in their article.

f) Address change

meaning of a term of address in a given context depends on the way the recipient of that term addresses the speakers.

¹⁰ Quoted in Dickey (1996: 28)

⁹ Quoted in Dickey (1996: 17)

I / Positive address: it generally occurs in statements implying expressions of praise, affection, solidarity, respect, or other positive emotions.

The types of statements in which addresses are used, and thus their social meaning, have had to be gathered from the contexts in which they occur and be divided into positive, negative and neutral statements (Dickey, 1996:28)

A study of forms of address can begin from either of two angles. One can classify them semantically into names, kinship terms, titles, pronouns, etc and observe how these groups are employed or classify the speakers and addressees on the basis of their age, sex, rank, etc and observe the different addresses used by each group (Romaine, 1982: 139) But I think it is better and easier to analyse the linguistic forms than the sub grouping of addresses because in many cultures an addressee is treated differently if he or she is older than the speaker and the linguistic definition of 'older' varies from one culture to another; "It is said that age difference is at least two years in Korean, fifteen years in American English, and even one day in South East Asian systems." (Ervin - Tripp, 1969:227-8,231)¹⁰. Later linguists found that this division is not firm enough to allow us to know how speakers would divide their addressees into classes, and then it is safer to begin from the term itself as is usual in historical sociolinguistics.

h) Organization (choice of address)

Other views state that address usage provides a more accurate guide to social reality than does referential usage. In Chinese, for instance, the absence of a vocative for address by a woman to the husband's elder brother or elder male cousin reflected the fact that a woman was not supposed to meet these relatives at all (Chao 1956 : 230)⁹. Therefore, address usage provides, in the culture concerned, clues about social relations, which could not be gathered from referential usage.

This complex linguistic situation characterized by both 'diglossia' and 'bilingualism' and the increasing intercultural contact has greatly influenced the Algerian social and cultural background; and the study of address system may be a reliable way and one aspect that can therefore reflect these linguistic, political and cultural values of the society.

From the diachronic study of Algeria, one may conclude that it is a melting pot for people from different races. This makes its linguistic situation quite complex with all the developments and changes. As far as the Algerian sociolinguistic profile is considered, Arabic is the national and official language and usually appears in its two forms: CA - the language of Koran is considered as the most prestigious language - is replaced by MSA (Modern Standard Arabic), the language of the nation which is more appropriate for educational purposes. On the other hand, AA is the spoken variety used spontaneously by most Algerian citizens to express their thoughts, communicate and establish social rapport in addition to some Berber varieties. In parallel, the French language is the first foreign language which emerged due to the French occupation and continues to be used in spoken and written domains.

Conclusion

- 2 / *Negative address*: it is one which occurs in statements implying anger, hostility, contempt or similar emotions.
- 3 / *Neutral address*: used in statements where neither positive nor negative emotion is apparent and it may be used in the two kinds from time to time.

Address Behaviour in Algerian Arabic

CHAPTER TWO

It is helpful to frame naming within the context of the anthropologist theory of politeness put forward by Brown and Levinson (1987). They suggest that *face* "the positive self-image individuals project to the world" (Goffman, 1967), is a universal

2. 1. 1. Names

In fact, the dialect under investigation has a rich selection of both deferential and solidarity address terms comprising of:

2. 1. A survey of terms of address in Algerian Arabic

The forms of address used in the dialect investigated—the Arabic variety of Maghnia – can take the form of names, kinship terms, personal pronouns, other terms originated from marriage relationship and occupational titles in addition to certain terms reserved to old people. Those forms are less complicated in informal situations because in formal ones their choice is determined by the type of people with whom we interact.

- a / Characteristics of the person addressed (adult/child, male/female, married/single)
- b / Features that characterize the relationship between the speaker and the addressee (for example: role, age, class)
- c / Attributes of the situation (for example: intimate, formal, or informal).

Forms of address are best understood by examining dyadic interaction, that is, by noting the address form exchanges between any given pair of individuals. A form or a mode of address is defined as the correct form or term used when we talk to somebody. According to the observations, interviews, questionnaires and surveys I did, forms of address are determined by:

Introduction

Forms of Address in Algerian Arabic: The Speech Community of Maghnia

phenomenon in human interaction. Their cross cultural theory of politeness focuses on a set of speech behaviours used throughout social interaction to perform an important aspect of face work and to defray interpersonal conflict.

The linguistic forms used to mitigate *face threats/face threatening acts*¹¹ may be categorized according to two types of socio-emotional orientation: negative politeness and positive politeness. The first mitigates face threats through the creation of social distance for instance, when asking a favour of someone instead of saying "Lend me a book", one may utter phrases like: "I had been wondering if I might borrow a book from you?" or "Could you please lend me a book?" and so forth. Positive politeness by contrast, ameliorates friction by intimating interpersonal commonality and friendliness; in other words positive politeness is less polite.

We can translate the politeness framework into the area of naming involving the use of title / last name to signal deference and first name to signal friendliness and closeness which will be discussed later in detail.

In English, address by name is very common; there are two principal forms of names:

- a - Address by first name for example 'Susan' (FN)
- b - Address by a title such as 'Mr', 'Mrs', or 'Dr' ... followed by the last name for example 'Dr Smith' (TLN).

Other combinations are possible, such as first name and last name (Susan Smith) 'FN LN', last name alone 'Smith' LN or nicknames (Sue) which are not as widespread as FN and TLN, except in the case of people whose nicknames replace their first

¹¹FTs and FTA are acts or actions used by the speaker to threaten the addressee and manipulate his behaviour.

Forms of Address in Algerian Arabic: The Speech Community of Maghnia

names. In reference one can use FN, TLN, or both names together for more identification (Dickey, 1996:44, 45).

In Greek, the system was different, each person had only one name, and the normal means of referring to a man was to use that name as Socrates said:

If a more precise identification was necessary, there was no standard way of giving it. Usually Greeks added a patronymic or a word referring to the place a person came from.¹²

That is to say, there was nothing corresponding to the English FN and TLN, for Greek FN was used as the equivalent of both FN and TLN in English.

Moreover, in Arabic, as in Greek, FN is the most common form of the name to be used in address. It is also used alone in referential usage or followed by that of his father or grandfather in some parts of the Arab world, but it is not the case in Algeria, since it was colonized by a European country. Other forms appear such as LN, FN + LN, LN alone or SSI + LN or FN ; 'SI' as a shortest form of CA "Sayyiddi" which has been reduced to 'sidi' in the Maghreb countries and used in more or less the same way as the English term "Sir" in addition to nicknames. In reference, first name is used followed by last name or vice versa.

Three factors influence the use of politeness, whether in case of naming or other forms of address, they are:

- a - The relation seriousness of a given face threatening act (FTA).
- b - Social distance.
- c - The relative power differentiation between interlocutors (Brown and Levinson, 1987)

¹² Quoted in Dickey (1996 : 45)

Applying these three factors to the utterance of an address form in Arabic, we encounter the following patterns. The importance of the relative seriousness of a face threatening act suggests that, for example, asking to borrow someone's car comprises more serious imposition than a request to borrow a pen. When the face threat is greater, more politeness is anticipated. In an example with respect to naming, an analysis of a journalist talk to the president shows that there was a tendency to switch to a more polite form: "Mr President" /sajjidi rraʔi:s/ when performing a *speech act*³ with a particularly high threat level.

For two individuals on socially distant footing when social distance is high, individuals are predicted to exchange reciprocal levels of negative politeness. In the case of naming, this would imply the use of title / last name or any other formal terms (last name / first name or SSI + LN) in formal situations between strangers.

Such as: /waf aʔusta:da ndaXXlv atla:mada darwak /

(What, teacher, do we let the pupils in now?)

By contrast, social familiarity diminishes the seriousness of face threat; symmetrical use of positive politeness is predicted. With respect to forms of address, both persons call each other by first name. Relationships may also be described as high or low in power distance and these differentiated relations are characterized by a distinctive asymmetry of politeness. Subordinates employ the negative form indicative of social distance that is last name, last name / first name, SSI + LN or FN. Superiors employ FN, the positively polite form indicative of social familiarity when speaking down.

The preceding discussion allows us to generate three propositions:

- 1 – The relative seriousness of a face-threatening act will influence naming: the more severe a face-threat is, the great and more polite name form will be employed.

¹³ Act of communication performed to express a certain attitude.

Nicknaming is a universal phenomenon which pertains to the study of "Forms of Address". It is the use of an informal name for persons. It is formed by the modification of the formal name by adding a prefix or a suffix; they are connected to the person's character or appearance or with something they have done. Nicknames are usually descriptive, summing up the individual's character or physical shape. They are given to both men and women; individuals can also adopt nicknames for themselves. One may have been impressed by a character and may decide to adopt the name of that character as a nickname. The self – selected nickname is always positive. Imposed nicknames are of three types, they can be positive, negative and descriptive.

a) Nicknames

Address by FN is associated in Arabic as many other languages with patronymics which are names derived from that of a father or an ancestor. They are formed either from adjectives built on the father's name with a patronymic ending (for example: /mouth al housi:n / the person addressed is Mohammed but the father is (El Houcine) or from a noun phrase formed with a 'child', 'son', 'daughter' and the genitive of the father's name (for example : Merjam bant ssi Imasta / or / wald ssi Umar/.

Names in Arabic are employed for direct address as well as for referring to people. They are used with people with whom we have a close relation implying the use of FN or in case of distance implying the use of LN + FN, title + LN //ssi/ + LN or sometimes /ssi/ + FN.

- 2 – Speakers in a socially distant relation will exchange reciprocal formal terms, while a socially close, familiar relation will be characterized by exchange of first names or other informal terms.
- 3 – High power distance relations are characterized by an asymmetric exchange of naming whereas low power distances are characterized by a symmetric exchange. Thus, the selection of an address form is a dynamic combination of the three variables.

Nicknames are only used to address the addressee directly by friends or acquaintances. The other members of the society may only refer to the names in secret, so this use of nicknames is one-sided.

***Positive Nicknames:** Nicknames appear as metaphorical descriptions of members of a community as a symbol of endearment and high values; they can be given to leaders or individuals who distinguish themselves in activities of communal or national significance. Those imposed nicknames are also common in sport, particularly soccer (foot-ball). The names may be derived from the playing style of the player for example /du:l/ because of his perfect way of playing.

***Negative Nicknames:** They are generally used for expressing disapproval, deriding or insulting the addressee in order to discourage him or her from certain forms of behaviour. If a community intends to show its discontent with the character of a person in power and/or authority, it imposes a nickname on him/her. Community here refers to varied institutions such as the family, school, work-place, club, organization and the nation. And since these nicknames may upset the addressee, the community uses the name to refer to him/her in secret.

Morphologically, there are two types of nicknames: those that are coined from the character of the addressee and those that are taken from names of famous people or media/literary characters who resemble that of the addressee. Teachers for instance are often given nicknames by their pupils or students from repeated use of certain words or terminology, from marked pronunciation, dressing, certain manners and/or physical appearance.

This use of nicknames is hierarchical, that is to say, while students give their teachers nicknames, the teachers themselves may give an education officer a nickname, and so on. Here are some examples of nicknames used ironically between friends:

- ← /ʔaʔa:q/ for someone very tall.
- ← /katku:t/ for someone very small.

Words expressing kinship and age form one of the most important categories of address system. Kinship terms and addresses by age are two distinct categories but it is necessary to discuss them together because some individual words belong to both groups, for example /banti/ 'my daughter' is a kinship term but /bant/ (girl) is a reference to gender and a child can imply a kinship or age term according to the context.

2. 1. 2. Kinship and age terms

Speakers sometimes try to avoid using any form of address because they feel uncomfortable using the formal forms and they do not feel familiar enough to be on first name basis, so they prefer "name avoidance" which is the omission of any form of address. This avoidance is described by the social psychologist Roger Brown of Harvard University as "a linguistic waiting room for screwing up courage."¹⁴ Such room may compromise one's ability to communicate clearly because some people spend an inordinate amount of time occupying this waiting room.

b) Name Avoidance

- /nuns/ ← for a boy with female manners.
- /tomate a / ← for someone who becomes rosy
- when he speaks.
- /selwana lu:rda/ ← for someone who is very slow and
- /lu:rda/ is a borrowed word from
- French 'lourde', meaning 'heavy'.
- /lasfar/ 'yellow' ← for someone who with fair complexion.
- /mazi/ ← for someone slim and with dark complexion

Forms of Address in Algerian Arabic: The Speech Community of Maghnia

The scientific study of kinship began with the publication of Lewis Henry Morgan's article published in 1870. Morgan assumed that human society had evolved through a series of stages from primitive savagery to civilisation, and he saw kinship terminologies as reflecting these stages.

He said that "primitive systems were classificatory, whereas civilized ones were descriptive."

Kinship terms (Kts) are terms whose lexical or vocative meaning implies relationship by blood or marriage. They constitute a catalogue of names assigned to relatives for example: father, mother, son... The investigation of kinship terminology begins with a distinction between kin types and kin terms. Kin types refer to the basic relationships that anthropologists use to describe the actual contents of kinship categories. They are supposedly culture-free. In other words, they are designations to each individual relationship such as mother, father, mother's brother, mother's sister. Each relation is described by a sequence of primary components which are strung together to indicate actual biological relationships.

On the other hand, kin terms are the labels for categories of kin which include one or more kin types and they vary across cultures. They are also defined as a set of names that people actually use to designate and address their relatives; they are specific to each culture. The terms uncle, aunt, cousin, grand-parents particular to Arabic terminology, are not kin types but categories which include more than one relationship and therefore more than one kin type.

The table 2. 1. which follows shows some examples of how primary components are strung to indicate biological relationship and therefore more than one kin type.

The largest group of kinship and age terms consists of those used for children or young adults . In Arabic terminology these words are: / waldi/(my son), /banti / (my daughter) , / wildi / (my little son) , / bnitti / (my little daughter) , / bazz / and /tal/ (child) , / bzawaz / (children) , / Xuja / (my brother) , /X^wti / (my sister) , /mummu/ (baby).

a) Terms for younger addresses

- Father : F
- Mother : M
- Brother : B
- Sister : Sr
- Son : S
- Daughter : D
- Husband : H
- Wife : W

Kin terms	Kin types
Father	F
Mother	M
Grand-father	FF / FM
Grand-mother	MF / MM
Uncle	FB / MB
Aunt	FSS / MSS
Cousin	FBS / FBD / FSS / FSD / MBS / MBD / MSS / MSD / ...
Nephew	BS / SS
Niece	BD / SD

Table 2. 1. Kin Terms Vs Kin Types

- Father / bba^w / , / abi:/
- Mother / mma / , /mama/
- Son / waldi /
- Daughter / banti /
- Brother / Xuja /
- Sister / X^wti /
- Uncle / ʔammi / → paternal
- Aunt / ʔamti / → paternal
- Grand-Father / ʔaddi / , / ʔbibi / , / bb^wa sidi / , / bb^wa lha:ʔ
- Grand-mother / ʔaddati /
- / hanna /
- / mmina /
- / nana /
- Father-in-law / ʔi:Xi / , / sidi / , / bb^wa hbibi /
- Mother-in-law / lalla / , / lahriba / , / mma,
- / ʔguzti / , / ʔgu:zti/
- Brother-in-law / lu:si / , / hmaja / → husband's brother
- / raʔel X^wti / → sister's husband
- Sister-in-law / lusti / , / hmati / , / taffalti/ → husband's sister
- / no ti / → wife of brother-in-law
- Son-in-law / nsi:b /
- Daughter-in-law / ʔrosa / , / kanna /

2) 'Woman, wife': / marti / (my wife) is used by a man to his wife and has the referential meaning of a 'woman' or a 'female person' to whom one is married. This term 'wife' is also possible to be followed by the genitive of the husband's name. Speakers of Arabic as well as English rarely used 'wife' or 'woman' as terms of address.

1) 'Man, husband': are interesting KTs because they show a clear discrepancy between lexical meaning and address usage; the referential meaning of /rajli/ (my husband) is a 'man' (in the sense of a male person). This word 'husband' is mainly used by wives to their husbands when the relation between a couple is emphasized and never for a direct address). The same phenomenon is used in French and English respectively as 'mon homme', 'my husband'.

When the speaker and addressee are approximately the same age, Ais (Age terms) are not often used, a number of KTs (Kin terms) for members of one's own generation or of an unspecified generation, namely: 'man, husband', 'woman, wife', 'brother', 'sister', 'fellow' are more appropriate.

c) Terms for same generation addressees

The addressees 'brother' /Xuja / and 'sister' /X^wti / are rarely used between siblings because brothers and sisters often address each other in other ways (First Names). Therefore, these two words and the previous ones are neutralized terms which can be used for both kin and non-kin whether male or female, young or old.

Father and mother, /bb^wa/ and /mma/ are two kinship terms used to address parents by males and females of any age. They are sometimes used with people other than parents. This use indicates that the relationship between the speaker and addressee is equivalent to actual kinship; it is also used as a common mode of polite address for older men and women of non-relatives for indicating some respect. The same phenomenon occurs with the other terms stated above.

One of the functions performed by these addressing expressions which occur in many languages is to provide an address for situations in which names are unknown or could not be used. One characteristic of the Arab culture is the frequent use of personal epithets whose distribution is conditioned by a number of factors such as age, sex, social relation (friendship, kinship...) and even appearance. This category is defined by Cram (1981: 240)¹⁶ as,

a set of nouns whose semantic function is to express the speaker's attitude to the person or persons referred to and whose typical grammatical use is not unlike that of interjections.

Personal epithets appear also in noun phrases with an evaluative adjective to which we refer as 'terms of pity' like: /maski:n/ (poor), /marbu:na/ (miserable) for instance in:

- /ħkawli Ğla hadi:k lmarbu:na li raǧalha ma:t/ (They told me about that miserable woman whose husband died).
In another conversation:
 - /smatv bhadak arǧal maskin li mat llat Ğursah / (Have you heard about that poor man who died the night of his wedding).
/hadik lmarbu:na ku:n ĵatfakkarha/ (Who cares about that miserable woman?).
- Terms of pity in Arabic express pity or sympathy.

Insults or derogatory terms are fairly common types of address in Algerian Arabic low registers between social equals; these terms are generally used when the

¹⁶ (Quoted in Bouamrane, 1988:54)

The preceding part has discussed the meaning of different words used as addresses in Arabic. But in addition to meaning, there are many other elements which

2. 2. Other aspects of address usage

These insults can be used alone or preceded by a vocative /ʔa / in direct address.

Spoken Arabic Insults	English Equivalents
/mahbu:l/ or /ʔaggu:n/	Crazy-Mad
/hmar:/	Donkey
/byal/	Mule
/Xawi/	Empty
/qbi:h/	Bad
/rXi:s/	Cheap
/sma:ta/	Savage
/msu:ʔaʔ/ 'sauvage'	Savage
/ʔeta:n/	Devil
/ʔan /	Names of Devils
/ʔaʔri:t /	Names of Devils

Table 2. 3. Spoken Arabic insults used in address.

interlocutors are seriously angry. Here in table 2. 3 are some examples with their literally equivalents in English.

A further use of FN, Kts and even insults is in address between siblings –brothers and sisters – whereas other more distant relatives like cousins and in-laws address each other by FN or titles as appropriate.

Therefore, the general rule of address among relatives is either FN or Kts when the addressee is older than the speaker. Parents, grand-parents, uncles and aunts always receive Kts from the younger that they address with first name. Wives and husbands make use of other terms of affection in addition to FN and other specific words as stated above. Besides, relatives of younger generations do receive Kts from their elders in addition to first names.

c) Distinctions of rank

Rank is one of the key factors that affect modes of address. It refers to the hierarchy existing within participants taking into account their social, educational background, identity, occupational status, etc. Another feature that comes into play is 'the degree of formality' derived from the relation between participants ; this criterion has been explained in two terms 'power' and 'solidarity' (Brown & Gilman, 1960:256).

Formality can also be influenced by kinship, familiarity relationship, politeness and seriousness. It requires more sophisticated forms of address such as the correct choice of pronouns associated with verb inflections, family names titles and so on. On the other hand, 'solidarity' refers to the social similarity between participants related to equality in rank; the latter involves familiarity in style and intimate language. Vocabulary selection is also bound to rank differences. Therefore, once we are able to recognize the ranks of those with whom we are interacting, it is important to know how to speak to them. To encourage role-playing and a reasonable impression, proper forms of address and courtly manners are essential and need to be added to our behaviour to show respect.

Addressing an inferior, however is somehow different, it is characterized by the use of names (FN), kinship-terms (Kts), friendship terms (Fts), terms of affection, esteem and insults when appropriate.

Thus, distinctions of rank are part of our speech marked when the dyad includes someone of high or low status. When addressing superiors, power and deference should be involved but when addressing subordinates the situation is reversed and symmetry should be involved.

d) Distinctions of gender

During the last decade, many studies started to look at gender differences in language. Before that, there had been many stereotypes about the language of women, for example 'women talk too much' (chatters), 'women's language is polite', 'women's talk is unimportant', etc. Yet, empirical evidence has shed some light on these stereotypes by proving some and contradicting others.

Today, males and females make a distinction between sex and gender; sex distinction is based on biological criteria while gender is a social construction that easily varies from culture to culture and from community to community. Here is a fairly typical postmodern statement on gender by the historian Grail Bedermen (1995:5):

Gender.is a historical, ideological process. Through that process, individuals are positioned and position themselves as men or women. Thus, I don't see manhood as either an intrinsic essence or a collection of traits, attributes, or sex roles. Manhood....is a continual dynamic process.²⁴

²³ In Dickey (1996: 238)

²⁴ Quoted in Paulston and Tucker (2003:199)

Moreover, "the year 1973 was historic for language and gender research" (Alice Fred, 1995:4). Robin Lakoff, a feminist who happened to be a linguist published "Language and Women's Place", the first article devoted to a discussion of language and women which inspired decades of research on the interaction of language and gender. She argues that women are given their identities in our society by virtue of their relationship with men, not vice versa (Lakoff, 1975)²⁵

Women and men belong to different sub-cultures; each party has a distinctive sub-culture. This difference in culture is reflected into language. Evidence shows that women and men tend to discuss different topics and use language differently. Differences between men's and women's speech can be analysed first at the level of vocabulary as Trudgill (1974:79-80) puts forward:

The men have a great many expressions peculiar to them,
which the women understand but never pronounce themselves.
On the other hand the women have words and phrases which the
men never use, or they would be laughed to scorn.

Men then use words or expressions that women consider vulgar or inappropriate to their feminism. In the context of the Algerian society for instance, /mra ad/ (wonderful) employed by men but women employ instead /ʃba:b/, /ʃbijjəb/ or /jaɣwi/ referring to the same word (wonderful or very beautiful). In addition, men may also say /Xanzi:n warqa/ which women generally reject and prefer /mrafi:n/ or /bXi:r ʃli:hum/, meaning 'they are rich'. Therefore, there are words and expressions that are sex-bound.

As opposed to men, women are interested in the social images which are usually reflected in language behaviour. Most of them try to use forms that approach the

²⁵ Quoted in Paulston and Tucker (2003:207)

prestigious variety in order to compensate for their subordination to men (Down, 1984:180). Historically speaking, it seems that women had a secondary role in society relative to that of men. That is, women should “act like a lady” and respect those around them. This reflects the role of an inferior status expected to respect the superior.

Furthermore, it was found that women seem to give more importance to what they are saying. When communicating with other women or men, they consider the face's wants of others by applying the appropriate polite usage of language. Another way of being polite is the appropriate amount of talk people produce in different contexts. For instance, at a party interacting with others is considered polite, while in a discussion, allowing or even encouraging others to contribute is polite. Women and men, thus, differ in the amount of talk they produce in different contexts. Men tend to be active in public and formal contexts and reticent in informal and intimate contexts (like in cafés). On the other hand, women are more active in intimate interactions but not in public and formal ones. So, women appear to pay more attention to the appropriate talk required in various contexts since this is representative of politeness; therefore they are more polite than men are (Khadawardi, 1997:11).

Another linguist Al-Wer (1997) characterizes class and gender related patterns in Arabic speaking communities in the following way:

The data from various parts of the Arab world show overwhelmingly that Arab men opt for the localized and older features (which in most cases happen to be stigmatized at some level) while Arab women favour features which have a wider regional acceptance and usage regardless of the status of these features

vis-à-vis CA (Classical Arabic)

Al-Wer (1997:261)²⁶.

²⁶ Quoted in Milroy and Gorder (2003:103)

In the Algerian context, we observe that the same phenomenon exists i.e. women code switch more to French and even borrow French lexis, especially those having a high level of education because they consider the foreign language more prestigious in interacting. They even try to make their children learn and use French for the same purpose. Here is an example of a mother speaking to her daughters for more evidence:

/Attention les filles, rani ʔadja nsalli mattuʃi:w ħta fhaza/

(Your attention girls, I'm going to pray, don't touch things)

In Arabic, women use names more freely to each other than to men (Yassin 1978:57)²⁷ and women in high positions receive certain polite addresses less often than men of the same rank (Parkinson, 1985: 19)²⁸

Accordingly, specific rules of address distinguish the two sexes like: /Xuja/, /X^wti/, /Xali/, /Xalti/, /ʃammi/, /ʃammti/. Another feature derived from sex differentiation is revealed in the pronominal system; some pronouns are men-specific and others are women-specific such as: /nta/, /ntaja/ for addressing one male person in the singular and /ntu:ma/ for addressing a group of men; while /ntija/, for addressing one female person and /ntu:ma/, /ntuma:n/ for addressing females and all of them are equivalents to the English pronoun 'you'. In addition, titles are more employed to women than men even in casual conversations; for instance, when examining a woman, the doctor addresses her with the French title /madam/ (Madam) and receives /ductu:r/ (Doctor). By contrast, he uses FN, ssi+ FN, ssi+LN....i.e. many other variants can be appropriate.

²⁷ In Dickey (1996:242)

²⁸ In Dickey (1996:242)

Conclusion

Languages and varieties of a language alike differ in their repertory of address in the number of variants, e.g., more than one pronoun in French (i.e. T/V distinction) referring to the English 'you' (one pronoun) in addition to other nominal forms like FN, T+LN in Arabic.

It is obvious that the existence of several variants, pronominal or others makes non-reciprocal usage easier and more frequent and allows a more detailed encoding of differences in age, kin relation, sex, social or occupational status. Moreover cultural norms and values can be reflected in an address system because address behaviour is the way individual speakers or groups of speakers use the repertory of address variants available to them. From a sociolinguistic point of view, address behaviour is meaningful whenever speakers have to choose from several variants those that are 'correct' in a given conversational context. Extra-linguistic factors then determine the selection of grammatically interchangeable forms. Thus, the variant chosen expresses social features of the dyad; address behaviour is further influenced by a speaker's social and linguistic background (Braun, 1988:13).

CHAPTER THREE

Address System and Politeness

Introduction

In our speech community, there are many people with different ethnic and cultural backgrounds and also different ways of speaking to one another. So, they have different choices of language for signalling their ethnicity and culture. Therefore, the forms of language usage are crucial in building social relationships. These forms are employed by people to perform either formal or intimate language i.e. to express either distant or close relations with the addressees, in Brown and Gilman terminology 'power' and 'solidarity' relations (1967-1972).

In addition to social status, rank and gender, there are other norms which are of vital importance to address interlocutors. These norms (or variables) of interaction following Hymes are rules for the use of speech, which are rules applicable to the communicative event. Those rules have to do with what is considered proper or prescriptive of how people should act; they are tied to the shared values of the speech community. Following these connecting points, studies of the way people address each other in face-to-face interaction have been related to another phenomenon general to all human societies, namely 'politeness' that is also one of the functions carried out by language. It refers to the "behaviour which actively expresses positive concern for others as well as non-imposing distance behaviour." (Holmes, 1995: 5). In other words, linguistic politeness is an expression of cultural values and accurate analysis involves identifying the relative importance of different social dimensions in particular cultures (Ibid. p.24).

3. 1. Politeness Realizations in Address behaviour

The study of the politeness phenomenon is closely related to address studies and has much to contribute to it. Here two types of strategy appear: "Negative Politeness" consists of efforts to avoid hindering the addressee in any way or annoying him/her by undue familiarity. It means that the speaker respects and recognizes the addressee; hence it is characterized by self-effacement, formality and restraint. On the other hand,

“Positive Politeness” is a strategy by which the speaker tries to gratify the addressee in some way. Therefore, negative politeness is the heart of respect behaviour, whereas positive politeness is the kernel of “familiar” and “joking” behaviour. One of its common forms is “the identity markers”, such as address forms which explain a connection between the speaker and addressee (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 107-9)

3. 1. 1. The politeness principle

Here, we attempt to explain how address forms reflect power and solidarity in different theories of politeness suggested by Lakoff (1972), Leech (1983) and Brown and Levinson (1978-1987) that will be described in details later. Then, to analyze how this is reflected in our own data, i.e., in the spoken variety of Maghnia, Arabic in the extreme west of Algeria, with a view of focussing on one speech act: thanking since it is regarded as a polite speech act. In fact, early studies of address and politeness tended to deal only with one of these phenomena, so the relationship has received little attention. But in more recent years both phenomena are often mentioned, but very often one subsumed into the other.

Pragmatics views address as part of strategic politeness. Furthermore, Brown and Levinson (1987:198-204) argue that “pronouns of address and self- reference are treated as a strategy of negative politeness.”

Researches focussing on the address system usually take another position; they limit their treatment of politeness to the usage of distant address forms, so the problem of polite realizations of speech acts is not covered. Both aspects of linguistic politeness are clearly distinguished by Kasper (1990:194-197). The choice of a specific address form is defined as “social –indexing” which depends upon the relationship between the participants; this is opposed to “strategic politeness” where choices are made dependent upon situational variables and intentions. Nevertheless, power relations which determine “social indexing” or address system may influence “strategic politeness” but

the latter is dependent on more factors (degree of imposition). In most languages, a high level of address calls for a large grade of politeness but the opposite is not always true.

Politeness thus, is a universal phenomenon which has been an important distinct research issue for working in academic fields. This phenomenon has a number of implications in sociolinguistics in particular because this field has experienced a shift from emphasis on speaker-identity, to focus on dyadic patterns of verbal interaction as social relationships, and from emphasis on the usage of linguistic forms to emphasis on the relation between form and complex inference.

It is with respect to that particular field of sociolinguistics that views the construction of message forms, analysed and initiated by Gumperz and Hymes, formulated by Ervin-Tripp (1972), and assumed by Bernstein (1971) as a fundamental doctrine of the 'Ethnography of speaking'. Some sociolinguists view that linguistic forms are associated with social value (Labov 1972, Trudgill 1974). Others see the choice of forms as determined primarily by the social characteristics of participants and setting; the ways in which messages are hedged, made deferential and structured have become crucial areas of study under a new field called 'pragmatics', the study of systematic relation of language to context. However, the sociolinguistic concern is studying differential use of language by different speakers in different situations. It is in this way that linguists derive the slogan 'sociolinguistics should be applied pragmatics.'

Consequently, the study of language in social context consists of the study of linguistic material produced within the structure of the society, i.e. paying attention to the way social characteristics affect the structures of variation and change of the language spoken. They enter the analysis through the psychological configuration of the individual. A good example of this is the research in hand, studies of politeness strategies stressing on the state of relationship between participants themselves and reflected in the forms employed to address each other.

Politeness in linguistic pragmatics and sociolinguistics is a relatively young discipline dating back to the late 1960's and early 1970's. The major reason for that late appearance is that linguists who were interested in the politeness phenomenon had little or no theoretical basis to fall back on until the speech act theory appeared in the 1960's (Austin 1962, Searle 1970, 1972). The insights of speech act theory were then enriched and elaborated by researchers putting to use Erving Goffman's notion of face and works of the language philosopher H. Paul Grice in the late 1960's and early 1970's .

The underlying principle of politeness is to preserve harmony by showing good intentions and consideration for the feelings of others. Every culture has developed certain mechanisms to signal that speakers are or are not attempting to be polite. Decoding intended politeness may be complicated because it can be manipulated by speakers and valued by listeners in various ways. There are some languages which require speakers to signal politeness in every utterance. The use of polite markers differs not only as far as the language variety is concerned but also from one individual to another because there are those who make use of a lot of polite markers. By operating across cultures, linguists argue that the interpretation of real politeness is difficult because what is 'polite', or 'rude' may vary from one individual to another and from one culture to another.

This study has considered the major models of politeness: those of Lakoff (1973), Leech (1983), Brown and Levinson (1978-1987). These models are different conceptualizations and formulations of the principle of politeness. Any discussion of politeness must cover these three conceptualizations in a manner that reflects their relative influence on politeness research. In fact these models cannot be understood without being grounded on the work of Grice (1975) on conversational cooperation and implicature, Goffman (1959, 1967, 1979, and 1981) on face, deference strategies and Brown and Gilman (1960:1972) on the pronouns of power and solidarity. These are the backgrounds which the present study takes as a basis.

3. 1. 2 - Definitions of politeness

In spite of the many formulations of a principle of politeness, there is a divergence and lack of clarity concerning the meaning of politeness. So many concepts show up in the literature as equivalents of politeness: formality, respect, and deference, indirectness, appropriateness, etiquette and tact (Fraser, 1990; Meier 1995; Thomas 1995). Moreover, there is sometimes a lot of confusion between politeness as a general notion synonymous with civility, good manners, and acceptable social behaviour and politeness as a theoretical construct, an area of academic interest. So, here are various definitions given to this criterion.

a/ Lakoff (1975:64): ...politeness is developed by societies in order to reduce friction in personal interaction.²⁹

The assumption here is that friction is undesirable and that societies develop strategies i.e. politeness to reduce that friction. Politeness is, thus a set of norms for cooperative behaviour.

b/ Leech (1980:19) defines it as :

Strategic conflict avoidance, which can be measured in terms of the degree of effort put into avoidance of conflict situations and the establishment and maintenance of comity.³⁰

However, avoidance of conflict is represented as a conscious effort on the part of the person being polite since it is strategic and aims to maintain courtesy.

c/ Brown and Levinson (1978/1987) view politeness as 'a complex system for softening face-threatening acts.'

²⁹Quoted in Watts (2003,50)

³⁰Quoted in Watts (2003,50)

Brown and Levinson appear to present a superficial definition of politeness since they too, like Leech, present speakers who strategically evaluate how to avoid face-threatening.

d/ Kasper(1990:194): Her work is based on Brown and Levinson's approach to politeness and maintains that "communication is seen as fundamentally dangerous and antagonistic endeavor."³¹ 'Polite' is therefore a term to refer to the strategies available for interactants to defuse danger and to minimalise antagonism. Other linguists see it as 'interpersonal supportiveness' (Arndt and Janney, 1985:282).

e/ Hill et al.(1986:349) define it as: One of the constraints on human interaction, whose purpose is to consider others' feelings, establish levels mutual comfort, and promote rapport.³²

Hill et al. see it as a set of constraints, i.e. normative and prescriptive rules on how to interact with others, and once again, the main goals are to establish mutual comfort and promote rapport.

3. 1. 3. Perspectives and models

Some politeness researchers constitute a division between the common sense notion of politeness and the theoretical pragmalinguistic notion. These are referred to as first-order and second-order politeness. Kasper (1994) defines the former as the "proper social conduct and tactful consideration of others" and the latter as "the ways in which relational function in linguistic action is expressed."³³

Janney and Arndt (1992) make a distinction between social politeness and tact.

³¹ Quoted in Watts (2003:51)

³² Quoted in Watts (2003:51)

³³ Quoted in Watts (2003:206)

Social politeness provides routine strategies in social situations to “coordinate social interaction”; tact helps interlocutors “preserve face and regulate interpersonal relationships”³⁴. Social politeness is interactional, group - oriented and regulative; tact is interpersonal, partner – oriented and constitutive.

A more important dichotomy that has emerged in politeness research is that between politeness as socially *indexical* and politeness as *strategic*. Kasper (1990:194-197) provides the following illustration: the choice of a specific address form is defined as “social indexing”. It is a result of the interpersonal relationship between participants. In strategic politeness, intentional, conscious choices are made on the basis of context and intentions.

In the same field, Brown and Gilman (1960/1972) introduced the terms of power and solidarity and how they are expressed through pronouns. Power and distance are recognized in the three models of politeness as determining factors. Moreover address forms, canonically represented by pronouns, have come to be regarded as important tools for the expression, and analysis of politeness and indexes for signaling distance or lack thereof. Although the theory is too restricted to count as a politeness theory, or a major principle of politeness – *a principle of address forms’ politeness* - but not a comprehensive politeness principle .

a) Pronouns of power and solidarity

Roger Brown and Albert Gilman’s landmark article “Pronouns of power and solidarity” (1960/1972) is not considered as a principle of politeness but has had a far-reaching influence on most subsequent perspectives on language, and has become a starting point in sociolinguistic investigation of address forms and systems. In other words, Brown and Gilman’s central distinction between power and solidarity is taken for granted in the models developed by Brown and Levinson (1987) and Leech (1983).

³⁴ Quoted in Watts (2003:24)

As perceived by Brown and Gilman (1972), 'power' obtains between two persons when one "is able to control the behaviour of the other". This relationship is nonreciprocal and it can have a number of different bases: physical strength, wealth, age, or institutionalized role within the state, family, army and so on. 'Solidarity', on the other hand, is a relationship that is based on similarity or even sameness of salient characteristics in two (or more) persons. Such relationships are reciprocal i.e. they obtain equally for both individuals. These two parameters have also had an impact on recent development in the analysis of language in use. In fact, it is an essential component of any examination of the social deixis which is a reference to the social characteristics and distinctions between the participants in discourse. Brown and Gilman's 'tu /vous' distinction is the classic example of social deixis, and more broadly of the interpersonal aspect of communication.

Thus, Brown and Gilman's distinction between power and solidarity is confined to the 2nd singular pronoun 'tu' for intimacy or familiarity and the 2nd plural pronoun 'vous' for respect and deference as address forms. The usage of these pronouns is determined by a complex set of pragmatic rules and social contexts.

Linguistically speaking, to be polite is to avoid addressing people directly; this strategy was the functional background of the emergence of politeness distinctions in personal pronouns in European languages. On the other hand, in Arabic, for example, other terms as shown in my first chapter are employed for address in addition to pronouns.

In other languages, personal pronouns are not used for address at all; instead, status and kinship terms, titles, nicknames and other complex nominal expressions are employed and have different forms for referring to equals, inferiors and impolite usage.

Hence, Brown and Gilman's (1960) pioneering work is important for its role in opening this whole field; however it cannot be regarded as a universal social

taken up seriously. Lakoff always stressed the significance of her training as a generative linguist for her approach to the pragmatic and social study of language. It is therefore surprising that her 1973 article represents an attempt to set up rules of pragmatics well-formedness as an extension to the rules of grammar. She writes:

We should like to have some kind of pragmatic rules,
dictating whether an utterance is pragmatically well-formed
or not, and the extent to which it deviates if it does.”

(Lakoff, 1973:296)³⁶

In fact, well-formedness can be applied to the realm of sentences and not to the realm of utterances. Utterances can be evaluated as pragmatically appropriate but hardly as pragmatically well-formed. Nevertheless, Lakoff insists that the search for pragmatic ‘rules’ would have to be grounded in a notion of pragmatic competence. In this respect she claims (1973:293-4) (ibid.p.59) that:

The pragmatic content of a speech act should be taken into
account in determining its acceptability just as its syntactic
material generally has been, and its semantic material recently has
been.

From this quotation, one will gain the impression that Lakoff aimed at setting up a model that would account for the acceptability or non-acceptability of polite utterances.

In her politeness framework, Lakoff (1973) suggests that in any conversational situation there are “Rules of Pragmatic Competence” at play. Two simple rules of pragmatic competence are proposed: ‘*Be clear*’ and ‘*Be polite*.’ Rule 1 (Be clear) is really the Gricean CP which she renamed the ‘rules of conversation’. Rule 2 (Be polite) consists of a subset of three rules, R1: don’t impose; R2 Give options; and R3: make A (addressee) feel good –be friendly.

³⁶ Quoted in Watts (2003:59)

If one's principal aim in speaking is communication, one will attempt to be clear if the speaker's principal aim is to navigate somehow 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."

(Lakoff, 1973: 296)³⁷

Being polite appears to be extremely important in most situations. The reason for this is the overriding importance of reaffirming and strengthening relationships when we are engaged in social discourse, we use the rules of politeness to make an addressee think well of us:

- "1) Don't impose (principle of distance or formality)
- 2) Give options (principle of deference or hesitancy)
- 3) Make A feel good-be friendly (principle of camaraderie)." (Lakoff.1973:298)³⁸

Lakoff's pragmatic competence can thus be represented schematically in the figure 3. 1.³⁹ below:

³⁷ Quoted in Mazid (2006:15)

³⁸ Quoted in Mazid (2006:15)

³⁹ In Watts (2003:60)

(Don't Impose), through informal politeness (Give Options) to intimate politeness (Make A feel Good).

Therefore, Lakoff (1973) extends Grice's work and argues for the necessity of both a Politeness Principle and a Cooperative Principle. She adds an interpersonal dimension to Grice's informational framework. Accordingly, she believes that it is not enough to be informative; one has to know when to say "please" and when to say "thank you". She desires to expand the scope of Linguistics from the limited horizon of Transformational Grammar to the broader issue of language use; as part of an attempt to make sense of what we are actually doing with language. A further attempt to elaborate models of politeness expanding and complementing Grice's CP was developed by Leech (1983).

***Leech (1983) 'Grand' scheme: A model of general pragmatics**

As with Lakoff, Leech's approach to linguistic politeness forms part of an attempt to set up a model of what he calls 'general pragmatics which he glosses as an account of how language is used in communication (1983:1)⁴⁰. Unlike Lakoff, Leech does not aim at accounting for pragmatic competence. In other words, he is not concerned with creating highly precise formal rules such as those in the syntactic or semantic components of a grammar. One of his postulates is: "Semantics is rule-governed (i.e. grammatical); general pragmatics is principle-controlled (i.e. rhetorical). (Leech, 1983: 5).

Leech conceptualises 'general pragmatics' as "the general conditions of the communicative use of language" (1983:10). Moreover, he proposes two further pragmatic systems 'pragmalinguistics' and 'socio-pragmatics'; the former accounts for the more linguistic end of pragmatics, in which particular resources which a given language provides for conveying particular illocutions. The latter studies the more specific "local" conditions on language use.

⁴⁰ Quoted in Watts (2003:63)

Furthermore, there is a pattern of circumstances in which these pay-offs would be most advantageous : the more dangerous the particular FTAs is in S's assessment, the more he will tend to choose the higher numbered strategy (Brown and Levinson, 1987:73).

The use of the first strategy (on-record, minus redress), leaves S responsible without any means to minimize the FTAs. The use of redressive action, affords S the opportunity to placate H (to make him feel less angry) by satisfying some of his desires. The use of the second strategy (positive redressive action) allows S to satisfy a wide range of the H's desires not necessarily related to the FTAs, while the use of the third (negative redressive action) allows speaker to satisfy the H's want that is directly infringed by x. Finally, the fourth strategy (off-record) affords S the opportunity of escaping from the responsibility by claiming that the interpretation of x as an FTA is wrong and simultaneously allows S to avoid actually imposing the FTA on H.

3. 2. Address Forms in Brown and Levinson's Model

The selection of the linguistic politeness strategies depends on the context and the social context. Koike (1992:25) suggests that an "an act is not inherently polite or deferent, but is construed as such according to its context and the rules of conduct and expectations by that society."⁴³

An act could be rude in one context and polite in another. Politeness is carried out linguistically in many different strategies; for example people use greetings, expressions of admiration as means of positive politeness. Moreover, they use apologies, hedges in order to satisfy the negative face of others. Agreeing with Brown and Levinson, Scollon and Scollon (1981) establish a 'solidarity politeness' which corresponds to Brown and

⁴³ Quoted in Mazid (2006:24)

Levinson's *positive politeness*, and a 'deference politeness', which corresponds to Brown and Levinson's *negative politeness*.

Applications of politeness theory have generally used Brown and Levinson's model as default option and Leech's has been either marginalized or not mentioned at all. Lakoff's Rules of politeness remain rather rudimentary and not fully fledged enough to be used in analyzing politeness. Brown and Levinson's face saving model of politeness remains the most influential in the area as it provides "a systematic description of cross-linguistic politeness phenomena which is used to support an explanatory model capable of accounting for any instance of politeness." The central claim of the model is that "broadly comparable linguistic strategies are available in each language, but that there are local cultural differences in what triggers their use." (Grundy, 2000)⁴⁴. This model has been adapted in different studies of speech acts, politeness formulas, and politeness strategies, politeness in family discourse, in language teaching, writing in business communication and so on and so forth.

Here we intend to analyse 'power' and 'solidarity' notions reflected in various forms of address -under the heading of Brown and Levinson' politeness- in family interaction since the family unit is an integral part of society and such should form an integral part of the study of linguistics; it is also the best representative of solidarity politeness.

The intimate genre is one that has caused a great difficulty in collecting data (McCarthy, 1998)⁴⁵. For obvious reasons, people view the family life as intensively private and so are unwilling to allow linguists analyse it. However, the study of family discourse can yield many insights into the study of politeness. (Crystal, 2000)⁴⁶ claims that the home dialect is the base dialect and therefore family talk represents a base level genre that embodies critical levels of linguistic features such as politeness. These levels

⁴⁴ Quoted in Mazid (2006:26)

⁴⁵ Quoted in Wolfson (1988:178)

⁴⁶ Quoted in Wolfson (1988:178)

are the minimum needed for polite interaction in society. In this analysis the levels of politeness are addressed from two different viewpoints. The first is the use of positive politeness strategies in the family with a focus on the in-group address forms and their significant role in family discourse; whereas the second is a switch to the use of negative politeness strategies in different academic situations focussing on address behaviour required to fit the needs of the interlocutors.

The occurrence of all these linguistic realizations of both positive and negative politeness strategies will be examined because it is so important in an area where both language and culture overlap or more particularly where the link between language use and acceptable behaviour comes to the surface. Blum-Kulka (1990, 1997) explores family discourse starting from the assumption that it is essentially polite and that politeness in this discourse is shaped by domain and culture considerations. Three important factors determine family politeness: power, informality and affect.

3. 2. 1. Positive Politeness

According to the data examined, it was found that in family discourse positive politeness is more prominent than negative politeness. As has been stated positive politeness is an action aimed at building on indices of solidarity such as in-group membership (Blum-Kulka, 1997:143)⁴⁷. This politeness is primarily concerned with minimizing the social distance between conversational participants. In a study of the politeness of forms of address, Wood and Kroger (1991:147)⁴⁸ claim that: "The maintenance of positive face requires the achievement of closeness and common identity." Therefore, if solidarity and closeness are characteristics of positive politeness, one could expect that positive politeness would be evident throughout a corpus of family discourse. Indeed Brown and Levinson (1987:101) maintain that "the linguistic realizations of positive politeness are in many respects simply representative of normal

⁴⁷ Quoted in Mazid (2006: 32)

⁴⁸ Quoted in Wolfson (1988:148)

linguistic behaviour between intimates." They add that "in positive politeness the sphere of redress is widened to expression of similarity between ego's and alter's wants". Besides, "positive politeness techniques are usable not only for FTA redress but in general as a kind of social accelerator, where S, in using them, indicates that he wants to 'come closer' to H." (ibid. p.103).

Brown and Levinson (1987:101-129) examine the occurrence and use of the strategies that avoid threatening the addressee's positive face. One of them is the in-group identity markers by in-group usages of address forms, of language or dialect, of jargon or slang, and of ellipsis (ibid.p.101). These criteria are devices used to convey in-group membership and an integral part of polite language use. In addition, these markers are important in defining and maintaining social relationships between participants in conversation (Wood and Kroger, 1991:145)⁴⁹.

**Use of in-group identity markers*

One of the most prominent positive politeness strategies in family discourse is the use of terms of address that include the addressee with the addresser in a commonality. As has been already explained, those forms concentrate on three word classes: (1) pronouns, (2) verbs' inflections, (3) nouns supplemented by words which are syntactically dependent on them (Braun, 1988:7). These forms are frequently employed in family discourse to show solidarity politeness. In fact, since *subject pronouns* are not obligatory in Arabic, familiar pronouns /nta/ (masculine 'you'), /ntija/ (feminine 'you') i.e. second person singular pronouns are rarely used for a direct address but generally as referent forms. In the plural, the second person plural pronouns /ntu:ma/ or /ntuma:n/ are used for both men and women. Besides, /huwa/ (he), /hija/ (she), /hu:ma/, /huma:n/ (they) third person singular and plural referent pronouns are most of the time used to avoid repetition of a former indirect address with a noun.

⁴⁹ Quoted in Wolfson (1988: 184).

The informants in our data argue that the usage of direct pronouns is only to emphasize or insist on the addressee's role in the conversation as the following example shows:

A: /rak ʕlija ana/ (you speak to me?)

B: /wah rani ʕlik nta/ (yes, I mean you)

Therefore, pronouns in Algerian Arabic can be represented by congruent verb forms alone (second person singular) to cover all everyday conversations. To explain the point more clearly, here is a recorded conversation between a stepmother and daughter-in-law speaking about other stepmother's daughter.

Extract 1:

A: /kisbahtu wkiraha lamrida lju:m /

(How are you today and how is the patient today?)

B: /raha ki33ən wantuma kisbahtu mohamməd mʕa jaXdəm/

(She is like a devil and you, how do you feel, this morning? Mohammed, has he gone to work?)

A: /wah sbaħ mbakkar wlabna:t ma3awʃ galu n3i:w ssaħ/

(Yes, he gets up early, and girls (your daughters) didn't come, they said: "We 'll come in the morning.")

B: / ʔadi naħdər mʕa zakija wan ʃu:f /

(I'll call Zakia and see what the matter is.)

B: /ʕalə zakija matzi:w wəlla kifaf /

/Hello Zakia ! Don't you come?)

C: /ana rani fettri:g bəssaħ fatiha muħa:l t3i whuwarija raha temma /

(Me, I'm on my way but Fatiha, I think she won't come and Houaria, is she there?)

B: /hadik lma3bu:na bajna maXellahaʃ t3i bəssaħ huwarija wnawel 3aw lba:rəħ/

(That miserable, is certainly not allowed to come but Houaria and Naouel came yesterday.)

The extract above shows that there is a great informality between the interlocutors involved in this conversation, the speakers are using a direct language and familiar terms to the addressee like *first names*; closeness is also inflected in *verbs' suffixation* like /kiraha/ (how is she?), /kisbahtu/ (how do you feel this morning?); there is also a use of *terms of pity* /lmaɣbu:na/ (that miserable), /lamrida/ (the patient) in addition to a *term of insult* referring to a child who was ill /ʒʒən/ (devil).

With examining another extract, other terms of address are employed in a conversation between a mother and her son of five years old.

Extract 2:

A: /jasi:n ru:h and mart Xalək taʃte:k lfto:r luXtək/

(Yassine, go to your uncle's wife and ask her to give you lunch for your sister).

B: /tata gatlək mama ʃti:ni lafto:r luXti/.

B: (Tata, mum says give lunch for my sister)

C: /saħħa tata/ (ok, tata).

'B' goes to the kitchen and comes back with a tray full of food and said:

B: /haki mama/ (Here it is, mum).

A: /ru:h ʃawəd saʃdi bəwli:di ʒi:bli lma /

(Go again, dearest son, to bring me water).

Here the in-group address forms used with an imperative /ru:h/ (Go) indicates that the mother considers the power between herself and her son and even the social distance between this boy and his uncle's wife; these are represented in the *Kts* /tata/ (referring the uncle's wife), and /mama/ (mum). The second request of the mother is also given in the imperative but followed by a term of endearment /saʃdi/ (my dearest) in addition to the *Kt* /wli:di/ (my little son) is employed in order to soften the imperative and indicate that it is not a direct order as well as expressing familiarity and respect at the same time. Thus, when used with children, the imperative structure is turned from an order into a request (Brown and Levinson, 1987:108).

Another kind of address to note in family discourse is the frequent use of terms of endearment including both *nicknames* and *pet-names*. The former are those informal, often humorous words connected to the person's character or appearance; the latter are names used for somebody instead of the real name to show affection. Examples of these are recorded in this phone conversation below between an adult female and her niece of four years old.

Extract 3:

A: /alo *ʕpmri* bõʒu:r / (Hello, darling, Good morning!)

B: /wi *tati* bõʒu:r / (Yes,hello, Good morning!)

A: /kiraki *twahhəʃtək* bəzzaf *neffu:liti*, *kbarti*/

(How are you, I miss you 'nfu:liti', you have grown older?)

B: /wi rani neqra fla kXeʃ / (yes, I' m in the nursery school).

A: /w *lolita* raha təmma hta hija *twahhəʃtha* tʃallmat tahdər wəlla wa:lu/

(And 'Lolita' has she learnt to speak or not yet?)

B: /ʃwija ha:hija nfawwəthalək/ (A little bit, she is here. I'll pass her to you).

C: /awo *tati* abes/ (Hello 'Tati' fine).

A: /alo *azzi:n* té adorable/ (Hello! O you most wonderful, you are sweet.)

As the extract shows, great intimacy and closeness is shown to these two girls through the terms of affection (written in italics) employed and the second person singular pronoun reflected in the verbs' endings underlined. In contrast, the adult female is receiving a kin title /tati/ (instead of tata) referring to 'my aunt'. By the way, children within the family are generally addressed by short informal forms of their first names; these forms are called *diminutives*. The latter type of address is according to Wood and Kroger (1991) "The ultimate indices of closeness and intimacy."⁵⁰, they are used within members of the family to soften what the listener may perceive as a threat to face. In

⁵⁰ Quoted in Wolfson (1988: 186)

other words, they are used to soften sometimes a parental imperative. These terms seem to function as an overall endearment of the topic of conversation and stress emotional agreement between 'S' and 'H', too (Brown and Levinson, 1987:109). Examples of these diminutives recorded from a questionnaire responses as well as through observations are represented below in table 3. 1.

Table 3. 1. Diminutives used for address in Algerian Arabic.

Names of girls	Diminutives used for address	Names of boys	Diminutives used for address
Anfel	/nfu:la/ , /fifi/	Mohammed	/mɔmɔ/
Alaa	/alu:ʔa/ , /Lolita/	Sid Ahmed	/sidu/
Naouel	/nani/ , /nanwila/	Ahmed,AbedelHamid	/hammi/
Saliha	/sali/	Boumediéne	/didu/ , /diden/
Besma	/biʃ/ , /bisu/	Abderahmane	/ʔabdu/
Amina	/mina/	Khiredine	/Xiru/
Nadjoua	/ʒiʒi/	Zine El Abidine	/zinu/
Myriam	/mimi/	Karim	/krimu/
Zoulikha	/zuXa/	Nour Eddine	/Nu:ri/
Chahra	/ʃuʃu/ , /ʃuk/	Mostefa	/fafa/
Souad	/susu/	Hadj	/hiʒʒu/
Dalila	/dala/	Zakariya	/zaki/
Awatif	/tifa/ , /ʔattu:fa/		
Wahiba	/hiba/		
Khadidja	/Xeddu:ʒ/		

Address inversion is another special pattern of nominal address observed in family discourse to express closeness, intimacy and solidarity. It is the use of a term, mostly Kts (which do not function as would be usual) express the addressee's, but the speaker's role in the dyad (Braun,1988:12); for example, a mother addressing a child as /mama/ or

an adult male addressing his nephew as /ʃammi/, or /tata/ by a female adult to a child. These terms are reciprocated to the adult mother, uncle or aunt. This address inversion is not restricted to Kts but they seem to be the most frequent type within the family.

Another important feature to point out here is *humour, laughter* that functions to express solidarity and rapport between participants. Very often, the family members especially siblings, are engaged in 'joking relationships' (Hay, 2000)⁵¹ where individuals tease and insult each other. This verbal sparring is employed to develop a sense of comradeship and joviality within the group (Hay, 2000)⁵²

The system of address in Algerian Arabic, then, can be only explained from speakers' constellations of different terms by interviewing informants with different social and cultural backgrounds. Certain variants are preferred by certain groups of speakers who are characterized in terms of regional dialect urban Vs rural background, age, kin relation, and so forth. To put it the other way round, each group of speakers in the speech community brings a typical inventory of address, thus, enlarging the general system of variants. Below in table 3. 2. is the test informants' data:

Table 3. 2. Address forms for family members.

Family members	22 informants	Total : 100%
1 - Father	15:./bb ^w a/.....	... 68, 18%...
	02:/baba/.....	... .. 09, 09%...
	04: /papa/.....	..... 18, 18%.....
	01: /abi:/.....	..... 04, 54 %.....
2 - Mother	08:/mama/.....	.....36, 36 %.....
	11:/mma/.....	.....50, 00 %.....
	03:/jəmma/.....	.....13, 63 %.....

⁵¹ Quoted in Braun (1988: 192)

⁵² Quoted in Braun (1988: 193)

3 – Older brothers and sisters	22: ...FN.....	.....100, 00 %.....
4 – Younger brothers and sisters	12: ...FN.....	.....54, 55 %.....
	05: Petnames.....	.....22, 72 %.....
	05: Diminutives.....	.....22, 72 %.....
5 – Sons and daughters	10: ...FN.....	.....45, 45 %.....
	05: Nicknames.....	.....22, 72 %.....
	07: Endearing terms.....	.....31, 81 %.....
6 – Grand parents a – Grand Father	14 :/ʒæddi/ .....	.....63, 63 %.....
	01 :/bb ^w a/ .....	.....04, 54 %.....
	04: /bb ^w a lha:ʒ/.....	.....18, 18 %.....
	01: /bb ^w a sidi/.....	.....04, 54 %.....
	02: /ʒaddilħa:ʒ/.....	.....09, 09 %.....
	01: /papi/.....	.....04, 54 %.....
	b – Grand Mother	08 :/mima/36, 36 %.....
		08 : /ħænna/.....36, 36 %.....
		02: /mi:malħa:ʒʒa/.....09, 09 %.....
		02: /mmalħa:ʒʒa/09, 09 %.....
		01 :/mami/04, 54 %.....
		01 :/mma/04, 54 %.....
	7 – Uncles a – Father's brother	13 : /ʕammi/59, 09 %.....
		/ʕammi/+ FN22, 72 %.....
05 : /ʕ ammu/.....		.....18, 18 %.....
04 : /ħbi:bi/.....		.....
b – Mother's brother		13 : /Xa:li/.....59, 09 %.....
	/Xa:li/+ FN	.....

	05: /Xa:lu/ .....	.....22, 72 %.....
	04: /ħbi:bi/ .....	.....18, 18 %.....
8 - Aunts		
a - Father's sister	13: /ʕammti/..... /ʕammti/+ FN	.....59, 09 %.....13, 63 %.....
	03: /ʕamtu/.....	.....22, 72 %.....
	06: /ħbiba/.....	
b - Mother's sister	09: /Xa:liti/, /Xa:liti/+ FN	.....40, 90 %.....
	06: /Xa:ltu/.....	.....27, 27 %.....
	04: /ħbiba/.....	.....18, 18 %.....
	02: /tati/ .....	.....09, 09 %.....
	01 :/tata/ .....	.....04, 54 %.....
9 - Parents in-law	10:/bb ^w a/.....	.....45, 45 %.....
	04: /si:di/.....	.....18, 18 %.....
a - Father's in-law	02: /ʕammi/+ FN.....	.....09, 09 %.....
	06: /ʕi: Xi/.....	.....27, 27 %.....
b - Mother's in-law	08:/mma/.....	.....36, 36 %.....
	02:/Xalti/.....	.....09, 09 %.....
	04:/laħbiba/.....	.....18, 18 %.....
	08:/lalla/.....	.....36, 36 %.....
10-Address inversion	Kts.e.g. /bba, ʕammi, mama, zəddi, ʕammti, mima/.....	.....100, 00 %.....

informal terms of address indicating closer and intimate relationships. These terms include: first names, verb inflections, kin terms that can be combined to FN like /*ʕammi aħmed*/ or /*ʕammu aħmed*/ (my uncle Ahmed) corresponding roughly to the collocutor's age or generation. The Kts may express the speaker's age and sex too when used in address inversion. Furthermore, there are other terms indicating close relationships such as /*saħbi*/ (a male friend), /*zari*/ (neighbour) but cannot be classified under the previous categories and in which the relationship is expressed in the terms themselves. Besides, positive politeness within the family is expressed through nicknames, pet-names, diminutives, address inversion in addition to other non-linguistic features such as joking and laughter.

Therefore, family interaction is characterized by a low politeness on the part of the speaker and this affords to be direct. This directness both maintains the intimacy of the speaker's relationship with his/her addressee and it is family-specific way of talking (Wolfson, 1988: 193).

The previous explained strategies are generated to all situations where positive politeness holds the floor of conversation, that is to say, in all familiar, informal and intimate settings.

3. 2. 2. Negative politeness

If Wood and Kroger (1991:147) noted: "The maintenance of positive face requires the achievement of closeness and identity"⁵⁴, then the maintenance of negative face requires the achievement of distance. Brown and Levinson (1987:129) place negative politeness at the heart of respect behaviour, just as they place positive politeness at the heart of intimate behaviour. They remark that "negative politeness is the most elaborate and most conventionalised set of linguistic strategies for FTA redress" (ibid.p.130). They list ten strategies for the linguistic realizations of negative

⁵⁴ Quoted in Wolfson (1988,187)

politeness: be conventionally indirect, use of hedges, be pessimistic, minimize the imposition, give deference, apologize, Impersonalize S and H (distancing), State the FTA as a general rule (avoidance of pronouns), nominalise (use of nouns instead of verbs) and go on record like incurring a debt or as not indebting H.

In Algerian Arabic, very often in their every-day speech people define addressees as father, mother, wife, daughter and son of someone else by expressing the addressee's relation to another person, for example, /bant əlhɑ:ʒ/ (daughter of the pilgrim), /bant hmed/ (daughter of Ahmed), /wəld ʕli/ (son of Ali) and so on and so forth for the purpose of avoiding personal names; that is the key for 'power politeness' or 'negative politeness' reflected in address behaviour. Hence, avoiding address by first name alone is of per amount importance to express deference and respect but there are many other variants to show this criterion. For this reason, address research viewed distant address as the only or most important form of non-familiar interactions, i.e. negative politeness.

Power, respect, and deference are reflected through a variety of categories. Among them, we mention first *the indirect address* that seems to be restricted to a special function, i.e. establishing a first contact with a stranger – An appropriate noun is a means of expressing distance in the sense of lack of acquaintance. For this, most informants agree on /ʔaX/ (brother), /ʔuXt/ (sister), 'ssi mohammed' (vocative + Mohammed-FN-) even if the person's name is not 'Mohammed' because it is a neutral term used to address men whose names are unknown. Even the French words 'jeune' (young) and 'Monsieur' (Sir, Mr) and 'Madame' (Madam, Mrs), 'Mademoiselle' (Miss) may turn up in an Arabic conversation for the first contact with a person whom we do not know. This kind of address is not mentioned for a long time and is sooner or later replaced by one of the normal variants which will be explained later. It may be more interesting in this context to give a few examples of questionnaire items so that the diversity of data and its causes become more understandable. For that, we consider the following situations where there is no familiarity between participants to

analyse the forms that can be employed in address behaviour: secondary school, café, court of justice and shopping.

Since subject pronouns are not obligatory in Arabic, the plural form /ntu:ma/ (plural 'you') rarely functions as V pronoun in the dialectal form as opposed to the standard variety of Arabic, most of the informants deny even the possibility of marking respect with the plural pronoun /ntu:ma/ in their every day speech; they prefer to combine verbs with plural suffixes or inflections to indicate a difference in rank or status. On the other hand, *pluralisation* is usually used on the part of the speaker when he/she wants to indicate superiority over the addressee; this is done by the first person plural pronoun /hna/ (we) instead of /ana/ or through verb forms in the plural /mʃi:na/ (we went) rather than /mʃi:t/ (I went).

Within the repertoire of free forms of address, FN can be combined with *Mr/Mrs/* variants: /sajjid, sajjida, a:nisa/ (Mr, Mrs, Miss). The latter variants can be used without names as well. Besides, FN can be added to *LN*.

Another way of expressing negative politeness is the use of *titles* either alone or with FN as has been already explained. The latter criterion generally reflects the academic education, rank, occupation of the addressee. For instance, a recorded conversation shows that a doctor uses 'Madame' and receives 'Doctor' in turn when examining a woman. Other titles may be used e.g. /usta:d/, /muhandis/,... referring to (teacher, architect,.....) to addressees with high academic education or who really occupy a corresponding position. In the field of education, titles can be added to the words 'Monsieur' or 'Madame', for instance 'Monsieur l'inspecteur' or /sajjid lmufattif/ (Mr the inspector) and /sajjid lmudi:r/ (Mr the headmaster) even in informal situations i.e. in a simple debate with those people. Besides, addressing a teacher outside or inside the class does not involve any change; the most appropriate titles are /usta:d/ (masc), /usta:da/ (fem) but addressing another male superior either a headmaster or anyone else from the administration staff is more frequent with the term /ʃi:X/ for males but with

/usta:da/ or FN for females that may also be used for an Imam responsible for religious education in a mosque.

On the other hand, in the court of justice, all lawyers, both young and old receive /usta:d/or /usta:da/ referring to /muħa:mi/ and /muħa:mija/ (male and female lawyers) but judges, attorneys and other judicial workers are addressed in return with more formal, standardized expressions which include: /sajjidi: arra?i:s/ (Mr the judge or president) /ħadara:t assada al mustafa:ri:n/ or /zanab almaħkama almuwaqara (Your Excellency, Mr the magistrate). Therefore in this kind of situations where there is a great formality between speakers and hearers not only distant pronouns are employed but also the high variety in addition to a switch to the foreign language where the context necessitates French, regarded as a prestigious language in Algeria and usually used when a high degree of politeness is required.

In a café, for example, the waiter is addressed by his name if it is known. However if the name is unknown other terms like 'Mohammed', /ħbi:bna/, /sarika/, /zari:/, /Xuja/, 'jeune' (young), 'la famille'(family), 'l'artiste'(artist) are employed. Moreover, hand gestures like knocking at the table or calling him simply with hands i.e. avoidance of address term may be used but considered rude and impolite by the waiter.

Besides, with shopkeepers, basic categories are not so many: (1) fictive Kts (a-uncle terms /sammi/, /sammi lħa:z/; b- brother terms /Xuja/); (2) FN; (3) Si+ FN or LN; (4) avoidance.

The religious titles /lħa:z/ and /lħa:z3a/ (masc/fem pilgrim) are commonly used for addressing old people in general and otherwise with addressees who are known to have undertaken the pilgrimage to Mecca; they can also be combined to uncle or aunt terms resulting in / sammi lħa:z/ and /Xalti lħa:z3a/ meaning 'uncle pilgrim' and 'aunt

pilgrim'. This address term //lha:ʒ/ and /lha:ʒʒa/ is also used for the sake of respect of older people even if they have not been to Mecca yet.

Consequently, address variants reflecting deference and negative politeness are taken from the following categories (1) fictive Kts, (2) Mr-variants, (3) titles, (4) religious titles, and (5) avoidance.

It is important to note here that this diversity of data and of address behaviour was found with a very special section of the Algerian society i.e. different informants or sub-groups of speakers may have their own preferences according to their ethnic background. Heterogeneity would have been much greater if other groups of speakers had been included. Additional informants are potential sources of additional variants, differentiation, and factors. Parkinson (1982:75) points to the interdependence of speaker's background and forms of address in Egyptian Arabic:

On one level terms of address serve to mark addressee in relation to speaker, while on another level they serve to mark speaker himself as a member of a certain sub-group in society.⁵⁵

Parkinson (1982:75)

Finally, the Algerian address repertoire is inhibited by the social, ethnic and linguistic characteristics of the society. Hence the Algerian repertory is rich and productive; new variants are easily formed by modifying, e.g. suffixing basic forms or to some extent by borrowing from foreign languages like /tata, tati/, from the French 'Tante' and / ofe:r/ 'Chauffeur' ,.....Address behaviour may even seem inconsistent with one speaker since switching can be frequent and is enhanced by the multitude and variability of forms.

Here, the various constellations of the basic categories explained before are reproduced in a statistical way in the following table:

⁵⁵ Quoted in Braun (1988,192)

Table 3. 3. Address forms at schools.

Secondary school	30 informants	Total : 100%
1-Student →Teacher	30: /ʔusta:d/.....	.....100, 00 %.....
	30: /ʔusta:da/.....	.....100, 00 %.....
2 - Student → Headmaster	30: /ʃi:X /.....	.....100, 00 %.....
3-Student → Adminstration a - Male	10: ....FN.....	.....33, 33 %.....
	20: /ʃi:X/.....	.....66, 66 %.....
	20: ....FN.....	.....66, 66 %.....
	10: /ʔusta:da/.....	.....33, 30 %.....
a - Female		

Secondary school	20 informants	Total : 100%
1 - Teacher → Inspector	10: /ʃi:X/	.....50, 00 %.....
	05: /ssajid lmufattif/	.....25, 00 %.....
	05: Mr l'inspecteur	.....25, 00 %.....
2 - Teacher → Headmaster	15: /ʃi:X/	.....75, 00 %.....
	05: /ssajji:d lmudi:r/	.....25, 00 %.....

Table 3. 4. Address forms at the court of justice.

Court of justice	10 informants	Total : 100%
1 - Lawyers →Other juridical Magistrates	10: /sajjidi raʔi :s/	.....100,00 %.....
	10: /hadarat assada elmustafa:ri:n/	.....100,00 %.....
	10: /zana:b almaḥkama lmuwaqqara/	.....100,00%.....

Table 3. 5. Address forms in a café.

Café	36 informants	Total : 100%
1 - Waiter		
a – name known	36: .....FN.....	..... 100, 00 %.....
b – name un-known	15: / muħamməd /	.....41, 66 %.....
	01: /ħbibna/.....	.....02, 77 %.....
	01: /šarika/.....	.....02, 77 %.....
	02: /za:ri/ .....	.....22, 22 %.....
	08: /Xuja/ .....	.....02, 77 %.....
	01: /ʔa šba:b/.....	.....11, 11 %.....
	04: ‘jeune’ .....	.....08, 33 %.....
	03: ‘la famille’ .....	.....02, 77 %.....
	01: ‘l’artiste’	

Table 3. 6. Address forms for shopkeepers.

Shop-keeper	25 informants	Total : 100%
a – young	10: .....FN.....	.....40, 00 %.....
	15: /Xuja/.....	.....60, 00 %.....
b – old	13: /lħa:z/.....	.....52, 00 %.....
	06: /šammi/ .....	.....24, 00 %.....
	04: / šammi lħa:z/ .....	.....16, 00 %.....
	02: /Xa:li/.....	.....08, 00 %.....

Conclusion

To conclude, we may point out that forms of address are specific words or phrases used to refer to the collocutor and thus contain a strong element of deixis. They also function as a marker of politeness under which two kinds of address behaviour must be distinguished. The first are those associated with positive politeness that involves both familiarity and closeness, whereas the second are those associated with negative politeness that requires respect, deference, and thus formality. Therefore reciprocal use of forms of address must be distinguished from non-reciprocal use and symmetrical relationships of address forms from asymmetrical ones. Reciprocity or non-reciprocity is expressed through a large number of variants that fall into three categories: (1) Pronouns, (2) Verbs and (3) Nouns.

a- Pronouns of address: may have various verb suffix concordances and rarely used alone. They are divided into masculine/feminine and singular/plural

b- Verb forms of address: are verbs in which reference to the collocutor is expressed by means of inflectional suffixes.

c- Nouns of address: are substantives and adjectives which designate collocutors or refer to them in some other ways. This class comprises the most diverse types as mentioned before : names, kinship terms can be either used alone or combined to names, titles can be prefixed or suffixed to names, terms of occupations, etc or they can stand alone, terms of endearment that are defined by context and function rather than formal or semantic characteristics; they are to a certain context linguistic creativity and individual imagination employed in addressing small children or persons to whom the speaker feels close. Moreover, this category includes certain abstract nouns that refer to some abstract quality of the addressee and other kinds of terms for certain types of relationship like those used to address friends, neighbours or unknown addressees. All these previous categories denote different degrees of politeness and different kinds of relationships expressed to the partner in a conversational context for the purpose of performing certain kinds of speech acts as the next chapter will attempt to show.

CHAPTER FOUR

Address Forms in Speech Act Realizations

Introduction

Language is a social device employed to perform different acts named 'speech acts' which make up one of the compiling notions in the study of language use. In general, speech acts are acts of communication. To communicate is to express a certain attitude, and the type of speech act being used corresponds to the type of attitude being expressed. For example, a statement expresses a belief, a request expresses a desire, and an apology expresses regret. Speech acts have been claimed by some (Austin, 1962, Searle, 1969, 1975)⁵⁶ to operate by universal pragmatic principles, and claimed by others to vary in conceptualization and verbalization across cultures and languages (Green, 1975; Wierzlicka, 1985)⁵⁷. Their modes of performance carry heavy social implicatures (Ervin Tripp, 1976) and seem to be ruled by universal principles of cooperation and politeness (Brown and Levinson, 1978; Leech, 1983).

4. 1. Speech Act Theory

Regardless of what form of language is: written or spoken, people realize that when they are involved in a communication, a number of speech acts will occur. As a matter of fact, speech act theory has been analysed by diverse philosophical perspectives: from linguistic, literary and cultural points of view in addition to their relevance in understanding child language and studies of second language acquisition. Here are the most widely debated issues and their relevance to our investigation.

4. 1. 1. Pragmatics, Speech Acts and Communication

Historically, speech act studies originate in the philosophy of language. The basic insights offered by the work of philosophers (Austin, 1962; Grice, 1957, 1975; Searle, 1969, 1975, 1979; Searle, Kiefer, and Bierwisch, 1980) are based on the

⁵⁶ Quoted in Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper (1987,1)

⁵⁷ Quoted in Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper (1987,1)

assumption that the units of human communication are not linguistic expressions, but rather the performance of certain kinds of acts such as making a statement, asking questions, giving directions, apologizing, thanking, and so on.

One of the basic distinctions offered is between direct speech acts, where the speaker says what he or she means more than or something other than, what he or she says (Blum-Kulka, 1987:2). Some theorists like Searle (1975) link certain types of indirectness with certain forms of language. Others like Sperber and Wilson (1986) stress the pragmatics of relevance (Grice, 1975) to account for the process by which indirect meanings are encoded and decoded in content.

4. 1. 2. Socio-Pragmatics: Situational Variables

Leech (1983:11) distinguishes between *pragmalinguistics*, the linguistic end of pragmatics which refers to "the particular resources that a given language provides for conveying particular illocutions." and *sociopragmatics*, the sociological interface of pragmatics, which studies the ways in which pragmatic performance is subjected to specific social conditions (Leech, 1983:11). Variations in the use of speech acts may thus be subject to the effect of social parameters, as in the case with all variations in linguistic behaviour.

Which aspects of social relations are important in determining variation in speech acts has been for many years a fruitful and fascinating subject of debate. One of the major findings that have emerged in this area is that degrees of social distance and power between participants are among the most important factors, which can in turn interact with other situational factors and might be subject to cultural variation. In discussing this subject, Ervin Tripp (1982)⁵⁸ argues that children as young as two years of age are sensitive to the relative power of speaker and addressee, and the social distance between them. Young Americans, for instance, use more imperatives when

⁵⁸Quoted in Blum- Kulka(1987:3)

talking to their mothers than to fathers, and give orders to siblings but request politely from strangers.

As Brown and Levinson (1978) predict, estimates of power and familiarity interact with estimates of imposition in determining choice of linguistic behaviour. Two issues in the cross – cultural investigation of various different speech acts which have been afforded particular attention are: (a) the value and function of politeness or deference in speech act realizations, and (b) the universality of politeness phenomena across languages and cultures.

4. 2. Levels of Speech Acts

How language represents the world has long been, and still is, a major concern of philosophers of language. More precisely, the theory of speech acts aims to do justice to the fact that even though words (phrases, sentences) encode information, and that when people convey information, they often convey more than their words encode. Although the focus of speech act theory has been on utterances, especially those made in conversational and other face- to-face situations, the phrase ‘speech act’ should be taken as a generic term for any sort of language use oral or written. Speech acts, whatever the medium of their performance, fall under the broad category of intentional action because in attempting to express themselves, people not only produce utterances containing grammatical structures and words but also perform actions via those utterances. In this respect, Austin (1975) identifies three levels of action beyond the act of utterance itself. He distinguishes the act of saying something, what one does in saying, what one does by saying it and calls these respectively , the ‘locutionary’, the ‘illocutionary’ and ‘perlocutionary’ acts. The first is the basic act of utterance, or producing a meaningful linguistic expression whereas the second is produced with some kind of function in mind. For instance, one might utter ‘Can you tell me the time?’ to ask a question, but this ‘illocutionary act of asking a question is performed via the communicative force namely ‘request’, that is generally known as the illocutionary force of an utterance. Finally, we do not simply create an utterance with a function

without intending it to have an effect; this is the third dimension, the perlocutionary act (Yule, 1976:48). Of these three dimensions the most discussed is the illocutionary force. Indeed the term 'speech act' is generally interpreted quite narrowly to mean only the illocutionary force of an utterance. The illocutionary force is what it 'counts as'; very often the same locutionary act or utterance can potentially have quite different illocutionary forces (Yule, 1976: 49).

4. 3. Speech acts Classification

One general classification system lists five types of general functions performed by speech acts: declarations, representatives, expressives, directives and commissives (Yule, 1976:53).

a) **Declarations**: they are kinds of speech acts that change the world via their utterances. For example, 'I now pronounce you husband and wife'. These actions are, as Searle (1969, 18-19)⁵⁹ says, "a very special category of speech acts"; they are performed by someone who is especially authorized to do so within some institutional framework. (Classical examples are judges' sentencing offenders, ministers of religion christening babies, etc). As institutional rather than personal acts, they can scarcely be said to involve politeness even though sometimes politeness is not relevant to declarations as the case of a judge sentencing a person that is an unpleasant thing and may indeed be said 'impolitely'- because they do not have an addressee in the sense that applies to personal discourse- it is rather an act by which some institutional action is performed.

b) **Representatives**: they are kinds of speech acts that state what the speaker believes to be the case or not. Statement of fact, assertions, conclusions and descriptions. In using representatives, the speaker makes words fit the world (of beliefs), for instance, 'the earth is flat.'

⁵⁹Quoted in Leech (1983:106)

c) Expressives: they are kinds of speech acts that state what the speaker feels; they have the function of expressing. They express psychological states and can be statements of pleasure, pain, likes, dislikes, joy, or sorrow. They are thanking, congratulating, pardoning, blaming, praising, condoling, etc. Some of them like blaming and accusing are impolite. They can be caused by something the speaker does or the hearer does, but they are about the speaker's experience. Examples of these are 'I'm really sorry!' 'Congratulations!' In using an expressive, the speaker makes words fit the world (of feelings).

d) Directives: they are kinds of speech acts that speakers use to get someone else to do something. They express what the speaker wants. They are intended to produce some effect through action by the hearer. They are commands, orders, requests, suggestions, permission, advice; they can be positive or negative but they comprise a category of illocutions in which negative politeness is important, for example, 'Could you lend me a pen, please?', 'Don't touch that'. In using a directive, the speaker attempts to make the world fit the words (via the hearer).

e) Commissives: they are kinds of speech acts that speakers use to commit themselves to some future action; they are promises, threats, refusals, pledges, and as the example below shows, they can be performed by the speaker alone, or by the speaker as a member of a group. They tend to be performed in the interests of someone other than the speaker. For instance, 'I'll be back', 'I'm going to get it right next time'. In using a commissive, the speaker undertakes to make the world fit the words. These five general functions of speech acts, with their key features are summarized in table 4. 1. as follows:

Table 4. 1. The five general functions of speech acts (Following Searle, 1969)⁶⁰

Speech Act Type	Direction of Fit	S: Speaker X: Situation
Declarations	Words change the world	S causes X
Representatives	Make words fit the world	S believes X
Expressives	Make words fit the world	S feels X
Directives	Make the world fit words	S wants X
Commissives	Make the world fit words	S intends X

Finally it is worth making the point that, as far as Searle's categories are concerned, negative politeness belongs pre-eminently to the directive class, while positive politeness is found pre-eminently in the commissive and expressive classes (Leech, 1983:107).

4. 4. Direct and indirect speech acts

Speakers can use their language to perform various kinds of actions: making statements, asking questions, giving commands, offering wishes,.....These actions are often referred to as 'Speech Acts'. A fairly simple structural distinction between the general types of speech acts is provided by three basic sentence patterns: declarative, interrogative, and imperative. It has been recognized that there is a relation between the three structural forms and the three communicative functions (statement, question, command /request) as shown in table 4. 2.⁶¹ below:

⁶⁰In Yule (1976:55)

⁶¹ In Kroeger (2005 :197)

Table 4. 2. Speech acts Vs sentence types

<i>Speech act</i>	<i>Sentence type</i>
Statement	Declarative
Command	Imperative
Question	Interrogative

Table 4. 2. shows the grammatical form that would be used for expressing a given pragmatic function. When the relation between a structure and a function is direct i.e. the form of the sentence matches the purpose or the intended force of the utterance, we have '*a direct speech act*'. Some examples are given below:

Direct speech acts.

- I don't know if he is at home or no (Statement in declarative form)
- Would you like to go? (Question in interrogative form)
- Keep silent (Command in imperative form)

However, speakers do not always choose the expected sentence type to express the intended function. Sometimes a speaker uses some other forms to create a desired effect. In other words, if the relationship is indirect, we have an '*indirect speech act*'. That is to say indirect speech acts are those in which there is a mismatch between the sentence type and the intended force. Thus a declarative used to make a statement is a direct speech act, but a declarative used to make a request functions as an indirect speech act. Examples on this are given here:

Indirect speech acts

- Why don't you close the window? (Command in interrogative form)
- Who cares? (Statement in interrogative form)
- Don't say you forgot my copybook! (Question in interrogative form)

Indirect speech acts are generally associated with greater politeness in English than direct speech acts. In order to be clear, we have to look at a bigger picture than just a single utterance performing a single speech act. In other words, we have to take into account the speech event that is, the activity in which participants interact via language in some conventional way to arrive at some outcome.

Let's now relate the previous illocutionary acts to the kinds of face they threaten. In doing so, Brown and Levinson (1978-1987:65-66-67) distinguishes kinds of acts threatening both positive and negative face. The first are those acts that indicate that S does not care about the addressee's feelings, wants, etc like expressions of disapproval, criticism, contempt or ridicule, complaints, accusations, insults (S indicates that he doesn't like H's wants, acts and characteristics), contradictions or disagreement, expressions of violent emotions (S gives H possible reason to fear him or be embarrassed by him). Moreover, the use of address terms and other status- marked identifications in initial encounters may misidentify H in an offensive or embarrassing way, intentionally or accidentally, whereas the second kind includes those acts that primarily threaten the addressee's (H's) negative face want by indicating that the speaker (S) does not intend to avoid impeding H's freedom of action. They are those acts that predicate some future act A of H, and therefore put some pressure on H to do (or refrain from doing) the act A like orders and requests, suggestions, advice, threats, warnings. They also include those acts that predict some positive future act of S toward H, and therefore put some pressure on H to accept or reject them and possibly to incur a debt like offers and promises.

In day-to- day interaction, speakers choose their strategies of talk as far as the degree of minimizing or maximizing the threat to the hearer's face is concerned. They do so by giving rise to the four-way grid (Brown and Levinson four strategies) explained before and which offers a classification of at least some of the previously mentioned FTA.

Here in the present study, our focus falls on one speech act that has some unique aspect to be investigated and being a crucial part to build and establish social relationships; it is 'expressing gratitude' or 'thanking'⁶². The latter is a direct speech act by which S expresses his gratitude or acknowledgment to H; it is considered unique because people look at it as politeness behaviour and one that has a courteous or polite function (Leech1983:104). Consequently, failure in expressing gratitude can lead to negative conception toward the hearer. In fact, the problem we will address in this analysis is how dependent or independent the usage of address forms and realization of the speech act of thanking are. Beforehand, this section will give first a theoretical overview of the speech act on which the study will focus.

4. 5. The Speech Act of Thanking

Expressions of gratitude/thanking in Algerian Arabic show that there are a lot of etiquettes heavily infiltrated with religious expressions associated with the name of God, 'Allah'; for example, /barak allahufi:k/or /alla:h j3azi:k/, /3aza:ka alla:hu Xajran/ 'May Allah reward you' equivalent to 'thank you' or 'thanks' in English. Expressions of gratitude are one of the most frequently occurring communicative acts in human interaction and conversation in daily life. People say 'thank you' almost every day during their conversational routines with their family, neighbours, friends, and other relatives. This speech act represents a fairly high degree of politeness. Aijmer (1996:33) wrote that "functionally, thank you/thanks are analyzed on the speech act level, as a politeness marker and an element organizing the discourse." According to Searle in SAT (Speech Act Theory), the speech act of thanking is defined as an expression of gratitude and appreciation. He also states later (1976:12) that "expressing gratitude is classified as an expressive speech act on the part of the speaker to the hearer whose past or future act benefits the speaker." More clearly, most people consider that a speaker expresses gratitude because of some debts that the speaker owes to the hearer. In other words, the speaker owes a favour to the hearer, as the hearer has done something for the

⁶² They are used in this dissertation interchangeably.

benefit of the speaker and hence "maximizing its illocutionary force and in this way maximizing its politeness" (Leech, 1983: x). On the other hand, Brown and Levinson (1987:67) classified this act of thanking as "offensive to the S's negative face since by doing it, he/she humbles his own face and accepts a debt."

Consequently, the gratitude expression is one way of maintaining politeness and since address forms are crucial to the realization of politeness, we will consider different types of situations to analyse when or when not address forms are combined to the speech act of thanking.

In analysing the data collected on performance of thanks, we observed that there is a qualitative difference between the speech behaviour of status un-equals, such as teachers and students, between statuses equals such as classmates or colleagues, between people as socially distant as strangers or as familiar as family members. Those differences were labelled by Wolfson 'the bulge' (Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper, 1987:184); they are all based upon a large set of obligations, whether the obligation is to act or refrain from acting, or merely to carry out an act in an appropriate way.

By means of direct observation of the way in which these obligations determine the need for thanking we have attempted to examine the actual conditions which elicit thanks in every day interactions in Algerian Arabic. In constructing the empirical study, one major consideration was to examine the factors determining the choice of thanking expressions and to test whether these thanking items are necessarily combined to the feature address terms or not. The second consideration whether the judgments we had made regarding the relationship between S and H were confirmed by the choice of thanking formulas in combination to address terms. In general, our investigation revealed that thanks were given when being offered a help, a gift, and also as a response to compliments. In other words, our preliminary findings show that the basic obligations to give a 'thank you' are:

- a- The obligation to be in someone's debt, i.e., to feel grateful to somebody for his/her kindness and help because thanking in general, as Norrick states (1978), is

the 'acknowledgment of one's having benefited from the actions of another person.'⁶³ For example, a man driving a car and didn't know the right way said to a policeman:

S: /nqəd nədXəl mənna / (Can I take this road?)

H: /ru:h məfliʃ / (Go, no problem)

S: /saħi:t Xuja barakalla:hufi:k / (Thanks brother, may Allah reward you)

In a telephone conversation, a man said to his son of 19 years old:

S: /matmədʃ əddra:həm lra:bəh ru:h Xallasli la knep qbəl/

(Don't give money to 'Rabeh' pay 'la CNEP' first)

H: /saħha/ (ok)

S: /saħhi:t alla:h jassətrək ʃukran/ (Thanks, God protect you, thank you)

Here the speaker is emphasizing his thank by the use of both /saħhi:t/ taken from the Algerian Arabic dialect and /ʃukran/taken from Modern Spoken Arabic. The same phenomenon occurs with the use of Arabic and French thanking expressions, as the examples below will show; for the purpose of expressing great acknowledgment to the hearer.

b-The obligation to express gratitude to someone when given a gift viewing 'thanking' as a post event, that is a reaction to another act. For example, a girl coming back from a trip to France brought some presents to her family.

S: /ʒəbtəlkəm haʒa 'symbolique' rakum ʃarfi:n 'les moyens'/

(I brought something symbolic; you know the means.)

H: /kulʃi ʃabbi:n 'merci'/ (Everything is beautiful, thanks)

S: / ha:d ssa:k ta:ʃ bna:tək/ (This bag is for your daughters)

⁶³ Quoted in Poynton (1990: 327)

H: /ksi:tihum alla:h jahhafdək wajhənni:k məfda:b adənja wəlʔa:Xira wəʃa ngullək
alla:h jnazhək fiq^wəra:jtək / (You gave a lot, may Allah protect you, reward you,....)

These thanking expressions show that the receiver of gifts was so happy, satisfied and tried to use all kinds of thanking.

S: /a.mi:n jarabbi/ (God willing)

c-The obligation to express gratitude to someone who pays a compliment for you about your appearance, look, beauty, or good action for example:

A: /Xurʒətlək ʃa:bba 'la tarte au citron' / (it's delicious 'la tarte au citron')

B: /wa:h 'merci' dajmən ra:ha tuXrazli ha:ka/ (yes, thanks, it's always like that)

A: /həttə lbiskwi 'noir' ʒa:k ʃba:b/ (Even the black biscuit is delicious)

B: /ha:di 'la recette' ta:ʔ 'Danette' (This is the recipe of 'Danette')

A: /ʃaddəbna:k qarritihum wzədti qahwitihum/

(We have caused you harm, you taught them and gave them coffee again)

B: /lla: mafihawa:lu 'avec plaisir' / (No problem with pleasure)

A: 'merci' /samhi:na/ (Thanks, sorry again)

B: 'Je vous en prie' /alla:h jsahhal/ (You are welcome, may Allah make it easier).

Moreover, thanks can sometimes be used ironically in response to an act that does not please the hearer; for example, a woman threw water on a man when she was cleaning the window and watered him.

A: /smaħli Xuja maʃttəkʃ/ (excuse me, I didn't see you)

B: /saħhi:ti/ (thanks). Here the 'thank you' was used metaphorically to express anger and mean that the hearer was impolite in his action that does not deserve a thanking.

Although these situations were very much in evidence in our observational data, there were a number of others often more subtle and sometimes difficult to describe.

***Results of the questionnaires**

The examples analysed here are drawn from spontaneous conversations between Algerian speakers of both sexes and various ages recorded in my hometown. The interactions took place in a number of contexts: for example, at home, at work, in cafés, at informal social gatherings, at formal discussions, for example in an administration, at school between either students and teachers or classmates alone. The respondents are all native speakers of Arabic who share the same dialect i.e. Algerian Arabic but belong to various ethnic groups. They were approached by the researcher in person. Some were asked once to answer the questionnaires individually but sometimes recorded in groups with no interference of the researcher. Information about the study was provided when requested by respondents. This helped ensure spontaneous interaction between informants i.e. as a researcher; I attempted not to interfere in order not to guide the informants' responses.

My 2nd year 80 students also provided invaluable data on patterns of address in families, in various work contexts, both in class discussions of the topic and in their papers; friends and colleagues likewise provided me with more common expressions of gratitude combined to address terms, as well as opinions based on their own experiences of the claims made by other informants on the hypotheses I had formulated. And finally for more qualitative aspects of the study, the questionnaire was designed so that subjects were asked to read the item and write what they think should be the response in that particular situation. These items were intended to require a gratitude expression or thanking with distance being either plus or minus and dominance being plus, zero or minus. The relationship between the speaker and the addressee is 'plus dominance' if the speaker is of higher status than the addressee, 'zero dominance' if they are of equal status and 'minus dominance' if the speaker is of lower status than the addressee.

On the basis of those findings, the informants were divided into three groups; the first addressing inferiors in age and social status, the second interacting with equals in age and social rank and the third group conversing with superiors in age and social

status. Table 4. 3. below represents the features of address terms in thanking formulas bearing in mind the two variables social distance and social dominance.

Table 4. 3. Gratitude Expressions in Algerian Arabic.

Thanking an inferior	Thanking an equal	Thanking a superior
<p>/saħhi:t Xuja/, /saħhi:t/, /saħhi:t sukran/, /rabbi jahħafdək/, / sukran alla:h jXelli:k/, /barak alla:hufi:k rabbi jahħafdak/, /saħhi:t alla:h jahħafdak/, /barak alla:hufi:k/, /saħhi:ti ?a banti/ ‘merci’, / jahħafdak barakalla:hufi:k/,/saħhi:t ?a walidi/,/jsəzzi:k/, jassatrak/, /rabbi jXelli:k/, /alla:h jarda ?li:k/, /sukran alla:h jfarħək/, / saħhi:t wəlla:h jsazzi:k/, /alla:h jahħafdak/, makan htta muş kil Xuja/, /alla:h jnawrak/, /alla:h jkabrak fitašt əlla:h/, /alla:h jazʕal mənək zraʕ wəzərriʕa/, /sukran ?a X^wti/</p>	<p>/sukran/, /sukran Xuja /or /sukran Xti/, /saħhi:t Xuja /, /saħhi:t ja Xuja/,/saħhi:t sa:ħbi/, ‘merci mon ami’, /barak alla:hufi:k ?zizti/,/rabbi jahħafdək ‘merci’/,/sukran alla:h jnaʒʒhək ja Xti/, /saħhi:t rabbi jʕawwed ?li:k/, /sukran jazi:lan/, ‘merci beaucoup’, ‘merci beaucoup’/ alla:h jXəlli:k Xuja/, /jarham lwalidi:n/, /saħhi:t alla:h jʒazi:k bəlXi:r/, / barak alla:hufi:k ʕri:ki/, ‘merci’ / ?a ʕumri or ‘ma cherie’, /saħhi:t ?a lafqih/ or/ ?a lbaraka /, /alla:h jaʕti:k ?asahħa/,</p>	<p>/barak alla:hufi:k/, /saħhi:t barak alla:hufi:k/, / sukran ja ?usta:d rabbi jahħafdək/ /barak alla:hufi:k ʕi:X/, /saħhi:t ʕammi/, ‘merci beaucoup, moncieurs’, /sukran ʕammi/, /barak alla:hufi:k ʕammi/, /sukran ʕi:X/, /saħhi:ti madame/, /sukran/, / saħhi:t ?a ʕammi/,/ barak lla:hufi:k ?alha:ʒ/ or /?a lħa:ʒʒa /, /barak alla:hufi:k allah jaʕ ti:k həʒʒa/, /ʒaza:ka alla:hu Xajran /, / alla:h jtawwəl ʕumrak/, /alla:h jakutlak ʕla fra:ʕ ata:ʕa/, /alla:h jkatər man mta:lək/, /saħhi:t ?a nsi:bi/, / barak</p>

/saħhi:t ʔa bb ^w a /, alla:h jaħħafdək ʔa Xali/ or /ʔa ʕammi/, /alla:h jnuwrək/ /alla:h jsezzilək ləwlad wajsaxər fi:hum/, /alla:h jaslahlə ðurija/, /saħhi:t tastahəl bu:sa/ (for kids)	/saħhi:t Xu/, /saħhi:t ja Xuja/ /saħhi:t/ + FN,	alla:hufi:k ʔa za:rti/ or /ʔa za:ri/,
Thanking+ Kts, FN, Address inversion	Thanking+ Kts, Endearing Terms, Nicknames, Friendship terms, Other Specific Terms.	Thanking+ /ja /+kts, LN, /ʔa/+Kts, Kts, Titles, /ʔa/+Titles, Other Specific Terms i.e. /ʔa za:ri/

On the basis of the previous findings, the responses data have been converted to the percentage of the total number of subjects for each item. So, table 4. 4. illustrates this percentage for each category of the feature.

Table 4. 4. Percentage of address terms' features combined to thanks

	Number	None	FN	Kts	Titles	Nicknames	Other terms
To an inferior	31	14 45.16%	01 3.22 %	10 32.25%	00 00 %	01 3.22 %	02 6.45 %
To an equal	31	11 35.48 %	00 00 %	17 54.83%	00 00 %	02 6.45 %	06 19.35%
To a superior	31	10 32.25 %	00 00 %	09 29.03%	19 61.29%	00 00 %	08 25.80 %

We see then, there were a total of 31 subjects who responded, the percentage varies between 32. 25% and 54. 83% who associated their thanking expressions to address terms, more precisely to Kts. Therefore, in case which represents no or minus distance and zero dominance the speaker attempted to show more affection and closeness to the addressee by making use of Kts to relatives and address inversion to non- kins especially to children but very limited or no use of FN and titles to this category 00 %. Very few of them used some nicknames and endearing terms for more intimate relations.

In the case of plus dominance, the study shows that 61. 29% of the respondents tend to combine their thanking expressions to titles, 29. 03% to Kts, 25.80 % to other terms indicating a certain kind of relations when addressing superiors of higher social status and age or strangers for the purpose of expressing more respect and politeness. Hence, as we move from plus dominance to minus dominance (the speaker is of lower status than the addressee), we find a corresponding increase in the percentage of respondents who combine their gratitude expression to address terms. That is, when the hearer is of higher status there is a great tendency for the speaker to use formal terms of address in thanks in order to show their gratitude to the addressee. By contrast, when the hearer is lower in status than or equal to the speaker, subjects feel free to choose their thanking expressions, associating them or not to a term of address; they even code switch to the French 'merci' and the English 'thanks' when thanking their closest friends and kins since they feel in a relaxed situation. For instance, /saħhi:t/ 'mon ami'(thanks my friend), /ʃukran/ 'ma chérie' (thanks darling), 'merci ma petite'(thanks my little), thanks /saħbi/ (thanks my friend). Most of them argue that the use of French and English was done on purpose to show more closeness to friends and colleagues but this code-switching is avoided with elders, it can be rude and impolite especially if the hearer is illiterate.

In interviewing informants on the necessity of adding a term of address to their thanking expressions, among 54 interviewees (students, teachers, waiters, shopkeepers and others), 51(94. 44 %) confirm that the combination of thanking formulas to terms of

address is more necessary when addressing superiors than when speaking to inferiors or equals. It indicates more respect to the person addressed and emphasizes our acknowledgment and gratitude to him. For the first case, i.e., addressing an equal, we find 30: yes (55.55%) and 24: no (44.44%); it means respondents agree that it is not necessary to combine their thanks to any term of address but the addition of those terms Kts, endearing terms, FN, nicknames plays an important role in establishing certain relationships with participants being more affectionate and closer to their addressees. With inferiors we find 30: no (62.96%); this means that more than half approved the non-obligation of these combinations but 20 others (37.03%) prefer the addition of these familiar terms of address to their GE.

Thus, the greater is the distance between interlocutors, the more there is combination of terms of address to the realization of thanking. The latter criterion was also represented in table 4.4 with the non-use of address terms in thanking formulas that is increasing as the social distance becomes minus or equal. An important point to mention is that very often terms of address are preceded by the vocative /ja/ often realized as a /ʔa/ when combined to a gratitude expression; these two ways are used to attract the listener when thanking him/her.

Working on thanks, we have tried to focus on the most important factors, i.e., social distance and social dominance under which sub factors, determining our choice of address terms and how dependent or independent their combination is to the realization of thanking expressions, may be grouped from the most to the least important. These are essentially, age, social relation to the addressee and his/her social responsibility or status.

According to the data gathered we found that among 60 informants, 52 stated that their combination of gratitude expressions to address terms is closely tied to the age of the person addressed, i.e., most of the time they added an address term to their thanking formulas when speaking to an older person. Besides, from 30 to 32 informants argued that in addition to age, our relation to the addressee and his social responsibility or rank are of paramount importance when giving a thank; they most of the time combine these

gratitude expressions to a term indicating a kin relation or an occupational title. On the other hand, the importance of the act performed, education of the interlocutors, our debt to the person thanked and other perhaps hidden factors like the psychological state..... of the interlocutors at the moment of conversation should not be neglected (10 informants) because they might affect the responses; Our results of the interview concerning the factors contributing to the choice of thanking expressions are represented in table 4.5. below:

Table 4. 5. Number of informants and determinant factors for GE.

Factors for choosing a thanking	Age	Relation to addressee	Social Responsibility	Other Factors
Informants	52	32	30	10

And the bars representing those most important factors are shown on figure 4.1. below

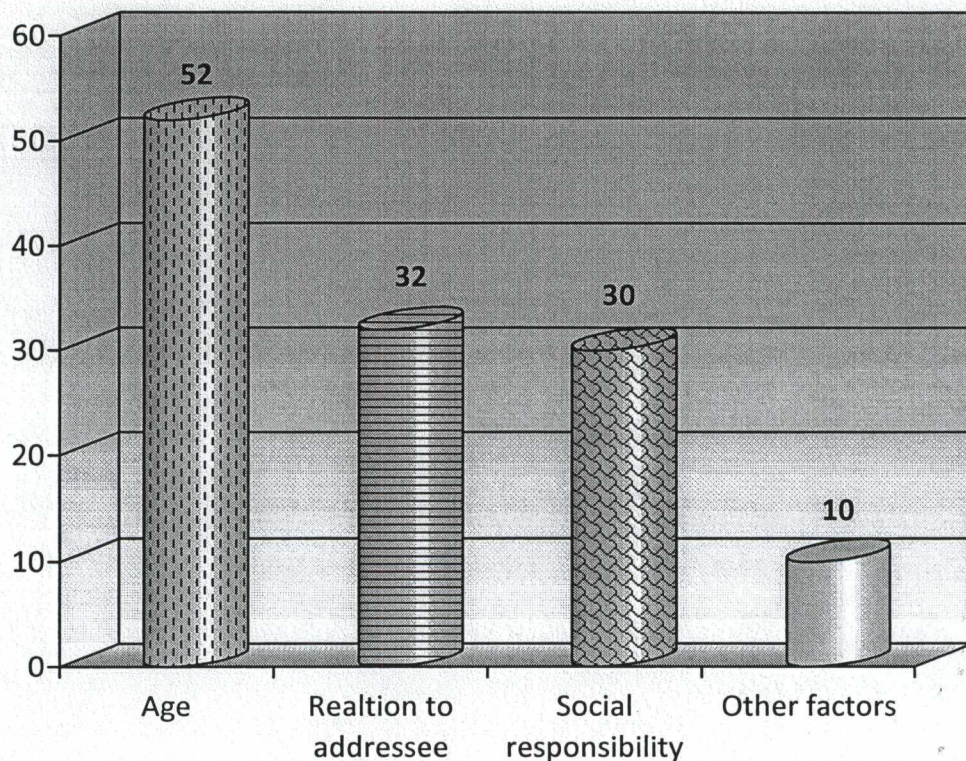


Figure 4. 1. Factors determining the choice of thanking expressions.

Conclusion

Considering the implications of Brown and Levinson's theory and other earlier researches on speech acts grounding their link to the notion of face threat, the results above show that the speech act of thanking, viewing it an expressive act, is the manipulation of verbal material to convey information about one's emotional state bearing in mind the social relationship between the speaker and the hearer and the weight of action they are involved in.

Thanking expressions are speech acts which reveal great politeness, especially when the social distance between S and H is plus, i.e., when the hearer is greater in power, status, age and social responsibility. This criterion of plus distance is reflected in the choice of more formal thanking formulas such as /ʃukran ʒazi:lan/; and even by a code switching to French phrases and words like 'merci, c'est très gentil' because both the high variety and the French language are considered as prestigious varieties to express politeness and more respect. Moreover, they are most of the time combined to a term of address by which more focus on the gratitude is expressed. On the other hand, in minus and equal distance relations thanks are used more freely not necessarily combined to a term of address.

In short, the social distance and the social dominance including age, power, responsibility, rank and status are the most important factors which determine the combination of a gratitude expression with a term of address in addition to perhaps other intentions of the speakers.

General Conclusion

At the outset of our attempt in this dissertation, we may say that we are still a long way from understanding how speakers mitigate their speech forms to express politeness in specific speech events despite the various hypotheses and theories which do indeed propose logical and experimental analysis. In fact, language is a means of communicating ideas, emotions and establishing social relationships. And language systems have within them the means of conveying politeness. So, this last phenomenon cannot be seen outside of verbal behavior; otherwise it would be a sterile exercise of merely informative nature, and thus it should be located within the very core of language.

Once a partial, if not complete command in their linguistic code known as first language acquisition is attained, children learn how, when to speak, with whom, about whom, what and where to utter their words. They also acquire that social distance is widely recognized as a central dimension of social relations in every day discourse. Another significant approach to language and social relations is based upon the 'power' and 'solidarity' parameters; the question of whether a linguistic form is used reciprocally or systematically by interactants is indeed closely connected to how close or distant the interlocutors are.

In the present study, we have shown that the notions of power and solidarity are linguistically realized by the use of different categories of address forms like verb endings, nouns, pronouns, titles,...conveyed in different speech acts by a diversity of linguistic structures and politeness strategies.

Considering the linguistic situation of Algeria being a hospitable land of people from different ethnics, we notice both its diglossic and its bilingual nature, two phenomena that are to a great extent clear in Algerian everyday speech; each one has a specific linguistic function. In this study, we have tried to explain how Algerian interlocutors choose their words to address different categories of

participants bearing in mind the two notions mentioned before. We should note that a 'mode of address' is the correct use of a word or a term when we address a person or talk to him/her. Forms of address then are best understood by examining dyadic interaction; they are determined by a set of variables; high among them are: a/ the seriousness of the face-threatening act, b/ the social distance between the speaker and the hearer and the relative power between interlocutors. These forms of address can take the form of pronouns inflected at the end of verbs, nouns like first and last names, or others reserved to marriage, kinship relations in addition to specific terms devoted to elders, friends and neighbours or people whose names are unknown to us. Moreover, they also take the form of titles, nicknames, endearing terms, personal epithets, terms of affection and esteem, diminutives and finally insults. Besides, address behaviour is the way people choose their repertory of address variants available to them as appropriate. This appropriateness in face-to-face interactions has been related to the universal phenomenon general to all human societies, namely 'politeness' since it has much to contribute to it. This underlying principle of politeness which is to show good intentions and considerations for others by making use of certain mechanisms specific to each language known as 'social indexing' or 'address system'. These social markers of politeness can be classified in two kinds; firstly those indicating positive politeness which involve familiarity, closeness, intimacy and secondly those indicating negative politeness which is the heart of formality, deference and respect.

One of the major concerns of this sociolinguistic research is how those terms of address are employed to perform a specific speech act called 'thanking'. It has been observed that thanking formulas are very often combined to terms of address as the social distance between participants is greater. They are intended to show more deference and respect and emphasize more the importance of help or

gratitude to the listener. On the other hand, the addition of terms of address to a gratitude expression in intimate relations can be explained in terms of affection and closeness to the person addressed. Furthermore, forms of address are combined to thanking formulas relatively freely and unconsciously. Hence the greater is the distance, the more is the necessity to combine address terms to a gratitude expressions. The last point may be analysed psycho-linguistically, in terms of the hidden factors that must be of great interest in interpreting the findings. To conclude, we have tried to demonstrate that the very problems we find as we analyse the data, can help us to discover the uncovered variables that may be of great interest in deepening our understanding of the sociolinguistic patterns discussed before.

It is hoped that the questions raised in this discussion will encourage and would work as a basis for those interested in further sociolinguistic research to integrate an observational methodology into the design of their studies. Very often, our intuitions cannot provide us with a complete picture of the social conditions that result in a speech act, in addition to the unconscious or inner capacities of every member of a speech community.

I also wish that this study will pave the way to those who are interested in investigating how this speech act of thanking is accompanied by a non-verbal behaviour, like certain gestures or movements of the body asking new questions and raising a new problematic in order to get at the conditioning factors we have uncovered.

Bibliography

- 1- Aijmer, K. (1996). *Conversational Routines in English: Convention and creativity (Studies in Language and Linguistics)*-Addison-Wesley Longman Ltd.
- 2- Braun, F. (1988). *Terms of Address: Problems of patterns and usage in various Languages and cultures* –Berlin; New York; Amsterdam; Mouton de Gruyter.
- 3- Bayraktaroglu, A and Sifianou, M (2001). *Linguistic Politeness across Boundaries: The case of Greek and Turkish*. John Benjamins Publishing Company Amsterdam/Philadelphia.
- 4- Bloomfield, L. (1933). *Language*. New York: Henry Holt.
- 5- Blum-Kulka, S-House, J-Kasper, G (1997). *Dinner Talk: Cultural Patterns of sociability and Socialization in Family Discourse*. London and New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- 6- Blum-Kulka, S-House, J-Kasper, G (1987). *Cross Cultural Pragmatics: Requests and Apologies*. Ablex Publishing Corporation Norwood, New Jersey.
- 7- Brown, P and Levinson, S.C (1987). *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage. Vol 4 of Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, New Rochelle, Sydney.
- 8- Chambers, J.K. (2003). *Sociolinguistic Theory*. Second edition. Oxford. England.
- 9- Dickey, E. (1996). *Greek Forms of Address: from Herodotus to Lucian*. Clarendon Press Oxford.
- 10- Gigliolo, P.P.(1972). *Language and Social Context*. Penguin Books.
- 11- Goofman, E. (1981). *Forms of Talk*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- 12- Hickey, L and Stewart, M. (2005). *Politeness in Europe (Multiple Matters: 127)*. Cromwell Press 4 Ed. Great Britain.
- 13- Hudson, R.A (1980). *Sociolinguistics*. Cambridge University Press.
- 14- Kroger, P .R. (2005). *Analyzing Grammar: An introduction*. Cambridge University Press.
- 15- Leech, G.N. (1983). *Principles of Pragmatics*. London: Longman.

- 16- Lyons, J. (1970). *New Horizons in Linguistics*. Penguin Books.
- 17- Mazid, B.M. (2006). *The politeness Principle: From Grice to Netiquette*. UAE University.
- 18- Milroy, L and Gordon, M. (2003). *Sociolinguistics: Method and Interpretation (Language in society)*. Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- 19- Montgomery, M. (1995). *An Introduction to Language and Society*. Second Edition. London and New York.
- 20- Paulston, C.B and Tucker, G.R (2003) *Sociolinguistics: The Essential Readings*. Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- 21- Pride, J.B. and Holmes, J. (1972). *Sociolinguistics*. Penguin Books. Great Britain.
- 22- Romaine, S. (1982). *Socio-Historical Linguistics*. Cambridge University Press.
- 23- Scollor, R and Scollon, S.W. (2001). *Intercultural Communication*. Second Edition. Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- 24- Searle, J. (1969). *Speech Acts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 25- Searle, J. (1979). *Expression and Meaning. Studies in the theory of Speech Acts*. Cambridge University Press.
- 26- Spolsky, B. (1998). *Sociolinguistics*. Oxford University Press.
- 27- Trudgill, P. (1974). *Sociolinguistics: An Introduction to Language and Society*. Great Britain. Penguin Books.
- 28- Wales, K. (1996). *Personal Pronouns in Present-day English*. Cambridge University Press.
- 29- Wardhaugh, R. (1992). *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics. Second Edition*. Blackwell.
- 30- Watts, R. (2003). *Key Topics in Sociolinguistics: Politeness*. Cambridge University Press.
- 31- Wolfson, N. (1988). 'The Bulge: A theory of speech behavior and social distance' In Fine (Ed), *Second Language Discourse: A textbook of Current Research (pp21-38)*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- 32- Yule, G (1996). *Pragmatics. Oxford Introductions to Language Study*. Series Editor H. G. Widdowson. Oxford University Press.

Theses and Journals

- 1- Benali, M.R. (1993). *Preliminary Observations on Educated Spoken Arabic*. University of Oran.
- 2- Bouamrane, A. (1986). *Aspects of the Sociolinguistic Situation in Algeria*. Unpublished PhD thesis. University of Aberdeen.
- 3- Bouamrane, A. (1988). *Arabic-French Code Switching*. PhD unpublished. Etudes et Recherches en Linguistique et en Sociolinguistique. Document n8
- 4- Bouhania, B. (2003). *A Sociolinguistic Change in Western Algeria*. University of Oran.
- 5- Moussaoui, F. Z. (1998). *The Relevance of Sociolinguistics to the teaching of levels of Formality of English*. Aboubakr Belkaid University.
- 6- Mostari, H. A. (2005). 'The Language Question in the Arab World: Evidence from Algeria'. *Journal of Language and Learning* vol.3N0120051ssn1740-4983 University of Sidi Bel Abbas.
- 7- Poynton, C. M. (1990). *Address and the Semiotics of Social Relations: A systemic-functional account of address forms and practices in Australian English*. Melbourne, University of Sydney. PhD.

Webography

- 1- www.gigapedia.com.
- 2- www.http://homepages.unituebingen.de/tilmanberger/handouts/AddressPoliteness.pdf. 'Address system and Politeness –Independent or inter- dependent (2001)?
- 3- www.http://teachit.co.uk/armoore/lang/pragmatics.htm 'Pragmatics and Speech Acts'.
- 4- www.nord.helsinki.fi/clpg/CLPG/Marina/20Terkourafi.pdf.
- 5- <http://www.digilib.petra.ac.id/...:jiunkpe-ns-s1-2001-11496156-611-thanking-chapter1-pdf>- 'A Sociolinguistic Study of Strategies of Thanking used by Male and Female Javanese and Chinese' by Octovia, Naomi (2001).
- 6- [http://www.cief-elte.hu/Espace.../REF6.../05BA LOGH-KATALIN.pdf](http://www.cief-elte.hu/Espace.../REF6.../05BA_LOGH-KATALIN.pdf). 'Vers l'analyse des appellatifs en français' (2001). Université de Pécs.
- 7- <http://www.webs.uvigo.es/ss/.../12./20Mouhadjir/20Nouredine.pdf>. 'Algeria: An intricate Bilingual and Diglossic situation'.
- 8- <http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/> 'Languages of Algeria'.
- 9- <http://www.en.wikipedia.org/org/wiki/> 'History of Algeria'.
- 10- <http://www.linkinohub.elsevier.com/retrieve/pii/0007681395900853>- 'Forms of Address in Status Levelling Organization'
- 11- <http://www.eric.ed.gov/.../ecordDetail?accno...> 'What's in a name?'
- 12- www.mcq.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/9/4/422 'What's in a name?'
- 13- www.archive.lib.msu.edu/DMC/.../pdfs/.../juz026001007.pdf. 'Terms of Address in Shona: A Sociolinguistic Approach' (1999).
- 14- www.physorg.com/news4718.htm 'When is it Rude to be Rude? Politeness across Cultures and Subcultures.' (2001)
- 15- www.thormay.net/koreadiary/politeness.html.
- 16- www.langmaker.com/com/ml0106b.htm Henning, J. (1995) 'Kinship Terms Sidebar: relative terms for relatives'.
- 17- <http://faculty.ksu.edu.sa/Nugali/361%20Course%20Material/Linguistics%20and%20poetics.pdf>. Jakobson, R. (1986:2-3) 'Linguistics and Politics' (Selections)