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A Comparison of Arabic and English Directness and Indirectness: Cross-Cultural Politeness

Zainab Mohamed Kerkam

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Sheffield Hallam university for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Sheffield Hallam University

2015

Dedication

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my husband Mohamed whose infinite patience and encouragement throughout my study made it possible for me to complete this work, and to our Children, Hodaifa, Suhaib, Owais and Qatada who are indeed a treasure from God.

Acknowledgement

This research could not have been completed without the help and support of many people who deserve my sincere thankfulness and gratitude to all of them.

I first of all wish to express my deep indebtedness and gratitude to my supervisor and director of study Professor Sara Mills for having been constant source of invaluable advice and support. Her continual guidance and encouragement made this work come to completion.

My deep gratitude is also due to my second supervisor Dr Karen Grainger for the stimulating discussion, her expert guidance and support.

I would like to register my sincere thanks to the many people who have participated kindly in providing me with the data I needed for this thesis.

Last but not least I would like to express my gratitude and love to my parents, whose never-tiring love and generous support made this work possible, to my sisters, Mariam, Amina, Somaia and Hajar and my brothers, Khaled and Ahmad for providing me with the help and support I needed to complete my study. I also would like to express my thanks to my friend Fathia for her help and advice.

Abstract

A Comparison of Arabic and English Directness and Indirectness: Cross-Cultural Politeness

This thesis examines cross-cultural variation in directness and indirectness by discussing the ways in which they function and are interpreted in Arabic and English. It shows that our understanding of directness and indirectness should not be restricted to a specific view which might not be applicable cross-culturally. I compare the two forms in both language communities, rather than simply outlining the main differences between them. I focus as much on the similarities between the ways in which directness and indirectness are performed in these two cultures as on the differences between them, in order to demonstrate that these two cultures are not polar opposites. I also examine what might be considered appropriate with respect to directness and indirectness and how these forms are conventionalised in relation to politeness and impoliteness in each culture. My data consists of a mixed methods approach: quantitative, (questionnaires) as well as qualitative (focus groups and naturally occurring data). The variety of data examined in both languages makes the results obtained through this study of greater interest. However, this is not to argue that a given language or cultural community is homogeneous, nor that a generalisation about the understanding and function of directness and indirectness can be made cross-culturally. In addition, this research argues for the inadequacy of the traditional theories of politeness (e.g. Brown and Levinson, 1987; Leech, 1983, Lakoff, 1975), which fail to provide sufficient engagement with cultural and contextual aspects, which play a significant role in evaluating interactions. Thus, I move towards a more appropriate approach, that is a discursive approach, to the analysis of politeness (e.g. Eelen, 2001; Mills, 2003; Watts, 2003; Linguistic Politeness Research Group (eds.), 2011; Kadar and Mills, 2011), which is a context- and situation-based model. In this way, I hope to develop a more contextual and adequate approach to cross-cultural politeness and impoliteness research.

CONTENTS

Convention for Transliteration Arabic Sounds into English VIII
List of Tables X
List of Diagrams XI

CHAPTER1

Introduction.....1

1.2. Rationale for and Scope of the Research.....4

1.3. Research Hypothesis and Questions.....9

1.4. Politeness, Directness and Indirectness.....10

1.5. Structure of the Thesis.....12

1.6. Summary.....15

CHAPTER 2: Theories of Politeness and Impoliteness

2.1. Introduction.....16

2.2. Theories of Politeness.....17

2.2.1.Traditional Theories of Politeness: Critical Review.....17

2.2.1.1 Grice.....17

2.2.1.2. Lakoff.....19

2.2.1.3. Leech.....21

2.2.1.4. Brown and Levinson.....26

2.2.1.4.1. Critique of Brown and Levinson's Politeness Theory.....28

2.2.1.5. Relevance Theory.....30

2.3. Theories of Impoliteness.....34

2.3.1. Culpeper's Models of Impoliteness.....35

2.3.1.1. Limitations of Culpeper's Model of Impoliteness.....37

2.3.2. Bousfield's Model of Impoliteness.....39

2.4. Discursive Approaches to (Im)politeness.....43

2.4.1. Beyond a Traditional View of (Im)politeness.....43

2.4.2. Discursive Approach Methodology.....46

2.4.2.1. Routines, Conventions and Rituals.....49

2.4.2.2. Linguistic Ideologies.....53

2.4.2.3. Indexicality....56
2.4.3. Politeness 1 vs. Politeness 2....59
2.4.4. Evaluating the Discursive Approach....60
2.5. The Theoretical Basis of the Study....63
2.6. Conclusion....63

CHAPTER 3: Culture and Politeness
3.1. Introduction....65
3.2. Definitions of Culture....65
3.3. Culture and Identity....67
3.4. Cross-Cultural Differences....70
3.4.1. Collectivist and Individualist Cultures....70
3.4.2. Positive and Negative Politeness Cultures....74
3.5. Communication among Cultures: Intercultural Misunderstanding....75
3.5.1. Intercultural Communication and Stereotyping....75
3.5.2. Directness, Indirectness and Intercultural Misunderstanding....79
3.6. Politeness across Cultures: A Discursive Perspective....84
3.7. Politeness in Arab and English Cultures....95
3.7.1. Who is 'Arab'?....96
3.7.2. Arabic language....97
3.7.3. The Historical Meaning of Politeness in Arabic and English....98
3.7.4. British English Communication Style....99
3.7.5. Arab Communication Style....100
3.7.5.1. Critique of Stereotypes of Arabic Politeness....103
3.8. Conclusion....106

CHAPTER4: Definition and Functions of (In)directness
4.1. Introduction....108
4.2. Definition of Directness and Indirectness....108
4.3. (In)directness and Politeness: Theory and Practice....114
4.4. Universality of the Functions of Indirectness....118
4.5. Motivations for the use of indirectness....120

4.6. Indirectness and Impoliteness 126
4.6. The Culture-Specificity of (In)directness 131
4.8. (In)directness and Politeness in Arabic 139
4.8.1. Studies on Linguistic Politeness in Arabic Dialects 139
4.8.1.1. Sudanese 140
4.8.1.2. Tunisian 140
4.8.1.3. Saudi Arabian 141
4.8.1.4. Jordanian 141
4.8.1.5. Moroccan 142
4.8.1.6. Egyptian 143
4.9. Conclusion 145

CHAPTER 5: Methodology

5.1. Introduction 147
5.2. MethodologicalFramework 147
5.3. Methods of Data Collection: Qualitative vs. Quantitative Research Methods 149
5.3.1. Quantitative Research Method 149
5.3.2. Qualitative Research Method 150
5.4. Pilot Study 152
5.4.1. Focus Group 152
5.4.2. Written Questionnaires 153
5.5. Data for the Study of Directness and Indirectness 153
5.5.1. Written Questionnaires 153
5.5.1.1. The Informants 154
5.5.1.2. The Data 156
5.5.2. Naturally Occurring Data 158
5.5.2.1. Recorded Data 159
5.5.2.2. Log-book Data 159
5.5.3. Focus Groups 161
5.6. Conclusion 164

CHAPTER 6: Data Analysis: Questionnaires and Focus Group

6.1. Introduction 165

6.2. Questionnaire Analysis 166

6.2.1. Native Speakers' Concept of Politeness and Impoliteness 166

6.2.1.1. Definitions of Politeness 166

6.2.1.2. Definitions of Impoliteness 169

6.2.2. Native Speakers' Concept of Indirectness 170

6.2.2.1. Definitions of Indirectness 170

6.2.2.2. Is Indirectness seen as Polite or Impolite by the Libyan and British Informants? 182

6.2.2.3. Are the British English Direct or Indirect? 185

6.2.2.4. Situations in which Indirectness is usually used by the Libyans 187

6.2.2.5. Which do Libyans and British prefer: being Direct or Indirect? 198

6.2.3. Examples of Indirectness 201

6.2.4. Summary 202

6.3. Focus Group Analysis 204

6.3.1. Defining Directness and Indirectness 204

6.3.2. Using Directness and Indirectness 209

6.3.3. Direct or Indirect 220

6.3.4. Evaluations of Indirectness 228

6.3.5. Is There any Difference between Males and Females' Perceptions of the Use of Indirectness? 236

6.3.6. Indirectness needs Skills 237

6.4. Concluding Remarks 240

CHAPTER 7: Data Analysis: Naturalistic Data

7.1. Introduction 242

7.2. Directness and (Im)politeness 242

7.2.1. Mitigating the Force of Direct Speech 243

7.2.2. Directness and Optionality 253

7.2.2.1. Directness and Reducing Options 253

7.2.2.2. Restricting Options and Politeness 263

7.3. Indirectness and Politeness 278
7.3.1. Opening Options and Politeness 279
7.3.2. Indirectness and Reducing Options 288
7.4. Indirectness and Impoliteness 296
7.4.1. Form driven 297
7.4.1.1. Face-to-Face Offence 298
1- Personal Criticism 298
2- Parallel Messages 302
3- Citing Others' Opinions 303
7.4.1.2. Offence through a Third Party 306
1- Exclusion 306
2- Speaking within Earshot of the Target 307
3- Generalising Meanings تعميم المعنى (Signifying) 309
4- Using Idioms 314
7.4.2. Convention-driven 317
7.4.3. Context-driven 323
7.6. Concluding Remarks 326

CHAPTER 8: Conclusion

8.1. Introduction 328
8.2. Overall Research Findings 328
1- Perception of Directness and Indirectness 328
2- Ideologies in Mitigating Directness 329
3- Indirectness and Opening Options 330
4- Directness and Opening Options 332
5- Cultural Effect on the Speakers' Choices 333
6- Indirectness and Impoliteness 334
7- The Role of Religion 335
8.3. Original Contribution to Knowledge of the Research 336
1- Cultural Stereotypes 336
2- Developing a Methodology for a Cross-cultural Study 337
3- Comparing Cultures.....338

4- Developing the Approaches of Interactions in Cross-cultural Contexts.....338
8.4. Implications of the Study.....339
1- Cultural Differences.....339
2- Cultural Generalisations.....340
3- Intercultural Communication.....340
8.5. Suggestions for Further Research.....341
8.6. Final Concluding Remarks.....341

BIBLIOGRAPHY 343

Convention for transliteration Arabic sounds into English

Arabic Letters	Name in Arabic	English sounds used to transliterate Arabic sounds
ا	'alif	a (consonantal), a: (lengthening)
ب	bā'	b
ت	tā'	t
ث	thā'	θ
ج	Jīm	ʒ
ح	ħā'	ħ
خ	khā'	χ
د	Dāl	d
ذ	dhāl	ð
ر	rā'	r
ز	Zain	z
س	Sīn	s
ش	Shīn	ʃ
ص	ṣād	$s^{ʕ}$
ض	ḍād	$d^{ʕ}$

ط	ţā'	$t^ʕ$
ظ	dā'	$ð^ʕ$
ع	`ayn	ʕ
غ	Gayn	ɣ
ف	fā'	f
ق	Qāf	q
ك	Kāf	k
ل	Lām	l
م	Mīm	m
ن	Nūn	n
ه	hā'	h
ة	tā' marbūţah	t
و	Wāw	w (consonantal), u: (lengthening)
ي	yā'	j (consonantal), i: (lengthening)
ء	Hamzah	ʔ
ا	Alifmamdda	`aa
ى	Alifmaqsura	à

TABLES

5.1 The social profile of data 155

6.1 English Informants' Definitions of Indirectness 171

6.2 Responses to Question 3, Frequency and Percentage of a Sample of 25 Informants of each Nationality 181

6.3 Responses of a Sample of 25 Informants of each Nationality Regarding the Purpose of using Indirectness 183

6.4 English Informants' preference for Directness and Indirectness 189

DIAGRAMS

6.1 Responses to Question (5) Concerning the Tendency to use Directness or Indirectness by a Sample of 25 Informants of English People 186

6.2Responses to a Question Concerning Situations in which Indirectness is usually used by the Sample of 25 Libyan Informants 188

6.3Percentage of a Sample of 25 Informants of each Nationality 199

Chapter 1

1.1 Introduction

This thesis is concerned with the relation between (in)directness[1] and politeness and impoliteness.[2] My examination of directness and indirectness looks at the cross-cultural use of both forms by Arabic and English speakers.[3] In contrast to the traditional theories (e.g. Brown and Levinson, 1987; Lakoff, 1975; Leech, 1983), where the role of culture and context does not seem to be considered as fundamental to politeness in these studies, the analytical framework of the present study takes variability across cultures, as well as context, as its central focus. However, although every cultural community may have culture-specific values and norms[4] (which might be similar to or different from other communities) which are built on different ideologies, these are not homogeneous (Kadar and Mills, 2011). Thus,"[i]t would be very difficult and indeed inadvisable to make any generalisations about all English-speaking or Arabic-speaking communities" (Grainger et al. 2015: 42). However, this thesis aims to describe some of the ideologies that are responsible for the sense of shared language activities among the speakers within both communities. For example, Agha (2003) uses the term enregisterment, which is defined by Christie (2013) as the process which becomes associated with certain personal qualities to certain aspects of accent and thus becomes "available as a signalling device" (Christie, 2013: 158). Agha argues that accent can be an identification of the social identity of individuals through their production of utterances, rather than simply being seen as 'sound patterns'.[5]

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[1] (In)directness refers to directness and indirectness as a whole.
[2] Definitions of (in)directness are provided in section 4.2.
[3] The focus of this thesis is largely on British-English and Libyan-Arabic.
[4] However, cultural norms themselves are not static but, rather, dynamic, as we will see in Chapter 3.
[5] A more detailed discussion on enregisterment and indexicality is provided in Chapter 2.

Although many cross-cultural studies on politeness analyse the existence of both directness and indirectness in their cultural or linguistic communities,[6] the conventionalised routines which are associated with such linguistic practices seem to vary from one culture to another. Thus, while there are similarities in the occurrence of these linguistic practices within different cultural groups, the cultural norms, which affect the use of direct and indirect forms, may differ from culture to culture. However, according to certain ideological beliefs, most work on English by some of the traditional theorists (such as Brown and Levinson, 1987; Levinson, 1983) portrays indirectness as fundamental in English,[7] attributing this to the belief that freedom from imposition takes priority in English.[8] Such a description of English preference of speech has been explored by many cross-cultural researchers (e.g. Sifianou,1992; Fukushima, 2002), who argue that their own language (which they believe to be more direct) and the English language are in stark opposition. My aim in this research, however, is to foreground and challenge such stereotypical assumptions and to argue that, despite the different conventions associated with the performance of direct and indirect forms of speech in both Arabic and English in certain contexts, the two cultures should not be presented as polar opposites. Thus, the goal of this thesis is to show that it is a matter of how certain ideologies around the use of such forms is conceived as appropriate and thus acceptable in both communities in certain situations, and how such ideologies have an impact on conventionalising certain linguistic practices (e.g. directness and indirectness) so that they are evaluated as either polite or impolite.

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[6]These studies will be discussed in Chapter 4.

[7] See 3.7.4. for more discussion of this claim.

[8]However, this is not to say that freedom from imposition does not have a priority in English; it does, but this does not mean that indirectness is always used where freedom from imposition is interpreted or directness is always avoided to avoid such imposition.

The main aim of this work is to investigate what might be considered as conventionalised and thus appropriate in both Arabic and English communities in terms of (in)directness, by demonstrating the similarities with regard to expectations of behaviour in each community. As such, in contrast to previous cross-cultural studies on directness and indirectness, which have investigated this phenomenon by contrasting these cultural forms between different cultures, I focus on the similarities as well as differences between different cultures' expectations of what might be conceived as appropriate and thus acceptable, and what might be considered as conventionalised and thus as being polite or impolite in terms of direct and indirect speech.

The vast majority of cross-cultural research on politeness, despite the useful contributions it has made to the politeness field, uses the theory of politeness proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987) or modifies certain aspects of its model to deal with its shortcomings (Terkourafi, 2005) in a way that serves their general aim (e.g. showing that certain cultural communities prefer more positive politeness strategies). However, the traditional theory of politeness has been accused of being Western-oriented in focus (Wierzbicka, 2003), which gives the impression that this theory, despite extensive criticism, is still applicable among certain cultural communities (e.g. Western cultures in general, English in particular). However, in recent years, a new generation of politeness research has declared the invalidity of Brown and Levinson's model even for Western cultures, due to a number of problems.[9] As a reaction to the shortcomings of Brown and Levinson's theory, a more complex politeness and impoliteness model has been suggested by researchers, including Eelen (2001), Mills (2003), Watts (2003), the Linguistic Politeness Research Group

[9]These problems will be discussed in Chapter 2.

(eds.), (2011) and Kadar and Mills (2011). This approach, in contrast to Brown and Levinson's (1987) model, takes contextual and situational factors into consideration in the analysis process and is well aware of the complexity and diversity of cultures. Thus, the goal of this thesis is to show that the adoption of such an approach for studies which deal with cross-cultural pragmatics is very useful because it is well-developed for such empirical research.[10] By drawing on this work, I hope to show, by reviewing several other models for analysing politeness, that a discursive approach to politeness is adequate for describing and understanding cross-cultural communication, where the participants may have different evaluations of what constitutes politeness and impoliteness. Thus, I adopt a discursive approach to the analysis of politeness as a framework for this study to analyse cross-cultural interactions.[11] The general goal, thus, is to move away from the basic assumptions of the traditional theories of politeness towards a more contextual and social approach to understanding politeness, because this is better able to account for what might be perceived as appropriate in each community.

I now discuss the motivations and scope for the study. Following this, I discuss my hypothesis and research questions. Then, I investigate the relationship between politeness, directness and indirectness. Finally, I outline the structure of the chapters of the present study.

1.2. Rationale for and Scope of the Research

Several motivations led me to select this topic for this thesis. For example, as I show in my literature review, although the traditional politeness approach has been demonstrated to be

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[10]Evidence of this claim will be discussed in Chapters 2 and 3.

[11] Discursive approaches to politeness and impoliteness are discussed in Chapter 2

incapable of accounting for the politeness phenomenon (Mills, 2011), it has been largely adopted by many cross-cultural researchers, including those analysing Arabic (e.g. Jebahi, 2011; Al-Oqaily and Tawalbeh, 2012), who use a similar strategy that is proposed by this theory to fit their own cultural community. For example, the traditional politeness theory simply assumes that there is a relationship between certain linguistic forms and their functions (Mills, 2011). Words such as 'thank you' or 'please' are always judged to be polite, whereas they can be used sarcastically or ironically. Furthermore, such polite formulaic expressions can be evaluated negatively in certain situations in Arabic, whereas they might be seen as essential in similar situations in English. An illustrative incident happened between my sister and myself when my son (who was 5-years-old at the time) asked her to pass him some bread by saying in Arabic 'Aunt, give me bread'. I joined the conversation as follows:[12]

	لا ؟	والا	لخويلة	فضلك	من	تقول	أنا : لازم
	la	walla	liχwaila	fadˤlik	min	tqu:l	la:zim
	no	or	aunty to	favour	of	say	should
Me: You should say 'please' to your aunty, shouldn't you?							

	هابلة.	هذه	أمك	على	ماتعدلش	أختي:
	ha:bla	hadj	ʔummyk	ˤala	matˤaddiliʃ	
	crazy	this	your mother	on	not bother you no	
My sister (speaking to my son): Don't care about what your mum says; she is crazy.						

According to traditional politeness theory, using the expression 'please' is supposed to be seen polite, but my sister's comment here does not seem to support this evaluation: 'Don't care about what your mum says'. Such polite formulaic expressions are generally avoided in certain discourses, (e.g. interactions among family members) in Libyan Arabic. This may be attributed to the reason mentioned by Sifianou (1992) concerning Greek culture:

[12] This example is taken from my log book data. Details of this data can be found in Chapter 5.

> Members of the same in-group see it as their duty to help and support each other, both morally and financially, so they find no obvious reason for thanking or apologizing, unless for something they conceive of as being very serious or beyond the normal duties of the performer of the action, since the appropriate response is similar behaviour from everybody when the occasion arises (1992: 42).

This suggestion seems to be valid as far as Arab, or more precisely Libyan, speakers are concerned. Libyans tend to work hard to maintain good relationships and place a high value on solidarity and intimacy. In other words, they place a low emphasis on distance and privacy, and thus tend to employ informality. Thus, because such terms (e.g. 'please' and 'thank you') may index formality and social distance, they are avoided in familial contexts. Therefore, while some items are considered to be polite in some cultures, they might be perceived differently in other societies.[13] However, this is not to say that these items are seen as impolite in the situation mentioned above in Arabic, but they might be seen as 'strange', because they are not conventionalised to be seen as appropriate. Furthermore, my sister's use of the word 'crazy' would be judged negatively by traditional politeness theory, while it is used here as a form of banter and is thus not judged as impolite.[14]

Another incident which sparked my interest in this research area happened when I boarded a bus in Sheffield, UK, for the first time. I found it very strange that people were thanking the driver and he was thanking them back. I considered that the driver was simply doing his job and, as the passengers were paying a fare to travel, I could not understand why they were thanking him. Interestingly, when I mentioned this incident to some Arab friends, they said that they had felt the same way when they first arrived in Britain. One of them mentioned another incident which happened while she was shopping in a supermarket, when

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[13] Evidence for this claim will be provided in Chapters 6 and 7.

[14] Culpeper (1996: 352) defines mock impoliteness or 'banter' as "impoliteness that remains on the surface, since it is understood that it is not intended to cause offence".

an English woman opened the door for her and stood back to allow her through. When my friend failed to thank the woman for opening the door for her, the English woman said: 'When someone opens the door for you, you have to say 'thank you''. Such incidents and many others have led me to think a more complex approach is required, because a simple link between particular linguistic forms and certain functions that ignores contextual and cultural factors can lead to different evaluations of contexts is insufficient.

According to Pan (2011), most previous cross-cultural studies which investigate the notion of politeness and its relation to directness and indirectness appear to be constrained by the basic assumptions of the traditional theories of politeness (e.g. Ogiermann, 2009; Byon, 2006; Al-Ali and Alawneh, 2010). For example, directness is often characterised in the literature as impolite verbal behaviour as it is regarded as a potential face-threatening act,[15] while indirectness is perceived as polite behaviour. This distinction relies primarily on ideological assumptions about what constitutes polite behaviour in English (e.g. Brown and Levinson, 1987; Lakoff, 1973; and Leech 1983). That is, as Pan (2011) argues, most linguistic politeness research simply applies Brown and Levinson's (1987) model of politeness across cultures, raising critical issues with regard to politeness theories. For example, indirectness is argued not to be the most frequent form of politeness in all cultures, as directness can be considered polite behaviour in many societies.[16] However, the conception and interpretations of directness and indirectness may differ from one culture to another. That is, the argument surrounding the issue of (in)directness has been an argument about the applicability of Brown and Levinson' (1987) theory among and across cultures,

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[15]See definitions in Section 2.2.1.4.

[16] A full discussion of this issue is provided in Chapter 4.

rather than one about the interpretation of the notions of directness and indirectness themselves, which I aim to interrogate critically.

Owing to the diversity and complexity that can be found within and across cultural communities, characterising a whole community as being simply direct or indirect appears inadequate. For example, it would be inadequate to categorize all English people as always preferring indirect forms, just because, in general, certain groups (e.g. the middle-classes) might have a tendency to use certain indirect linguistic forms in certain situations (e.g. requests). Furthermore, as I will show in chapter 2, most cross-cultural studies on politeness have simply applied Brown and Levinson's (1987) approach to the analysis of politeness, focusing on how certain speech acts can be used politely in comparison to English. As a result, the investigation of directness and indirectness has been restricted to the notion, that 'unlike English', where indirectness is seen as polite and directness as impolite, in other cultures, indirectness might involve some kind of dispreferred distance (such as in Greece, Sifianou, 1992) or some degree of ambiguity (such as in Germany, House, 2012). Thus, indirectness is dispreferred, while directness signals closeness and kindness. Thus, directness is seen as polite in these cultures.[17] Thus, in this research, I show that, instead of focusing on portraying a given cultural group as being more or less direct, or judging people according to the sort of group to which they belong, it is more appropriate to investigate the ideological motivations that make the usage and interpretation of certain behaviours conventional within particular communities which thus may be shared amongst speakers within these communities.

[17] This is not an attempt to negate the importance of such work, nor to assert that such claims are untrue, but, what constitutes directness and indirectness in these cultures has not been investigated in such studies.

1.3. Research Hypothesis and Questions

The main hypothesis of my work is that Arabic and English cultures are not polar opposites, as they are usually described (e.g. Sifianou, 1992; Fukushima, 2002; Al-Oqaily and Tawalbeh, 2012)[18] because they may share the goal of engaging in appropriate behaviour but via adopting different strategies, due to the different expectations that they are expected to meet in their communities.[19] Although many cross-cultural studies on politeness analyse the existence of both (in)directness in their cultural or linguistic communities,[20] the conventionalised routines which are associated with such linguistic practices seem to vary from one culture to another. Thus, while there are similarities in the occurrence of these linguistic practices within different cultural groups, the cultural norms, which affect the use of direct and indirect forms, may differ from culture to culture. However, according to certain ideological beliefs, most work on English by some of the traditional theorists (such as Brown and Levinson, 1987; Levinson, 1983) portrays indirectness as fundamental in English,[21] attributing this to the belief that freedom from imposition takes priority in English.[22] Such a description of English preference of speech has been explored by many cross-cultural researchers (e.g. Sifianou, 1992; Fukushima, 2002), who argue that their own language (which they believe to be more direct) and the English language are in stark opposition. My aim in this research, however, is to foreground and challenge such stereotypical assumptions and to argue that, despite the different conventions associated with the performance of direct and indirect forms of speech in both Arabic and English in certain contexts, the two cultures

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[18] More detailed discussion is provided in Chapter 4.
[19] This claim is discussed in Chapter 7.
[20] These studies will be discussed in Chapter 4.
[21] See 3.7.4. for more discussion of this claim.
[22] However, this is not to say that freedom from imposition does not have a priority in English; it does, but this does not mean that indirectness is always used where freedom from imposition is interpreted or directness is always avoided to avoid such imposition.

should not be presented as polar opposites. Thus, the goal of this thesis is to show that it is a matter of how certain ideologies around the use of such forms is conceived as appropriate and thus acceptable in both communities in certain situations, and how such ideologies have an impact on conventionalising certain linguistic practices (e.g. directness and indirectness) so that they are evaluated as either polite or impolite.

On the basis of the above mentioned considerations and arguments, the main research questions are as follows:

1) – To what extent is there a correlation between indirectness and politeness and directness and impoliteness?

2) – Is (in)directness perceived differently in Arab and English cultures?

3) – How adequate is a discursive theoretical approach to the analysis of (in)directness?

Thus, the main aim of this thesis is to contribute to the understanding of (im)politeness and its relation to (in)directness by examining these phenomena in Arabic and English respectively. This thesis also aims to analyse some of the cultural stereotypes of Arabic and English cultures, in order better to understand politeness and impoliteness and their use in intercultural communications.

1.4. Politeness, Directness and Indirectness

Most traditional theories argue for a positive correlation between indirectness and politeness. I would argue that directness can be appropriate in certain situations but dispreferred in others. Similarly, indirectness can be used politely in particular contexts, but it can also be

used to offer deliberate offence or harsh criticism in others.[23] However, directness should not be treated as a default from which the speakers always deviate, as it can simply be used because there is no need for explicitness due to the fact that the same linguistic repertoire is shared by the interlocutors. Thus, more implicit forms are preferred in such situations. This is not particular to a certain culture, but applicable to both Arabic and English. As such, it would be difficult to classify a whole community as direct or indirect, because we cannot simply make generalisations about the interpretations and the functions of (in)directness within or across cultures (Mills and Kadar, 2011). However, it might be possible to describe some of the ideologies of certain language activities that are shared among many of the speakers within both communities. Thus, I would argue that there is no single way to express or interpret directness and indirectness. The supposed association between the English use of indirectness and politeness might not be always accurate, because indirectness can sometimes be used to cause deliberate offence.[24] Directness, on the other hand, which is ideologically linked to rudeness in English, may be more frequent in everyday interactions in English than it is generally believed to be.[25] Furthermore, despite the attempts by cross-cultural researchers to present positive evaluations of direct speech in their culture, the same effort has not been made to investigate the negative evaluations that indirectness may incur.[26] They simply declare that the supposed English indirectness is unsuited to their culture without investigating its conception and interpretation in their communities. The reason for this may be attributed to the dependence of these studies on Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory, which encourages generalisations about linguistic communities. In this research, thus, I have moved away from Brown and Levinson's perspective on (in)directness to analyse

[23] Examples which support this claim are provided in Chapter 7.
[24] As I show in Chapters 6 and 7.
[25] See Chapters6 and 7 for more details.
[26] See Chapter 4 for a detailed discussion of these studies.

(im)politeness and (in)directness in a way that enables me to frame an appropriate description of this phenomenon in Arabic and English.[27]

1.5. Structure of the Thesis

Following this introductory chapter, Chapter 2, Theories of Politeness and Impoliteness, provides an overview of the politeness and impoliteness approaches, by critically investigating the traditional theories of politeness. It also aims to investigate the controversy between traditional theories (e.g. Brown and Levinson), which focus on how the individual's utterance can fit into a framework created by researchers, and discursive approaches (e.g. Eelen, 2001; Mills, 2003; and Watts, 2003) which stress that what should be taken into consideration is the individual's judgement of (im)politeness which is shown in their utterance, and the contextual and cultural factors that influence such evaluations. Thus, I aim critically to review Brown and Levinson's model and theoretical work which has been influenced by their work, in order to shed light on the importance of adopting more contextual approaches with which to develop an adequate explanation for the politeness and impoliteness phenomena.

In chapter 3, Culture and Politeness, I focus on the relation between culture and politeness. I investigate certain aspects of culture that are considered to influence communication style and politeness strategies. I review the concept of culture and its relation to identity, and critically review certain proposed cultural dimensions (e.g. collectivism/ individualism), considering the main problems with such distinctions. Further, I explain the importance of cultural and contextual factors in analysing (im)politeness in different cultures.

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[27] (Im)politeness includes politeness and impoliteness as a whole.

Thus, I investigate the concept of politeness and impoliteness in Arabic and English and highlight the main similarities and differences between the two cultures. The main aim of this chapter, thus, is to show that, despite the importance of culture in shaping the participants' strategy choices in interactions, 'culture' should be viewed as fluid and dynamic rather than static, and cultures are not homogeneous.

In chapter 4, Definition and Functions of (In)directness, I focus on the notion of directness and indirectness and their relation to politeness and impoliteness cross-culturally. The chapter investigates a wide range of issues related to these phenomena, including: definitions of the concept of directness and indirectness; the relationship between (in)directness and politeness or impoliteness cross-culturally; the motivations for indirectness; and the relationship between indirectness and politeness in different languages in general and in Arabic and English communities in particular. By so doing, I show how performing and interpreting directness and indirectness may differ from one cultural community to another, taking cultural and contextual factors into consideration.

In Chapter 5, Methodology, I present the methodological framework for this study taking into consideration the theoretical framework and hypothesis discussed in previous chapters. I assess the methods that are usually used for linguistic research data before explaining and justifying the methods used. I also present the data collection procedures through discussing the pilot studies that I carried out, and describing the methods I used to gather data for this study. The methods I used to gather data for this study constitute a mixed approach: quantitative, such as questionnaires; and qualitative, such as focus group data and naturally occurring data, including recorded and log-book data. The variety of data examined from both languages makes the results obtained more adequate.

In Chapter 6, Data Analysis (Questionnaire and Focus-group-data Analysis), I investigate the performance and interpretation of directness and indirectness in relation to politeness and impoliteness in both Arabic and English, by examining data collected by means of Questionnaires and Focus Groups. The focus is on examining how directness and indirectness are perceived by the interactants from both communities. Thus, the aim of this chapter is to highlight the main ideological and cultural motivations that influence the interactants' strategic communication choices in terms of directness and indirectness in each community. I discuss the extent to which these may be considered to be conventionalised. Thus, I aim to examine the way in which people from both Arabic and English cultures feel they use directness and indirectness in relation to politeness and impoliteness which is, in turn, influenced by their ideological beliefs about these linguistic forms.

In chapter 7, Data Analysis (Naturalistic-Data Analysis), I investigate, through the analysis of naturalistic data, the extent to which people from both Arabic and English communities conform to the way they feel that they and others should speak or behave, and compare it with the way they actually do speak or behave. This might be similar to or different from their ideological beliefs about the use of directness and indirectness in communication.

In chapter 8, Conclusion, I discuss the main findings of the data analysis and highlight the similarities and differences between the use and interpretation of directness and indirectness in Arab and English cultures. I also discuss the implications of the study, and I propose recommendations for further work.

1.6. Summary

In brief, this thesis investigates how contextual and ideological factors affect the generation of different interpretations of utterances in various situations. Unlike most previous cross-cultural studies, which simply contrast behaviour between different languages, the focus of this thesis is on the similarities as well as the differences in how different types of cultural behaviour are interpreted and evaluated. Thus, this thesis as a whole aims to develop a new form of analysis, which can capture the complexity and diversity of cultures in relation to the notions of (in)directness and (im)politeness cross-culturally.

Chapter 2

Theories of Politeness and Impoliteness

2.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I outline the theoretical position of the present study. In section 2.2., I review the traditional politeness theories, in particular, those which have been influenced by the Gricean model, such as the work of Lakoff (1973), Leech (1983), Brown and Levinson (1987). I outline the main weaknesses of these theories which, accordingly, cannot provide a solid basis on which to develop an explanation for individuals' behaviour in relation to politeness and impoliteness. Sperber and Wilson's (1986) relevance theory will also be discussed in this section. Although relevance theory is not particularly concerned with politeness, it is believed by many researchers (e.g. Escandell-Vidal, 1996; Jary, 1998; Watts, 2003; Christie, 2007) to be useful to inform politeness research. Since this study is also concerned with issues which are related to impoliteness, impoliteness theories, mainly those which are proposed by Culpeper (1996, 2005, 2011); and Bousfield (2008), are the main focus of section 2.3. In section 2.4., I discuss the discursive approaches to politeness and impoliteness, in order to show how the adoption of such an approach for studies which deal with cross-cultural pragmatics is very useful, as it is well developed for such empirical research (as I show below). The main research question that is posed in this chapter is: how adequate is a discursive theoretical approach to the analysis of (im)politeness? Since the discursive approach offers a valuable analytical framework for understanding communicational interactions, I take a discursive approach as the theoretical basis of this study, as will be discussed in section 2.5.

2.2. Theories of Politeness

According to Grainger (2011), there have been three main waves of politeness research: (1) the Gricean model; (2) discursive approaches; and (3) the sociological/interactional approach which takes a middle ground between both the Gricean model and discursive approaches to politeness theories.[28] The first wave of politeness theories was based on the Gricean model which was adopted and elaborated by many scholars (such as Brown and Levinson, 1987; Lakoff, 1973; Leech, 1983), and associated with second-order politeness.[29] Thus, it would be useful to review Grice's view which is the foundation of the work for these theorists.

2.2.1.Traditional Theories of Politeness: Critical Review

2.2.1.1 Grice

Gricean pragmatics is principally based on the idea of implicature, proposed by Grice to distinguish between what the speakers literally say and what they actually mean. This framework has become known as 'conversational implicature'. The general principle from which conversational implicature is derived is called the 'Cooperative Principle' which is presented by Grice as follows: "Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged" (Grice, 1975: 45). To support this principle, Grice proposes four maxims, each of which involves sub-maxims. They are maxims of Quality, Quantity, Relation and Manner. These maxims are described by Grice (1975: 45-46) as follows:

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[28]Due to space limitations and for the purpose of this study, the scope of my review of 'politeness theories' will include an extensive discussion of issues related to first and second waves of politeness research and will not therefore allow for a discussion of aspects related to the third wave.

[29]The definitions and more discussion about the difference between first-order politeness (politeness 1) and second-order politeness (politeness 2) will be provided in section 2.4.3. below.

1. **Quantity**

(1) Make your contribution as informative as required (for the purpose of the exchange).
(2) Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

2. **Quality**

(1) Do not say what you believe to be false.
(2) Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

3. **Relation**

Be relevant

4. **Manner**

(1) Avoid obscurity of expression.
(2) Avoid ambiguity.
(3) Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity).
(4) Be orderly.

However, it might be thought that Grice is suggesting that speakers need to speak within this framework if they want to be cooperative. Grice was aware that these maxims are not always observed by speakers; rather, there are some situations when speakers do not observe all the maxims, but this does not necessarily mean that they are being non-cooperative. Accordingly, he suggests some ways in which people fail to observe one (or more) of these maxims, such as flouting a maxim which is the case "in which a speaker blatantly fails to observe a maxim, not with any intention of deceiving or misleading, but because the speaker wishes to prompt the hearer to look for a meaning which is different from, or in addition to, the expressed meaning" (Thomas, 1995: 65).

However, Grice's CP has been criticized since these principles do not always affect interactional communication in everyday language. Sifianou (1992), for example, argues that the principles of conversation "ignore the significance of the expressive aspect of language use. They sound more like rules prescribing what should happen in business encounters rather than those describing normal, everyday speech" (1992: 16). The CP has also been criticized

from the viewpoint of the misleading label 'cooperative', "since what in everyday terms would be seen as 'highly uncooperative' behaviour, such as arguing, lying, hurling abuse, may yet be perfectly cooperative according to some interpretations of Grice's (1975) term" (Fukushima, 2002: 31). Thomas (1995) also has criticized Grice's maxims for overlapping, being unclear, or of different statuses.

Despite the limitations of Grice's CP, some researchers assume that the Gricean model remains useful for analysis because "the assumption of cooperative behaviour is actually hard to undermine" (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 5). Thomas (1994) suggests that, in spite of its limitations, "no one else .... has yet come up with anything better with which to replace it". Sifianou (1992) also insists that the maxim of 'be polite', proposed by Grice, has motivated many scholars to build on the issue of politeness; thus, "whether in supporting or contesting his views, scholars such as Lakoff, Leech, and Brown and Levinson have been encouraged to produce a great deal of interesting work on the subject of politeness" (Sifianou, 1992: 20). These theories will be introduced in the following sections.

2.2.1.2. Lakoff

Lakoff (1973) adopts Grice's view of Conversational Principles in order to account for politeness. However, she discusses the concept of politeness in terms of pragmatic rules rather than in terms of strategies. Lakoff (1973: 296) proposes two basic rules of pragmatic competence. They are:

1. Be clear.
2. Be polite.

Lakoff argues that both rules are not at the same level of importance. In other words, in most situations in which politeness and clarity are in conflict, people tend to choose not to offend others than to be clear. Her second pragmatic rule, 'be polite', consists of three rules of politeness. These are:

1: Don't impose.
2: Give options.
3: Make A feel good - be friendly (Lakoff, 1973: 298).

The first rule is associated with formality and distance. But Lakoff (1973: 298) suggests that this rule "can also be taken as meaning, Remain aloof, don't intrude into 'other people's business''. The second rule is associated with situations where the addressee is given a choice about their reaction towards the speaker (such as in the cases of hedges). In Lakoff's words: "certain particles may be used to give the addressee an option about how ... [they are] to react" (1973: 299). The third rule is associated with cases in which some strategies are used by the speaker to make their interactant feel good, as "it produces a sense of equality between Sp and A, and (providing Sp is actually equal or better than A) this makes A feel good" Lakoff, 1973: 301). In her later work, Lakoff (1975: 65) reformulated her rules of politeness as follows:

1. Formality: keep aloof.
2. Deference: give options.
3. Camaraderie: show sympathy.

However, Lakoff's rules of politeness have been criticized for a number of reasons. Yeung (1997), for example, points out that Lakoff "never goes into the question of how the choice is made" (1997: 506). These rules have also been criticized from the viewpoint of their

assumed universality (Sifianou, 1992). For example, Lakoff argues that these rules are universal, "the only difference among cultures lying in the order of precedence of these rules" (Sifianou, 1992: 24). However, the matter is not restricted to the order of these rules: the issue has another dimension, as Sifianou (1992: 25) quite rightly says, it is "a matter of differing interpretations of the politeness involved in each particular action or utterance" rather than ordering these rules differently within different cultures.

2.2.1.3. Leech

Like Lakoff, Leech (1983) expands on Grice's views in his attempt to account for politeness phenomena. The approach that he proposed for pragmatics is 'rhetorical'. By rhetorical Leech means "the effective use of language in its most general sense, applying it primarily to everyday conversation and only secondarily to more prepared and public uses of language" (1983: 15). Leech's work on politeness consists primarily of two main systems of rhetoric, they are:

1- Textual rhetoric, which consists of the Processibility Principle, the Clarity Principle, the Economy Principle and the Expressivity Principle.

2- Interpersonal rhetoric, which consists of the following sets of principles: the Cooperative Principle with its four maxims (quality, quantity, relation and manner), the Politeness Principle, which consists of a set of maxims: tact, generosity, approbation, modesty, agreement, and sympathy and the Irony Principle.

Leech argues that his Politeness Principle (PP) is an essential complement to Grice's co-operative principles, and not just an additional principle. However, he points out that not all the maxims of the Politeness Principle are of equal importance. For example, the tact maxim is supposed to be more powerful than the generosity maxim. Leech also mentions that

every maxim consists of two sub-maxims. For example, the tact maxim includes (a) minimize cost to other, and (b) maximize benefit to other, whereas the generosity maxim consists of the two sub-maxims (a) minimize benefit to self and (b) maximize cost to self and so on. Leech further mentions that different cultures tend to place a higher value on certain maxims which indicates the possibility of cross-cultural differences. Leech argues, for example, that some Eastern cultures place a higher value on the modesty maxim than Western cultures, whereas Mediterranean cultures tend to value the generosity maxim more highly than the tact maxim, which is valued more in English-speaking cultures.[30] Leech also proposes three pragmatic scales associated with his maxims which have "a bearing on the degree of tact appropriate to a given speech situation" (1983: 123). These pragmatic scales are:

1- The COST- BENEFIT SCALE on which is estimated the cost or benefit of the proposed action.

2- The OPTIONALITY SCALE on which illocutions are ordered according to the amount of choice which s allows to h.

3- The INDIRECTNESS SCALE on which....illocutions are ordered with respect to the length of the path connecting the illocutionary act to its illocutionary goal.

Leech suggests two other scales that are related to politeness in addition to these three scales. They are: 'authority' and 'social distance'. Therefore, "if speakers judge that the cost to the addressee, their relative authority and the social distance increase, they will attempt to provide the addressees with more options and will formulate their utterance with greater

[30]As far as Arabic speakers are concerned, this suggestion seems to be valid, as Arab culture seems to value the importance of generosity, thus minimizing benefit to self and maximizing benefit to others. However, this is not to say that I agree with making generalizations about politeness across all Arab countries, as they arenot homogenous as I will show in chapter, 4, 6 and 7 (see Grainger *et al.* 2015).

indirectness" (Sifianou, 1992: 28). What Leech seems to suggest here is that the more indirect the speaker is the more polite they are. However, this is not always the case, because in some situations, indirectness can be used for neutral (neither polite nor impolite), or even impolite purposes (as I show in chapter 6 and 7). Thus, such a suggestion does not always hold true within or across cultures.

Leech (1983: 83) also distinguishes between absolute and relative politeness. The former can be described "as a scale, or rather a set of scales, having a negative and a positive pole. Some illocutions (e.g. orders) are inherently impolite, and others (e.g. offers) are inherently polite". Thus, negative politeness is perceived as "minimizing the impoliteness of impolite illocutions, and positive politeness consists in maximizing the politeness of polite illocutions" (Leech, 1983: 83-4). Relative politeness, on the other hand, relies on the norm of behaviour for a particular culture, as "it is clear that the Cooperative Principle and the Politeness Principle operate variably in different cultures or language communities, in different social situation among different social classes, etc" (Leech, 1983: 10). However, Leech's observation regarding absolute politeness has been challenged. Sifianou (1992), for instance, wonders to what extent orders are always considered inherently impolite, and wonders whether orders, in the military or an educational context, are inherently polite or impolite. Furthermore, many theorists, such as Locher and Watts, (2005) and Mills, (2011), argue against the assumption that politeness or impoliteness are inherent in the utterances themselves; rather, their function may differ from one situation to another. For example, Mills (2003) argues that even the most offensive speech acts, such as threats and insults, are sometimes used by close friends in order to show camaraderie towards each other.

In a later development of his theory, Leech (2007) reformulated the maxims of politeness, but he avoided using the term 'maxim' because "it is so easily misconstrued" (Leech, 2007: 180). Instead, Leech prefers the term "pragmatic constraint" and uses 'super-constraint' which comprises all the maxims of tact, generosity, approbation, modesty, agreement, and sympathy, and he labels this '*the Grand Strategy of Politeness*'(GSP) which is defined as follows: "In order to be polite, *S* expresses or implies meanings which associate a high value with what pertains to *O* (*O* = other person(s), mainly the addressee) or associates a low value with what pertains to *S* (*S* = self, speaker)" (Leech, 2007: 181). By employing GSP, Leech (2007) argues, the speaker attempts to avoid offence which might be occasioned, if the participants only follow their own agenda without taking others' feelings into consideration. However, Leech's claim here gives the impression that the purpose of employing politeness is to avoid causing offence; thus people use politeness only for the sake of mitigation, which is not the case. Further, Leech relabels the kinds of politeness scale to be semantic (or absolute) and pragmatic (or relative) politeness scales. However, although his view has been heavily critiqued since the publication of his original work (1983), in this later work he has not modified his theorization of politeness in response to these critiques. For example, Leech (2007: 74) points out that "we can judge that '*Can you help me?* is more polite, as a request, than '*Help me'*, and is less polite than '*Could you possibly help me?*" and attributes that to the choices open to the hearer: the more choices (which seems to be related to indirectness), the more polite the request is.[31]

[31]A more detailed discussion about the relationship between opening options and directness and indirectness will be provided in Chapter 4 and 7.

However, as I have indicated above, politeness and impoliteness cannot be inherent in the utterances themselves, thus, the utterance '*Could you possibly help me?*' can be used sarcastically or ironically and, consequently, judged negatively. In addition, this utterance might not be judged as more polite that other utterances he mentions (*Can you help me; Help me)*, because they might be seen as equally appropriate (Locher and Watts, 2005). Furthermore, as Escandell-Vidal (1996) points out, such utterances can be perceived as a polite request in English, because they are conventional ways of requesting in this culture, while they might be interpreted as strange in similar contexts in other cultures, such as Poland and Russia, because they are not conventionalised to be seen as polite.

Leech's politeness principles, also, have been criticized for a number of reasons. One of the criticisms is that Leech has an unconstrained number of maxims (Brown and Levinson, 1987; Thomas, 1995). Brown and Levinson (1987), for example, criticize Leech's maxims on the ground that "[i]f we are permitted to invent a maxim for every regularity in language use, not only will we have an infinite number of maxims, but pragmatic theory will be too unconstrained to permit the recognition of any counterexamples" (1987: 4). There are criticisms concerning the universality of Leech's maxims. Wierzbicka (2003: ix), for example, argues that "the once popular assumption that the 'principles of politeness' are essentially the same everywhere and can be described in terms of 'universal maxims' such as those listed in Leech (1983: 132)". However, in his more recent work, Leech (2007) insists that he "never made any claim for the universality of ... [his] model of politeness". (2007: 169). Despite this claim, Leech believes that there is a common pragmatic basis for polite behaviour in different societies. This raises the question of whether Leech really moved away from the claim for the universality of his principles.

2.2.1.4. Brown and Levinson

Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory is generally considered to be the most influential work in the field of politeness. They postulate a 'Model Person' (MP) who exhibits of two main properties: rationality and face. Brown and Levinson (1987: 58) point out that:

> All our Model Person (MP) consists in is a wilful fluent speaker of a natural language, further endowed with two special properties – rationality and face. By 'rationality' we mean something very specific – the availability of our MP of a precisely definable mode of reasoning from ends to the means that will achieve those ends. By 'face' we mean something quite specific again: our MP is endowed with two particular wants – roughly, the want to be unimpeded and the want to be approved of in certain respects.

However, the claim for the 'Model Person' has been challenged. Pan (2011), for example, argues that within Brown and Levinson's politeness theoretical framework, the degree of politeness can be traced through the analysis of a particular speech act or politeness form within the context of a specific situation or culture. This model presents the 'Model Person' as "the embodiment of sharedness" which assumes that values and norms that constitute appropriate behaviour are shared by all speakers and hearers (Pan, 2011: 132). Mills (2003: 17) also argues that such an assumption brings us many difficulties, because it is assumed that "the individual can be discussed unproblematically as an autonomous person, who chooses to use certain language items and strategies rather than others". Furthermore, Mills (2003) maintains that the 'Model Person' is assumed to be universal. Accordingly, it is possible to make a generalization within or across cultures. However, "this tendency to characterise classes and cultures as homogeneous is not easily sustained when we examine the complexity of politeness in even one culture, or even within one class, and seems to be dependent on stereotypical beliefs about the linguistic behaviour of particular class" (Mills, 2003: 106). Another problem raised by Mills (2003) regarding the 'Model Person' is that participants are assumed to use language in order to achieve their own ends which involve

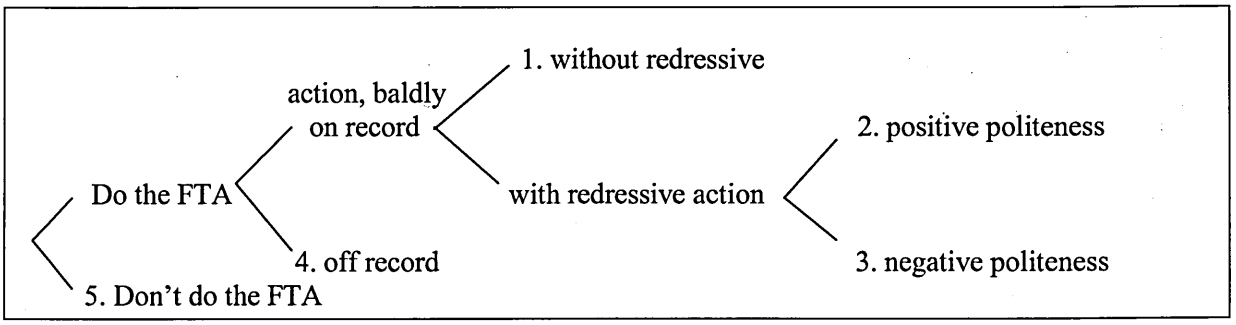
short term and long term goals. This notion, according to Mills, is problematic even in Western cultures, because it means that the individual perceives other people solely as a means to achieve their goals.

Brown and Levinson (1978) also suggest that some acts involve imposition on the participant's face. That is, they are inherently 'Face Threatening Acts' (FTAs)[32] which are "those acts that by their nature run contrary to the face wants of the addressee and/or of the speaker" (Brown and Levinson, 1978: 70).[33] Face threatening acts have been described by Thomas (1995: 169) as follows:

> An illocutionary act has the potential to damage the hearer's positive face (by, for example, insulting H or expressing disapproval of something which H holds dear) or H's negative face (an order, for example, will impinge upon H's freedom of action); or the illocutionary act may potentially damage the speaker's own positive face (if S has to admit to having botched a job, for example) or S's negative face (if S is cornered into making an offer of help).

Brown and Levinson (1987: 69) propose many strategies in order to minimize or avoid doing Face Threatening Acts (see figure 1. below).[34]

Figure (1) Brown and Levinson's strategies for FTAs (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 69)



[32]The same argument with regard to the inherent meaning of utterances can be made here with Brown and Levinson, who argue that acts can be inherently polite or impolite, whereas they are multifunctional (Mills, 2003).

[33] See Chapter 1 for the definition and discussion of 'face'.

[34] I will review more fully these strategies in 4.3.

Fukushima (2002) explains that according to Brown and Levinson, "not only 'face,' but also the strategies of face redress, are universal. They further claim that the underlying rational, motivational, and functional foundations of politeness are assumed to be, to some extent, universal, and are assumed to influence, and be reflected by, speech in many different languages and cultures" (Fukushima, 2002: 41). However, Brown and Levinson's claim for the universality of politeness strategies has been heavily criticized, because what they conceive as universal are seen, by many recent politeness researchers (e.g. Wierzbicka; 1985)., as culturally specific as they are claimed to be basically based on English data and have a Western bias. Thus, Brown and Levinson's model cannot be applicable to all cultures or all contexts.[35]

2.2.1.4.1. Critique of Brown and Levinson's Politeness Theory

In spite of the limitations of Brown and Levinson's theory, many researchers point out that its contribution to the study of politeness cannot be denied. Thomas (1995), for example, maintains that "Brown and Levinson's work has been extraordinarily influential and very widely discussed. It is not surprising, therefore, that a number of criticisms have been made of their model of politeness" (1995: 176). Similarly, Leech (2007) points out that "if ... [Brown and Levinson model] did not have the virtue of providing an explicit and detailed model of linguistic politeness, it could not have been attacked so easily" (2007: 168). However, in the light of the critique of many of politeness theories' frameworks, Mills (2003) argues that the main area of debate can be centred on the fact that Brown and Levinson's model (and all theoretical works that have been influenced by their work) remains at the

[35]Some other criticisms of Brown and Levinson's theory will be provided below.

utterance level. Thus, they are unable to explain the wide range of social and cultural differences of politeness phenomenon. Mills (2003) points out:

> Theorists of linguistic politeness need to reorient their work so that they do not make false assumptions about what is going on in conversation when people judge each other as being polite or impolite. What we need are new ways of analysis politeness so that we can see the varying forces that at work in the process of being polite and impolite, and the outcome and effects of these assessments. I argue that we should not focus on, for example, the analysis of indirectness as an instance of polite behaviour, but rather that we should ask fundamental questions about whether all of the participants in the conversation we are analysing consider particular utterances as indirect and whether they themselves consider indirectness to be indicative of politeness or not (2003: 14).

Mills states that her aim "is not to attempt to negate the importance of this work by Brown and Levinson: in many ways, as a system of analysis, it works very well, within its own terms" (2003: 57). However, she argues for the abandonment of Brown and Levinson's model and proposes a new more complex approach of politeness which "is concerned with the way that assessments of what politeness consists of are developed by individuals engaging with others in communities of practice, in the process of mapping out identities and positions for themselves and others within hierarchies and affiliative networks" (Mills, 2003: 58). Therefore, and in reaction to the weakness of Brown and Levinson's model, a new more complex politeness model has been developed in recent years. That is the discursive approach to (im)politeness, which has focused on the importance of analyzing language at the discourse level rather than analysing single utterances.[36] But before investigating this approach, in the following section I discuss 'Relevance Theory', which has also been based on Gricean model.

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[36]Discursive approaches to politeness, as I will discuss more fully in section 2.4., argue for moving towards a more complex and dynamic model of (im)politeness which takes contextual and situational factors into consideration.

2.2.1.5. Relevance Theory

Sperber and Wilson (1986) laid the foundation for a model of communication and cognition: Relevance Theory. As I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, although this theory is not particularly concerned with politeness research, Sperber and Wilson (1986) imply that this model might be of use to studies that are concerned with such sorts of phenomena (Christie, 2007). The relevance-theoretical approach is primarily based on Grice's view that utterances create expectations of relevance which enable the hearer to interpret the meaning intended by the speaker. In Wilson and Sperber's words "The central claim of relevance theory is that the expectations of relevance raised by an utterance are precise and predictable to guide the hearer towards the speaker's meaning" (2007: 607). However, Sperber and Wilson raise many points of criticisms regarding other aspects of Grice's account, including the need for Grice's cooperative principle and maxims, the violation of the maxims in interpretation and so on.

From a relevance-theoretical perspective, an 'input' is the premise that enables an individual to interpret the precise predictions and conclusions when this input is relevant to their background information. Such input yields what Wilson and Sperber call 'a Positive Cognitive Effect' by which they mean "a worthwhile difference to the individual's representation of the world: a true conclusion, for example." (Wilson and Sperber, 2007: 608). According to relevance theory, the main type of Positive Cognitive Effect is 'a Contextual Implication' which yields from the combination of the new information (context) with old information (input) and it is not deducible from either types alone.

Wilson and Sperber (2007) also argue that what guides the interpretation process of communication is the way human cognitive systems have evolved. They claim that it is not a

cultural-specific phenomenon; rather, it is something that all humans do. In Wilson and Sperber's (2007) words:

> Relevance theory claims that humans do have an automatic tendency to maximize relevance, not because we have choice in the matter- we rarely do – but because of the way our cognitive systems have evolved. As a result of constant selection pressures towards increasing efficiency, the human cognitive system has developed in such a way that our perceptual mechanism tend automatically to pick out potentially relevant stimuli (2007: 610).

On the whole, the aim of interlocutors who are involved in the interpretation process is to improve their knowledge of the world. In order to achieve this goal, relevance theory argues that humans have developed the ability to select only relevant information and ignoring information that is not relevant to them.

Wilson and Sperber (2007) go on to suggest that in conveying information through the use of language, the speaker intends to affect the addressee's thoughts by giving evidence that s/he has this intention. The relevance-theoretical term for this process is 'ostensive-inferential communication, which includes the following layer of intention:

> **Ostensive-inferential communication**
>
> a. The informative intention
> The intention to inform an audience of something.
> b. The communicative intention
> The intention to inform the audience of one's informative intention (Wilson and Sperber, 2007: 611).

Thus the hearer is entitled to stop if they succeeded in recognizing the speaker's intentions and understanding the interpretation. Within the framework of ostensive-inferential communication, the speaker tends to use what Wilson and Sperber call 'ostensive stimulus', the relevance theoretical term for the behaviour that is designed in order to "attract an audience's attention and focus it on the communicator's meaning". Therefore, the

communicator "encourages her audience to presume that it is relevant enough to be worth processing." (Wilson and Sperber, 2007: 611). The authors' claim, then, is that speakers tend to formulate their utterance in a way that attracts the addressee's attention. At the same time, the hearer must assume that what is conveyed by the utterance is relevant to them and points them to the intended conclusions.

In the light of the above discussion, many researchers (Mey, 2001; Jary, 1998; Christie, 2007; Watts, 2003) believe that the adoption of a relevance-theoretical model can offer a better explanation for the sorts of phenomena that politeness research addresses than a Gricean approach. For example, Watts (2003: 26) argues that "relevance theory offers a more subtle and flexible method of deriving the kind of inferencing processes that participants in social interaction may be using when evaluating one another's social behaviour", while Grice's approach fails to explain how meanings are arrived at in utterances because it "remains tied to the ideology of language as a semiotic code" (Watts, 2003: 204). Christie (2007) also draws attention to the inadequacy of Grice's approach in explaining how the hearer is guided to interpret the meanings of even explicit utterances, and "it therefore does not provide a descriptive account of how apparently explicit utterances require the hearer to draw on pragmatic phenomena in order to interpret them" (Christie, 2007: 277). However, not only has Grice's framework failed in providing a descriptive account for explicit utterances, but it also, despite its recognition of the importance of pragmatic phenomena in the interpretations of implied meanings, as Christie (2007) argues, failed in providing "a sufficiently descriptive account of how such interpretations are arrived at" (Christie, 2007: 277). For such reasons, Jary (1998: 2) argues for replacing a Gricean norm-based approach with a relevance theory approach because it "provides precise criteria for clearly defining instances of verbal communication and hence for distinguishing these from other forms of

information transfer". However, relevance theory has been criticised for overlooking the role of the speaker, and focusing only on the hearer's role in interactions (Bousfield, 2008). It has also been accused of being based on an encoding/decoding model which, consequently, "cannot successfully account for the property of emergence or interactional achievement that characterizes communication in general" (Haugh, 2007: 301).[37] However, the major criticism levelled at relevance theory is that "the theory does not have a sufficiently developed account of the social" (Christie, 2007: 270).[38] Mills (2003), for example, suggests that, although relevance theory provides a good framework for the process of interpreting utterances, which makes it more appropriate for the study of politeness than a Gricean approach, it does not take the social setting of interactions into account. That is, relevance theory accounts for individual behaviour in a way that assumes that cultures are homogeneous. Thus, for her, a more complex politeness model is needed. In Mills' (2003: 62-63) words:

> Where we need to extend Jary's and Sperber and Wilson's work is to see that processing should not simply be seen in terms of the individual's cognitive processing, as if this takes place in a vacuum. What I am proposing is a model which focuses on the processing that an individual does in relation to the norms which s/he assumes exist within the community of practice and wider society. In addition it is important to acknowledge the constraints that those wider groupings impose on the individual.

Considering the criticisms of the theories I have discussed so far, it seems that none of the above frameworks can serve as the theoretical basis for a cross-cultural comparison, and

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[37]Arundale (2006: 195) explains an encoding/decoding model as "a speaker has a meaning that he or she intends a hearer to have, encodes it using knowledge of the language, and transmits the language forms by producing an utterance. The hearer decodes the utterance using knowledge of the language, and recovers the speaker's meaning".

[38]However, Christie (2007) points out that despite their focus on cognition in developing relevance theory, Sperber and Wilson do not assume that social factors play no role in meaning generation. They argue that "if human communication is of the inferential type, it presupposes and exploits an awareness of self and others. Inferential communication is intrinsically social" (Sperber and Wilson, 1997; cited in Christie, 2007: 271).

thus, I will not take their frameworks as the basis for the present study. Therefore, I consider another politeness model that might provide a better explanation for (im)politeness phenomena. That is the discursive approach to politeness and impoliteness. It is worth noting that this approach has also been criticised for a number of reasons (as I show in 2.4.4.). However, as I am adopting a discursive approach to politeness and impoliteness as the basis for my study, I will review these criticisms in an attempt to argue that this model, despite criticism, can provide a good framework for studies that are concerned with the analysis of politeness in the context of cross-cultural pragmatics. As my study is concerned with impoliteness research as well as politeness, I will first review some theories of impoliteness which are based, partly or fully, on Gricean the model before going on to discuss discursive approaches to politeness.

2.3. Theories of Impoliteness

In recent years, there have been several attempts to construct a framework for impoliteness to account for confrontational interactions, some of which have adopted Brown and Levinson's (1987) model (such as Culpeper 1996, 2005; Bousfield 2008), while others have moved away from traditional frameworks towards more complex models (such as discursive approaches, e.g. Eelen, 2001; Mills, 2003, 2011; Watts, 2003, Linguistic Politeness Research Group (eds.), 2011). In this section, I will discuss two main models which have been mapped out according to the Gricean model: one proposed by Culpeper (1996, 2005,) and the other proposed by Bousfield (2008). Both frameworks can be considered as an extension of Brown and Levinson's framework. However, in his recent work, Culpeper (2011) has proposed a new model which takes a middle ground between traditional and discursive approaches. This model will also be discussed in this section.

2.3.1. Culpeper's Models of Impoliteness

Drawing on Brown and Levinson's notion, Culpeper (1996: 356) proposes five strategies through which impoliteness might be expressed. They are:

1 -Bald on record impoliteness: in this case, the speaker performs the FTA explicitly and directly in situations where face is involved and related.

2 -Positive impoliteness: such a strategy is used to damage the target's positive face.

3 -Negative impoliteness: this strategy is used to damage the target's negative face.

4 -Sarcasm or mock politeness: using politeness strategies that lack of sincerity. That is, on the surface, it seems to be positive and supportive, but in fact, it is intended to damage the addressee's face.

5 -Withhold politeness: the lack of polite behaviour in the situations where it would be required.

In his later work, Culpeper (2005) revised his earlier proposition suggesting a new super-strategy, which he labelled 'off-record impoliteness' where "the FTA is performed by means of an implicature but in such a way that one attributable intention clearly outweighs any others" (2005: 44). However, in his more recent work, Culpeper (2011) seems to have abandoned these strategies to suggest a more sophisticated impoliteness framework. In his 2011 model, he makes a distinction between two main formulae of impoliteness: conventionalised formulaic impoliteness, which focuses on explicit linguistic formulae of impoliteness; and non-conventionalized impoliteness, which deals with implied and ambiguous impolite behaviour. Culpeper views conventionalised impoliteness formulae as "a form of language in which context-specific impoliteness effects are conventionalised" (2011: 153). He suggests that the exacerbation of causing offence can be achieved through two ways: the first is through message intensity which plays a crucial role in determining how offensive impoliteness is perceived to be. This includes "the use of words which are strongly

negatively affective, including taboo words, and/or modifiers, some of which can also be strongly negatively affective *per se.*" (2011: 154). However, Culpeper states that within the context of close friends, offensive words can be used positively. Thus, taboo words are not always associated with impoliteness. Culpeper claims to distinguish between mock impoliteness (or banter) and genuine impoliteness; the former, in certain contexts, are not seen as intended as impolite. The other strategy that can intensify the degree of offence is through non-verbal behaviours, such as frowning and pointing, spitting, leering, turning one's back on someone and so on. However, Culpeper argues that such aspects are not impolite in themselves; as "it is not simply the presence of these non-verbal cues that communicates 'greater rudeness", (2011: 169). Rather, it is the way that these non-verbal cues match, or sometimes mismatch, verbal impoliteness cues that triggers greater offence.

Culpeper (2011) also takes into account arguments for the idea that impoliteness is inherent in linguistic expressions (which is claimed by the traditional politeness approaches, such as Leech, 1983; Brown and Levinson, 1978). He argues that it is not the case that the majority of (im)politeness theorists support this position. Discursive scholars, (e.g. Eelen, 2001; Mills, 2011) for example, argue against (im)politeness being wholly inherent in linguistic expressions. They instead focus on "the dynamic and situated characteristic" of (im)politeness (Culpeper, 2011: 122). He argues that, for impoliteness, theinterpretation can be blocked by an unsuitable contextual relation. For example, some expressions which are considered to be polite in English, such as 'thank you' or 'please', can be inferred to be sarcastic in certain contexts. That is, "the usual standardised inferencing leading to politeness (the conventionalised meaning) is blocked, but other pragmatic meanings (sarcasm) are derivable in context" (2011: 127). Hence, he takes a middle ground between the traditional and discursive approaches and suggests that (im)politeness is partly inherent in linguistic

expressions.[39] Because of his arguing against (im)politeness being wholly inherent in linguistic expressions, Culpeper proposes that impoliteness behaviours are not restricted to conventionalised impoliteness formulae. Rather, there are other ways in which they can be triggered. He suggests that in certain situations which do not involve conventional impoliteness formulae, participants still interpret what is said or done in specific contexts as impolite. Culpeper labels this kind as 'implicational impoliteness' which "derive[s] from analyses of how impoliteness [is] implied/inferred" in interactions (2011: 155). This type of impoliteness, which is primarily triggered through indirectness,[40] is classified by Culpeper into three main groups (which will be fully discussed in Chapter 4): Form-driven, Convention-driven and Context-driven and involves important issues which can usefully contribute to the discussion of this study.[41] However, Culpeper's approach also suffers from some shortcomings, as will be discussed in the following section.

2.3.1.1. Limitations of Culpeper's Model of Impoliteness

Culpeper's (2011) work explains various aspects of impoliteness phenomena, as it provides an invaluable insight into assessing how participants may evaluate impolite behaviour in social interactions. However, Culpeper seems to describe impoliteness at a universal level, (although he does not make this claim explicitly). For example, Culpeper (2011) points out that "parents are licensed to use more direct language to their children than the reverse. But clearly there are limits to what is considered acceptable" (2011: 225). In this sense, Culpeper

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[39]For example, Culpeper (2005: 41) argues that "some linguistic items are very heavily biased towards an impolite interpretation (one has to work quite hard to imagine contexts in which "you fucking cunt" would not be considered impolite)". However, such impolite contexts, as I mentioned above, can be constructed among close friends in order to show camaraderie towards each other.

[40]The relationship between indirectness and impoliteness will be fully discussed in Chapters 4, 6 and 7.

[41]These issues will be raised in Chapters 4 and 7.

seems to imply that direct language is always impolite, which is not always the case in all contexts and in all cultures (as I will show in 4.4.1). For example, in Arab culture, children using direct language (e.g. making requests) to their parents are not evaluated as impolite in certain contexts (as I will show in chapter 7). Furthermore, the limits on what is considered acceptable that Culpeper refers to, concerning the relationship between parents and their children, varies from one society to another. Thus, these limits are not restricted to specific acts that can be applied cross-culturally. For example, while in British culture parents can use "direct requests and threats to their children" (Culpeper, 2011: 199), in Libyan culture, in general, these limits can be broadened to include harsh criticism or even insults by using offensive words. It is generally not considered impolite for parents to use these forms to their children but, of course, very impolite for children to use them to their parents. So, it is not the case that all cultures share the same features of impoliteness.

Another problem with Culpeper's model is his adoption of the Gricean Cooperative Principles as a foundation for his explanation of the implicational impoliteness phenomenon, ignoring the debate surrounding the validity of using these principles for such types of analysis. For example, Garcés-Conejos, (2010: 545) argues that "one of the problems with Grice's model, as Relevance Theory points out, is that it cannot account for why the hearer will select one among the possible implicata conveyed by an implication and disregard the rest" so, as such, "it cannot account for why among the different possible implicata a given hearer will select the one that conveys impoliteness where other (non-impolite) interpretations might have been possible" (Garcés-Conejos, 2010: 545). Relevance Theory, however, has not left this question without attempting to provide an explanation of how the interpretations are arrived at by individuals to enable them to choose a certain interpretation over others. Sperber and Wilson (1986) argue, as I mentioned above, that 'input' is the

element that enables an individual to interpret the precise predictions and conclusions if this input is relevant to their background information. Thus, people should share similar background knowledge in order to conclude the required inference. However, the degree of ambiguity may vary from one context to another. Thus, in my view, there is no guarantee that the hearer will interpret the 'right' inference in all cases. Thus, misunderstanding and misinterpretation might be triggered in some of these situations.

However, Culpeper is not the first to argue for the adoption of the Gricean approach to the analysis of impoliteness; Bousfield (2008) also uses this model as a framework for the impoliteness phenomenon, as I will show in the following section.

2.3.2. Bousfield's Model of Impoliteness

The main aim of Bousfield's (2008) work is to show that impoliteness is a less marginal phenomenon than has been assumed by several politeness theories (Brown and Levinson, 1987; Leech, 1983). Bousfield states that the main problem with such traditional politeness theories is that they assume that speakers always try to be polite in every situation. In other words, they suppose that politeness is the norm and impoliteness a behaviour that is avoided. In contrast to this view, Bousfield perceives impoliteness as "ubiquitous across and within virtually all modes of human communication and can be quite-prevalent-to-centrally-important in many discourses" (2008: 51). Thus, for him, impoliteness should not be treated as marginal.

Bousfield rejects Relevance Theory on the ground that he considers it incoherent and it overlooks the role of the speaker. For him, it is less appropriate than Grice's Cooperative Principles, which he views as the best way of accounting for impolite utterances. In

Bousfield's words, "the [relevance] theory over-privileges the recipient/receiver (hearer) at the expense of the originator (speaker) of any 'im/polite' utterance" (2008: 32). However, his rejection of Relevance Theory in favour of the Gricean Principles is not justified, as Garcés-Conejos (2010) notes, because a Gricean model is inadequate to use as a basis to account for the impoliteness phenomenon for the reasons mentioned above.

In order to distinguish impoliteness from other types of linguistic offensive behaviour (such as the difference between impoliteness and offence-taking), Bousfield (2008) discusses acts which may constitute damage to face. Bousfield proposes a categorisation which includes the following offensive acts:

1- The speaker's utterance is intended to cause insult to the hearer and the hearer interprets the speaker's utterance as being intentionally face damage. Thus, the attempt at impoliteness succeeds.

2- The attempt at impoliteness fails when the hearer fails to perceive the speaker's intention to damage face.

3- Accidental face-damage is caused when the speaker does not intend to cause insult to the hearer but the latter misunderstands the former's intention and perceives his/her utterance as intentional face-damage.

4- Incidental or accidental face-damage is produced when the speaker does not intend to damage the hearer's face and the hearer understands the speaker's intention and perceives his/her utterance as unintentional face-damage (Bousfield, 2008: 72).

Bousfield's categorization is useful, albeit problematic, for a number of reasons. For example, in the incidental offensive acts of his categorization (No. 4 above), he fails to clarify whether this type can still be seen as impolite despite the absence of an impolite intention.

Furthermore, whereas some utterances are misinterpreted as impolite, as Bousfield (2008) mentions in his above categorisation, there are other offensive utterances which are intentionally used by a certain group of people (such as close friends) in order to show their camaraderie towards each other (Mills, 2003; Culpeper, 2011). Thus, the factors that lead the participants to regard certain utterances as offensive should be taken into consideration in such a categorization. For example, Mills (2003) suggests that impoliteness is influenced by factors that affect the assessment of whether a particular utterance or behaviour is impolite, such as: cross-cultural differences, mismatched expectations, and the degree of the familiarity of the interactants. Thus, "judgements about politeness or impoliteness/rudeness are not always automatic" (Terkourafi, 2008: 45), but may be reached following evaluation and interpretation of the context as a whole.

Bousfield also suggests that a framework for impoliteness is required in order to account for such phenomena. Therefore, he suggests a model which deals with 'genuine' or 'sincere' impoliteness (intentional face-threat/damage) as opposed to failed politeness which is defined as "too little or too much politeness work in a particular context" (Bousfield, 2008: 73). Bousfield argues that "the positive/negative face distinction is simply superfluous" (2008: 137); thus, he modifies and reformulates Culpeper's (2005) model to include the following two tactics, rather than strategies:

1- On record impoliteness: This strategy is used to explicitly damage the interactant's face; to form the interactant's face in a discordant or conflictive way; or to "deny the expected face wants, needs, or rights of the interactant, or some combination thereof" (Bousfield, 2008: 95).
2- Off record impoliteness: The use of strategies designed to attack or damage the face of an interactant implicitly. Under this heading come Sarcasm and Withholding of Politeness.

a- Sarcasm constitutes the use of utterance that "appears, on the surface, to positively constitute, maintain or enhance the face of the intended recipient(s) actually threatens, attacks, and/or damages the face of the recipient(s)" (Bousfield, 2008: 95).

b- Withhold politeness "where politeness would appear to be expected or mandatory" (Bousfield, 2008: 95).

However, Garcés-Conejos (2010) has identified some problems with Bousfield's model and has shown that it cannot be an adequate formulation to account for impoliteness phenomena; as it "does not seem to provide a useful analytical tool or help render robust distinctions in the classification of the data" (Garcés-Conejos, 2010: 544). Garcés-Conejos (2010) argues that Bousfield simply discusses the differences between explicit and implicit conveyed meanings as if they were unproblematic, when the distinction between the degree of explicitness is highly context-dependent and the relationship among the interactants. Bousfield himself notes that participants tend to use a combination of off/on-record impoliteness strategies, rather than a single strategy, in order to increase the degree of offence. He states that "it is exceptionally hard to identify, in context, an impolite utterance which operates as, and only as, a single impoliteness strategy" (Bousfield, 2008: 155). In addition, Garcés-Conejos raises the question of how we can be certain that the addressees will assess on/off-record tactics in a different way, especially if they "seem to orient similarly to both on/off-record instances of impoliteness" in interactions (Garcés-Conejos, 2010: 545). Therefore, the distinction between on- and off-record tactics "only presents itself as a remnant of Brown and Levinson's speaker-based taxonomy" (Garcés-Conejos, 2010: 545). Bousfield's (2008) model, thus, is still inspired by Anglo-centric models. In fact, most of the extant work on impoliteness focuses on English so, as a consequence, has a Western orientation (Garcés-Conejos, 2010: 236).

However, some (im)politeness researchers, as I mentioned earlier, are well aware of cultural and linguistic differences when theorizing about (im)politeness. For example, discursive approach theorists (such as Eelen; 2001, Mills, 2003, 2011; Kadar and Mills, 2011; Linguistic Politeness Research Group (eds.), 2011) advocate the abandonment of any predictive theories that are claimed to be applied cross-culturally, because "cultures are not homogeneous and...within each culture there are different views on what constitutes polite and impolite behaviour" (Mills and Kadar, 2011: 21). Therefore, the discursive approach argues against evaluating behaviour (polite or impolite) according to linguistic forms, and it focuses more on contexts and the speakers' assessments of (im)politeness than on utterances themselves, as is the case with the traditional theories, as I discuss in the following section.

2.4. Discursive Approaches to (Im)politeness

2.4.1. Beyond a Traditional View of (Im)politeness

Despite the extensive criticism of the traditional theories, as Terkourafi (2005) points out, the attempts to deal with their shortcomings were restricted to modifying some aspects of their models to include additional rules or principles, but not to move away from their basic assumptions. However, in recent years, a new generation of (im)politeness research has created a paradigm shift towards more complex (im)politeness theorizing, (Eelen, 2001; Mills, 2003; and Watts, 2003; Linguistic Politeness Research Group (eds.), 2011). This approach, as I mentioned above, has mainly been established in reaction to a number of different problems with traditional politeness theories. Eelen (2001), for example, argues that the majority of the politeness theories are biased "towards the polite side of the polite-impolite distinction, towards the speaker in the interactional dyad and towards the production of behaviour rather than its evaluation" (Eelen, 2001: 119). Therefore, Eelen proposes that a more complex and dynamic model of (im)politeness, which takes contextual and situational

factors into consideration and sees the participants' evaluation of the situations as fundamental to the (im)politeness analysis process, is needed.

Eelen's model inspired the emergence of the discursive politeness approaches which aim to go beyond the traditional theories, notably that of Brown and Levinson (1987), due to the problems associated with their work. For example, Mills (2003, 2011) points out that Brown and Levinson's approach perceives the communication amongst participants as perfect (i.e. people are always cooperative) and, thus, misunderstandings cannot arise. Brown and Levinson's model relies on the notion that people generally support their interlocutors during interactions rather than attacking them, but this is not always the case. Furthermore, Brown and Levinson's politeness analysis relies on quantifying a certain politeness element in specific data where it is assumed that a simple relationship exists between linguistic forms and their functions (Grainger et al, 2015). However, this type of analysis is problematic because, as Mills (2011) explains, it cannot help us to make assertions about the usage of that element in all utterances,[42] because "no linguistic expression can be taken to be inherently polite" or impolite (Locher and Watts, 2005: 16). Thus, politeness formulae, according to the discursive theories' perspective, "are viewed, judged and used differently by different groups in different contexts" (Mills, 2011: 29).

This approach also focuses on the interlocutors' evaluation of what they conceive to be polite or impolite. Locher and Watts (2005: 16), for example, point out that they "consider it important to take native speaker assessments of politeness seriously and to make them the

[42]For example, Mills (2011) argues that some utterances which have the form of apologies sometimes do not function as an apology (e.g. they might involve irony or sarcasm). However, this would be counted as an apology according to the traditional models. Furthermore, participants can perform speech acts without using linguistic features (such as 'I'm sorry'), but that would not be considered in the analysis process.

basis of a discursive .... approach to politeness". However, the individuals are not necessarily responsible for such evaluations; rather, these judgements "are the product of negotiations within communities of practice and wider groups" (Grainger et al., 2015: 46). Thus, a discursive approach aims to move away from the stereotypical judgments of what counts as polite or impolite towards investigating linguistic ideologies that lead individuals to make such judgements (Grainger et al., 2015).

Another major criticism of Brown and Levinson's approach, as I mentioned earlier, has been their claim for the universality of their model of politeness, which is based on face mitigation, whereas politeness is expressed differently across cultures. Thus, there is no one culture more polite than others and all cultures are equally polite (Sifianou, 1992). According to Mills (2011), many discursive theorists are doubtful about generalisations and more concerned with contextual analysis. However, there are two contrasting views in terms of generalisations about politeness: one view argues that "what is appropriate cannot be predicted universally and must be addressed at the local level" (Locher, 2006: 253). Locher and Watts (2005) also argue for the abandonment of the notion of the universality of politeness altogether. They "therefore see little point in maintaining a universal theoretical notion of politeness" (Locher and Watts, 2005: 16). The other view (e.g. Mills, 2011) believes that it is still possible to generalize about tendencies of politeness in language groups if we take into consideration the "other styles and norms which are perhaps not dominant in the language" (Mills, 2011: 49). Thus, "it is possible to talk about politeness and impoliteness in a universalistic way" if we consider the different meanings of these terms within different

societies, and the nature of politeness norms within and across cultures (Mills, 2011: 26).[43] Accordingly, the discursive approaches have developed different methodologies, as will be discussed in the following section.

2.4.2. Discursive Approach Methodology.

The discursive politeness approach has developed methodologies which distinguish it from the other earlier frameworks (e.g. Brown and Levinson's, 1987). Since politeness and impoliteness "are not achieved within individual utterances but are built up over stretches of talk" (Mills, 2011: 47), the discursive approaches have moved away from analysing single and invented examples (as in the case with the traditional theories) towards analysing language at the discursive level. Therefore, they tend to analyse extended speech which are primarily based on real data in order to investigate how politeness is evaluated over time. However, it is difficult to generalize about the theoretical perspectives of theorists who adopt discursive approaches although, at least, they share the view that it is impossible to develop a universalistic model to replace that of Brown and Levinson, since that may lead to generalisations about politeness norms, and thus inherit the same common weaknesses of the traditional models (Mills, 2011). Rather, a discursive approach" is concerned to develop forms of analysis which can capture the complexity of the way linguistic ideologies of appropriate behaviour and politeness are drawn on and evaluated in interaction" (Grainger et al., 2015: 45). Therefore, discursive approaches do not aim to substitute the discursive approach for Brown and Levinson's model. As Watts (2005) puts it:

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[43]It should be noted that, despite her argument for the possibility of making generalizations about politeness tendencies within language groups, Mills insists that we should not ignore the variability within and across cultures, and thus we cannot simply characterise cultures and societies as homogeneous and static.

> A shift in emphasis away from the attempt to construct a model of politeness which can be used to predict when polite behaviour can be expected or to explain post-factum why it has been produced and towards the need to pay closer attention to how participants in social interaction perceive politeness (Watts, 2005; cited in Haugh, 2007: 296).

Thus, it can be concluded that the main claim of this model is that meaning should be perceived as fluid and relative to socio-cultural contexts between interactants rather than being seen as static (as in the case of Gricean approach). Thus, discursive theorists of (im)politeness share common elements, despite their diversity. Mills (2011) describes these elements as follows: "firstly, discursive theorists share a view of what constitutes politeness; secondly, discursive theorists try to describe the relation between individuals and society in relation to the analysis of politeness; thirdly, discursive theorists tend to use a similar form of analysis" (2011: 35). According to Mills (2011), these elements are tendencies rather than rules, and the discursive approach's theorists may focus on one aspect more than others.[44]

However, it should be noted that not all discursive theorists completely reject Grice's model; some of them (e.g. Culpeper, 2011; Grainger 2011, 2013) seek to modify their analytical framework and retain some elements of their approach. For example, the range of data that has been analysed by Grainger (2011) has enabled her, as she claims, to conclude that the notion of politeness in Brown and Levinson's model remains useful to the analysis of verbal forms. That is, "[i[t is not only possible, but desirable, to analyse naturally occurring interaction for the linguistic management of face and social relations without necessarily having recourse to participants evaluations of 'polite' behaviour" (Grainger, 2011: 84). In contrast to this view, several discursive theorists (Mills, 2003; Mills and Kadar, 2011; Locher

[44] It should be noted however that discursive theorists do not agree on a definition of politeness, nor do they necessarily use the same type of analysis.

and Watts, 2005; Locher, 2006) argue for the abandonment of the pursuit of any predictive theory of politeness. Watts (2005), for example, argues for "giving up the idea of a Theory of Politeness altogether" (Watts 2005; cited in Haugh, 2007: 297) and advocating the focus only on the assessments made by participants through interactions, or paying less attention to the notion of 'politeness' itself and focusing more on broader types of what Locher and Watts (2005) label 'relational work'.

Despite his emphasis on the importance of the participants' judgements in the analysis process, Arundale (2006, 2010) argues for the possibility of outlining a theoretical framework which itself is framed from the participants' perspectives.[45] Face Constituting Theory (FCT), he claims,[46] provides a more productive framework for conducting pragmatic research through what he terms 'the Conjoint Co-Constituting Model of Communication' (Arundale, 2010). Within this framework, Arundale (2010) argues, the interpretation that is projected by the speaker is provisional at the moment the utterance is produced until evidence for the operative interpretation, which is provided by subsequent utterances, is established or can be modified (or, to use Arundale's (2010) term, 'repaired') to reach the intended meaning. This theory focuses on "finding the meaning that is negotiated and constructed in the social space between the participants and which is observable in the construction and sequencing of linguistic messages" (Grainger, 2013: 30). The discursive approach analysts focus on the importance of the evaluation of the participants in the analysis process. Therefore, we need to discuss the distinction between politeness 1 and politeness 2. But before investigating this

[45]Haugh (2007) argues that, although Arundale does not provide explicit details about how (im)politeness might be treated within Face Constituting Theory, it can provide a strong base for the analysis of (im)politeness phenomena on the ground that it "focuses on the perceptions and understandings of participants, yet retains a well-defined role for the analyst" (Haugh, 2007: 310).

[46]Face Constituting Theory "explains face threat as a participant-specific evaluation of the face meanings and actions conjointly co-constituted in the moment (Arundale, 2006: 209)

distinction, in the following section I discuss some terms which are concerned with the analysis of (im)politeness and related to the discursive approach.

2.4.2.1. Routines, Conventions and Rituals

The social norms of linguistic groups, then, can be said to be built up over time through sharing what is seen as appropriate to the individuals in a certain group. Routines, conventions and rituals are the main elements that constitute these norms in different communities. Although a clear-cut distinction cannot be drawn between these three factors (Coulmas, 1981), there have been some efforts to define and explain these notions and show how they motivate interactions over time. For example, Coulmas (1981: 4) defines conversational routines as "tacit agreements, which the members of a community presume to be shared by every reasonable co-member" and usually employ in order to communicate to others. Therefore, they "have a special status in the language" because of their frequent use by interactants in a certain social community (Coulmas, 1981: 5). For Coulmas, these routines are produced through using similar expressions in recurrent situations (such as making requests, expressing gratitude, offering apologies and so on). Accordingly, certain standardised interactional situations where the members of a given society communicate in a certain way are created (e.g. a greeting followed by a greeting), and negotiation is not required. Thus "whenever repetition leads to automatization, we could call a performance a routine" (Coulmas, 1981: 3). Such frequent repetition of the routine use of certain expressions (e.g. 'see you', 'thanks', 'take care', and so on), Coulmas argues, may have a negative effect on their meaningfulness, but they do not necessarily lose their content

altogether.[47] It should be noted that the frequency of occurrence of certain routines can turn into idioms, due to the erosion of their literal meanings.[48] Therefore, in order to interpret the meaning of such routines, we must focus on their interactive function rather than their literal meaning.[49]

Conventions can also be established through "a regularity in the behaviour of members of a community...on the expectation that others will conform to the pattern" (Griffin and Mehan, 1981: 199). Referring to Lewis' (1969) description of conventions, Griffin and Mehan (1981), point out that the first important stage in establishing a convention is negotiation. After establishing certain patterns of behaviour, they gradually become automized and routinized. "Once a convention is established, then people conduct a course of action automatically, without need for negotiation. It is at such times, Goffman (1967) would say, that a ritual has been established" (Griffin and Mehan, 1981: 199). For example, Griffin and Mehan point out that classroom behaviour seems to conform to the view of automatic convention: teachers usually spend the first few weeks establishing certain patterns of behaviour (e.g. correcting mistakes, explaining the rules, and so on), then the teachers and students seem to perform the learning conventions far more smoothly as the year progresses.

Although rituals also contain a series of regular repeated actions, they seem to involve some emotional aspects that are significant for social relations. Durkheim (2001[1912]), for example, perceives rituals as a means by which mutual emotive actions are

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[47]See 6.2.1 for some examples.
[48]As I will show in 6.3.1.
[49]It should be noted that even some non-idiomatised expressions can be confusing, so the interactants need to be familiar with such routines in order to interpret their functions. See 6.3.1. for further explanation.

generated and affirmed by a community in order to organise people's life.[50] Bax and Kadar (2013) also hold the view that rituals include patterns of behaviour that are formalised or even stereotyped to serve emotive and relational purposes but, in contrast to the view that behaviour cannot be counted a ritual unless it is recognised by large social-groups within a certain society (if not by the whole of a society), Kadar and Bax argue that rituals can be established within smaller social communities (e.g. in-group rituals). However, Muir (2005) argues that ritual loses most of its effectiveness, particularly in modern societies, to become "mere ritual" (Muir, 2005 cited in Kadar and Bax, 2013: 75). The deterioration of the impact of ritual, according to Kadar and Bax (2013), is attributable to many factors (such as globalisation, modernisation, the decline in religious belief, and so on) which have brought significant changes to communicative behaviour.[51]

Routines, conventions and rituals are all established through the frequent repetition of certain behaviour. Therefore, as I mentioned above, it is difficult to draw a clear distinction between them. However, they seem to differ in the sense that, while it is necessary for routines to be shared and agreed on by substantial groupings within a society, conventions and rituals can be established within relatively smaller groups (e.g. classroom students, in-group members). Furthermore, whereas routines do not necessarily involve emotions,[52]

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[50] However, Rothenbuhler (1998) argues that some conventions (and consequently some rituals) can be *empty*, since they might not involve any emotions (e.g. church attendance by people with no faith). In such cases, "the participants do not really care about the events as much as their participation appears to indicate" (Rothenbuhler, 1998: 31).

[51] Of course, religious faith is not declining everywhere; in some countries, such as some Arab countries, religion seems to dominate social life while, in Africa, Christianity is growing.

[52] This is not to say that routines do not include any emotional effects at all. In fact, some actions, which might be regarded as routines (such as expressing gratitude or offering an apology), need to be appear sincere, even if they are not in some cases, in order to be accepted by the hearer as real.

rituals appear to be seen as phenomena that include emotive significance.[53] However, Agha (2007) argues that any regular acts within a social community should not be treated as static. For him, users who are familiar with what he labels 'semiotic regularity', which is the process that occurs when a specific sign-form (X) stands for a certain meaning (Y), are regarded as the 'social domain' of the regularity which changes over time, because:

> Every cultural phenomenon has a social domain at any moment of its history, susceptible to dialectical variation (and sometimes also 'dialectal' variation) through processes of communicative transmission that expand or narrow its scale. Talk of variation in 'scale' in this sense is talk of changes in the social domain of cultural formations through semiotic activity itself. When a cultural construct has a recognizable reality only for a sub-group within a society, processes of communicative transmission can readily bring the construct to the attention of other members of society making it more widely known and thus presupposable in use by larger segments of the population (Agha, 2007: 78).

That is to say that the social norms of a certain group (e.g. elites) within a culture are usually generalised to the whole culture.[54] For example, Agha shows that some performatives which are used by Illongot speakers in the Philippines differ from those used within the 'social domain' of English speakers. For example, direct performatives (such as 'I order you') might be seen as inappropriate in English, unless there is a clear difference between the interlocutor in social status, whereas in Illongot, the use of such performatives is acceptable (or even appropriate), especially in family settings. This style of speech seems to be evaluated positively in many other social and cultural groups, which have a tendency to view direct forms as a norm for making requests. These direct forms may attract such positive

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[53]Some events, (such as the death of a relative or the wedding of a close friend) supposedly (if not necessarily) provoke emotions of pain or joy (Durkheim (2001[1912]).

[54] More discussion about the problems of making generalisations is provided in Chapters 2 and 3.

evaluations because they are associated with closeness among individuals in such communities.[55]

2.4.2.2. Linguistic Ideologies

Linguistic ideologies can be defined as "sets of interested positions about language that present themselves as forms of common sense, that rationalize and justify the forms and functions of text and talk" (Hill, 2008: 34). According to Hill (2008: 34), common sense has a special status "because it defines a group of people whose interests are advanced by believing in it, and not because it is necessarily true or even likely". Therefore, as Grainger et al. (2015) argue, some ideological beliefs are presented as if true and well-known by everyone in society (e.g. beliefs about British politeness being linked to indirect forms of speech). In such cases, according to Grainger et al. (2015), linguistic ideologies represent the difference between how people feel about the correct way they and others should speak and the way they actually speak. Thus, "[i]t is that elision between *should* and *are* which is important, because linguistic ideologies present this hypothesised state as the way the world self-evidently is" (Grainger et al., 2015: 45). Therefore, how people feel they should speak or behave does not necessarily reflect what they say or do in reality.

One concept that has particular relevance to the discussion of ideologies and is extensively discussed by Agha (2007) is registers of speech and the way in which these are identified and linked to certain social practices. By register, Agha means "everything to do with the way in which behavioural signs ..... acquire recognizable pragmatic values that

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[55] As I show in Chapter 4.

come to be viewed as perduring 'social facts' about signs, and which, by virtue of such recognition, become effective ways of indexing roles and relationships among sign-users in performance" (Agha, 2007 :80). The users of a particular register, according to Agha, are constantly changing over time. Thus, the new users of a given register should be aware of the different forms and values of that register in order to be, more or less, continued. Despite the fact that the users of a certain register can be acquainted with its linguistic features, Agha suggests, not all users of a particular register possess the same level of competence in using it. Furthermore, many speakers of a given language have the ability to recognize some of its registers but may not fully use or understand it (e.g. registers of scientific discourse). Therefore, "[t]he existence of registers .... results in the creation of social boundaries within society, partitioning off language users into groups distinguished by differential access to particular registers and the social practices they mediate and by asymmetries of power, privilege, and rank that depend on access to such registers and practices" (Agha, 2007: 157). However, contrasting register models among different social groups that are connected to each other through interactional processes usually demonstrates something about these social processes. For example, drawing on Sami Alrabaa's (1985) study of Egyptian Arabic, Agha shows that different ideologies can motivate a mismatch between register and class: upper-class Egyptian youths claim to use the solidarity-informal forms of Arabic (e.g. inta/inti 'you (m./f.)', which they believe lower-class speakers use, and lower-class speakers claim to use the more polite forms (e.g. hadritak/hadritik 'you (m./f.) polite', which they perceive as being used by the upper/middle class. Thus, each class describes themselves as using the form associated with the other as their own. The reason for this, as Agha (2007) argues, is that the upper-class youths claim to use the form that reflects the system of the people, "thus professing an egalitarian impulse" (Agha, 2007: 175), while the lower-class youths claim to use the one that reflects middle-class norms, "thus exhibiting a more stratificational

ideology" (Agha, 2007: 175). As such, each group is motivated to reflect a certain value within society in order to be seen as accepted and valued.

Hill (2008) draws a distinction between three types of linguistic ideology: 1- explicit; 2- implicit, which includes the personalism and referentialism ideologies;[56] and 3- performative. Let us consider the personalism and performative ideologies. The ideology of personalism "holds that the most important part of linguistic meaning comes from the beliefs and intentions of the speaker" (Hill, 2008: 38). In this case, it is the speaker who is judged by focusing on his/her intention, rather than the speech itself. This ideology is relevant for the present research, particularly with regard to the case of indirect speech, because it focuses on the potential speaker's intentions, which are often implicit, particularly in indirect forms. The performative ideology "makes it possible to understand some words as assaultive, rather than true or false" (Hill, 2008: 40). This ideology, thus, is more about how words make people feel than about truth or falseness. This ideology also shows how people can use language, or certain forms of speech, to wound or offend others, as we will see in chapter 7.

Linguistic ideologies, thus, are beliefs about language which people believe are true and beyond controversy. People deal with these ideologies as normal facts which they feel reflect real life. In this study, however, I differentiate between what appears to the participants as a 'common sense' and what actual behaviour they perform.

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[56]The explicit and referentialism ideologies will not be discussed here because they go beyond the scope of this research. The explicit linguistic ideology or the ideology of the Standard which forms part of it is the belief that 'double negatives' in English are seen not only as incorrect, but also illogical. Thus people who "cannot see this illogic, they are probably unintelligent" (Hills, 2008: 36). The referentialist ideology asserts that "words must be used properly", so that it is incorporated by the ideology of the Standard "when it links correct use to correct beliefs" (Hills, 2008: 39).

2.4.2.3. Indexicality

Ochs (1996) defines indexing as follows:

To index is to point to the presence of some entity in the immediate situation at hand. In language, an index is considered to be a linguistic form that performs this function. ... A linguistic index is usually a structure (e.g. sentential voice, emphatic stress, diminutive affix) that is used variably from one situation to another and becomes conventionally associated with particular situational dimensions such that when that structure is used the form invoked those situational dimensions (Ochs, 1996: 411).

Thus, indexicality is retrieved through contextual-based interpretations that are made by interlocutors (Hill, 2008). In contrast to the personalist ideology, which can be identified only through individual intentions, Hill (2008) argues, indexicality is "co-constructed in the communicative space shared by interlocutors, in the collaborative project that is required to "get" jokes, to share moods, to enjoy sociality itself" (Hill, 2008: 41). Hill (2008) argues that the identity of a person as "a speaker of X" or "an individual from Y" can be signalled through the language they use or the class to which they belong. An example provided by Hill to illustrate this point is that, while "Tucson" refers to the same city whether it is pronounced /tukson/ or /tuwsan/, "in saying /tukson/ the speaker signals her Chicana identity, a commitment to her right to speak this word in Spanish, and primordial claim to place and its resources" (Hill, 2008: 143). Thus, it is more about asserting identity than simply using a certain word. In other words, using /tukson/ is not simply claiming to be Chicana but is also making a claim about what a Chicana is.

Agha's (2003: 233) work on enregisterment, discussed briefly above, also goes some way towards accounting for the way in which a certain accent "does not name a sound pattern alone, but a sound pattern linked to a framework of social identities. The social identity is recognized, indexically, as the identity of the speaker who produces the utterance in the

instance" (Agha, 2003: 233). Agha argues that a particular accent, Received Pronunciation, has come to obtain a certain status as a supra-local accent throughout the centuries in Britain, and is enregistered to index the positive qualities of the individuals using it (e.g. good breeding, well-educated, and so on). In other words, as Christie argues, social identity can be indirectly indexed through using certain linguistic variables (such as RP) which function "as a resource for the making of meaning" (Christie, 2013: 158). However, the meanings of such variables, as Eckert (2008) argues, are not static but, rather, fluid and possess various potential meanings that are generated within a changing ideological field, which she labels 'the indexical field'. This is constructed through "the continual reconstrual of the indexical value of a variable" (Eckert, 2008: 464). She bases her notion of the indexical field on Silverstein's (2003) work on the indexical order as follows:

> The existence of register ... is an aspect of the dialectical process of indexical order, in which the n + 1st-order indexicality depends on the existence of cultural schema of enregisterment of forms perceived to be involved in n-th order indexical meaningfulness; the forms as they are swept up in the n + 1st- order valorisation become strongly presupposing indexes of that enregistered order (Silverstein, 2003: 193).

Eckert (2008) points out that "[a] first-order index simply indexes membership in a population – it designates people as Martha's Vineyarders, Beijiners, Detroiters" (2008: 463). However, Eckert argues that evaluating a population is always associated with indexing certain aspects of the speaker's character, through the use of a specific linguistic form which becomes "a second order index", which "figures...as speakers position themselves with respect to the elements of character" (2008: 463). Such linguistic forms, as I mentioned above, can be reinterpreted and remade in a way that changes their indexical field, which "is fluid, and each new activation has the potential to change the field by building on ideological connections" (Eckert, 2008: 454). For example, Eckert points out that a specific variable can

create an ideological meaning that is used by individuals in different contexts in order to achieve certain goals; thus, this meaning cannot be "uniform across the population" (Eckert, 2008: 467). In other words, populations should not be seen as homogeneous, as such meanings merely indicate tendencies which are based on ideological beliefs.

The relevance of indexicality to the concerns of this thesis is that it contains the possibility "to address the range of meanings a resource might generate in a given culture at a given moment in time, without relying on assumptions about the shared 'core' meaning of the resource" (Christie, 2013: 168). For example, Christie (2013) points out that such an approach allows for some linguistic resources, such as strong swearwords, to be explained "in a more systematic way" (2013: 168), because their effects are conventionalised. Furthermore, as Eckert (2008) suggests, the indexical values of a certain variable form part of the ideological work of a given society. As such, it is not the meaning which is linked to a variable, but rather, "any meanings that are associated with variables will be based in highly salient ideological issues" (Eckert, 2008: 465). For example, directness, in general, is usually seen to index negative values in English (e.g. rudeness), while indirectness is seen to index positive ones, and is usually linked to politeness.[57] In this work, thus, I aim to show how directness can index positive values (e.g. social closeness) in certain cultures (such as Arabic ones), and how indirectness is seen to index negative values (e.g. impoliteness). I further aim to show that such indexical values, which are usually based on ideological assumptions, are fluid and contextual. For example, directness might be seen to index positive values (e.g.

[57] However, directness can also index positive values in English, because it is associated with strength, efficiency and masculinity, as I show in section 6.3.5.

clarity and honesty) in English, while indirectness is sometimes seen to indicate negative values (e.g. manipulation and vagueness) in certain situations in English.

2.4.3. Politeness 1 vs. Politeness 2

The distinction between 'first order' and 'second order' is a controversial issue. Watts et al. (1992), for example, argue that first order politeness (politeness1) and second order politeness (politeness2) should be clearly distinguished. The former refers to the commonsense notion of politeness, which is "the various ways in which polite behaviour is perceived and talked about by members of socio-cultural groups", whereas second order politeness is " a theoretical construct, a term within a theory of social behavior and language usage" (Watts et al.,1992: 3). However, Eelen (2001) argues that a distinction between these two notions is less simple than might be assumed. Thus, during analysis, they should be carefully examined to avoid the potential confusion of these two notions. Eelen (2001) maintains that "politeness2 concepts should not just be different from politeness1 concepts, or given different names, but rather the relationship between both notions should be carefully monitored" (Eelen, 2001: 31). Such a view leads some scholars (such as Locher and Watts, 2005) to suggest that second order politeness should be excluded from the politeness research and that the focus should be only on the hearer's evaluations and interpretations of what is polite and impolite in naturally-occurring interactions. However, Grainger (2011) suggests that first order politeness is closely related to second order politeness, and so the latter should not be excluded from the analysis. Such views have raised several questions related to whether the discursive approach can usefully inform politeness research, as I will discuss in the following section.

2.4.4. Evaluating the Discursive Approach

Discursive approaches to politeness have attracted some criticism. For example, some researchers (Arundale, 2006; Haugh, 2007) argue that, like the Gricean model, discursive approaches adopt an encoding/decoding model of communication.[58] Discursive approach theorists are also argued to be unable to map out a theoretical framework for this model (Terkourafi, 2005). As a consequence, as Culpeper (2011) argues, the discursive approach gives the impression that meaning is unstable and communication is uncertain. Culpeper states that "this impression does not square with the intuitions we share with others in our communities about conventionalised meanings even out of context, nor with the evidence for a large amount of informational redundancy in multimodal communication – all of which points towards stability and certainty (though of course these can never be absolute)" (2011: 153). However, this can be attributed to the dynamic nature of this approach, which is better suited to the contextual and situational analysis, so it is difficult to form a framework without falling into the generalization trap, thus inheriting the same common weaknesses as the traditional models (as mentioned above).

The discursive approach is also criticised for privileging the hearer through focusing on their evaluations rather than on the speaker's intention (Terkourafi, 2005; Grainger, 2013). Terkourafi (2005: 245) points out that "[p]ost-modern theories are...hearer oriented, in that

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[58]However, this claim is inadequate because, as mentioned above, there is a considerable difference between the two approaches: in the Gricean models, meaning which is "transmitted in a liner fashion from an idealised speaker...to an idealised hearer" (Grainger, 2013: 29) is seen as static and unchanging in all situations; whereas, in discursive approaches, it is perceived as fluid and dynamic according to the context, situation and familiarity among the participants.

they locate politeness in hearers' evaluations rather than speakers' intentions".[59] However, the main criticism that faces analysts within this type of model is that their role seems to be limited, as the key element in judging politeness is the evaluations of the participants. Thus, the role of the analyst seems to be marginal (Terkourafi, 2005; Haugh, 2007). Haugh (2007: 303), for example, questions "whether the postmodern emphasis on the understandings and perceptions of participants leaves the analyst with precious little to do". However, Mills (2011) argues that the role of the analyst is to "assess what as a whole the norms of appropriateness might be within a particular community and to suggest that perhaps certain utterances might be considered to be polite, but that does not guarantee that they are viewed in that way by participants" (2011: 46). Mullany (2011) also suggests that the analyst can play a role in the analysis process by using the participants' assessments and evaluations as a source, in addition to interactional data, in order to interpret the overall context. Thus, the analyst's role is not limited, but rather extended.

Despite the criticism, it is important to note that the discursive approach provides a useful framework for investigating different aspects of social interactions, particularly in cross-cultural contexts. For example, Kadar and Pan (2011) point out that the discursive approach is very useful in providing insights into (im)politeness behaviour; because "by accepting diversity and the potential appropriateness and acceptability of seemingly 'atypical' behaviour, rather than assuming that there are uniform rules of behaviour and hence

[59]However, this claim is not exactly accurate. For example, due to the discursive approach's emphasis on analysing extended parts of speech, the interpretations can be established over several encounters where the roles of both speakers and hearers are swapped, so any participant can be a speaker at times and a hearer at other times during the interaction. As such, any evaluation of the first speaker's utterance by the second (or more) speaker (or vice versa) can be modified (as mentioned above) or confirmed through the interaction process depending on the speaker's intention which becomes clearer over the interactional turns. As such, it is not only how the utterance is assessed, but also what it is intended to mean. However, this is not to suggest that the speaker's intention is always easy to interpret because, in some cases, misunderstandings can be triggered.

excluding certain ways of behaviour from our analysis, we are able to explain some anomalies of...im/politeness" (2011, 128-29).

The discussion of this chapter has clearly addressed the research question of how adequate is a discursive theoretical approach to the analysis of (im)politeness. As I have shown in this chapter, it is clear that a new model of analysis is required. I have argued that the discursive approach to politeness and impoliteness captures the complexity and diversity of contextual judgements across cultures. In contrast to the traditional politeness approaches, where it is assumed that a simple relationship exists between linguistic forms and their functions, the discursive theoretical approach argues that utterances are judged and viewed differently by different interactants. It also moved towards analysing extended speech which is primarily based on real data, rather than single and invented examples, and takes cultural and ideological factors into consideration. Furthermore, rather than starting with the analyst's evaluation of what constitutes (im)politeness, the discursive approach takes the interactants' evaluation into consideration. In contrast to the traditional theories, which focus only on the speaker's intention, this approach focuses on a more complex negotiation of interpretation of utterances amongst the participants. A combination of these different factors can capture the different interpretations and functions that (in)directness may have in both Arabic and English. Thus, the discursive approach is proven to be a valuable analytical framework for cross-cultural comparisons.[60]

[60]A more detailed discussion of the applicability of discursive approaches cross-culturally will be provided in the Chapter 3.

2.5. The Theoretical Basis of the Study

I have chosen to take a discursive perspective on polite behaviour as a theoretical base for this study, because (as discussed above), in contrast to the traditional approaches, which simply presuppose a universal theory of (im)politeness and then try to fit data to it, the discursive approach takes situational and contextual factors into consideration, and is well aware of the complexity and diversity of cultures, which are not homogeneous. Since this is an empirical study, dealing with cross-cultural pragmatics, it requires a sound theoretical basis that is well-formulated for cross-cultural comparison. Therefore, the discursive approach, in my view, provides a solid foundation for making such a comparison. Taking the above criticisms of the discursive approaches into consideration in the analysis process, in this study, no a priori predictive theory is applied when analysing the data; rather, it is the interactants' evaluations that drive the study. However, these evaluations are used as a base, in order to interpret the overall context of interactional data. I, thus, develop a form of analysis which can focus on the linguistic ideologies determining polite and impolite behaviour.

2.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have reviewed the main approaches to politeness and impoliteness, particularly the traditional models, which were based on the Gricean model, on the one hand, and the discursive approaches to politeness and impoliteness, on the other. The traditional theories of politeness (such as Brown and Levinson, 1987) have been heavily criticised for their bias towards a Western view of politeness and their claim about the universality of politeness. Therefore, they fail to provide a theoretical base for empirical studies. By examining these approaches, I have concluded that the discursive approach, despite the criticism it has attracted, is the most appropriate one for this study, because it is the only one

which takes into account the diversity and variability among and across cultures. For example, many theorists whose work has been influenced by the Grician model (e.g. Culpeper, 2011) admit that (im)polite behaviour can be contextual and situational rather than inherent. Thus, as the discursive approach takes the variability of language usage, and the different interpretation of linguistic forms, into account, it is the most applicable to the type of cross-cultural comparison which constitutes the focus of my work.

Chapter 3

Culture and Politeness

3.1. Introduction

Mills and Kadar (2011) argue that politeness and impoliteness are influenced by culture; therefore, some aspects of culture (as I show below) related to my study will be discussed in this chapter, in order todevelop a form of analysis which can account for politeness and impoliteness at a cultural level. I start the chapter by reviewing several definitions of culture in section 3.2. I then move on to consider the relationship between culture and identity in section 3.3. Following this, in section 3.4., I review and evaluate some of the proposed cultural classifications (e.g. collectivism/individualism and positive/negative politeness). Then, and due to the importance of intercultural studies which might help in explaining the different aspects of communicational styles of different cultures, intercultural misunderstandings will be the focus of section 3.5. In section 3.6., I present various studies from different cultures that have used a discursive perspective as an analytical framework. Finally, I conclude the chapter with a comparison of the general tendencies and stereotypes in relation to preference for politeness strategy choices in Libyan Arabic and British English in section 3.7.

3.2. Definitions of Culture

The concept of culture is very broad and can be seen to have a wide range of meanings. The majority of the available definitions, as Culpeper, (2011) argues, simply present culture as a set of characteristics and rules that are passed from one generation to another. For example, Fay (1996) views 'culture' as "a complex set of shared beliefs, values and concepts which enables a group to make sense of its life and which provides it with directions for how to live" (1996: 55). However, this view of culture, as Mills and Kadar (2011: 34) argue, can risk

portraying individuals as "passive recipients of cultural values and speech styles". Thus, in contrast to this view, discursive approach theorists, (Mills and Kadar, 2011; Bargiela-Chiappini and Kadar, 2011) maintain that, although the set of norms that constitutes culture influences the participants' strategy choices during interactions, these norms are not static or necessarily agreed upon. Thus, culture should be viewed as fluid and dynamic rather than static. Similarly, Holliday et al. (2004) view culture as "a fluid, creative social force which binds different groupings and aspects of behaviour in different ways, both constructing and constructed by people in a piecemeal fashion to produce myriad combinations and configuration" (2004: 3). Culpeper (2011) holds the same perspective. He points out that cultures should be seen as "multiple and constantly undergoing change, and people shift in and out of particular cultures" (2011: 12). However, Culpeper argues that norms can differ from one group of people (or one culture) to another, and thus (im)politeness can be perceived differently.

For Spencer-Oatey (2000), 'culture' can be defined in terms of the basic values and conventions that the members of a community are presumed to share. In Spencer-Oatey's (2000: 4) words, culture can be viewed as "a fuzzy set of attitudes, beliefs, behavioural conventions, and basic assumptions and values that are shared by a group of people, and that influence each member's behaviour and each member's interpretations of the 'meaning' of other people's behaviour". Hofstede (1991), by contrast, describes culture as "the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another" (1991: 5). However, 'culture', in the limited way defined by Hofstede, is problematic because "within ICC [intercultural communication] studies, it is generally assumed that things go wrong because two cultural groups behave differently, which makes

communication between them problematic" (Holliday et al., 2004: 62), which means that 'culture' is considered to be negative rather than positive.

In the light of the above discussion, it can be argued that 'culture' cannot simply be seen as fixed and stable. Thus, the concept of culture adopted in this work is defined within a discursive approach view, such as the definition suggested by Bargiela-Chiappini and Kadar (2011: 5) as being "a dynamic and complex set of values which become visible in interaction as they influence the interactants' behaviour. Culture is also subject to ideological challenges and changes, therefore, it is in continuous flux". However, it is not only 'culture' that has an impact on individuals' behaviour; it is also the social and personal differences between them. As a result, identity and its relation to culture have been largely considered in pragmatics research, as I show in the following section.

3.3. Culture and Identity.

It is only in recent years that researchers have shed light on the importance of the relationship between culture and identity (Holliday et al., 2004).Culpeper (2011: 13) attempts to clarify the notion of 'identity' which, in his view, is "connected with one's sense of self". The self can be perceived as a 'self-schema' which is defined from different points of view. One of these views suggests that self-schema comprise various selves, such as the selves that one would like or ought to be. Thus, "identities are selves enacted by behaviours in particular situations...However, it should not be thought that identities are solely determined by situations; they can be strategically enacted to determine situations" (Culpeper, 2011: 13).

Culpeper goes on to argue that identity is also associated with the notion of 'face'.[61] That is, "when you lose face you feel bad about how you are seen in other people's eyes" (2011: 13). Therefore, someone's feeling about her/his 'self' relies on others' feelings about this 'self'. Holliday et al. (2004) also emphasise the interrelationship between culture and identity. They suggest that, during interactions, interlocutors usually convey messages about how they want to be seen by others; that is, their cultural identity. According to Holliday et al., belonging to a particular group can be demonstrated by means of using certain discourses by insiders, in order to distinguish themselves from outsiders. For example, swearing can be understood as a form of greeting among the members of a particular cultural group (e.g. close friends), while it may be perceived as offensive by those who do not belong to this group (outsiders). However, Holliday et al. argue that, due to the complexity of culture, people have a variety of choices regarding their belongingness to multiple cultural groups, and thus may adopt various identities.

However, such views of identity are described from a 'conversational perspective', where identity is seen as cognitive, knowable, and absolute. As such, such views "investigate how people display identity, in terms of ascribed membership of social categories" (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006: 69). That is to say, 'identity' is determined according to an individual's membership of a certain group, which is relatively static, while identity is more contextual and dynamic. Thus, in contrast to this view, identity, according to a 'social constructionist' perspective, for example, is not seen as absolute or static, but rather is treated as "a socially constructed category" (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006: 9), where people's own understanding and performance of identity are examined, and where identity is produced in discourse (e.g. talk

[61] I discuss face in Section 1.4.

and text) of all types. Thus, "rather than being *reflected* in discourse, identity is actively, ongoingly, dynamically *constituted* in discourse" (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006: 4). It is not surprising, then, that this research, where the methodology used is in line with recent discursive approaches, takes a more social constructionist position where identity can be seen as more dynamic and interactive with discourse, as well as being influenced by culture.[62]

It is noteworthy that there are at least two different views regarding the connection between the notions of culture and identity. For example, Grimson (2010) views culture and identity as different aspects of social life, arguing that "while culture alludes to our routine of strongly sedimented practices, beliefs and meanings; identity refers to our feelings of belonging to a collective" (2010: 63). Therefore, he suggests that culture and identity should be analysed separately, assuming that each empirical study of each case can provide different answers, while the other view, which seems to be more adequate, and assumes that there is an inextricable relationship between culture and identity. Constantin and Rautz (2003), for instance, suggest that "culture creates identity" (2003: 189), as people feel related to those with whom they share the same common beliefs and ethnic background, which differentiate them from other cultural groups. Thus, "[c]ulture and identity are not just some abstract notions for them but 'living' concepts that are closely connected to people's lives" (Constantin and Rautz: 2003: 190). However, Constantin and Rautz (2003) believe that individuals usually have multiple identities which might or might not have an influence on the differences between cultural groups. These identities vary from one individual to another and from one situation to another, and may change over time.

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[62]Thus, as I mentioned in Chapter 1, the evaluation of behaviour is determined by what is ideologically believed to be appropriate in a given social community. However, such judgements are also contextual and personal, and so may vary from one situation to another, or from one person to another

3.4. Cross-Cultural Differences:

3.4.1. Collectivist and Individualist Cultures

Many scholars (Hofstede, 1991; Scollon and Scollon, 2005) argue for the existence of global dimensions of cross-cultural differences. Some of these dimensions indicate variability in the concept of the 'group' and the 'individual', and the dimension of individualism/collectivismis argued to be foremost in this respect.[63] Both terms have been defined by Hofstede (1991) as follows:

> Individualism pertains to societies in which the ties between individuals are loose: everyone is expected to look after himself or herself and his or her immediate family. Collectivism as its opposite pertains to societies in which people from birth onwards are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups, which throughout people's lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty (1991: 51).

Thus, as mentioned before, the above definition of individualism and collectivism seems to be related to the distinction between the concept of the 'group' and the 'individual' within cultures. In collectivist cultures, "good relationships are important, and interpersonal reality is valued", whereas in individualist ones, "independence and privacy are valued" (Fukushima, 2002: 121-22). For example, since English people "seem to place a higher value on privacy and individuality" (Sifianou, 1992: 41), English culture is usually categorized as an individualist culture. The Japanese, on the other hand, are argued to place low emphasis on distance and privacy. Thus, Japanese culture is usually classified as a collectivist culture (Fukushima, 2002).

The concept of the 'group' thus is suggested to be perceived differently in individualist and collectivist cultures. Triandis and Vassiliou (1972), for example, propose a

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[63] Triandis (2001: 907) argues that "[a]lmost 100 publications per year now use this dimension in discussing cultural differences".

distinction between two different groups within cultures. These are: the 'in-group', which is defined "as one's family, relatives, friends, and friends of friends" (1972: 305), and the 'out-group', which consists of other people who are not included in the 'in-group'. Fukushima (2002) refers to Triandis et al. (1986), who explain how individualist and collectivist cultures perceive both groups differently. Fukushima describes these differences as follows:

> While the boundary conditions between in-groups and out-groups are fairly diffused and loosely structured in individualistic cultures, the boundary conditions between in-groups and out-groups, and also between membership in various in-groups (e.g., kin, co-workers, neighbours), are more sharply defined and tightly structured in collectivistic cultures (Fukushima, 2002: 114).

In short, collectivist cultures are seen to entail a greater concern for group face, and individualism to involve more concern for individual face. Since there is a significant difference between individualistic and collectivist cultures in terms of group boundaries, this difference is argued to influence the styles of communication within each culture, as Scollon and Scollon (2005: 147) explain:

> In an individualistic society, groups do not form with the same degree of permanence as they do in collectivist society. As a result, the ways of speaking to others are much more similar from situation to situation, since in each case the relationships are being negotiated and developed right within the situation of the discourse.
>
> On the other hand, in a collectivist society, many relationships are established from one's birth into a particular family in a particular segment of society in a particular place. These memberships in particular groups tend to take on a permanent in-group character along with special forms of discourse which carefully preserve the boundaries between those who are inside members of the group and all others who are not members of the group.

However, such a classification is problematic, because the impression that such views gives is that individuals who are supposed to belong to individualistic cultures are 'selfish', care only about themselves and have very loose relationships, which, of course, is not the

case. Each culture might have a tendency for individualistic and collectivistic orientations to a greater or lesser extent. Thus, making such simplistic generalizations about cultures is inaccurate.

Another major linguistic characteristic that is usually linked to the collectivism/individualism distinction is indirectness (Holtgrave, 1997); that is, indirect expressions are argued to correlate with collectivist cultures. Triandis (1994), for example, explains the influence of these patterns on communication and the way in which people speak to each other in individualist and collectivist cultures as follows:

> People in collectivist cultures pay more attention to context (emotional expressions, touching, distance between bodies, body orientation, level of voice, eye contact) when they communicate than do people from individualistic cultures (Gudykunst, 1983). The collectivist must keep relationships with in-group members at their best and looks at all the evidence to understand what is communicated. Thus collectivists are not as explicit, direct or clear as the individualists (Triandis, 1994; cited in Fukushima, 2002: 117).

That is to say, collectivist cultures adopt indirect orientations, whereas individualistic cultures are more direct. However, this view is problematic, as it assumes that, in order to maintain good relationships with others, people in collectivist cultures avoid directness, and are implicit and indirect at all times and under all circumstances, and this is clearly not the case. The way of speaking (directly or indirectly) can be related to many factors that influence the speaker's choice in a particular situation. For example, performing a direct request or offer in Arab culture (which is classified as collectivist), in general, does not threaten good relationships, because it is conventionalised to be performed in such a direct way, yet it is still seen as appropriate (as I show in Chapter 7). Furthermore, the impression that such views

gives is that individuals who belong to individualistic cultures do not care about maintaining good relationships with others.

Similar cross-cultural variation has been suggested by Hall (1976), whose view is based on the role that context plays in producing and interpreting utterances. Hall (1976) draws a distinction between high- vs. low-context cultures; he defines a high context communication or message as "one in which most of the information is either in the physical context or internalized in the person, while very little is in the coded, explicit, transmitted part of the message" (1976: 91). That is, as Holtgraves (1997) puts it, "in high-context cultures (e.g., Japan, Korea) people assume that utterances will be interpreted within a relevant context, and as a result, one's meaning can be conveyed implicitly. Thus, speakers tend to convey their meanings indirectly, and hearers tend to look for these indirect meanings" (Holtgraves, 1997: 625). In low-context communication, on the other hand, context is expected to include the information in an explicit way. That is, in low-context cultures (e.g. the United States, Germany), context is argued to play a smaller role in communication than it does in high-context cultures, and thus people tend to speak directly in such societies. It should be noted that all of the cultures classified as high context by Hall are normally classified as collectivist, and all of the low-context cultures are normally classified as individualist.

However, such cultural distinctions, which simply suggest the possibility of making generalisations about cultures, are problematic for a number of reasons. One problem is that some results obtained on the basis of the individualism/collectivism distinction contradict other empirical studies (some of which will be discussed in 4.5.2.2.). For example, (to employ a stereotype), such a cultural classification holds contrasting views with regard to

cultures' tendencies towards direct or indirect orientations. For example, Fukushima (2002) argues that the Japanese (who are supposed to belong to a collectivist culture and thus prefer indirect forms) prefer to use direct forms. Al Batal et al.'s (2002) empirical study also suggests that, overall, the strategies and frequency regarding refusals in Egypt (as a high-context culture) and the US (as a low-context culture) are similar. Thus, such contrasting views cannot be taken as the basis for empirical research. Furthermore, Fukushima (2002: 125) points out that, although Japan is seen as a collectivist culture, and there might be a degree of truth in this stereotype, "it is not an extreme case and it has shifted towards greater individualism than before under the influence of economic growth". Thus, although tendencies towards either collectivism or individualism might be recognised within cultures, describing a whole culture according to astereotypical and static view of this individualism/collectivism distinction is inaccurate, because each culture tends to use both types to a greater or lesser extent.

3.4.2. Positive and Negative Politeness Cultures

Cultures are also classified as having positive or negative politeness orientations, according to the degree to which they tend to use either type. For Brown and Levinson (1978: 75), positive politeness "anoints the face of the addressee by indicating that in some respects, S wants H's wants (e.g. by treating him as a member of an in-group, a friend, a person whose wants and personality traits are known and liked", whereas negative politeness "is characterized by self-effacement, formality and restraint, with attention to very restricted aspects of H's self-image, centring on his [her] want to be unimpeded". That is to say, positive politeness cultures tend to value social closeness, while negative politeness cultures have a tendency towards valuing social distance. For example, the British and Japanese are usually described as having a tendency for negative politeness (Mills and Kadar, 2011), while

a culture like Greece is described as having a positive politeness orientation (Sifianou, 1992). However, as Mills and Kadar (2011) argue, the interpretations of deference (which is argued to be stressed in negative politeness cultures) or camaraderie (which is argued to be emphasized in positive politeness cultures) might differ from one culture to another. For example, Mills and Kadar (2011: 27) point out that "deference in many Asian cultures is conventionalized just as indirectness is conventionalized in British English". Thus, we cannot simply argue that a certain culture has a tendency towards a specific type of politeness, either positive or negative, because the function and understanding of each type might differ from culture to culture. Furthermore, as in the case with the collectivism/individualism distinction, positive and negative politeness may occur in all cultures, but to different extents (Mills and Kadar, 2011). Therefore, describing a whole culture as having a tendency towards either positive or negative politeness is inadequate.

3.5. Communication among Cultures: Intercultural Misunderstanding

3.5.1. Intercultural Communication and Stereotyping

Most cross-cultural researchers' work (as I show in 4.7.) is focused on explaining the different forms of communication within a certain culture, and thus attempting to reduce the number of misunderstandings that might occur during communication between individuals from different cultural backgrounds. For example, Fukushima (1996; 2002) suggests that, since requests are performed in a more direct way in Japanese than in British English, people in both cultures should take such differences into account to avoid possible misunderstandings. Similarly, Sifianou's (1992) study demonstrates the difference between Greeks, whom, she argues, prefer more positive politeness, and English people, who tend to use more negative politeness. Consequently, her work "contribute[s] to the elimination of misunderstandings and negative stereotypes" (Sifianou, 1992: 14). However, we should be

cautious of the risk associated with stereotyping or generalising about cultures, because such stereotypes can involve evaluations of people who are judged in a specific way just because they belong to a particular culture.[64] For example, O'Sullivan et al., (1994) point out that stereotyping usually involves a specific perspective about a particular culture. That is, stereotyping is "the social classification of particular groups and people as often highly simplified and generalised signs, which implicitly or explicitly represent a set of values, judgements and assumptions concerning their behaviour, characteristics or history" (1994: 299). Thus, people are often placed according to the sort of group to which they belong. However, Mills and Kadar (2011) argue that linguistic norms are usually discussed at the stereotypical level and are assumed to be recognised as appropriate by all speakers, while these judgements are often based on investigating the norms of certain dominant groups. They point out, for example, that "when British English as a whole is described, it is...[the] middle class use of politeness which is taken to constitute the norm for British English as a whole. Thus the norms of working-class British people are not considered to represent British culture as a whole" (2011: 30). Thus, while politeness in British English is based on examining a particular social class, it is then generalised to the whole culture.

Hall (1997: 258) also refers to the danger of judging cultures at a stereotypical level; as stereotypes comprise only "simple, vivid, memorable, easily grasped and widely recognized characteristics about a person, reducing everything about that person to those traits, exaggerate and simplify them, and fix them without change or development to

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[64]Scollon and Scollon (2005) make a distinction between positive and negative stereotypes, pointing out that negative stereotypes occur when members of different cultural groups are seen as polar opposites, while positive stereotypes occur when members of different cultural groups are seen as identical. However, Scollon and Scollon argue that "[w]hether the stereotyping is positive or negative in intent, it should be clear that it stands in the way of successful communication because it blinds the analyst to major areas of differences" (2005: 161).

eternity". Such stereotypical judgements can be evident in intercultural interaction. However, empirical work on investigating different intercultural interaction between people from different cultural backgrounds is rare (Holliday et al., 2004; Hamza, 2007; Grainger, 2011). Holliday *et al.*'s (2004) work is one of the few studies to focus on this issue. Holliday et al. suggest that people in intercultural communication tend to make a presumption about the people to whom they communicate according to their membership of a specific group, rather than investigating who they really are. For example, Holliday et al. (2004) point out that Muslim women are usually presented "as lacking in power" (2004: 7), "subservient" (2004: 9) and are considered to be second class citizens in many Muslim countries. Such stereotypes might lead people to fail to communicate successfully with Muslim women, or to mismanage their intercultural relationships if they present themselves differently (e.g. being educated, successful, working women, and so on). That is, if a Muslim woman does not conform to such a stereotype that means she is simply not conforming to the common representation. To illustrate this point, Holliday et al. (2004) present a situation in which an Iranian Muslim woman, who was attending an international convention, was struggling because of this stereotype. This woman was seen by her European colleagues as surprising, when she was assertive, creative and articulate; as she was thought, according to stereotypical beliefs, to have less capability at the things she had successfully achieved, simply because she was a Muslim woman. This Iranian Muslim wanted to show that "her society, like all others, is complex and multi-faceted, and in order for anyone to show who they really are, this complicity has to be visible" (Holliday et al., 2004: 7), so she showed her colleagues a film in which Muslim women appear driving a jeep, hiring and firing people, being successful and educated and, like all other women, being their own person. Consequently, she succeeded in changing her colleagues' initial perspective on her. Thus "[b]efore we can communicate with people who are different to ourselves, we need to understand something about how they

present themselves as being or belonging to certain groups" (Holliday et al., 2004: 19) and, through this, we can avoid making false judgements about them.

It should be mentioned that this is not the only example that Holliday et al. (2004) provide in order to show how people are culturally misunderstood. In fact, they present many situations taken from different cultures and social groups (e.g. Amish, Black African, refugees, and so on) which are similar to the above example. However, Holliday et al. (2004) suggest that people who did not see the reality of their interlocutor should not be completely blamed for misunderstanding them, because they are influenced by representations that affect their behaviour. The main source for such representations, according to these researchers, is 'media images'. Holliday et al. (2004: 38) describe the influence of the world media as follows:

> Many...countries less well known to the West, usually in the developing world, are represented very selectively in world media in terms of their most saleable, sensational, 'exotic' images...Hence, it would be easy for many Western people not to know...that many Arabs are not Muslim, that many Muslim women do not wear the *hejab* or veil, that many people in the developing world do not live in traditional souks, bazaars, shanty towns, thatched villages or war-torn streets with livestock.

From the above discussion, it can be argued that we need to be cautious when analysing norms, either within our own cultures or in making judgements about others' cultures, so that false stereotypical assessments, which are usually built on certain ideological beliefs, can be avoided. However, this is not to say that stereotypes are not significant, as they can be "an indication of tendencies within the culture as a whole" (Mills and Kadar, 2011: 42), but they should not be treated as an absolute, to which all members of a given culture are assumed to conform.

3.5.2. Directness, Indirectness and Intercultural Misunderstanding

Several theorists (Fukushima, 2002; Grainger 2011; Grainger et al., 2010) suggest that directness and indirectness are considered to be the main causes that give rise to pragmatic failure in intercultural communication, because they are usually judged from a particular cultural perspective (such as being 'rude' or 'distant'). One reason for such miscommunication can be attributed to the nature of indirectness which involves some degree of ambiguity and vagueness. For example, Dascal, (1983) suggests that indirectness can be costly and risky. It is costly because it "takes longer for the speaker to produce and longer for the hearer to process" and it is risky in that "the hearer may not understand what the speaker is getting at" (Dascal, 1983; cited in Thomas, 1995: 120). Therefore, even among individuals from the same cultural background, indirectness can be a source of misunderstanding. However, Grainger (2011) argues that the precise nature of indirectness is controversial; as there is no consensus among scholars of politeness regarding its precise meaning (as I show in 4.2.). She examines the interactional style of Zimbabwean English speakers which seems to be different from British speakers' conception of indirectness. Therefore, "indirectness is an important, yet possibly unrecognized source of miscommunication between southern African immigrants and British people" (Grainger, 2011: 172). The findings from a range of examples show that while, off-the-record strategies can be used by a Zimbabwean speaker in some face-damaging situations as a form of politeness, they can be perceived as impolite by British English speakers. Thus, "where the participants do not share the same interpretation frameworks, misunderstanding or misattribution of intention may result. There is great potential for the recipient of 'indirectness' to misinterpret it as vagueness, weakness or rudeness and ultimately, for the deterioration of intercultural relations" (Grainger, 2011: 189). However, I believe that misunderstanding indirectness is not restricted to those who do not share similar frameworks of interpretation, because even participants who belong to the same

cultural background may misinterpret the intended meaning, because indirectness is open to different interpretations. Sharing the same cultural frameworks does not always guarantee an accurate interpretation but, of course, indirectness may be less ambiguous for people who share similar cultural backgrounds.

Similarly, Grainger, Mills, and Sibanda (2010) examine the universality of the concept of indirectness and face, and its variation across cultures. Specifically, their study discusses the southern African perspective on the notions of face and the self by investigating intercultural interaction between a Zimbabwean English speaker, who is the leader of a community choir, and British English speakers, who are members of this group. Grainger et al. argue that "while face needs may be universally relevant in such a situation, the way in which they are oriented to in interaction depends on cultural understandings of which aspects of face are paramount in particular circumstances. Since these assumptions are deep-seated and invisible they are not easily open to explicit negotiation and hence can lead to misinterpretation" (Grainger et al., 2010: 2158). Thus, treating cultures as homogenous and static is inadequate. The study conducted by Grainger et al. (2010) aimed to show that different interpretation frameworks can result from the participants' contributions in a specific communicational event. "These frameworks are informed by culture-specific notions of appropriate self-presentation" (2010: 2159). To illustrate this point, Grainger et al. argue that, despite the importance of the southern African concepts of *hlonipha*, (which can be translated as 'to pay respect'), and *ubuntu*, (which is translated as 'humanity'), in indicating politeness by using indirect strategies in these cultures, such indirectness can be misunderstood by British English speakers, and thus be "interpreted instead as incompetence or weakness" (2010: 2159). Therefore,

> There may be different face strategies and different interpretational frameworks for those face strategies operating at the same time within an interaction. This may lead to very diverse interpretations of the same behaviour. Thus, different cultural groups may develop different resources for managing relations with other people and situated oneself within a group which has implications for the way that one's individual face needs are conceptualised (Grainger et al.,2010: 2169).

Mey (1993) also argues that there are differences in the way people use politeness strategies from one culture to another. In English, for instance, he argues indirectness is the most preferred style in performing requests; consequently, English speakers seem to avoid using imperatives in making requests or orders. As Mey puts it: "the occurrence of the imperative in orders or requests is dispreferred in many languages, including English" (1993: 113), whereas in other nations (e.g. Germany) directness is the most preferred form. Such difference, according to Mey, "has been the cause of much misunderstanding and has given rise to a number of cross-cultural prejudices" (1993: 121). For example, Mey argues that Israelis are often perceived as being rude by Americans, because Israeli speakers seem to be more direct.

Therefore, many researchers (Kasper 1992; Suh 1999; Zegarac and Pennington, 2000; Hong, 2008; Bacha, 2011) draw attention to the possible influence of the native speakers' cultural pragmatic knowledge on their L2 communicational behaviour. In order to understand this phenomenon, Zegarac and Pennington (2000) refer to the effect of the 'pragmatic transfer' process on the act of communication, which they define as "the transfer of pragmatic knowledge in situations of intercultural communication" (2000: 167). That is, pragmatic transfer usually refers to situations in which the interlocutors' previous knowledge influences the acquiring of new knowledge in learning the second language. In such situations, people might be affected by their existing mental set, which is "a frame of mind

involving an existing disposition to think of a problem or a situation in a particular way" (Zegarac and Pennington, 2000: 166). Thus, for them, people from different cultural backgrounds might be influenced by their different mental sets and behave accordingly.

For example, Kasper (1992) refers to the possible influence of first language pragmatic transfer on learning a new language. The results of his study on a number of American learners of Korean show that they tend to use semantic request forms which are similar to American native speaker forms. Suh (1999) also suggests that, despite some similarities between English native speakers and ESL Korean learners in using politeness strategies in certain situations (e.g. intimate friendship), the Korean learners who took part in her study failed to manage to use the politeness strategies that were used by native speakers of English. Similarly, Hong's (2008) research aimed to make a cross-cultural comparison of apology strategies in English by two groups of college students: native and non-native speakers of English. The study's findings showed that the difference between the apology strategies employed by these two groups might result from the students' different cultural backgrounds. Therefore, such situations indicate that interlocutors may carry over their cultural pragmatic knowledge from their first language to the target language they are learning, and, thus their behaviour might be influenced by the transfer of their first language knowledge to the second language. Thus, "a set of empirically derived dimensions of cultural differences may be taken as guidelines to understanding some of the underlying reasons for the often emotionally charged nature of interpersonal relations in intercultural talk" (House, 2000: 163). This claim can explain, at least partly, why intercultural misunderstandings occur.

In order to avoid such intercultural misunderstanding, many researchers (Hinkel, 1999) draw attention to the importance of teaching what are seen as the norms of a culture

when teaching foreign languages, instead of focusing only on mastering language forms of pragmatic communicative competence, which can be defined as "the ability of the second language learner to use language according to the pragmatic rules that govern the use of linguistic utterances as used by native adult speakers" (Nureddeen, 2008: 280). Such competence is not only seen as a key means for successful intercultural interactions but, rather, is "also seen as necessary for recognizing one's own socio-cultural norms" (Nureddeen, 2008: 280). So, what might be seen as polite behaviour in a particular situation and a certain culture might not be so in another. "This has important implications for raising teacher awareness and orientating students, and 'reframing their linguistic politeness'" (Bacha, 2012: 89), and thus reduces the possibilities of misunderstandings arising during intercultural communication.

In the light of the above discussion, we can conclude that, although what are seen as cultural norms play a role in speakers' politeness strategy choices, it should not be dealt with at a stereotypical level since stereotypes "limit our understanding of human behaviour and of intercultural discourse because they limit our view of human activity to just one or two salient dimensions and consider those to be the whole picture" (Scollon and Scollon, 2005: 156). Thus, we should be aware of the risk of judging people according to specific stereotypes. To this extent, we can suggest that the traditional politeness frameworks, like Brown and Levinson's (1987), do not provide an adequate explanation for the politeness phenomenon, because they ignore the variability and complexity within and across cultures. Discursive approaches, on the other hand, are well aware of such variations. Thus, they can provide a useful framework for investigating different aspects of social interactions without falling into the trap of stereotyping, as I show in the following section.

3.6. Politeness across Cultures: A Discursive Perspective

As I discussed in chapter 2, the recent research on politeness has moved away from Brown and Levinson's (1987) theoretical framework to propose a more dynamic interactional model for the analysis of politeness; that is, the discursive approach. This new framework advocates the importance of analysing language at the discourse level rather than single utterances, and considering a certain community in studying politeness (Eelen, 2001; Mills, 2003; Watts, 2003; Mills and Kadar, 2011; Bargiela-Chiappiniand and Kadar, 2011). The present study's method is inspired by recent researchers' models. This is motivated out of a need for a thorough study of what motivates directness and indirectness in Arab culture (particularly Libyan culture) and British English culture in order to contribute to a better understanding of Arab and English communicational styles. To this extent, it is worth considering some of the previous cross-cultural studies on politeness in which discursive approaches have been used as a framework in order to show the difference between stereotypical representations of cultures, which are based on applying the traditional models (particularly Brown and Levinson's), and real-life encounters. As East Asian cultures (particularly China and Japan) are mostly presented at the stereotypical level (e.g. being indirect and deferential), in this section, I present several studies on East Asian cultures in which observed behaviour is shown to be different from the predictive or stereotypical behaviour in these cultures.[65]

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[65]It is noteworthy that Asian nations are not the only cultures that are represented in a stereotypical way; many other cultures (including English) are too often dealt with according to stereotype. For example, Rusieshvli's (2011) study, which investigates the role of in-groups and out-groups in using address forms in Georgia, revealed that such address forms are dynamic and change according to the relationship between the interlocutors, rather than being fixed and static, as suggested by Rukhadze (2002). Furthermore, many other researchers have chosen to take a discursive perspective on politeness as a framework for investigating the (im)politeness phenomenon in English (cf. e.g. Linguistic Politeness Research Group (eds.), 2011).

Pan (2011) points out that, although discursive approaches have proved to be a valuable analytical framework, relatively little East Asian research has been influenced by a discursive perspective. However, several studies (e.g. Pan, 2011; Pizziconi, 2011; Stadler, 2011; Kadar and Pan, 2011; Haugh and Obana, 2011) have attempted to provide an insight into methodological issues in the analysis of East Asian politeness.[66] Pan (2011), for instance, argues that the analysis of politeness should be situational rather than absolute. Thus, developing a new methodology that can take situational and contextual elements into consideration is needed in analysing East Asian politeness. In order to achieve this goal, Pan proposes a 'situational-oriented methodological approach' which she has labelled a 'grammar of politeness'. This is based on the idea that "there are integral components of a linguistic phenomenon, such as politeness, in a communicative event...In this sense, we need to develop an overarching framework to put together all interactional components in our analysis in linguistic politeness" (2011: 81). Pan maintains that East Asian researchers have applied an Anglo-Saxon model to East Asian politeness and used a similar research methodology. Most of these studies have criticised politeness theories, particularly the models which adopted the notion of the universality of politeness strategies (e.g. Brown and Levisohn's (1987) model). Although the findings of these studies have provided a good insight into East Asian politeness, for example, they argued for a difference between English and Chinese in realizing indirectness and reacting to a certain speech act (e.g. compliments), such a methodology, according to Pan, did not engage well with East Asian politeness at a discourse level because "the data gathered through this method were based on prescribed and simulated situations. This data collection methodology excluded dynamic interactional and

[66] The studies considered in this section are particularly on Chinese, Japanese, and Korean cultures, because these are usually presented from a stereotypical perspective. However, there are many other politeness studies on different East Asian cultures, such as Chew's (2011) work on Vietnam; Lee's (2011) on Singapore; Kim's (2011) on Korea.

discursive elements in the analysis" (Pan, 2011: 75). The traditional methods cannot provide a sufficient analytical framework for the analysis of politeness in cross-cultural studies. Thus, Pan suggests the application of a more dynamic and contextual model.

To illustrate this, Pan mentions an example that took place at a wedding reception in Beijing. The tradition whereby the bride serves tea to her parents-in-law is seen as an important part of the ritual that the newly-wed couple should perform. In serving a cup of tea to her father-in-law, the bride said 'Father (formal), please drink this tea', but when offering a cup of tea to her mother-in-law, the bride said 'Mother (informal), drink this tea'. From the perspective of the traditional models of politeness, Pan argues, the first utterance is seen as polite, because a formal register is used to address the father-in-law, and also a polite formulaic expression ('please') is used. However, the second utterance would be evaluated as impolite, because a 'bald on record' strategy is used without any polite expression. From a discursive approach's view, however, where contextual and interactional aspects are taken into consideration, Pan argues, the style of politeness is shifted by the speaker, because of her recognition of the power differences between the addressees, with the 'male' in a more powerful position than the 'female'. Furthermore, the second utterance did not seem to be evaluated negatively by the mother-in-law who, according to Pan, hugged her daughter-in-law, gave her a gift and called her 'my daughter'. Thus, there seems to be a discrepancy between the results obtained through applying traditional politeness theory and those achieved by employing a more interactional model, which takes into account the way the utterance was responded to.

Pan further maintains that power plays a crucial role in Chinese politeness behaviour, but the source of power should be taken into consideration as it differs from one situational

encounter to another. For example, "in service encounters, the source of power is associated with the service institution and with the type of relationship...while in family gathering, gender and then age matter most" (Pan, 2011: 77). However, Pan argues that, in the analysis of politeness behaviour, power is not static. Instead, it is "dynamic and subject to interactional components in a communicative event" (Pan, 2011: 77). To illustrate this, she conducted a project focusing on a study of three telephone calls made by a Hong Kong professional in different business situations. The three calls, Pan points out, were commented on by business professionals from Hong Kong and Beijing in a focus group setting. Both groups provided two different sets of views (one from each group): "For the Hong Kong group, the business outcome is more important. For the Beijing group, the prospective long-term relationship is more crucial in determining the amount of politeness needed" (Pan, 2011: 91). Pan points out that, although both the Hong Kong and Beijing participants speak the same language, they assess the situation in the three calls differently. Thus, she goes on to argue that language should not be seen as the main factor that has an impact on the evaluation of polite behaviour; rather, it is the belonging to a certain community of practice that governs such judgments. Furthermore, the results of this study show that "some practices may be acceptable in one society, or at least certain communities of practice of the given society, but offensive in another" (Pan, 2011: 91). Therefore, we cannot rely only on linguistic strategies in analysing politeness behaviour. Rather, it is a matter of situational and interpretational variations.

In a similar way, Stadler (2011) draws attention to the problem of making generalisations about politeness norms across cultures. She argues that a wide range of research on politeness studies compare aspects of politeness between different cultures. Although such studies have provided a good insight into linguistic politeness, Stadler argues,

they still "tell us little about what happens when members of two different cultures interact with one another" (2011: 98). Thus, the main aim of Stadler's study is to critically investigate advice writing particularly geared towards Western audiences: profession-specific writings, and popular writing and their presentation of politeness in an East Asian context. The purpose of the analysis of popular advice writing is to explore the extent to which individuals (particularly Westerners) are advised to interact with people from East Asian cultures (particularly mainland Chinese) by providing some insight into the representations of politeness norms in East Asia. Profession-specific written works "stem predominantly from linguistic politeness theory...and the area of communication studies, rooted in psychology" (2011: 99). By so doing, Stadler aims to examine whether both popular and professional writing can prepare the readers for successful interactions.

Stadler states that the popular characteristics of East Asian societies and the research on politeness in these societies portray East Asians as indirect, modest and humble; they value politeness and good manners and thus do not criticise, shame or embarrass others in public. In Stadler's words: "there is still an overwhelming tendency towards portraying East Asian politeness as predominantly ruled by principles of politeness, indirectness and modesty" (2011: 108). However, Stadler's research includes an empirical study of two cases which took place between the same British host and two different mainland Chinese guests at two different business meetings in the UK. The British host is fluent in Standard Chinese and has both lived and worked in China. In both encounters, both parties had a desire to maintain good business relations. In the first case study, the British host offered her Chinese guest tea as part of the hospitality ritual. The tea itself was a gift to the host from another Chinese guest in the past. After drinking the tea, the Chinese visitor commented:

> 'This is very good quality Chinese tea, [name of British host]. Shame it is stale though. You should get some fresh tea next time. I will bring you some when I come back' (Stadler, 2011: 110).

The Chinese guest's comment 'shame it is stale though', which seems to be appropriate and unproblematic for him according to Stadler, may cause offence to people who are unfamiliar with such critical comments. For example, Stadler argues that, in British English culture, where it is unlikely for such criticisms to be produced in similar contexts, such comments could be seen as 'embarrassing', 'face-threatening', 'rude' and 'far too direct'. Similarly, the visitor's offer to bring fresh tea the next time he comes was evaluated negatively by the host, who felt embarrassed, because this remark made her feel that her hospitality was inadequate.

The second incident that Stadler mentioned involved a similar misunderstanding of a Chinese visitor's behaviour which was caused by the British host's unfamiliarity with certain practices. In this incident, the Chinese visitor refused to drink tea from the mug offered him, preferring to use his own mug instead. Although the Chinese person's behaviour was not meant to be offensive, it might be seen as rude, shocking or annoying in a British context, because such behaviour does not match the expected polite behaviour. The results of Stadler's study, thus, show that there is a paradox between stereotypical representations of a culture and real-life encounters in the above examples. This paradox is illustrated when individuals' behaviour differs from what is expected. For example, Stadler (2011: 113) compares the common stereotypical representations of East Asian cultures and the behaviour of the Chinese visitors in both incidents, and suggests that:

1- *East Asian people value and exhibit polite, considerate and well-mannered behaviour.* The behaviour the mainland Chinese visitors exhibit may well count as polite, considerate and well-mannered in their own cultural contexts...but, when transferred into a formal British context, these associations evoke doubts regarding their different cultural settings.

2- *East Asians are indirect, implicit and suggestive.* None of these adjectives seems adequately to describe the behaviour encountered in both incidents where the visitors are very straightforward.

3- *East Asians do not embarrass, shame or criticise anyone in public.* In both examples, the criticism occurred in the presence of others.

4- *East Asians are face-conscious and causing others to lose 'face' is unforgivable.* Suggesting that the host served the visitors stale tea may well cause the host a loss of 'face' and could be considered quite insulting.

5- *East Asians are modest and humble.* To insinuate that the visitor's knowledge of tea is superior to the host's and that he can provide better quality tea raises questions as to the level of modesty and humility exhibited (Stadler, 2011: 113).

These results therefore indicate that "only through a thoroughgoing critique of stereotypical views and a more 'local' focus on the norms within particular communities of practice can we provide an adequate analysis of politeness norms" (Stadler, 2011: 114). Stadler suggests that such a phenomenon is not limited to British/mainland Chinese contexts, but might also exist in other cultures, such as Japan and Korea; accordingly, it is necessary to develop forms of analysis which are context-based. The research findings also show that, although there are some differences between the mainland Chinese and British concepts of what constitutes polite behaviour, such differences should not be illustrated by generalising about politeness norms in research on Chinese politeness.

Similarly, Haugh and Obana (2011) point out that it is only in recent years that researchers have recognised that a full understanding of (im)politeness in Japan cannot be restricted to the study of honorifics, which is defined by Kim (2011) as "a system that encodes one's deference towards speaking partners who are viewed as superior in age or in social standing" (Kim, 2011: 176). Haugh and Obana (2011) argue that a great deal of research in Japan in particular and in East Asian cultures in general is dominated by an

argument between culture-specific and universal perspectives. Therefore, Haugh and Obana suggest that the discursive approach can offer a solution to this dilemma and help to move us beyond this argument, because a discursive approach focuses on the evaluation of the hearer along with that of the speaker. This approach also proposes that "we need to theorise and analyse politeness not only at the level of individuals interacting, but also at the level of society" (2011: 148). Haugh and Obana's research focuses on the role that the concept of 'tachiba' plays at the social and individual levels of politeness.' Tachiba' literally means 'the place where one stands'. In other words, in Japan, the speaker must consider his/her relationship with the hearer when performing a particular act. Tachiba then "essentially refers to one's roles in social interaction, or social selves" (Haugh and Obana, 2011: 157). Haugh and Obana suggest that people adapt their behaviour according to the situation they are in, the people with whom they are interacting, and so on. By discussing various examples of speech events, such as requests, compliments, praise, offers and invitations, Haugh and Obana attempt to verify their claim that "it is through the interactional achievement of *tachiba* that evaluations of particular linguistic forms and strategies as polite arise in Japanese" (2011: 159), not only through a focus on honorifics.

Haugh and Obana also argue that most studies have simply applied Brown and Levinson's (1987) approach to the analysis of politeness in Japanese, focusing on how certain speech acts can be used politely in comparison to English. However, they argue that "it is the participants' relationship, and their respective roles and statuses that emerge as crucial in explications of politeness in Japanese, despite researchers claiming that it is the notion of face that underpins their analyses" (2011: 151). For instance, by analysing examples of making requests in Japanese, they found that the choice between direct and indirect requests is not a matter of potential face threat but, rather, of whether requests are the focus of the tachiba of

the speaker along with that of the hearer. Consequently, if they "lie within the interlocutor's tachiba, direct and declarative forms can be employed and this is interpretable as polite. The relative degree of imposition is thus not considered" (2011: 163). Similarly, a compliment can be a very offensive act in Japan. For instance, praising the work of older people might be understood as an evaluation of their performance. Therefore, compliments require "extra care because [they] can sound condescending and thus potentially impolite" (Haugh and Obana, 2011: 164). According to Haugh and Obana, these examples indicate that the '*tachiba'* is not *a priori* for the interactants, but rather it emerges in the course of interaction. In other words, the analysis of these examples shows that not all "politeness phenomena in Japanese can be explicated with respect to *tachiba*" (Haugh and Obana, 2011: 164) but it can be used to explain a wide range of aspects of politeness in Japanese.

In the same stereotypical way, much of the work on politeness in Korea is too often described at a stereotypical level as it explicates politeness in relation to 'honorifics'. Honorifics are perceived by native speakers of Korean as the exclusive conditions for politeness. In other words, in Korea, the lack of the use of honorification of a superior is traditionally treated as rudeness towards that person. Kim's (2011) study, however, aims at framing the relationship between honorifics and politeness in Korea to distinguish between both notions. It shows "how the notions of deference (as the core notion of honorifics) and politeness referred to in Brown and Levinson (1978/1987), Leech (1983) and Watts (2003) differ from each other in the Korean context" (Kim, 2011: 181).Through his research, Kim discusses various examples to justify his claim that the notion of politeness is distinct from that of honorifics. The results he obtained by discussing these examples show that:

1- Honorofics can be sufficient but not exclusive forms for politeness, as politeness can be expressed without honorifics in Korea. Speakers can be polite through using sentences which involve other rhetorical devices such as conditional, interrogative and a variety of hedges. Such sentences are interpreted as polite because "they contain adequate redress measures, not just because of the use of honorific devices" (Kim, 2011: 186). Kim verifies that honorifics are not the only way of expressing politeness in Korea; thus, people can be polite without performing honorifics.

2-Speech style choices in Korea are governed in terms of the gap between the in-group and the out-group. For example, in an in-group, honorific sentences are expressed by subordinates towards superiors but not *vice versa*. Consequently, the absence of honorifics in the superior's speech would not be assessed as impolite behaviour. Furthermore, honorific usage by a superior towards a subordinate might be seen as a joke or sarcasm by the subordinate, or even as a serious offence.

3- Performing honorifics does not necessarily indicate politeness. This is illustrated through the examples Kim mentions in his study. That is, "one can be impolite in a statement presented in honorific terms" (2011: 199). This shows that linguistic meaning is not sufficient in analysing politeness behaviour. Rather, it is a matter of situational and contextual variation.

On the whole, through exploring various aspects of politeness features in Korea, Kim's study reveals that a distinction should be made between the notion of politeness and honorifics in Korean. Despite the overall impression of Koreans that politeness is necessarily expressed through honorifics, Kim's findings draw attention to the importance of making sentences without honorific markings to express politeness in Korea in some contexts (i.e. a superior towards a subordinate) where using honorifics can be interpreted as a source of

offence rather than politeness. Therefore, this study, albeit implicitly, distinguishes between ideological beliefs about how people feel they behave and how they actually behave. That is "the range of meanings that honorifics can convey in actual instances of use is broader than the meanings stereotypically attributed to them…by language users" (Pizziconi, 2011: 70), or by other views about what constitutes honorific in past research on East Asian cultures as a whole.

Pizziconi (2011) argues that honorifics are typically explained as an indication of politeness, deference or humility. However, through several cases that she examines in her study on Japanese, Pizziconi (2011) argues that honorifics are not necessary to express politeness (or, more precisely, deference), as politeness can be shown even without the use of explicit honorific forms. Furthermore, honorifics can be used as an impolite device to convey anger, flattery, irony or annoyance. Thus, honorifics, according to Pizziconi, should not be treated as absolute rules that have certain polite functions; rather, the wide range of possible meanings of honorifics should be discussed according to context- and situation-based aspects of politeness.

In the light of the above discussion, we can say that applying a specific theory of politeness (such as Brown and Levinson's, 1987) within or across cultures cannot reflect the actual functions of this phenomenon within cultures. Rather, it reflects the theorist's view which cannot be applicable to all cultures. Cultures "are by nature highly complex. Indeed, this complexity becomes self-evident when observing the multiple curative practices, contrasting conceptions of youth, different uses of technology, invocations to changing gods, love or hate for pork or horsemeat, and dissimilar views of the future of humanity found in even the most remote parts of the world" (Grimson, 2010: 73). Politeness, then, is a complex

phenomenon and can be expressed differently across cultures, so any attempt to make universalistic generalisations about it cannot be adequate. Thus, we need to investigate how individuals actually behave rather than trying to show how a certain model can fit a particular culture, or comparing cultures according to their conformity to a specific model, because it is difficult (if not impossible) to find a theoretical model that can generalize to fit all cases in different cultures. Furthermore, describing a cultural group at a stereotypical level might lead one to see the traits of the individuals within this group as part of their nature (Grainger, 2014), while they are in fact environmentally- and culturally-induced.[67]

3.7. Politeness in Arab and English Cultures

In recent years, in politeness research, "the number of studied languages is steadily growing, English and German being particularly popular" (Ogiermann, 2009: 191). Politeness has been extensively studied in Western languages,[68] particularly English (e.g. Brown and Levinson, 1978, 1987; Leech, 1983; Searle, 1969, 1975; Lakoff, 1973), but this is not true of Arabic. However, the number of studies that deal with the various Arabic dialects have fundamentally increased in the last decade (Nureddeen 2008; Jebahi 2010; Al-Oqaily and Tawalbeh, 2012; Al Batal et al., 2002), something that provides a useful insight into Arabic politeness.[69] In this section, therefore, I will discuss the communicational styles of Arabic and British English cultures but, before going on to explore this, we need to clarify who is considered an 'Arab', and what are the varieties of Arabic language.

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[67] Some stereotypes are taken for granted as 'natural' or 'the truth' about certain groups, while they are false. Holliday et al. (2004), for example, argue that Black African people are sometimes seen as necessarily less active or clever than other groups (say, white people),and are dealt with according to this false assumption.

[68] Western cultures are not the only ones whose languages have been extensively examined; many Asian cultures, particularly China and Japan, have also been widely-explored.

[69] Some of these studies will be discussed in Section 4.8.1.

3.7.1. Who is 'Arab'?

The common belief, particularly among Western people, is that all Arabs are Muslims, or all Muslims are Arabs (Holliday et al., 2004), and all Middle Eastern countries are considered to be Arab. This belief, however, is inaccurate, because the Arab world is only a part of the Middle East which is further surrounded by other Islamic countries, both Asian (such as Iran and Turkey) and African (such as Chad, Mali, Niger and Senegal), which are not Arab. However, there are many other Muslim-majority countries around the world in which Islam is the dominant religion. The largest Muslim population countries are located in South and Southeast Asia, such as Indonesia, Bangladesh, and Pakistan. There are also large Muslim communities in Russia, India and China, while large Muslim immigrant communities are hosted by many other parts of the world, particularly Western Europe. Moreover, while about 85-90% of Arabs are Muslims, only about 20% of the Muslim population is Arab (Feghali, 1997); thus, 'Arab' "is not a race, religion, or nationality...Throughout the region, people vary in terms of such physical characteristics as hair, eye and skin colour. Although Arab countries are predominantly Muslim, Lebanon and Egypt have substantial Christian populations" (Feghali, 1997: 349).[70] Thus, it is not easy to specify who Arabs are. However, a possible definition of Arabs, albeit a problematic one, is suggested by Jabra (1971), who define san 'Arab' as "...anyone who speaks Arabic as his [her] own language and consequently feels as an Arab" (cited in Feghali, 1997: 350).

However, there seem to be at least two problems with this definition of 'Arab'. The first problem is that, if we consider only individuals who speak Arabic as their own language

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[70]It is worth mentioning that, besides Islam and Christianity, other small religious minorities also exist in certain Arabic regions, such as Jews in Tunisia, Morocco and Yemen; and Yazidis and Druze in Syria and Iraq.

as Arab, we would exclude those living in non-Arabic countries who do not speak Arabic but who have Arab origins. For example, many young Arab people, whose parents migrated to Europe a long time ago, cannot speak Arabic, yet still consider themselves Arab. The other problem that can be identified is that there are many Arab nations (e.g. Somalia) whose most of their residents do not speak Arabic (but Somali) and yet are classified as Arabs. So, in my view, Arabs can be defined as people who belong to Arab countries (which are located in North Africa, the Fertile Crescent and the Arabian Peninsula) whether they speak Arabic or not, and whether they live in Arab countries or not, who define themselves as Arabs.[71]

3.7.2. Arabic language:

Arabic, in all Arab countries, is of a diglossic nature, as there are two versions of the language: 'Fossha' "فصحى" 'Standard Arabic or Modern Literary Arabic',[72] which is used in formal situations (e.g. the language of the government, media, religion, newspapers and so on), and 'Ammiyya' "عامية" or 'colloquial dialects', which is used as an everyday spoken language in demotic interactions. Arabs from different countries have developed various colloquial dialects that differ from each other. "Because of this variability, it is inaccurate to assume that Tunisians and Iraqis, for instance, readily understand one another" (Feghali, 1997: 257). However, Arabs with different dialects, which might be difficult to understand, can always find a way to communicate, either by speaking standard Arabic (especially by

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[71]It should be noted that other cultural groups of people who live in certain Arab countries have different cultural identities and different languages, and do not consider themselves Arab. These include the Berbers or the 'Amazigh', who speak the Berber language and reside in North Africa, particularly Libya, Algeria and Morocco. Most of the Berber people share language, belong to the Berber homeland and have a similar historical identification. Other cultural groups include the Touareg and Tabu in North Africa; and Kurdish people in Iraq and Syria, each of whom have their own language and do not consider themselves as Arab. However, most of these groups can speak Arabic as a second language because of their religious background, which is Islam.

[72] A distinction is usually made between two varieties of standard Arabic: the Classical Arabic of the Holy Quran; and standard modern Arabic which is in use today. However, modern Arabic is based on Classical Arabic, and there is not a great difference between these two varieties.

educated people) or by using a simple dialect (e.g. Egyptian) which can be understood by the interlocutors.[73]

3.7.3. The Historical Meaning of Politeness in Arabic and English

The notion of politeness can be expressed in Arabic by the word 'adab' 'أدب', which is a translation equivalent of 'politeness'. However, the same word can also be used to refer to literature in Arabic. It is worth mentioning that, in pre-Islamic times, 'adab' was used to mean 'invitation' rather than politeness in its broader sense (Al-Oqaily and Tawalbeh, 2012). Al-Oqaily and Tawalbeh (2012) refer to Idrees' (1985) explanation of the meaning of 'adab' as referring to generosity and hospitality. In my view, this may explain, at least partly, why generosity and hospitality are usually regarded as the main elements of Arabic politeness. For instance,

> Arabs used to say (Fulan adaba al-qawm) (فلان أدب القوم إذ دعاهم لمأدبة) meaning that someone invited people to feast; thus, the meaning of the word 'adab' (أدب) was concerned with the behavioural aspect of a person's relationships with others...Then the use of the word (أدب) has expanded in the Islamic era to refer to morality, generosity, tolerance and virtue. All these meanings have been numerously reported by many sayings of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) (Al-Oqaily and Tawalbeh, 2012: 86).

Thus, the meaning of *Adab* has changed over the course of many centuries. The meaning of politeness in British English, on the other hand, originates from the word 'polished', which is, according to Grainger et al. (2015: 51) "signalling the norms of elite, the court and the educated, rather than hospitality". This different history of politeness' meaning may influence the evaluation of (im)polite behaviour in both cultures.

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[73]It is worth mentioning that films and drama play a key role in spreading certain Arabic dialects (e.g. Egyptian, Syrian and Kuwaiti) among different Arab countries, which makes them easier to understand than other dialects, because most Arabs are familiar with them.

3.7.4. British English Communication Style

British English is often represented as a negative politeness culture due to the emphasis on social distance and privacy. For example, Brown and Levinson (1978) propose that "in societies where high D [distance] relations dominate in public encounters...one would expect symmetrical use of high-numbered strategies to be most evident" (1978: 256). They suggest that, since British English culture places a high value on social distance, there is a preference for using negative politeness strategies; thus, for them, the English prefer more indirect forms. In Brown and Levinson's words, "in our culture, negative politeness is the most elaborate and the most conventionalized set of linguistic strategies for FTA redress; it is the stuff that fills the etiquette book" (1978: 135). Similarly, from a Western perspective, Levinson (1983) points out that most usages of speech acts, particularly requests, are performed indirectly in British English culture. He contends that "most usages [of requests] are indirect" (1983: 264), arguing that imperatives, for example, are less appropriate or even unacceptable when issuing orders and requests in English-speaking societies, whereas some usages of other types of speech acts (such as offers and greetings) can be direct. In Levinson's words "imperatives are rarely used to commend or request in conversational English...but occur regularly in recipes and instructions, offers, welcoming, wishes, curses, and swearing" (1983: 275). However, considering all of the British English to be members of the same cultural group without bearing in mind the differences among these groups is problematic, because this might lead to false stereotypes (as already discussed in 3.5.1.). Scollon and Scollon (2005: 161), for example, argue that "communication is inherently ambiguous. Effective communication depends on finding and clarifying sources of ambiguity as well as learning to deal with places where miscommunication occurs. Such clarification is impossible when the analyst does not recognize areas of difference among participants, because he or she will assume common ground and mutual understanding". Thus, as I

mentioned earlier, not all speakers recognise certain linguistic norms as appropriate (Mills and Kadar, 2011). However, "[i]n the British context, within the middle class dominant cultural values, behaviour could be said to be underpinned by a basic assumption that freedom of action and the independence of the individual are paramount" (Grainger et al., 2015: 53). Thus, it could be argued that freedom from imposition is given priority in British English society as a whole, and can be seen as enregistered within linguistic forms.

3.7.5. Arab Communication Style

Since generosity and hospitality are considered to be the main elements that indicate cohesion, group maintenance and politeness towards others in Arab culture, "the offering and receiving of hospitality has generated its own rituals and accompanying formulas in Arab society to a high degree of elaboration" (Emery, 2012: 205). Feghali, (1997), for example, explains the difference between American and Arab societies in terms of hospitality. He suggests that "social situations in America commonly require a verbal or written invitation, while in Arab societies; the situation is vague, complex and defined by context" (Feghali, 1997: 353). Similarly, although there seems to be a certain obligation to offer hospitality in Arabic and English cultures, as Grainger et al. (2015) argue, there is a slight difference between offers in both cultures in terms of the conventions on what is expected. For example, "in the British situation that hospitality may more easily be refused than in the Arabic situation" (Grainger et al., 2015: 64), where offers go through several turns of insisting on offers before they are accepted or refused (as I will show in Chapter 7). Thus, not only do Arabs tend to consider hospitality as an essential prerequisite for indicating politeness and enhancing social relationships, but they also "expect hospitality from others, and one's personal status and reputation may be affected by the absence of such behaviour" (Feghali, 1997: 353). Thus, Arabs tend to see offering and receiving hospitality as an obligation (see

Grainger et al., 2015), and this form of behaviour is valued within the society at an ideological level.

Arab culture is also classified as collectivist due to their emphasis on mutual interdependence (Hofstede, 1980); therefore, Arab people are argued to have a tendency to maintain their social relationships with others in order to stress this interdependence. It is also argued that, because of the collectivist nature of Arab societies, Arab people are assumed to avoid direct forms of speech in favour of indirect forms (Merkin, 2012). However, this way of explaining the conventions of Arabic culture "is grossly over-simplified and does not take account of the fact that collectivist tendencies occur in all societies, but to different extents in different situations" (Grainger et al, 2015). For example, Katriel (1986) explains that the indirect style of Arabs can be labelled '*musayra*' (which literally means 'go along with') which is in contrast to the direct speech form of '*dugri*'[74] in Israeli Sabraculture.[75] She points out that:

> A major function of *musayra* is to constrain individual behaviour in such a way as to protect the social realm from the potential disruption that may result from individual

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[74]Dugri is "translatable as straight or direct talk" (Katriel, 1986: 1). Although the word *dugri* was borrowed from colloquial Arabic, Katriel says, it has a narrow application in Hebrew. For example, in Arabic, it can be used literally to mean 'straightness', such as a 'straight' road, or metaphorically "as an attribute of a person who is *dugri* (roughly, honest and honourable), or of speech, as in 'speak the *dugri*' (i.e. tell the truth, don't lie)" (Katriel, 1986: 11). However, what has been imported to Hebrew is only the metaphorical meaning. Thus, the word *dugri* can be used "as an attribute of either a person (as in 'he is *dugri*'), a way of speaking (as in 'speak *dugri*,' i.e. in a straightforward way), a speech event (as in a '*dugri* talk') or a human bond (as in 'a *dugri* relationship,' implying a relationship in which dugri speech is the rule" ((Katriel, 1986: 11). It is worth mentioning that the word *dugri,* despite its Arabic origin, is not used by all Arabic speakers. For example, while it might be common in particular Arab countries, such as in Palestine and Jordan, in most others, the similar metaphorical meaning of the word dugri can be "Frank صراحة", which means speaking directly and telling the truth.

[75]Sabra culture is "the subculture of native-born Israelis of Jewish heritage, mainly of European decent, which became crystallized in the prestate period of the 1930s and 1940s and is still influential in contemporary Israeli culture" (Katriel, 1986: 1).

> expression...a paradigmatic Sabra will speak his or her mind under any circumstances, firm in the belief that expressing oneself openly will ultimately prove to be the most effective strategy, whatever the circumstances (1986: 112).

According to Katriel (1986), then, one way (among others) to do *Musayra* in Arabic is to use indirectness.[76] However, whereas a number of researchers describe Arab people as being indirect, many empirical studies (as I show in the next chapter) do not support this claim. For example, Feghali (1997) argues that, in Arabic, "both positive and negative comments about personal appearance, such as hair style, clothing, and jewellery, are often direct" (1997: 359). This may illustrate that Arabic-speaking societies cannot be classified as simply direct or indirect, which demonstrates them as being homogeneous, ignoring the variability among their communities. Thus, such studies, which generalising about communication style in Arabic, can be problematic in that:

> They represent generalizations that are drawn from non-empirical models (e.g. Hall, 1976) and often from personal experiences and impressions rather than empirical data. In addition, such descriptions present Arabic and English linguistic and cultural patterns as neatly homogeneous, overlooking the differences that exist among the various communities in terms of status, gender, and context. Cross-cultural examinations of communication style and patterns should be based on data, systematically collected and analyzed, that take into account status, gender, and context (Al Batal et al., 2002: 41).

In order to illustrate the danger of generalising about communicational style across Arab societies, I consider a study carried out by Merkin (2012), which aims to investigate the concepts of 'facework' in Israel and Syria.

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[76] According to Katriel (1986: 112), musayra can be associated with certain circumstances such as "one does musayra to a sick child; a man will do musayra to his wife when she is upset; one will do always musayra to a stranger in one's community".

3.7.5.1. Critique of Stereotypes of Arabic Politeness

Merkin's (2012) study investigates Israeli and Syrian concepts of facework. She points out that Israelis are often seen as direct, aggressive and competitive. In contrast, Syrians, like all other Arabs, are often perceived by certain researchers (e.g. Hofstede, 1980) as indirect and valuing harmony. Merkin argues that the Israeli facework strategy choices are based on their cultural individualism and low-power/distance tendencies, while the Syrian strategy choices are caused by their cultural collectivism and high-power/distance tendencies.[77] In contrast to this stereotype, the findings of Merkin's study show that Israelis value harmony more than expected. Merkin points out that the negotiations between Israel and Syria have proved vital in recent years, as Israel has refused to allow any third party to enter these negotiations. Merkin asserts that the difference between the cultural orientations of Israelis and Syrians has led to conflict between these two nations. For example, Merkin argues that Israelis, based on their individualist, low-power/distance orientation, prefer direct facework, whereas Syrians, having collectivist, high-power/distance values, tend to use indirect strategies. Therefore, in her study, Merkin attempts to explore the communication differences between Israel and Syria by examining the influence of cultural background and ideologies on facework in both societies.

Merkin examines how individualism/collectivism and power distance tendencies affect the perceptions of face and facework in Israel and Syria. Merkin explains that Hofstede (1980) used these cultural orientations to develop his theory of 'cultural dimensions'. This theory explains "the shared views that individuals acquire by growing up in a particular

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[77]Lustig (1988: 58) argues that "Power distance indicates the degree to which the culture believes that institutional and organizational power should be distributed unequally".

country" (Merkin, 2012: 114). Accordingly, she argues that Hofstede's theory can offer a good framework for investigating the differences between Israel and Syria and explain why previous negotiations between the two nations have failed.

Merkin maintains that, in contrast to Israel, which is categorized by Hofstede as an individualist culture, Syria is classified with other Arabic-speaking cultures because "there were not enough observations in Hofstede's original study to run statistics on Syria alone" (2012: 114). According to Merkin, Arab face is often associated with personal dignity, so Syrian is classified, like all other Arab countries, as a collectivist and high-power/distance culture. However, Merkin's study is built on her personal expectations and impressions rather than on empirical study. This raises questions regarding the extent to which the findings she gained through her study are accurate. She relies on Hofstede's classification which classifies all Arab societies, including Syria, as collectivist cultures, as if it is simple to make generalisations about them. Furthermore, as I mentioned earlier, this way of explaining the conventions of different cultures is inadequate, because collectivist tendencies occur in all societies, albeit to different extents.

Merkin also argues that people with a high-power/distance orientation (such as Syrians) "tend to accept inequality in the allocation of power and human rights" and also "tend to be less responsive to unfair treatment and less likely to voice concerns over inequality" (2012: 117). On the contrary, people in low-power/distance societies (such as Israelis) "view the world as fundamentally just...Therefore, injustice is simply not expected in low-power/distance cultures" (2012: 117). In my view, this claim is inaccurate, because it is irrational to suppose that people can accept injustice, inequality and unfair treatment simply because they are assumed to belong to a specific cultural background. These

phenomena are not accepted by any human being. However, it is true that, in some (if not most) Arab countries, there are many problems in terms of human rights, but this can be attributed to the dictatorial regimes that govern these societies rather than their supposed cultural essences. Thus, we can say that there are other factors that force Arab people to keep silent about injustice and unfairness other than their cultural background.

Merkin claims that both Israelis and Syrians have different facework strategies choices. In particular, her results reveal that Israelis tend to be direct, aggressive, and competitive, but to value harmony more than is supposed, whereas Syrians tend to use indirect facework strategies. Due to these differences, Merkin (2012: 123) suggests that "one or both parties need to modify their communication differences or keep in mind that their communication may offend the other party. In addition, attempts should be made by both parties to view communication differences as cultural artefacts and to try not to take the impression-management communication they are experiencing personally". However, I am doubtful whether the different cultural face-saving communication strategies of the Israeli and Syrian negotiations have any real influence on the investigations' success, because, as we know, there have been many successful peaceful negotiations between Israel and other Arab countries (such as Egypt and Jordan). Thus, the disagreements between Syria and Israel are more ideological in nature than due simply to communication strategies and politeness.

On the whole, we can say that Arab and British cultures, just like all others, are variable, heterogeneous diverse and complex. People from both cultures belong to various communities which are divided along the lines of education, wealth, lineage and status. Thus, it is difficult to make generalisations about all Arabic- or English-speaking cultures, since they consist of different cultural groups which are not homogeneous. This diversity within

both cultures can be related to many factors, such as age, sex, educational background, status, class and so on. However, it might be possible to describe some of the ideologies that are responsible for the sense of shared language activities among the speakers within both communities.

3.8. Conclusion

This chapter has investigated the notion of culture and its relation to politeness. Reviewing several definitions of culture revealed that identifying a simple definition of this phenomenon is not possible, due to the diversity of conceptions and views of what constitutes culture. I have chosen to adopt a discursive approach to the definition of culture, which is perceived as dynamic and complex according to this view. The notion of identity was discussed here as it has received significant attention in recent years from many scholars, albeit its relation to culture is controversial. Although many cultural classification studies (e.g. Hofstede's (1991) individualism-collectivism classification) have been widely used, they are shown to be insufficient in explaining cross-cultural differences, because they are built on personal impressions rather than on empirical studies.[78] Such approaches simply characterise cultures into certain groups which are supposed to have specific norms ignoring the variability within and between cultures. Grouping people in such a way can lead to generalisations about specific behaviour as being the norm within a group and, consequently, being stereotyped. In order to avoid the problems of stereotyping and generalisation, I have chosen to use a discursive approach because it seems to provide a sound analytical framework for this work,

[78] Some of these studies will be discussed in chapter 4.

which involves a contrastive study between Libyan Arabic and British English cultures, without falling prey to stereotyping.[79]

[79]There are many other reasons, discussed in Chapters 2 and 5,regarding why I used this approach as a framework for this study.

Chapter 4

Definition and Functions of (In)directness

4.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on directness and indirectness and their relation to politeness and impoliteness. The main research question this chapter addresses is to what extent is there a correlation between indirectness and politeness, and directness and impoliteness. I start the chapter in section 4.2. by attempting to define the concept of directness and indirectness I then move on, in section 4.3, to discuss the relationship between (in)directness and politeness, by reviewing some views which associate indirectness positively with politeness, and which consider directness to be impolite. Following this, in section 4.4., I examine the issue of whether or not (in)directness serves the same function cross-culturally. Then, and due to its multiple functions, which cannot simply be restricted to politeness, the motivations for indirectness will be the focus of section 4.5. I then review some cross-cultural studies on indirectness and discuss the cultural specificity of this phenomenon in different culturesin section 4.6. The relationship between indirectness and impoliteness will be discussed in section 4.7. and, in the final part of this chapter, I conclude by presenting some studies of Arabic which are concerned with (in)directness and politeness in different Arab countries. Thus, the aim of this chapter is to show that the relationship between indirectness and politeness is complex, and cannot only be seen as a means by which imposition can be avoided.

4.2. Definition of Directness and Indirectness

The most fundamental question concerns what exactly indirectness is, and how it can be distinguished from directness. Despite the great effort that has been expended in order to

define indirectness adequately, there is no consensus among theorists regarding its precise meaning. Searle (1969), for instance, argues that speaker intention is the most important premise. He proposes that speakers try to communicate their intentions to make the hearers do something for them. In Searle's words: "[i]n speaking I attempt to communicate certain things to my hearer by getting him to recognize my intention to recognize just those things" (Searle, 1969: 43). Therefore, according to Searle "it is possible to perform the act without invoking an explicit illocutionary force indicating device where the context and the utterance make it clear that the essential condition is satisfied" (Searle, 1969: 68), and this constitutes indirectness. Searle (1975) also draws a distinction between direct and indirect speech acts. He suggests that, in some utterances, what is said is different from what is meant; accordingly, he proposes a distinction between two situations in which a speech act is performed: in the first situation a (direct speech act) "the speaker utters a sentence and means exactly and literally what he says" (1975: 59), whereas the other situation (indirect speech act) is the case "in which one illocutionary act is performed indirectly by way of performing another" (1975: 60). He views indirect speech acts as a combination of two acts: a primary illocutionary act and a secondary illocutionary act; "the secondary illocutionary act is literal; the primary illocutionary act is not-literal" (1975: 62). This distinction between the literal meaning and the actual meaning has been adopted by many other researchers; Brown and Levinson (1987), for example, describe indirectness as "any communicative behaviour ...that conveys something more than or different from what it literally means" (1987: 134). Thomas (1995) also perceives it as "a mis-match between expressed meaning and implied meaning" (1995: 119). However, such a view accepts uncritically the existence of the literal meaning of utterances. Levinson, for instance, suggests that, if we believe in literal meaning, "[t]he basic problem that then arises is that *most* usages are indirect" (1983: 264). Thus, most

communication would be categorized as indirect and, accordingly, the distinction between directness and indirectness could not actually be made.

For Pinker (2007), indirectness is "the phenomenon in which a speaker says something he does not literally mean, knowing that the hearer will interpret it as intended" (2007: 437). This definition is problematic, because it assumes that indirectness is clear and unambiguous enough to guide the hearer easily to the intended meaning without the need for any degree of cognitive effort or inferential work to be undertaken in order to interpret the speaker's intention. However, the degree of ambiguity may vary from one utterance to another. Thus, there is no guarantee that the hearer will reach the right inference in all cases.[80]

Sperber and Wilson (1986) treat indirectness in a similar way. They suggest that the distinction between directness and indirectness, which has been suggested by Speech Act theory, should be abandoned. From their point of view, all utterances are indirect, because they always require a degree of inferential work. Similarly, Wierzbicka (2003) proposes that there is no need to make a distinction between directness and indirectness, because of the similarity between direct requests (such as imperatives) and indirect requests (such as conventionally indirect commands); for her there is no obvious difference between these two categories. Wierzbicka argues that this distinction has been mainly based on Western views; consequently, a clear distinction between the two notions has not been made in relation to other cultures. She claims that "it is widely assumed that if one says to somebody *Close the door!* this is a 'direct' speech-act, whereas if one says *Could you close the door?* or *Would*

[80]There is also the problem of what is the right inference for indirectness.

you mind closing the door? this is an 'indirect' speech-act. But although these particular examples may seem clear, it is by no means clear how the distinction in question should be applied to other phenomena and to other languages" (Wierzbicka, 2003: 88). Thus, what constitute directness or indirectness differs from one language to another.[81]

Holtgraves (1997) deals with indirectness on the basis of the amount of inferential work that is needed to interpret it. For him, some indirect utterances can be identified easily without cognitive effort. For example, 'can you shut the door' can be recognized directly as a conventional indirect request, so little interpretation is required. However, this assumption seems to be culturally specific, as it is based on an English view. We do not know to what extent it extends to other cultures, since the English ways of forming indirect requests might be misinterpreted by speakers of other languages (such as French and Russian, as I will show below) where such utterancesmay be understood as a question of the ability to do something, rather than as a request (Thomas, 2006). Holtgraves also proposes that the type of inferential process that is required to interpret the intended meaning of other types of indirectness depends on the degree of ambiguity involved in the utterances. For example, the amount of cognitive effort that is required to recognize non-conventional indirect requests, such as 'it is warm in here', might be less than the amount needed to interpret other types of indirect utterances that involve a high degree of ambiguity. I would agree that some indirect meanings are more ambiguous than others, and thus the degree of inferential processing can vary from one utterance to another. However, the cultural dimension should be taken into consideration in terms of determining the degree of vagueness of indirect meanings. For example, some

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[81] However, Grainger (2011, 173) as a Western researcher, also argues that the "notion of 'conventional' indirectness is not a useful one whether or not the relationship between linguistic forms and intended meaning is conventional is culturally specific".

participants from different cultures might deal with indirectness in different ways, so what might be seen as ambiguous, thus requiring a great deal of inferential work in certain cultures, may be perceived as conventional in others (see Grainger, 2011).

Some theorists (Merkin, 2012; Albatal *et al*, 2002), however, assume that it is simple to interpret the specific meaning of indirectness and identify the difference between directness and indirectness. Merkin (2012), for instance, suggests that directness is simply the opposite of indirectness. She states that direct talk "is frank and clear-cut, whereas indirect communication involves hints, oblique suggestions, or third-party communications" (2012: 115). However, defining these two terms in this simplistic way is inadequate; as there is still no agreement amongst scholars regarding their precise meaning. Al Batal et al. (2002) see indirectness as a matter of degree of explicitness. For them, a direct style "refers to explicitly stating one's feeling, wants and needs; the speaker says what he or she means" (2002: 40) while an indirect style, according to Al Batal et al. (2002), can be explained through the definition suggested by Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey (1988) which refers to "verbal messages that camouflage and conceal speakers' true intentions in terms of their wants, needs, and goals in the discourse situation" (cited in Al Batal et al.2002: 40). However, this definition is similar to the distinction that has been made between direct and indirect speech acts (discussed above), and it therefore suffers from similar weaknesses. Morgan (2009), by contrast, argues that indirectness can be seen as a frame for inferring the multiple meanings of speaker's utterance. Morgan maintains that "indirectness is a typical and predictable strategy in making meanings in everyday interactions" (2009: 283), so it is up to the other participants in the interaction to infer and recognise the assumptions of indirectness. However, Morgan points out that addressees' response might be open to an interpretation of a

lack of cooperation; consequently, social face might be at risk if some participants do not recognise and acknowledge indirectness.

Grainger (2011) argues that, in our attempts to define indirectness, we should take into consideration the possibility of variations of indirectness. Thus, we need to determine which types of utterances can be counted as indirect. For example, linguistically, a distinction has been made between three strategies of directness. These are: direct strategies, conventionally indirect strategies and non-conventional strategies. In the first form, the speaker says what s/he wants directly (for example, 'open the window'); in the second form, the speaker says what s/he wants indirectly (for example, 'Could you possibly open the window?'); whereas, in the third form, the speaker does not say what s/he wants but rather, offers hints, assuming that the hearer will infer his/her intended meaning. For instance, when someone comes into the room and says 'it's really hot in here!' s/he expects that the addressee will 'take up' the hint as a request to open the window. Grainger (2014) argues that when the British, for example, are described as being 'indirect', this refers to conventional formulations such as 'would you mind...?'. For Grainger, 'conventional indirectness' should be dealt with under Brown and Levinson's (1987) notion of negative politeness. Thus, conventionalised formulations are "better described as routine negative politeness while hints and other strategies that are not explicitly expressed in language should be referred to as 'off record'" (Grainger, 2011: 177). Thus, she suggests that the study of indirectness should be restricted to 'off-record' strategies, since they can "allow for more than one interpretation, where at least one meaning has to be arrived at through inference" (2011: 189). I would agree that using the term 'indirectness' should be restricted to the types of utterances that require a certain amount of inferential work. However, such types are not easily identified, as many factors (e.g. cultural background, familiarity amongst participants, situation of the

participants, context and so on) play a role in determining which utterances are classified as 'indirect'. Therefore, in this study, I will confine myself to those types of indirectness which involve a degree of inference and relatively implicit meanings, taking into consideration the different factors that might affect this process (e.g. contextual and cultural factors).

4.3. (In)directness and Politeness: Theory and Practice

Most of the work within the traditional politeness theories, which focuses on issues of indirectness, argues for a positive correlation between indirectness and politeness. Brown and Levinson (1987), for instance, view politeness as a way of avoiding Face Threatening Acts (FTA) (discussed in chapter 3). They argue that speakers tend to use indirect speech-acts rather than the imperative in order to make them less face-threatening. They propose a distinction between four main strategies selected by speakers: a bald on-record strategy, which is a direct imperative; a positive politeness strategy, which "anoints the face of the addressee by indicating that in some respects, S[peaker] wants H[earer]'s wants"; a negative politeness strategy, which "is essentially avoidance-based and consist(s)...in assurances that the speaker...will not interfere with the addressee's freedom of action"; and an off-record strategy, where an FTA is avoided by using implicit or vague forms of speech (Brown and Levinson, 1978: 75). Brown and Levinson rank these strategies according to the degree of politeness of each one, with the off-record strategy the most face-saving, then the negative, followed by the positive and finally the bald on-record. To be polite, therefore, is to avoid Face Threatening Acts. This means that all direct speech-acts are considered to be FTAs, and consequently they are impolite. Brown and Levinson describe these strategies as universal and applicable to all languages.

Leech (1983) also holds the same perspective in respect of equating politeness with indirectness. Although he recognises cultural differences across cultures, he contends that indirect illocutions are more polite than direct ones, as they raise the level of 'optionality' and reduce the force of the illocutions on the hearer. In Leech's words: "Indirect illocutions tend to be more polite (a) because they increase the degree of optionality, and (b) because the more indirect an illocution is, the more diminished and tentative its force tends to be" (Leech, 1983:108). Leech goes further to claim that indirect speech-acts (such as, 'can you pass the salt') are understood as requests rather than questions because "the direct and indirect interpretations of such utterances are respectively their semantic and pragmatic interpretations" (Leech, 1980: 7). Leech seems to be unaware that there are differences between languages and what holds for English does not necessarily hold for all languages. What he fails to take into consideration is that, in some cultures, indirect illocutions can increase "the interpretive demands on the hearer" (Blum-Kulka, 1987: 133). Thus, politeness cannot be clearly associated with indirect illocutions. Furthermore, Leech does not even suspect that indirect speech-acts (which are argued to be often used by English speakers to indicate politeness) may be interpreted differently or even misinterpreted in other languages. If their interpretations do differ, then indirect illocutions cannot be of universal applicability.

Searle (1975) argues that the main motivation for indirectness is to avoid directness, as he equates politeness with indirectness and views directness as 'awkward' in social interaction. In Searle's words, "ordinary conversational requirements of politeness normally make it awkward to issue flat imperative sentences (e.g. leave the room) or explicit performatives (e.g. I order you to leave the room), and we therefore seek to find indirect means to our illocutionary ends (e.g. I wonder if you would mind leaving the room), in directives, politeness is the chief motivation for indirectness" (1975: 64). Therefore, he

considers some forms of direct speech, such as directives as "attempts...by the speaker to get the hearer to do something. They may be very modest 'attempts' as when I invite you to do it or suggest that you do it, or they may be very fierce attempts as when I insist that you do it" (1979: 13). This means that insistence is regarded as an impolite act, since it might restrict the options open to the hearer for doing the thing that the speaker wants.

Thus, directness is traditionally seen as a dispreferred form of speech due to the potential imposition on the hearer. Therefore, indirectness is seen to be used for the following two main reasons: the first, indirectness is used to avoid impositions that might be triggered by using direct speech, which is described as 'awkward' (Searle, 1975); the second and, most importantly, indirectness opens up options for the hearer while directness does not (Leech, 1983). Such claims, which are based on Western views, portray British politeness as being focused more on negative politeness (Grainger et al., 2015) which makes many researchers of cross-cultural politeness take these assumptions for granted and try to show British English culture as being the polar opposite to their own cultures whose politeness, as they believe, is focused on positive politeness (e.g. Sifianou, 1992). However, such claims have been challenged by scholars and researchers (Mills and Kadar, 2011) who argue that we should not suppose that we know what function directness and indirectness play when analysing cultures, as each language may have different functions and evaluations. For example, the claim that indirectness is primarily used because it functions as a mitigating tool implies that it is the only strategy that can be used to do so, whereas there are other ways that can serve as 'mitigations' while using direct forms (as I show in Chapter 7). Another issue concerning directness and indirectness, which is mostly neglected in the linguistic field, is the claim that the main reason for indirectness being more polite than directness is that the former raises the

level of 'optionality' and reduces the force of the illocutions on the hearer (Leech, 1983). Thus this assumption includes presuppositions that:

(1)- Indirectness is polite because it always opens options

Therefore,

(2)- Directness is impolite because it reduces the level of optionality

Thus,

(3)- Reducing options is impolite

That is to say, indirectness opens up options while directness reduces such options and thus it should be considered impolite. This claim is problematic for two main reasons: the first: reducing options is not necessarily seen as impolite in some cultures, such as Arabic, where it is considered appropriate or even required in some situations (e.g. offers, see Grainger et al., 2015).The second: the claim that directness always reduces options and indirectness always raises the level of optionality is inaccurate. In fact, there are some situations where people have the choice not to respond positively to the speaker's direct speech (as I will show in Chapter 7), while they, because of ideological motivations, have fewer or no choices, but answer the speaker positively, even if they speak indirectly. Another issue that is related to indirectness is its relation to politeness: indirectness can be interpreted as being manipulative (Pinker, 2007) or even impolite (Culpeper, 2011).

The conventionalised linguistic practices involved in everyday interactions, and consequently people's choices of particular forms of speech, reflect the fact that the culture normalises certain conventional elements within the cultural or linguistic group to be appropriate and thus acceptable in that social group (Grainger et al., 2015). In other words, directness can be modified or intensified according to the situations and contexts and yet still be seen as appropriate due to certain ideologies about what is conceived as appropriate.

4.4. Universality of the Functions of Indirectness

Many theorists (Thomas, 1995; Levinson, 1983) point out that indirectness can be recognised cross-culturally, as it exists in all cultures. Thomas (1995), for instance, suggests that "indirectness is a universal phenomenon: as far as we know it occurs in all natural languages" (1995: 119). For some theorists (e.g. Leech, 1983), there is a direct link between indirectness and politeness, and between directness and impoliteness. Thus, the politeness principles in human interaction are seen as identical cross-culturally. The situation, however, is less simple than has been assumed by the traditional politeness models. Many researchers (as I show in section 4.6.) have indicated that the correlation between indirectness and politeness is more complicated, because such claims portray generalisations that are not drawn from empirical research, ignoring the differences that might exist between cultures, as native speakers of any language might perceive politeness differently. For example, Brown and Levinson's (1987) claim in respect of associating indirectness with politeness and deeming directness to be a lack of consideration for the hearer's face does not reflect different cultural values, as the politeness principles of human interactions may differ cross-culturally. Wierzbicka (1985), for example, refutes the claims for the universality of politeness, believing that the supposed characteristics of the universal principles of politeness are stereotypically English, as they are based mainly on English culture alone rather than all cultures. Wierzbicka states that such claims "are based on an ethnocentric illusion: it is not people in general who behave in the ways described, it is the speakers of English" (1985: 145). Therefore, there are different perspectives on politeness which may vary from one culture to another. Hence, rather than assuming the universality of the requirements of politeness, it should be verified whether this assumption is valid across cultures. Ogiermann (2009: 190) points out that "[a]lthough Brown and Levinson describe the social implications of speech-acts and the strategies available for performing them as universal, empirical research has shown that the pragmatic

force of syntactically and semantically equivalent utterances differs across languages". Furthermore, as Grainger (2014) argues, although indirectness (particularly 'off-record') is a notion that can be applied to all cultures, what is conventional differs from one culture to another. For example, while indirectness, in general, might be seen to be stereotypically the most polite form in English, it might be considered as impolite in other cultures, such as in Libyan Arabic, where directness is seen as more appropriate to use in everyday interactions, and indirectness is usually used for voicing criticism or offence. It should also be mentioned that what is called 'conventional indirectness' may not be considered as indirect by all English speakers, while an off-record strategy, which is argued to be the most polite form that reduces the threat to the hearer's face, can be used to attack face.[82]

Although Thomas (1995) believes in the occurrence of indirectness (to some degree) universally, she insists that its employment varies across cultures. She suggests that people from different cultural backgrounds differ with regard to their preference for a specific type of speech which might be direct or indirect. Thomas also argues that there seem to be a number of factors that affect individuals' strategy choices in terms of the degree of indirectness they use. However, she asserts that not "all languages/cultures will employ indirectness in the same circumstances" (1995: 119); therefore, the forms of indirectness vary cross-culturally. Sifianou (1992) also argues that the correlation between indirectness and politeness should be perceived from a particular cultural view and, thus, indirectness should not be seen as the most polite form. Sifianou (1992: 119) suggests that:

> Members who use indirect utterances... must share certain knowledge with the other members of their group which guarantees correct interpretation and success. If that is

[82] A more detailed discussion will be provided in Chapter 6.

the case, the process of interpretation is not the lengthier and there are actually no more options really open to the addressee(s) but to conform to the request, than there would have been had the speaker used a different construction.

Hence, Sifianou proposes that we should not assume that indirectness is the most polite form in all cultures, simply because it is perceived to be more polite than other forms within particular cultures (for example, middle class British culture).

Mills (2003: 75) argues that "cultural norms make indirectness the norm within British culture and therefore it is not any more polite in itself than the use of directness in other cultures where indirectness is not the norm" (2003: 75). Thus, we cannot make any assertion for the universality of a positive correlation between indirectness and politeness. In this context, we can say that every human culture has its own aspects of politeness which may be distinguished from other cultures. As Watts (2003) puts it: "In all cultures we will meet forms of social behaviour that we can classify as culturally specific forms of consideration for others" (Watts, 2003: 30). This means that no one specific system of politeness is more polite than other systems; rather, there are different culture-specific concepts and values that make a particular system more or less the norm within a specific culture. Furthermore, politeness is argued to be one motivation for indirectness; other motivations are illustrated in the following section.

4.5. Motivations for the use of indirectness

The most common reason for using indirectness, as discussed above, is politeness. Intuitively, motivations for indirectness cannot be restricted only to politeness. For example, Thomas (1995) suggests that, besides politeness, indirectness can be motivated by one (or more) of the following reasons:

1-Being interesting: people sometimes choose indirectness to convey their messages in a way that reflects their enjoyment of having fun with language. To use Thomas' example, which explains a World War II pilot's description of a Shackleton aircraft as follows:

Example 1

20,000 rivets flying in loose formation (1995: 143)

Thomas argues that the speaker could have chosen to describe the aircraft in a more direct way. This would have guaranteed that his message was conveyed, but in this case it would have been less interesting.

2- Increase the influence of the conveyed message: Thomas proposes that indirectness can increase the effectiveness of the speaker's message which needs some inferential work to interpret its intended meaning. The following example illustrates this point well:

Example 2

The Yemeni female speaker describes to her Yemeni friend the heat in Aden (a Yemeni city) when she visited it (both participants live in the UK):

...I was shocked because of the heat because I was melting

The speaker as a human being in fact could not have literally been melted by the heat of the sun. The speaker could have described the heat in Aden as 'extremely hot'. This would have conveyed her message perfectly, but she chose to convey her message indirectly, because she wanted to increase the force of her utterance.

3- a clash of speaker goals: in this case, indirectness is used in order to achieve two goals. For example, Thomas points out that teachers must evaluate their students' work. If the students' work is not very good, the teacher usually chooses to tell them in an indirect way, to

avoid hurting their feelings. However, indirectness here still seems to be motivated by being polite. Thus, it cannot be count as a distinct motivation.[83]

Thomas' explanation, indeed, adds to our understanding of the reasons for using indirect speech. However, more could be said about why people choose to express themselves indirectly. Pinker et.al. (2008), for example, treat direct speech as a default from which the speaker needs a reason to deviate. They also suggest that indirect speech "allow[s] for plausible deniability" (2008: 833).

That is, speakers avoid explicitness in their speech in order to avoid direct forms, because they seek to avoid full responsibility. However, Terkourafi (2011) suggests that there seem to be at least two problems with Pinker et.al.'s view. One problem is that it is not always the case that directness is the basis of speech and thus indirectness is used only when necessary. For example, Ervin-Tripp (1976) suggests that young children use indirect speech while still at an early age. According to Ervin-Tripp, ''children used statements of condition frequently, possibly because small children do not at first have a well-articulated sense of what they have to do to relieve discomfort, and they rely on their caretakers to find the solution" (1976:42). To illustrate this point, Ervin-Tripp (1976: 42) provides the following examples used by children (1976: 42):

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[83]Although Thomas recognizesthe cultural differences across cultures (as noted in 4.4.), she still treats cultures as homogenous. For example, it is not the case that teachers around the world try to mitigate the impact of telling their students the truth about their sub-standard work. From my experience as a member of an Arab community, for instance, teachers, in general, usually do not hesitate to tell students if their work is not up to standard in a direct way in Arab cultural communities. They do not use any kind of mitigation. This can be attributed to the teachers' belief that the students are responsible for their work. Thus, if the students do not work hard enough, they have to take the consequences.

Example 3

a. My nose is bleeding.

b. I hungry.[84]

In the first example, the child asks for help to stop her/his nose bleeding, while in the other example the child asks for something to eat. The second problem that Terkourafi (2011) identified with this view is that indirectness cannot only be used in situations where people seek deniability. Ervin-Tripp (1976), for instance, suggests that indirect speech can also be used for the sake of abbreviation. She suggests that:

> Hints appear to be prime examples of the kind of communicative abbreviation which appears in high solidarity, closed networks of communication. Unlike the case in task-centred groups in offices and laboratories, where explicitness and clarity have a value because of the focus on task, in families and compatible living groups the personal relationships are central. High frequency of communication results in shared knowledge and the possibility both of highly conventionalized forms which on the surface appear to be indirect, and of novel or humorous directives resting on shared knowledge about norms, beliefs, habits, events, and personal motives (Ervin-Tripp 1976: 44).

The main point that Ervin-Tripp underlines is that the information that the speaker wants to convey to the hearer is not restricted to their immediate context. Rather, it is based on the previous historical background knowledge that they share in order to convey more information than the context involves. Indirectness can play a central role in this process. Ervin-Tripp points out that "the work of the hearer need not begin with the utterance, but that the set or priming of the hearer can be so great that a nod is a directive" (1976:59). Terkourafi (2011) also refuses to treat indirectness as a secondary option. Instead, speakers in some cases choose to speak indirectly when they do not have to. Terkourafi points out that "indirect

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[84] However, this is not the type of indirectness which I attempt to discuss in the current study. My focus is on far more ambiguous meanings.

speech can sometimes be a convenient shorthand for an entire array of meanings that may be too cumbersome, or even impossible, to spell out fully. This is especially true between intimates, when the hearer can be counted on to arrive at a lot of those meanings alone based on his/her shared stock of assumptions with the speaker" (Terkourafi: 2011: 2870). This is to say, due to an assumed shared linguistic repertoire, interlocutors sometimes choose to speak implicitly simply because explicitness is not needed in such situations. In her earlier work, Terkourafi (2005) argues that such assumptions can hold true for members of the same community where certain strategies are conventionalised through sharing similar experiences of using such strategies over time.

Therefore, some theorists argue for discussing indirectness from a cultural perspective. Zhang (2009), for example, suggests, that in Asian cultures, indirectness can be used in everyday interactions in order to maintain harmonious relationships. According to Zhang, different motives for indirectness can be found in Asian cultures, which include: politeness, self-protection, humour, rejection or denial, all of which are used in order to accomplish certain goals (such as to avoid embarrassment, maintain social harmony and so on). However, Grainger (2014) maintains that, although indirectness has functions other than politeness, especially in cross-cultural contexts, even within the same culture, it can be used for politeness in some situations but to insult someone in others. For example, Pinker (2007), Kiesling and Johnson (2010), and Culpeper (2011) suggest that indirectness can be used to express impoliteness and manipulation, because it serves as a mask behind which one can attack face while being deniable. In this context, Culpeper (2011) compares two different views regarding the degree of offence and the form (i.e. direct or indirect) which is employed to cause it. The first view which is adopted by Brown and Levinson (1987) who suggest that there is a positive correlation between the degree of offence and directness, that is, "the more

indirectly the impoliteness is triggered the less the offence taken" (Brown and Levinson 1987; cited by Culpeper, 2011:184). The other view put forward by Leech (1983) links the degree of offence to directness. However, Leech perceives this relationship in a different way. That is, "the more indirectly the impoliteness is triggered the greater the offence taken" (Leech 1983; cited by Culpeper, 2011: 185). Culpeper argues that it is not a matter of directness that determines the degree of offence. Rather, the role of context is the key factor in this process. That is, "[i]f the context is weighing heavily towards an impolite interpretation, then the balance tips towards Leech's hypothesis" (Culpeper, 2011: 185). As such, indirectness can sometimes be more impolite than directness, and thus does not guarantee politeness. However, Grainger (2011: 178) argues that, although "indirectness that is perceived as manipulative and rude is not polite in the sense of first-order politeness", it is still "'technically' polite since it may still be doing facework", since it involves avoidance behaviour. Thus, even insults and manipulation can be regarded as facework.

Indirectness, thus, should not be treated merely as a means used by people in order to indicate politeness towards others, because this view narrows its wide range of applications. It is worth noting that all of the views discussed in this section provide invaluable insights into evaluating the participants' use of indirect speech in communication, and how it can be interpreted differently within a certain context. However, the motivations that lead interactants to speak indirectly in a particular culture (e.g. for the sake of politeness) perhaps do not motivate the use of indirectness in another. Furthermore, the forms of indirectness that are used for the same reason may vary from culture to culture.[85] Therefore, the motives for

[85] For example, indirect requests which are used for the sake of politeness in English might be different from those that are used for the same reason in Zimbabwean culture (as I have shown in 3.5.2.).

employing indirectness, if they exist, should be examined more specifically in each culture separately instead of simply applying the way in which indirectness is stereotypically viewed in English[86] to other cultures, because cultures may have other interpretations of what constitutes indirectness.[87] Thus, indirectness can be argued to serve complex functions which cannot be restricted to politeness alone. In the following section, I will discuss how indirectness may function and be judged as impoliteness.

4.6. Indirectness and Impoliteness

As discussed in 4.3., the traditional politeness theories (e.g. Brown and Levinson, 1987; Leech, 11983) suggest that indirect strategies are more polite than direct ones, deeming 'off-record' the most polite form. However, an off-record strategy (such as hints) can be rated as a less polite form of politeness in some societies (e.g. German), because it forces the hearer to make a cognitive effort to understand the speaker's intended meaning (House, 2012). Furthermore, in some cases, off-record can be viewed as extremely rude (Pinker, 2007). This indicates that off-record strategies should not simply be associated with politeness in all contexts. However, empirical work on investigating the use of indirectness to cause offence has been very rare (Culpeper, 2011).[88] I will now discuss Culpeper's (2011) notion of 'implicational impoliteness' (where impoliteness can be conveyed implicitly through indirect forms of speech) as I will use this as a framework for investigating the relationship between

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[86] However, in English, there are some situations where directness is evaluated positively (as I will show in chapter 7), so directness is not necessarily always associated with rudeness in English.

[87] Although this is not to say that every culture is unique in having its ownlanguage-specific means of expressing indirectness that cannot be found in any other culture.

[88] Here, I mean the kind of indirectness that is used intentionally to cause offence, not the polite forms of indirectness that are misinterpreted, as is the case with off-record strategies that are seen as impolite forms in some cultures (such as Germany), even if used for polite purposes.

indirectness and impoliteness. Culpeper (2011) classifies 'implicational impoliteness' into three main groups. They are:

1-Form-driven: By form-driven, Culpeper is referring to "form-driven triggers for implication/inferential impoliteness except for cases that are conventionally impolite" (2011: 155). This form deals with different phenomena of impoliteness, such as "'insinuation', 'innuendo', 'casting aspersions', 'digs', 'snide comments/remarks', and so on" (2011: 156). Culpeper points out that, despite the differences between these terms, they all still refer to an implicit message which is performed by 'formal surface' which can be interpreted as an insult by particular people. He argues that this type of impoliteness can be explained through the off-record politeness super-strategy which is described by Brown and Levinson, but with two main differences: first, "the inference results in the ascription of impoliteness...and not politeness"; second, it differs in "the degree to which an alternative 'polite' interpretation is possible" (2011: 157).[89]

2- Convention-driven: everyday terms for this form include: 'sarcasm', 'teasing', and certain other terms whose aim is humorous. Culpeper assumes that these terms involve mixed messages which may lead to confusion. That is, "they mix features that point towards a polite interpretation and features that point towards an impolite interpretation" (2011: 165-6). This type involves two main groups:

(a) Internal: "the context projected by part of a behaviour mismatches that projected by another part" (2011: 155). This includes examples that mix conventionalised politeness and conventionalised impoliteness formulae. For instance, to use Culpeper's example, 'could

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[89] It is worth saying that form-driven implicational impoliteness type is one way that can be used in expressing impoliteness in Libyan culture. However, it might be more complicated than Culpeper has supposed, as the participants have more choices to convey their messages implicitly using this strategy, as I show in Chapter 7.

you just fuck off' (2011: 166). So, expressions like 'could you...', which are seen as intrinsically polite forms by traditional politeness theories (e.g. Brown and Levinson), can be used to cause offence in certain contexts.

(b) External: the context projected by behaviour mismatches the context of use (Culpeper, 2011: 155). That is, the literal conventionalised meaning mismatches the speaker's actual meaning, (e.g. sarcasm). In this case, the participants rely on pragmatic meaning to interpret the hidden impolite message behind polite words uttered, as when using 'thank you' sarcastically.

3-Context-driven: the impoliteness that Culpeper is dealing with here includes examples that do not involve mismatches with conventionalised politeness formulae. As such, "impoliteness interpretation is primarily driven by the strong expectations flowing from the context" (2011: 180).[90] Culpeper organises this type into two groups:

a- Unmarked behaviour: "an unmarked (with respect to surface form or semantic content) and unconventionalised behaviour mismatches the context" (Culpeper, 2011: 156). For example, violation of what is socially acceptable can be seen as impolite. For instance, Culpeper (2011) mentions an example in which a mother ordered her daughter to do things which were seen as irritating by the daughter, who regarded herself as being old enough to be responsible for her actions So although it is acceptable to use direct language with children, in such cases, according to Culpeper, it is not considered acceptable.

(b) Absence of behaviour: "the absence of behaviour mismatches the context" (2011: 156). That is, the absence of certain behaviour that is expected to be performed by an

[90] Some examples are provided in Chapter 7.

interlocutor in certain contexts can be perceived as impolite (e.g. keeping silent when expected to talk).

The question that needs to be asked is: why do people choose an implicational impoliteness strategy to indicate impoliteness rather than direct forms? In my view, participants choose this strategy due to one (or more) of the following possible reasons:

1- By using implicational impoliteness, someone can perform face-attacking actions with less fear of retaliation but, if the speaker uses clear, direct impoliteness, they are more likely (in normal circumstances) to receive a strong response by forcing the hearer to react and cause face loss in return. In other words, they are more likely to have face-attack met by face-attack.[91]

2- To avoid being characterised as an impolite person. As Culpeper (2011) points out, there is a tendency to link an individual's behaviour to their character rather than to the situation so, in my view, they avoid direct forms, because these are more obvious than implicational forms for indicating impoliteness.

3- Implicational impoliteness reduces the number of options open to the hearer to defend themselves. For example, if someone says to an individual 'you are a liar', the receiver (in normal circumstances) is more likely to defend themselves, but if the offender uses a general statement and says, for example, 'I know many people who lie all the time' and intends to refer to the hearer, it is more likely that the hearer will not retaliate, even if

[91]However, factors such as power and cultural background should, of course, be taken into account

s/he recognizes that his/her face is being attacked, because in so doing, s/he is admitting that s/he is a liar.[92]

4- Denying the responsibility for impolite behaviour. Implicational impoliteness is open to different interpretations. Thus, the offender can deny the intention of causing damage to the hearer and can attribute this to misunderstanding.[93]

5- Implicational impoliteness can serve as a mask for serious criticism that enables the speaker to avoid potential consequences. This can be illustrated by the interactions between people of different power status, such as superiors and subordinates in the workplace. Humour (as a type of implicational impoliteness), for instance "can... serve as a shield for more serious criticism of a superior and as a cloak for the expression of 'socially risky' opinions by subordinates" (Holmes and Stubbe, 2003: 120). Thus, the person in a subordinate role can convey implicit criticism to the superior with less fear of retribution.

Indirectness, then, is a multifunctional means which can be used for different purposes (polite or impolite), but it can also be neutral (neither polite nor impolite) because explicitness sometimes is simply not needed among interactants in certain situations, due to a shared repertoire.[94] Thus, we cannot simply assume that indirectness is inherently polite, because, even within cultures which are usually classified stereotypically as indirect (such as British English), indirectness can be used to cause offence, while directness can be evaluated

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[92]However, this is not to say that the hearer has no option at all to defend themselves, but they might use the same indirect strategy that is used by the speaker. Furthermore, this strategy seems to be an Arabic culture-specific strategy, as it seems, according to Culpeper's discussion and the data I collected, that it is not used in British English to any extent.

[93] It is worth noting that, in some cases, the hearer does genuinely misunderstand the speaker's intention.

[94]Examples are provided in Chapter 7.

positively in some situations.[95] To this extent, it would be useful to consider some examples from a variety of cultures in order to illustrate how different cultural concepts with regard to politeness can be attributed to the specific cultural norms within each particular culture.

4.6. The Culture-Specificity of (In)directness.

Ogiermann (2009) suggests that people differ in terms of whether they express politeness directly or indirectly in accordance with their belonging to a particular country or nation. She, for instance, associates indirectness differences with the geographical position of the countries, suggesting that direct imperatives are more likely to be used for making requests in Western European counties (such as England and Germany) than in Eastern ones (such as Poland and Russia). Sifianou (1992) also points out that "Greeks tend to use more positive politeness devices than the English, who prefer more negative politeness devices" (1992: 2). Sifianou argues that positive politeness in Greece should not be considered less polite but, rather, should be seen from a culture-specific perspective.

Whereas politeness in English culture is argued to be associated with indirectness, there are many studies which assume that there is no obvious correlation between them in many other cultures where, in fact, politeness is closely related to directness. For instance, Pavlidou (2000) claims that, in Germany, directness is not judged as an impolite feature of behaviour at all but, rather, it is seen as a way of expressing politeness, because for Germans direct speech emphasizes the expression of familiarity and displays respect. Pavlidou argues that "there are numerous ways of attending to the relationship aspect of communication, e.g. phatic communication, redundancy, negative politeness, talk about the relationship itself, and

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[95] Examples will be provided in Chapters 6 and 7.

also strategies of directness which may result in the omission of all the previous strategies. Which way is opted for presumably depends not only on the phase of the conversation, but also on cultural factors" (Pavlidou, 2000: 138). Thus, Pavlidou seems to suggest that directness in Germany should not be considered less polite (as Levinson, 1983 assumes).[96] Rather, it should be seen from a culture-specific perspective, so Germans are polite in a different way due to the different conception of politeness in their culture.

Germany is not an exceptional case. For example, Thomas (2006) also emphasizes the Russian preference for direct speech. She gives a number of examples of Russian imperatives in order to illustrate that certain speech-act types (which might be perceived as impolite in British English) are viewed as polite in Russia. Thomas suggests that, in contrast to the British English, which she suggests has a tendency to use indirect speech-act forms, in Russian society, there is a tendency to use a high degree of directness. Thomas (1983) argues that "polite usage in Russian permits many more direct imperatives than does English" (1983: 36). Thomas (2006) goes on to suggest that English ways of expressing politeness might be misinterpreted by speakers of other languages who have a different conception of politeness. She states that "*can you X* is a highly conventionalized politeness form in British English likely to be interpreted by native speakers as a *request* to do X. But in other languages, French and Russian, for example, the opposite is true" (2006: 35). Such utterances, thus, may be interpreted in different ways in different cultures.

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[96]Levinson (1983) argues for a positive correlation between indirectness and politeness. He supposes that, because some cultures are considered to be more direct than English culture, their speakers are less polite than English speakers. Levinson suggests that "German speakers seem to be significantly more direct, or less polite, in requests and complaints than English speakers" (1983: 376).

Direct forms are also argued to be used widely to express politeness in speech-acts in Korean society. Byon (2006) carried out a survey among Korean informants in order to examine "the link between politeness and the indirectness of speech-acts by analyzing Korean request head act forms" (2006: 247). According to the findings of this empirical study, Byon argues that the concept of politeness in Korean culture is indicated via directness in conversation rather than by indirectness. He claims that this study enabled him to prove "that the *basic directive*, the most direct strategy, is the most frequently used request across all situations". Accordingly "linguistic indirectness did not seem to be a significant factor for Koreans in the communication of politeness" (Byon, 2006: 270). As a consequence, directness in Korean society is less imposing or face-threatening than it might be in English.

Kyong-Ae Yu (2011) goes even further, maintaining that, while imposition is avoided in some cultures (e.g. English), because it is perceived as impolite behaviour, it is preferable action in other cultures (e.g. Korean and Japanese), because "in these cultures, imposition to ask to receive or to do the favour of doing X is a polite act" (2011: 389). According to Yu's research, which aims to investigate the relationship between indirectness and politeness in Korean, English and Hebrew, and examine the link between the two notions cross-culturally, there seems to be some agreement amongst the three language groups with regard to judging the degree of (in)directness of utterances. For example, want statements (such as imperatives) were judged to be the most direct form in the three language groups. However, while they are seen as polite in Korean, in English and Hebrew, they are perceived as impolite strategies. Another different ranking can be found with regard to hints; these strategies are perceived as the most indirect form in the three languages. However, while, in English and Hebrew, hints are seen as the most polite strategy for requests, they are seen as impolite strategies in Korean. There appears then to be some language specific variability in the forms and

meanings of indirectness among the three cultures; thus, "the ratings of the politeness scale reveal cross-cultural variations" (Yu, 2011: 399).

In a similar way, Wierzbicka (1985) carried out research into the ways in which Polish and English people perceive politeness by examining the differences between the two languages in performing speech acts. She suggests that, unlike English, in Polish society, "the bare imperative is used on a much wider scale" (Wierzbicka, 1985: 150). The differences between the two languages, according to Wierzbicka, should be associated with culture-specific factors: whereas English ways of speaking reflect values characteristic of English culture, Polish ways of speaking reflect the values and features of Polish culture. Wierzbicka states that "it is very important to try to link language-specific norms of interaction with specific cultural values, such as autonomy of the individual and anti-dogmaticism in Anglo-Saxon culture or cordiality and warmth in Polish culture" (Wierzbicka, 1985: 184). Polish ways of speaking therefore should not be characterized as showing "dogmatism, lack of consideration for other people, inflexibility, a tendency to be bossy, a tendency to interfere, and so on" (Wierzbicka, 1985: 170), as they might be seen from an English speaker's point of view.

Blum-Kulka (1987) also stresses the Israeli preference for directness, which seems to be evaluated positively in Israeli Hebrew. She argues that "the general level of directness in Israeli society is probably relatively very high" (Blum-Kulka, 1995; cited in Wierzbicka, 2003: 89). The ranking of the strategies of politeness developed by Brown and Levinson are also not evident in the case of Hebrew, as has been pointed out by Blum-Kulka (1992), when she conducted a survey among Israeli respondents of the ways in which Israeli people view politeness. Kampf and Blum-Kulka (2011) presume that the Israeli style of speaking derives

from their religious cultural background; that is, the dugri speaking style,[97] which is characterised as being "assertive, direct and sincere" (2011: 87). Israelis not only place a high value on clarity and genuineness which derive from dugri speech but also expect others to react positively to dugri comments in order to be seen as "strong and forthright" members of the Israeli community who "accept dugri talk" (Katriel, 1986: 47).

A study carried out by Matsumoto (1988) aimed to show that the notion of imposition in Brown and Levinson's model does not apply to Japanese culture. She argues that, in Japanese society, a request such as "Doozo yoroshiku onegaishimasu", which literally means "I ask you to please treat me well/take care of me" (1988: 409), is used by speakers to show deference towards the addressee. By using such utterances, according to Matsumoto, the speakers wish to "humble themselves and place themselves in a lower position. This is certainly typical of deferential behaviour" (1988: 410). Matsumoto further argues that the Japanese do not attempt to avoid or mitigate impositions; rather, impositions are considered to be something which enhances the face of the addressee. Matsumoto suggests that "deferent impositions can enhance the good self-image (that is, the 'face') of the addressee" (1988: 410). Thus, in Japan imposition is not seen as something to be avoided.

All of these studies provide invaluable insights that make it possible to assess how the participants may evaluate polite behaviour in social interactions, and how politeness can be recognised and interpreted differently according to the participants' background within a certain society. However, as Pan (2011) argues, the majority of politeness research, which

[97]Further discussion about Israeli styles of speech is provided in 3.7.5.

focuses on issues of indirectness, started with researchers applying an Anglo-American model of politeness across cultures, and raising critical issues with regard to politeness theories, particularly Brown and Levinson's (1987) work. Most researchers, as I have shown above, claim that indirectness cannot be the most frequent form of politeness in all cultures, suggesting that directness can function as polite behaviour in many societies. Although all of the researchers whose work I have discussed here have recognised these differences, empirical research into categorising different types of speech acts according to native speakers' ratings of the degree of directness has been rare. With the possible exceptions of Blum-Kulka (1987) and Yu (2011), none of these researchers even suspects that people of different cultures and languages may perceive the indirectness of certain speech-act types differently; thus, we cannot make any claims for certain types of speech-act as being direct or indirect in all cultures simply because a distinction between these types has been made in a particular culture. Mills (2003: 142) points out that "we should not assume that a declarative or order is the only way that directness can be expressed, simply because that is the way it is often expressed in English". For example, although indirectness is one of the main features which is often used to describe many Asian languages (such as Chinese and Japanese), culture-specific ways of expressing politeness in these cultures might differ from those for English; as Storti puts it, "The notorious indirectness of Asians may to a certain extent be nothing more than our inability to recognise Asian-style directness when we see it" (Storti, cited in Harris Bond et al., 2000: 48-49).[98]

[98]Furthermore, most researchers discuss one type of speech act (usually requests) and then generalise the results to other types of speech act.

Another problem with these studies is that there seems to be a general assumption that societies can be simply classified as direct and indirect at a stereotypical level; thus, whereas some cultures are seen as indirect (such as English), others are judged as direct (such as Russian). This leads us into the danger of treating cultures as homogeneous (Eelen, 2001; Mills, 2003; Mills and Kadar, 2011).[99] Such an assumption, which is adopted by some cross-cultural and intercultural theorists of politeness, may run certain risks: "the risk of overlooking variation, the risk of ignoring contested norms...the risk of stereotyping and the risk of reducing participants' behaviour to essential differences in culture" (Grainger, 2011: 179). Mills and Kadar (2011) argue that stereotypes can account for the norms of only the dominant groups (such as the middle class in British English society). Mills and Kadar draw attention to the fact that, within every culture, there exists variation regarding what is regarded as polite or impolite behaviour. This is in contrast with the traditional politeness theories which assume the possibility of making generalisations about what constitutes polite and impolite norms across a particular language group or culture, as if cultures were homogeneous. To illustrate this, Mills and Kadar claim that speakers in a certain culture may feel enabled to speak in a way which might be considered over-polite. For instance, within the UK (which is usually classified as using indirect forms), the working class may not accept particular linguistic norms which are linked with middle-class speech norms. Therefore, as I mentioned in the previous chapter, "what we need to be aware of when we analyse the speech norms stereotypically associated with particular cultures is that not all members of that culture will speak according to the stereotype, and that whilst useful sometimes as an indication of tendencies within the culture as a whole, these stereotypical qualities are

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[99]See section 3.5. for a detailed discussion about the danger of treating cultures at stereotypical level.

generally associated only with particular groups within that society" (Mills and Kadar, 2011: 42). However, Mills and Kadar do not assume that there is nothing that can be said about cultural norms or across cultures. Mills and Kadar (2011: 34) describe the role of culture as follows:

> The relationship between culture and politeness can in fact be studied but should be approached with some caution. We believe that it is possible to critically study politeness in [...cultural] settings, provided that one refrains from generalising statements based on the languages practices of certain dominant groups or stereotypes of those groups. In other words, the dominant politeness norms of these areas can be faithfully represented as long as it is not claimed that they are absolute norms, and as long as other "norms" are discussed in relation to them.

Grainger (2011) points out, also quite rightly, that people's interactional style is related to their background as individuals from certain groups. This cultural background can explain, at least partly, the common interactional behaviour of people who belong to the same background. Thus, according to Grainger, we need to talk about intercultural communication if we wish to explain the problem of misunderstandings that are generated from interactions between people of different cultural experiences. We also need to be aware of the evaluations we make about the specific behaviour of such people.

Furthermore, as Mills and Kadar (2011: 29) argue, "the degree of (in)directness is an ideological judgement that often serves the maintenance of superiority". For example, in relation to the English, the Chinese are viewed as more indirect while, when compared to the Japanese, the Chinese are represented as more direct. Thus, "Chinese culture as a whole cannot be classified as unequivocally direct or indirect" (Mills and Kadar, 2011: 31), which raises the question of the validity of classifying other cultures as being either direct or indirect. Furthermore, directness and indirectness should not be assumed to have the same

concepts and functions which are applicable in all cultures, because they might have other interpretations. Thus, while indirectness, in general, might be conventionalised as being associated with politeness in British English, for example, it might be evaluated negatively as being associated with impoliteness and causing deliberate offence in other cultures (e.g. Libyan Arabic, as I show in Chapters 6 and 7).

As the focus of this study is on Arabic and English directness and indirectness in relation to politeness and impoliteness, it is worth investigating the employment of (in)direct speech in Arabic in order to show how different cultural backgrounds (alongside other factors) can play a significant role in determining the general motivations and forms of (in)directness used in a particular culture.

4.8. (In)directness and Politeness in Arabic

In this section, I will discuss the notion of directness and indirectness and examine its relation to politeness in Arabic. Thus, I present a range of Arabic studies, mostly carried out by Arab researchers, which examine politeness among Arabic speakers.

4.8.1. Studies on Linguistic Politeness in Arabic Dialects.

Compared to the literature on the different linguistic politeness strategies in Western languages (Brown and Levinson 1987; Leech 1983; Wierzbicka 1985, 1991; Holtgraves 1997; Pavlidou 2000; Ogiermann 2009) and East Asian cultures (Fukushima, 2002; Pan 2011; Haugh and Obana, 2011), studies that have dealt with a variety of Arabic dialects are still relatively few in number. However, most of the studies on Arabic linguistic strategies of politeness can be categorised into three main types. The first is the kind of research that outlines the socio-cultural aspects of a specific Arab society and sheds light on the linguistic

forms that are used in this community without comparing them with other cultures or language groups (for example, Nureddeen 2008; Jebahi 2010). The second is the type of study that analyses and compares Arabic linguistic forms of politeness with those existing in other cultures, particularly English (for example, Al-Oqaily and Tawalbeh 2012; Albatal et al., 2002). The third is the kind of research that explores the linguistic strategies employed by Arab learners of English (for example, Al-Ali and Alawneh 2010). Thus, in this section, I discuss research on politeness in some of the Arabic dialects focusing on Sudanese, Tunisian, Saudi Arabian, Jordanian, Moroccan, and Egyptian.

4.8.1.1. Sudanese

Nureddeen (2008) carried out a study to explore the main types of apology strategies that are used in Sudanese Arabic, and sheds light on the pragmatic rules that govern the use of Sudanese dialect. The study argues that Sudanese speakers tend to orient towards positive politeness, since most of the responses to her Discourse Completion Test (DCT) indicate that the informants chose the strategies that enabled them to avoid their own positive face from being damaged. For example, the Sudanese respondents preferred to mitigate the impact of a direct apology by avoiding explicit face damaging strategies and choosing explanations that can provide an excuse or avoidance of self-blame (e.g. humour, minimisation, denial, and so on), rather than expressing an apology directly (e.g. taking responsibility, intensification and promising forbearance). Thus, Nureddeen argues that the Sudanese informants, in general, tended to avoid explicit apologies and prefer implicit strategies.

4.8.1.2. Tunisian

Jebahi's (2011) research examined apology strategies in Tunisian Arabic by investigating the use of the apology by Tunisian university students. The results showed that the Tunisian

informants generally tend to apologise explicitly by using expressions of remorse in three main situations. These are where the offended party is: (1) a close friend; (2) older; or (3) has the power to affect the offender's future. A second strategy that is often used is when the respondents deny responsibility or shift responsibility to other causes. There are also other less widely used strategies which include: self-blame, promise of repair, blaming the victim, invoking Allah's name, intensification, minimisation, and humour. What seems to be suggested in this study is that Tunisians' strategy choices in performing apologies vary from explicit and direct forms to implicit and deniable forms. Thus, there is no one type of apology that is used in every situation (e.g. direct or indirect); instead there are various factors that influence the speaker's choice.

4.8.1.3. Saudi Arabian

Al-Oqaily and Tawalbeh's (2012) study examined the relationship between (in)directness and politeness in making requests among Saudi Arabian native speakers and American English native speakers. This study indicated that, while the Saudi informants' strategy choices vary from one situation to another, according to the factors of power and distance, their American counterparts tended to use conventional indirectness in most situations. Furthermore, the study revealed that the degree and purpose of directness can vary cross-culturally. For example, direct requests are used by Americans when asking their friends to make non-weighty requests, whereas directness is the preferred choice among the Saudis to indicate affiliation, closeness and group-connectedness.

4.8.1.4. Jordanian

Al-Ali and Alawneh (2010) investigated the linguistic devices employed by Jordanian learners of English when making requests in English compared to those used by American

English speakers. They wanted to find out whether their cultural pragmatic knowledge had any influence on their request behaviour in L2. The study showed that Jordanian learners' choices were significantly influenced by three main factors: (1) language ability; (2) L1 pragmatic knowledge; and (3) L1 cultural norms transfer. For example, the requests performed by Jordanian speakers reflect their pragmatic knowledge in making requests in their L1, which are usually employed in an indirect way (e.g. long-winded request structures) in order to minimise the degree of imposition of a direct request on the interlocutor, whereas their American counterparts tended to use more direct forms. The results of this study may indicate that L2 learners transfer their cultural pragmatic knowledge from their L1, and thus their behaviour might be affected by the transfer of their first language knowledge to the target language.

4.8.1.5. Moroccan

Alaoui (2011) explored the various ways in which politeness can be indicated in the speech acts of requests, offers and thanking in Moroccan Arabic as compared to English. Alaoui suggested that, since such acts involve potential face-damage to the speaker and the hearer, the speakers in English and Arabic attempt to reduce the imposition of these acts on their own face as well as on their interlocutor's face. However, the study showed interesting differences in performing speech acts in both languages. For example, while the English respondents preferred modal and question devices, the Moroccans' favoured devices were politeness markers (such as "llah yxellik", "llah yrdi _lik" (God bless you) and "afak" (God give you good health, with the ellipsis of "God"), which are regarded as very polite forms that can be used to minimise the impact of imperatives. It is interesting to note that "[t]raditionally in Moroccan, the offer has to be repeated and declined a number of times before it is accepted. Accepting from the first offer is regarded as bad form, so S/H goes through this ritualized

behaviour where each one has a defined role" (Alaoui, 2011: 13). What is noteworthy is that the strategy of refusing an offer several times before being accepted is not restricted to Moroccan Arabic, since this phenomenon can also be found in many other Arab societies.[100]

4.8.1.6. Egyptian

The main aim of Al Batal, El Bakary and Nelson's (2002) study is to examine the similarities and differences between (in)directness in Egyptian Arabic and American English communication styles. Their research focused on making refusals by the two groups and asked whether Egyptians and Americans make them in a similar way. Al Batal et al. mention that most studies on the Arabic communication style suggest that Arab culture is high context (as pointed out in the previous chapter), and thus more indirect; while American culture is considered to be low context and thus less indirect. However, the results of Al Batal et al.'s study do not support this claim. On the contrary, they suggest that, overall, the strategies and frequency regarding making refusals in Egypt and the US are similar. Furthermore, the Egyptian male informants used more direct forms when making refusals to people of either higher or lower status than the American ones. In research conducted by the same researchers (1993), in which they examine American and Egyptian compliment strategies, the findings reveal that Egyptians tend to be more direct in offering compliments than expected, but this is not to say that the Egyptians only use direct strategies.[101] Nelson et al. (1993) point out that:

> These findings are not totally consistent with other studies that suggest that Arabs communicate indirectly (Cohen, 1987; Katriel, 1986). Both the qualitative and quantitative data in this study point to the directness with which Egyptians

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[100] Examples of Libyan Arabic offers will be provided in Chapter 7

[101] We should be aware of the type of indirectness that is used in every culture might be different from others. For example, the indirect forms which are seen as conventional in Arab culture might differ from the conventional indirect forms that are usually used in British culture (for further explanation, see 4.5.).

compliment. The conflicting findings between previous studies and this study suggest the danger of over-generalizing across speech acts and situations. It is probable that Egyptians use both direct and indirect communication depending on the context (Nelson et al. 1993: 311).

According to the above studies, we can conclude that, despite the many similarities among Arabic dialects, there are some differences between the favoured strategy choices preferred in these societies. However, "the dialect is by no means considered a force or an agent itself. Rather, the agent is the culture which is manifested through the dialect" (Jebahi, 2010: 648). The findings of these studies should not be generalised to all other Arabic-speaking societies or even to all of the various cultural groups that constitute each society. For example, Al Batal et al. (2002) draw attention to the problem of stereotyping Arabic communication style as indirect, because the possibility of cross-cultural misunderstandings might arise. That is, "non-Arabs, who have been taught that Arabs use indirect communication, may perceive Arabs as impolite, rude, or arrogant if they use direct strategies in refusing or in other face-threatening acts when, in fact, they are behaving appropriately according to the norms and rules with which they were socialized" (Al Batal et al., 2002: 50). However, although the results of these studies have provided a good insight into Arabic politeness, for example, they have demonstrated the strategies used by Arabic speakers in realising and reacting to a specific speech act (e.g. requests), such a method does not deal well with Arabic politeness at a discursive level, because the data collected through this method are primarily based on invented examples (e.g. DCT), rather than real situations, and thus fall prey to ideological generalisations. On the whole, Arab societies should not be seen as homogeneous as they are variable, diverse and complex just like all other cultures. Thus, it is unwise to make generalisations about Arabic-speaking people simply because they speak the same language.

4.9. Conclusion.

This chapter has examined the notions of directness and indirectness and their complex relation to politeness and impoliteness. By defining 'directness' and 'indirectness' at the beginning of this chapter, it is obvious that reaching a consensus among scholars regarding their meanings is not possible. The main research question that has been addressed throughout this chapter is to what extent is there a correlation between indirectness and politeness and directness and impoliteness. The discussion of this chapter has clearly illustrated the point that directness and indirectness cannot always be seen as indexing the same values. Both forms may index different values according to the contexts and different expectations in such contexts in different cultures. Directness can be preferred in certain contexts, but dispreferred in others. Indirectness can be used politely in some situations, but it can also be seen as indicative of impoliteness in others.[102] However, we should not treat directness as a default from which speakers deviate, as it can simply be used because there is no need for explicitness due to the fact that the same linguistic repertoire is shared by the interlocutors. Thus, more explicit forms are preferred. This raised the question of the possibility of treating (in)directness in a similar way cross-culturally; as their concept and interpretations can differ from one culture to another according to the purposes behind using this strategy. By examining the notions of (in)directness in a number of cultures, I have shown that cultures cannot simply be classified as direct or indirect, because this narrows the complexity that occurs in communicational styles in every society. Some Arabic studies have also been examined in this chapter. However, the Arab researchers, like most politeness researchers, have failed to move away from an Anglo-Saxon perspective on indirectness, and have merely applied this to Arabic dialects. This is not to attempt to negate the importance of

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[102] More detailed discussion is provided in Chapter 6 and 7.

their work, but (in)directness can have other applications that are not restricted to the possibility of employing speech acts according to the Anglo-Saxon model. Furthermore, politeness norms which are built on stereotypical and ideological beliefs do not reflect actual usage. Thus, they need to be examined at a discursive level through data derived from real situations rather than invented examples, as I will discuss in the following chapter.

Chapter 5

Methodology

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I present the methodological framework for this study, taking into consideration the discussion outlined in the previous chapters. Based on the literature review in chapter 2, I explain why I am using a discursive approach model as a framework for this study in section 5.2., and then, in section 5.3., I assess the methods that are often used for linguistic research data, before explaining and justifying the methods I have used in the current research. Following this, I present the procedures for the data collection through discussing the pilot studies that I carried out, in section 5.4. In the final part of this chapter, I will describe the methods I used to gather the data for this study.

5.2. Methodological Framework

As I have already discussed in chapters 2 and 3, most previous studies on politeness have been heavily influenced by Brown and Levinson's model; as a consequence, "their approach to politeness reflects basically Anglo-Saxon perceptions of politeness phenomenon in many respects" (Pan, 2011: 73). Since the current study draws on data from Libyan Arabic and British English, it seems that such a framework cannot serve as a theoretical basis for a cross-cultural comparison,[103] and thus it would be inappropriate to take their model as a framework for the present work, which involves an empirical study using Arabic and British informants.[104] To this extent, it would be useful to consider another politeness model that can provide a sufficient explanation for (im)politeness phenomena in Arabic and English cultures.

[103] Although Brown and Levinson's (1987) study concerns cross-cultural interactions, their work is inadequate for such comparisons (see the problems with Brown and Levinson's approach in Chapter 2).
[104] A discussion of the criticism of the politeness theories has been provided in Chapter 2.

Discursive approaches seem to provide a good analytical framework for cross-cultural comparisons for a number of reasons.[105] For example, this approach refutes the idea that some linguistic forms are inherently polite or impolite in themselves and, rather, assumes that the situation and context play a key role in the process of understanding or evaluating (im)politeness. For this reason, this model uses only empirical data, rather than invented examples. In addition, this approach takes the evaluations of the interactants into consideration in the analysis process; thus, it is more accurate than simply depending on the analyst's gut reaction.

In this thesis I take a discursive approach to (im)politeness to be an approach that maps onto Mills' (2003) account. It is an approach that is concerned with individuals' dynamic evaluations of (im)politeness. Thus, the most important aspect of the discursive approach to my own research is its capacity to take into consideration interactants' different interpretations of (im)politeness and (in)directness. Such an approach complicates the process of analysing (im)politeness and (in)directness. It also makes it possible to account for the complexity and diversity of cultures. Thus, it is more adequate for understanding cross-cultural communication, where participants may have different evaluations of what constitutes (im)politeness and (in)directness. However, I extended the discursive approach to (im)politeness by adding an indexicality dimension. My purpose in doing so is to suggest that such a methodology can explain the social meanings that participants attribute to certain linguistic practices, thus, interpreting the values generated by using (in)directness.

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[105]A discussion has been provided in Chapter 2.

5.3. Methods of Data Collection: Qualitative vs. Quantitative Research Methods

One of the most complex issues in the field of linguistics is what can be considered data for analysis (Mills, 2003). Linguists often use either a quantitative or qualitative paradigm (Angouri, 2010). Rasinger (2010) explains that qualitative research is different from quantitative in that the former "is concerned with structures and patterns and *how* something is," (2010: 52) while quantitative analysis "focuses on *how much* or *how many* there is/are of a particular characteristic or item" (2010: 52, original emphasis). Here, I illustrate the main differences between qualitative and quantitative research.

5.3.1. Quantitative Research Method

Quantitative research, according to Hennink et al. (2011), aims to measure a research issue, and then generalises its findings to the whole community by using a set of research methods, such as questionnaires and role-play discussions. Therefore, a large number of informants are required when using such methods. Some scholars (e.g. Mills, 2003) have identified problems with the quantitative method which make it less suitable for politeness data analysis. For example, Mills (2003) argues that it is difficult to assume that the experimental environments into which the informants are put are representative of real situations; thus their behaviour cannot be generalised to their actual behaviour in real life or to that of their whole community. She also draws attention to the problem of assuming instead that specific types of language items (such as those used for compliments) have static meanings, which is largely assumed by quantitative research (e.g. Brown and Levinson, 1987; Holmes, 1995), suggesting instead that "particular language items are always multifunctional" (2003: 43).

Quantitative research is also criticised for making generalisations about certain behaviour within a specific community or language group (Eelen, 2001; Mills, 2003). Eelen

(2001), for instance, argues that quantitative analysis is based on the notion that a particular type of behaviour constitutes the social norms within a community, ignoring any potential variability within this community.Another problem that has been identified by Mills (2003) with regard to the quantitative method, particularly questionnaires (such as DCT) and role play exercises, is that people's answers usually do not match their actual performance or response in real life, especially if the topic is related to politeness. Referring to Spencer's Oatey's (2000) edited collection as an example of the difficulties associated with making cross-cultural comparisons, Mills (2003: 44) explains that people "may feel that they are responding as cultural representatives and that they are obliged to present positive images of themselves and their culture". Thus, according to Mills, we must be careful when we use such methods for analysis.

5.3.2. Qualitative Research Method

In contrast, qualitative research aims "to examine people's experiences in detail, by using a specific set of research methods such as in-depth interviews, focus group discussion...." (Hennink et al., 2011: 8-9). A small number of participants are required "as the purpose is to achieve depth of information (rather than breadth)" (Hennink et al., 2011: 17). Qualitative research, therefore, is widely used in examining issues which focus on the participants' views, interpretations and experiences about an event or behaviour in their natural settings. Denzin and Lincoln (2008), for example, point out that qualitative research "involves an interpretive naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring to them"(Denzin and Lincoln, 2008: 4). Qualitative analysis, however, suffers from certain problems. For example, Fukushima (2002) refers to Beebe and Takahashi's (1989) explanation of some of the limitations of the qualitative method (e.g.

naturally occurring data), such as the data's bias towards the linguists' preference for people with whom they are familiar(e.g. friends and relatives).[106] However, despite such a limitation, the qualitative method "is more willing to question the possibility of generalizing from its finding" (Mills, 2003: 44). Therefore, qualitative research is usually recommended for exploring people's beliefs about complex topics. Since (im)politeness is a very complicated issue, using this type of research will be useful for improving our evaluation of this phenomenon.[107]

Taking into consideration the difficulties associated with data collection, I decided to use a mixed methods approach, which can be defined "as research in which the investigator collects and analyzes data, integrates the findings, and draws inferences using both qualitative and quantitative approaches or methods in a single study or a program of inquiry" (Tashakkori and Creswell, 2007: 4), in order to overcome the limitations of each method. Many researchers (Greene et al. 1989; Tashakkori and Tedllie, 2003, 2010) have shed light on the benefits of combining methodologies. Tashakkori and Tedllie, (2010), for example, point out that a mixed methods approach can provide "ways to answer research questions that could not be answered in any other way" (2010). Greene et al. (1989) also argue that:

> All methods have inherent biases and limitations, so use of only one method to assess a given phenomenon will inevitably yield biased and limited results. However, when two or more methods that have offsetting biases are used to assess a given phenomenon and the results of these methods converge or corroborate one another, then the validity of inquiry findings is enhanced (Greene et al., 1989: 256).

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[106]The same problem was also identified by Mills (2003) who argues that "[o]ne of the difficulties [with qualitative method] is that often the people drawn on belong to the same linguistic community as the linguist, so there are numerous studies of the language of university students, of middle-class white people, and fewer studies of other groups of people" (2003: 44).

[107]Other problems with the qualitative method are discussed below.

Therefore, the data presented in this study are based on various sources, and fall into two main groups: written and oral. The written portion of the data was collected via questionnaires. The oral part of the data consists of naturally occurring interactions, including recorded data, a log-book and focus group interactions.

5.4. Pilot Study

5.4.1. Focus Group

I conducted three focus group discussions with a number of Arab female informants as part of my initial research; each group included three to eight participants and the whole discussions were recorded after obtaining the full, prior permission of the participants to do so. However, I faced some problems which made the discussions I led unsuitable for the present study. One of these problems was that there were very few participants in some of the groups, and thus "it is difficult to .... gain a diversity of perspectives" (Hennink *et al*, 2011: 152).[108] Another was that my participants were unable to give clear answers to some questions, which were important for my research. For example, when I asked a question like 'can you give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you indirectly?', the participants said that they had many examples but could not think of any at that moment. Because of the importance of such questions for my study, and because it was difficult for the informants to answer some questions instantly, I opted for a written questionnaire which provided sufficient time for the participants to answer the questions.

[108]A sufficient number of participants were invited to take a part in the discussion, but some failed toattend.

5.4.2. Written Questionnaires

The first versions of the Arabic and English questionnaires were pilot-tested with five informants from both cultures. Both questionnaires involved virtually the same questions (see the initial Arabic and English Questionnaires in Appendices H and I). The questionnaires were written in English and then translated into Arabic for the Arab informants. However, some of the English informants gave general answers to certain questions (see the initial English Questionnaire in Appendix I, p. 210). For example, there was a question about situations in which the informant usually uses indirectness. Such a question seemed to be unclear and general, which made some informants answer as follows: 'all situations' or 'according to the context', so it was unclear whether these situations and contexts the informants referred to were restricted only to the degree of indirectness needed for politeness or if they also involved impolite situations. For this reason, it was important to make my question clearer and more specific to enable the informants to specify the contexts and situations in which they usually use indirectness, so the question was modified to 'do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?' Specifying the purpose of the questions helped the informants to give more explicit answers, which made these more appropriate for the final versions of the questionnaire.[109]

5.5. Data for the Study of Directness and Indirectness

5.5.1. Written Questionnaires

The main advantage of written questionnaires is the possibility of distributing them to a large number of informants and, thus, collecting a large amount of data. As a consequence, this method guarantees that the data are not biased towards the researcher's preference of family,

[109] This is not to say that the Arabic and English questionnaires were completely different. Most of the questions were still the same.

friends and relatives. Moreover, the informants are not put under pressure of time to complete the questionnaire. For these reasons, I decided to use this method as one way of collecting data for this study. I constructed a questionnaire in both Arabic and English in order to examine the concept of directness and indirectness and their relation to politeness and impoliteness in both languages. The idea behind this questionnaire was to investigate whether directness and indirectness are viewed differently in the two cultures and whether Libyans and British tend to use these strategies to indicate politeness or impoliteness. This information was completed by a number of informants of both sexes, different educational backgrounds and ages.

5.5.1.1. The Informants

The informants of my questionnaires were all randomly chosen male and female informants who spoke Libyan Arabic and British English. I decided not to restrict myself to a specific cultural group (say, students); and used a random selection of informants of different ages and educational backgrounds in order to avoid my study being centred on a specific cultural group. Thus, this study is more likely to reflect the diversity and variability within the Libyan and British cultures and present various perspectives of the different cultural groups. This allows me to suggest what might be considered polite or impolite in relation to directness and indirectness in these two cultures. Mills and Kadar (2011) argue that:

> [B]y analysing a wide range of data, for example, analysing working-class and middle-class people, young and old, it may be possible to make generalisations about the resources available to these particular groups and their tendencies to use particular forms to indicate politeness or impoliteness. Furthermore, we will able to discuss the way that, in the process of being polite or impolite, individuals construct their identities in relation to what are perceived to be group and social norms (Mills and Kadar, 2011: 43).

Some of my friends helped me to collect the Arabic data by distributing the questionnaire to their friends, relatives and colleagues of both sexes, of varying social and educational background, age and so on. Thus, the data are not restricted only to my own community (e.g. my relatives, friends, and so on). With regard to the English data, members of a trade union and a community neighbourhood group agreed to help me to collect data. The informants had a wide range of social background, age and educational level.

The informants were asked to supply information about their age, gender, and the country from which they came (Table 5.1 quantifies this information). It is worth bearing in mind that the Libyan informants of the study came from different parts of Libya. Although some of them live in England now, the questionnaires were given only to individuals whose residence is temporary (2 years or less) and excluded those who have been living in the UK for a long time (more than 2 years). Hence, their answers are more likely to be particular to Libyan Arabic culture. All of the Libyan respondents speak Libyan Arabic as a mother tongue, and Modern Standard Arabic, which they learnt at school. Over 100 questionnaires were given out, but I randomly considered only 25 Arabic completed forms and used the same number of English forms.

Table 5.1The social profile of the data.

Nationality	Libyan	British
Age: 17-35	14	11
36-57	11	14
Female	12	13
Male	13	12

5.5.1.2. The Data

Both the Arabic and English questionnaires contained seven questions. The questionnaire asked the participants, both Arab and English, to describe what politeness meant to them: in other words, to define the concept of politeness. It also asked them to describe the meaning of impoliteness and to define indirectness.[110] There was also a question about whether there is a relationship between speaking indirectly and being polite or impolite. The informants were asked to describe situations in which they usually use indirect speech (this question was amended for the English informants, as noted above). There was also a question about whether Libyan people tend to use indirect speech to indicate politeness or impoliteness in the Arabic version of the questionnaire, and for the English respondents the question was whether British people, in general, tend to use directness or indirectness more. There was also a question about whether the informants, both Libyan and British, themselves prefer to use direct or indirect forms of speech. Then, the informants were required to give an example of a real situation in which they spoke, or someone spoke to them, indirectly, providing as much detail as possible. It is worth noting that in, this question, the informants were not asked to specify whether these situations or events had either a positive or negative effect on them. The idea behind this was to give the informants the opportunity to give answers which reflect on the use of indirect speech in their own cultures (see the Arabic Questionnaire in Appendix A, pp. 3-36; and the modified English Questionnaire in Appendix B, pp. 38-69).[111]

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[110]It should be mentioned that the translation equivalent word for 'indirectness' in Arabic does not share the same meaning as in English because it cannot be understood as something related to speech so, in the Arabic version of the questionnaire, I used the phrase 'indirect speech' to refer to 'indirectness'.

[111]Like Arabic in all Arab countries, Arabic in Libya is diglossic in nature, so Libyans speak the Libyan Arabic dialect in their demotic communication. However, the Arabic questionnaire was written in 'Fusha فصحى'; apart from the last question, the informants were not asked to produce responses in their everyday language, because this would not affect their answers' validity. The responses to the last question, however, were required to be written in 'Ammiyya' because the informants were asked to describe events of everyday life in which they obviously used their everyday language, so it seemed closer to

Despite the advantages of using written questionnaires, I was aware of the limitations of this method, particularly for the last question regarding the examples of the situations the informants were asked to provide. For example, one might argue that such situations are not natural, so they may lack the characteristics of actual conversations, such as the length of the interaction, sequencing, turn-taking, the number of exchanges among the participants and so on. Wolfson (1989: 182), for example, asks, "how much can we assume that written responses are representative of spoken ones? ... can we hope that short, decontextualized written segments are comparable to the longer routines typical of actual interaction?". Therefore, I had to consider how I could overcome the limitation of the use of written data. In order to achieve this goal, I asked my informants to give examples of spoken situations that had happened to them in real life. Thus, the informants were not restricted to invented situations, say, as in the case of the discourse completion task (DCT) questionnaires, where the informants are required to respond to invented and sometimes artificial situations which they might have never encountered (e.g. Fukushima 2002; Sifianou, 1992). Furthermore, the informants were asked to provide extensive details about the situations they mention, so there was no limitation on space to respond to this question. Not only did this give the respondents the opportunity to supply very detailed information about what happened, and how and where the actions took place, but also to include their personal assessments and feelings regarding these situations and their reactions to them. Thus, although such examples may not be rich in contextual detail, they can provide insights into what the respondents consider to be relevant to them in such situations. However, this is not to say that written questionnaires are sufficient for this study; after all, written data cannot be

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naturally occurring communication and more realistic to ask the Libyan informants to respond in their everyday spoken language, although it is not common to use this version in writing.

representative of natural, spontaneous conversation. For this reason, I decided to use naturally occurring interactions taking place in the real environments of everyday communication between intimates as a further data source for this research.

5.5.2. Naturally Occurring Data

The collection of naturally occurring data seems to be the most highly recommended method in linguistic research, due to its advantages, which have been described by Cohen (1996: 391-92) as follows:

1- The data are spontaneous.
2- The data reflect what the speakers say rather than what they think they would say.
3- The speakers are reacting to a natural situation rather than to a contrived and possibly unfamiliar situation.
4- The communicative event has real-world consequences.
5- The event may be a source of rich pragmatic structures.

However, Cohen (1996: 392) has also identified some problems with naturally occurring data, which include:

1- The speech act being studied may not occur naturally very often.
2- Proficiency and gender may be difficult to control.
3- Collecting and analysing the data are time-consuming.[112]
4- The data may not yield enough or any examples of target items.
5- The use of recording equipment may be intrusive.
6- The use of note taking as a complement to or in lieu of taping relies on memory

[112]When comparing two different languages, as in the case of my research, these difficulties are doubled due to the need for word-by-word translation, equivalent translation into the target language and then the transcription of both versions which is very time-consuming.

Despite these difficulties, I chose to use this method, because it is still seen as a prime way of understanding people's beliefs and experiences. I used two main ways to collect naturally occurring data: recorded data, and log-book data.[113]

5.5.2.1. Recorded Data

I used a recorder to record several casual conversations in both Arabic and English. The Arab participants who were recorded included friends, family members, gatherings of relatives, etc.[114] I was present when most of the Arabic recordings were made, and participated in some of them. With regard to the English data, I had assistance from some English people who agreed to help me to record the data for my research. The English participants who were recorded also included friends or family members. I was not present during any of these English recordings. In all cases, full and prior consent to record the data was obtained and all data presented have been anonymised. Whenever I collected the data, the participants involved in the interactions were not informed about the topic of my research to ensure that their interactions remained natural and spontaneous.

5.5.2.2. Log-book Data

I faced some difficulties in trying to obtain naturally occurring data by recording conversations.[115] However, in order to tackle these difficulties and obtain the advantages of spontaneous and natural interactions, which were not recorded, I used Grainger's (2011) method of analysis which is based on naturally occurring conversations. Following Grainger,

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[113]Following Culpeper (2011), I also used examples of indirectness the participants provided on the questionnaires as naturalistic data, as well as some examples that the focus group informants mentioned.

[114] It should be noted that my study does not aim to investigate interactions between Arabic and English speakers, so both the Arabic and English data were recorded separately

[115] One of these difficulties was that there were fewer situations than I hoped to collect. Another was that I failed to record everything so, on many occasions, I missed very useful examples for my study which took place either between me and another participant or among others in front of me.

whenever I realised that an incident might be relevant to my research, I wrote it down immediately in a log book, "so that accuracy of sequencing and content would be preserved" (Grainger, 2011: 181). Although some aspects of the conversations were missed using this method (e.g. tone of voice, hesitation, and so on), as Grainger notes, incidental interactions can be a useful source of data in the case of my research, because off-record indirectness, as Grainger (2011) argues, is unpredictable; therefore, there would be no guarantee that, at any particular time, the individuals, specifically Arabs, would use indirect speech in the way that I want to focus on in this study.

One might argue that the judgments of such situations might be biased towards the researcher's view, and thus may not reflect Libyan people's perspectives. I would argue that, as a native Arabic speaker, my evaluation of these situations, particularly those in which I was one of the participants, did not take place in a vacuum, because I was affected by the social norms and conventions of Libyan society in evaluating such situations. Moreover, being simultaneously participant and observer on such occasions was of great benefit, because I was well aware of the details that might not be of any importance for ordinary individuals (such as the length of the interactions, turn-taking, the number of exchanges among the participants, and so on). However, since the interactions were recorded from memory, I could not recall every single word uttered. Considering such limitations of this method, I used it only for limited examples which I felt could serve as a strong indication of the use of direct and indirect speech in Libyan Arabic culture. With regard to the English data, some English people agreed to help me to note down incidents, which they felt were relevant to directness or indirectness, in a log book. I also used some incidents which took place between some English people and myself in certain situations, which I felt to be useful for my research.

5.5.3. Focus Groups

Focus groups are defined "as a research technique that collects data through group interaction in a topic determined by the researcher" (Morgan, 1996: 130). This method of research is seen as a major social research tool (Edley and Litosseliti, 2010) and the "hallmark of focus groups is their explicit use of group interaction to produce data and insights that would be less accessible without the interaction found in a group" (Morgan, 1997: 2). Many researchers (Hennink et al., 2010; Bertrand et al., 1992; Kitzinger, 1994) draw attention to the benefits that can be gained through using this technique for data collection. For example, Hennink et al. (2010: 158) argue that the use of focus groups is very beneficial in that "when there is effective interaction between participants, each participant is essentially probing other participants for more information, explanation, or justification about the topic discussed, simply by entering into a discussion together. This is extremely beneficial for the research as it provides a deeper understanding of the issues and produces richer data as a result". Another advantage of this method is that dynamic interactions between participants can "reach parts that other methods cannot reach" (Kitzinger, 1994: 107). As such, they "often reveal levels of understanding that remain untapped by other data collection techniques" (Doody et al., 2013: 266). However, like all other methods, focus groups interaction suffers from certain limitations. For instance, Edley and Litosseliti, (2010) draw attention to Suchman and Brigitte's description of the consequences of the misunderstandings that may arise if the interviewer "fails to appreciate the encounter as a stretch of dialogue" (Edley and Litosseliti, 2010: 159). They argue that, when the interviewer uses fixed questions or repeatedly asks the same question, he/she "will usually infer that their previous responses are wrong or

inappropriate" (Edley and Litosseliti, 2010: 159).[116] Taking the advantages and shortcomings of the focus group method into consideration, I conducted three focus group discussions: two were for Libyan Arab informants (one for males and the other for females) and one was for the English informants (males and females combined).[117] From the recordings, I selected certain sections which I felt would serve the purpose of my study. In order to make it clearer and easier to follow, I labelled every section with a certain function of directness or indirectness, as it was discussed by the participants. All of the discussions were recorded after obtaining the full and prior permission of the participants to do so and the data presented were anonymised (see Appendix J, p. 211).

I conducted a focus group discussion with a number of Libyan Arab female informants in the UK as part of my research (see Appendix C, pp. 72-129). I invited ten females to join the group but only seven did so. The participants in the study came from different parts of Libya, and their residence in the UK ranged from 10 days to 2 years. I excluded those who had been living in the UK for a long time. Hence, as I mentioned in Section 5.5.1.1., their answers are more likely to be particular to Libyan Arabic culture. I recorded a 59:31 minute interaction and the participants who took part in my discussion included one relative, friends, and friends of friends, most of whom were well-educated. Their ages range from 25 to 59 years old. I labelled the individuals who were presented in the discussion as follows: H: 25 years old; A: 30 years old; S: 34; M: 33 years old; F: 42 years old; N: 45 years old; R: 59 years old; and Zainab: myself.

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[116] Above all, the interactions between the focus group participants, as Hennink *et al.* (2011) point out, is the best way to obtain various points of view, which provide a deep understanding of the topic of my study.

[117] For cultural reasons, it was difficult for me to include Arab males and females in the same discussion. Therefore, a separate focus group was conducted for each group.

The focus group discussion for male Arab informants was conducted by a male assistant on my behalf (see Appendix D, pp. 130-175).[118] Six male informants were invited to take a part in the group. The male participants of the focus group also came from different parts of Libya. I recorded a 42:31 minute interaction and the participants who took part in my discussion included friends, colleagues and neighbours, all of whom were well-educated, with ages ranging from 30 to 51 years old. I labelled the individuals who were present at the discussion as follows: F: 51 years old; R: 34 years old; M: 37 years old; N: 30 years old; S: 45 years old; Z: 43 years old; and A: my assistant.

I also carried out a focus group discussion with a number of British participants who were native English speakers as part of my research (see Appendix E, pp. 176-189). They were five females and one male who took part in the group. As in the case for all of the recordings in this study, the discussion was recorded after obtaining the full and prior permission of the participants to do so and the data presented have been anonymised. I recorded an approximately 22 minute interaction and the participants who took part in my discussion were all primary school teachers, with ages ranging from 24 to 56 years old. I labelled the individuals who were present at the discussion as follows: R: 24 years old; D: 26 years old; K: 34 years old; J: 43 years old; M: 45 years old; P: 56 years old and Zainab: myself.

[118]Again, for cultural reasons, I could not conduct the focus group for males myself. However, the issues raised during the male group's discussion were similar to those raised during the other discussions.

5.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have attempted to provide a methodological basis for this study and shed light on the issues to be discussed in the next chapters. I reviewed the different methods of data collection (qualitative and quantitative) and decided to use mixed methods in order to "strengthen the validity of inquiry results" (Greene et al., 1989: 256). I also explained some aspects of this research, such as the participants and procedures for data gathering. Using the data I collected, I conducted analyses that will be described in the following chapters.

Chapter 6

Data Analysis: Questionnaires and Focus Group

6.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I investigate the concept and interpretations of directness and indirectness in relation to politeness and impoliteness in both Arabic and English, by examining data collected via questionnaires and focus groups. The main research question that is posed in this chapter is: is (in)directness perceived differently in Arab and English cultures? The aim of this chapter, thus, is to highlight the main ideological and cultural motivations that affect the interactants' choices in communication in terms of directness and indirectness in each community. It also aims to highlight the positive and negative values that directness and indirectness may *indirectly* index in each community. I start the chapter by analysing the questionnaire data, through discussing the answers which were provided by the informants, both Arab and English. In section 6.2.1., I investigate the native speakers' conception of politeness and impoliteness by discussing the definitions they provided for both terms. I then move on, in section 6.2.2., to discussing the native speakers' conception of indirectness, through examining how the informants defined this term, its relation to politeness and impoliteness, the informants' preference for either direct or indirect forms, and the situations in which indirectness is usually used. In section 6.2.3., I provide an overview of the examples which were provided by my questionnaire informants. Following this, in section 6.2.4., I provide a summary of the questionnaire analysis. Then, in section 6.3., I analyse the focus group data for both the Arabic and English, by organising them according to the informants' responses, into 6 categories. In section 6.4, I provide concluding remarks about the focus group discussions, and conclude the whole chapter.

6.2. Questionnaire Analysis

6.2.1. Native Speakers' Concept of Politeness and Impoliteness

On the questionnaire (see Appendices A and B for the Arabic and English questionnaires respectively), the answers to the first and second questions concerning the concept of politeness and impoliteness (1- Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means? and 2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?) were diverse, as expected, as there is no agreement even among scholars about the precise meaning of these terms (see section, Chapter 1). This reflects the fact that, despite the importance of politeness during social interactions, and although people can evaluate the behaviour of others as being polite or impolite, the exact conceptions of 'politeness' and 'impoliteness' appear to be very difficult. Sifianou (1992) attributes this problem to two main factors: first, the abstract nature of such terms makes them 'very tricky'; and, second, such concepts are not restricted to verbal behaviour alone. However, the difficulty with defining politeness and impoliteness can also be attributed to other factors which affect the informants' choices, such as sex, educational and cultural background, age, social class, and so on. The English informants defined politeness and impoliteness more clearly than the Libyans and their definitions were narrower than the Arabic ones. There was a greater consensus among them about the concept of politeness and impoliteness than among the Libyan informants. However, both the Arab and English informants offered broad answers in terms of the definition of politeness and impoliteness.

6.2.1.1. Definitions of Politeness

The major similarity between the Libyan and English informants is that politeness appears to be highly valued by both groups. However, although consideration for others' feelings is an important aspect of politeness in both societies, the English informants, as I have mentioned,

provided clearer definitions. For them, consideration towards others can be indicated by conforming to expectations, conventions and social norms and emphasizing the expression of good manners including the display of respect, courtesy, patience, tolerance, and the use of standard forms such as 'please', 'sorry' and 'thanks' in appropriate situations (see the English participants' answers in Appendix B, pp. 38-69). The Libyan informants also included consideration for other people as indicating good manners, but expanded the definitions of the concept of politeness to include honesty, truthfulness, respect for older people, and indexing the morality generated from the teachings of Islam (which can be attributed to religious dominance in Libyan society). No English participant mentioned such behaviour as indicative of politeness (see the Arab participants' answers in Appendix A pp. 3-36). Another interesting difference between the Libyans and British English is that some Libyan informants considered politeness as behaviour that should be taught and acquired at home through parental teaching.

Another difference that should be noted is that the English participants emphasized the importance of using polite expressions such as 'please', 'sorry' and 'thank you' to indicate apologies or gratitude. These terms were not only seen as an important element to indicate politeness, but that their absence might be seen as rude or impolite. This justifies Culpeper's (2011) claim that such items are generally considered to be the icons of English politeness; thus, they are frequent in every-day interactions in English society. However, no Libyan informant mentioned such examples to indicate polite behaviour. This is not because these items are never used in social life in Libyan society (although they are used less frequently than by the English), but because the Libyans do not seem to appreciate such expressions to the same degree, especially in family settings. For example, in one of the English recorded conversations I collected for this research, which took place among

members of the same family (a mother with two sons) lasting about 37:54 minutes, apologies and gratitude expressions occurred about thirteen times (6 for sorry, 5 for please and 2 for thanks and thank you [one of the latter used as sarcasm, so it was not counted]).[119] On the other hand, in three separate Arabic recorded conversations (lasting about 53 minutes in total), which also took place among people who belong to three different families, none of these items were expressed.[120] It should be noted that all of the conversations, both Arabic and English, took place either at lunch time or tea time, so they occur in similar situations. Agha (2007) provides an explanation for such phenomenon by suggesting that, in such cases, the social effects of a given language can be linked to specific semiotic displays that yield from semiotic encounters which are made according to "a particular sign-phenomenon or communicative process connects persons to each other" (Agha, 2007: 10).[121] As a result, only individuals who have the requisite cultural and historical background are able to recognise the association between certain forms of speech and their cultural values (e.g. good vs. bad speech), because they are socialized with such distinctions, while it is difficult for those who lack these requisites to recognise these distinctions. Such a process creates what is known as 'linguistic ideologies', which play a significant role in judging certain behaviour to be acceptable in a given community.[122] That is, "[s]peakers of languages develop habits and conventions which tend to be constructed and evaluated as "correct" by dominant groups"

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[119]However, as Coulmas (1981) suggests, the meaning and meaningfulness of such expressions can be affected by their routine usage, as they might be "perceived as hackneyed expressions having lost their expressiveness. They do not lack meaning in a strict sense altogether...[but] frequency of occurrence and meaningfulness are inversely related" (Coulmas, 1981: 4).

[120]In familial contexts in Libyan society, people tend to employ informality so, because such terms (e.g. please and thank you) may reflect formality and social distance, they are usually avoided in family settings.

[121] The social effects of language can tell us something about the interlocutors, such as their status, gender, class, education, social groups and so on. Such social effects which, according to Agha (2007), are mediated by linguistic (such as oral or printed speech) and non-linguistic (such as gesture and clothing) features, are evaluated according to the situation or context.

[122] See section 1.4. for a discussion of linguistic ideologies.

(Grainger et al., 2015: 45). Therefore, "a framework relative to which the interactional appropriateness of a particular usage as well as its consequences or entailment...are understood in any given culture" (Agha, 2007: 63). Thus, whereas gratitude and apology expressions might be seen to be dispreferred, especially in familial contexts in Libyan society, in English, the use of such expressions is preferred or even required.

6.2.1.2. Definitions of Impoliteness

As I mentioned above, the definitions of impoliteness by the Libyan and English informants were diverse. However, despite the agreement between the two groups regarding their view of impoliteness as a form of lack of consideration for others, the English informants' definitions in general, as in the case of defining politeness, were shorter and more straightforward. For them, impoliteness was indicated by rudeness, ignoring other's needs and feelings, selfishness, disrespectfulness and breaking conventions, both verbal (such as not saying 'please' or 'thank you') and non-verbal (such as pushing into a queue). It is interesting to mention that several English informants' definitions of impoliteness (10 out of 25) were simply the opposite of their definitions of politeness, as illustrated in table (6.1). This might be attributed to the notion that lacking polite behaviour might be judged as impolite.[123]

The Libyan informants also considered impoliteness as a kind of lack of consideration for others' feelings, but offered more varied, broader definitions of the concept of impoliteness than did the English. Impolite behaviour for them includes cheating, lying,

[123]However, although impoliteness might be seen as opposite to politeness, as Eelen (2001) argues, "they are not equal in evaluative scope: where impolite(ness) always implies a negative qualification, polite(ness) can be positive as well as negative" (Eelen, 2001: 37), such as when it is used insincerely, or as a mask to achieve particular goals.

dishonesty, failing to respect older people and any offensive behaviour both verbal (such as speaking loudly, interrupting others, swearing and so on) and non-verbal (such as pushing into a queue). However, the main difference between the Libyan and English informants is that many of the former, as in the case of defining politeness, considered not conforming to Islamic teachings as a form of impolite behaviour, which again, shows the significant role that religion plays in Libyan society.[124] Another difference between the two groups is that some of the Libyan participants perceived impoliteness as a result of a bad upbringing. Thus, impolite behaviour is not seen as something related only to the person themselves, but also to the social environment in which they live or to which they belong.

6.2.2. Native Speakers' Concept of Indirectness

6.2.2.1. Definitions of Indirectness

The definitions of indirectness that were provided by both my Arab and English informants were restricted to the type of speech that requires a degree of inferential work, such as hints. In other words, the meaning of the speech is implied rather than expressed. No English or Libyan informant considered what is linguistically known as 'conventional indirectness' as a form of indirect speech.[125] However, my informants' answers clearly illustrate that the concept of indirectness seems to be different in these two societies. Furthermore, the

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[124]Eelen (2001) points out that religion is usually described as a minor cultural factor in cultural research. However, in Libyan society, it seems to play an important role in everyday social life, and my informants' definitions reflect its importance.

[125]Such conventional indirectness is actually seen as a direct form of speech. For example, one English informant (see Questionnaire B-2, p. 4) considers such a type as direct, pointing out that 'I prefer to use directness for simple communications – for example, "could you pass me that knife?'However, in answering question (7), where my informants were asked to provide some examples about indirectness, some of the English informants gave examples where 'conventional indirectness' were described as *less* direct than other forms.

examples provided by the informants indicating indirectness (see question 7 on the questionnaire) illustrate this difference.

Despite the diversity of the answers, there seems to be some consensus among the English participants about the concept of indirectness. For them, indirectness can be defined in the following ways, which are illustrated in Table (6.2) below:

TABLE (6.1): English Informants' Definitions of Indirectness

Type of Indirectness Mentioned by the Informants	The informants' Definitions
1- Ambiguity	1- Evasive or vague.
	2- Being evasive.
	3- Communicating in a way that allows ambiguity.
	4- Evasion.
	5- Subtleness
2- Going around the Main Point	1- Talking around the issue, not getting to the point.
	2- Someone who skirts around the main point they want to make.
	3- Going round the house.
	4- When people skirt around what they are trying to say.
3- Avoiding Directness	1- A way of communicating in which there is an expectation that saying the thing directly is somehow rude or impolite.
	2- Using wordings which avoid explicit judgements or conclusions.
	3- Where you don't speak your mind
	4- Not being direct in approaching something.
	5- Avoiding unpleasant truths by hinting/evading rather than going straight to the point.
	6- When someone is not straightforward in their request or comment.
4- Implying Meanings	1- Any speech act whose function isn't that of the format expectations of the syntax.
	2- Not saying literally what you mean.
	3- Not saying what you mean.

	4- Not saying exactly what you mean straight away.
	5- When meaning is derived as an implicature rather than (only) from the proposition expressed in an utterance. Also when communication is covert.
	6- Responding to a question through circumlocution; avoiding saying explicitly what can be implied - either to avoid hurting the feelings of the other; or to avoid having to take sides or adopt a position.
	7- Implying something without going right out and saying it.
5- Avoiding Eye Contact	1- Avoiding eye contact.
	2- Speaking to someone and not looking at them while you speak.
6- Informal Addressing	1- Not addressing the person formally.

As these definitions clearly illustrate, there is no single way to define indirectness, as it seems not possible to agree on a specific meaning. However, there are some concepts among these definitions which are more common than others within the linguistic field. For example, 'implying meanings' and 'ambiguity' are the main characteristics that are usually used to describe indirectness, while others, such as 'avoiding eye contact', or 'not addressing people formally', are less common or unusual. Some of the British informants (6 out of the 25) perceived indirectness as simply the opposite of directness which, in turn, was seen as dispreferred behaviour that must be avoided. It is also interesting to note that some of the definitions that were used to describe indirectness were themselves indirect (such as going round the houses, skirting around the truth, and so on). These expressions' literal meanings, as Coulmas (1981) points out, are erased and thus turn into idioms, as "their meanings often are quite different from the sums of their parts, and cannot be properly explained without reference to the conditions of their use" (Coulmas, 1981: 5). The frequency of employing such idiomatic expressions in a given language, Coulmas argues, makes them routine

expressions which have a special status in a certain social community, and are shared by its members. For this reason, Coulmas sheds light on the importance of the cultural knowledge of routines for acquiring a foreign language, because focusing on the meaning of individual words does not guarantee a full understanding of a certain routine.[126] Evidence for this assumption is presented by Coulmas (1981), who refers to a Japanese scholar's description of the difficulty he experienced when dealing with the phrase 'please help yourself', which had an unpleasant effect on him during his stay in the United States before he had become used to English conversation. Before recognising that it simply means 'please take what you wish without hesitation', he translated it literally as 'nobody else will help you', which he saw as impolite.

The Libyan informants also gave varied responses concerning the concept of indirectness. These variations reflect the different concepts of indirectness in these two cultures. However, there seems to be some agreement among the Libyan informants about this concept. For them, indirectness can be defined in the following ways:

Libyan Arabic Informants' Definitions of Indirectness

1- Conveying Hidden Impolite Messages

		اللمز ʔallamz insinuation	و wa and	1- بالهمز bilhamz prod with
1- A	Prodding and insinuation.			

		اللمز ʔallamz insinuation	و wa and	الهمز ʔalhamz prod	و wa and	2- الاشارات ʔalʔiʃara:t signs
2- B	Innuendo, prodding and insinuation.					

[126]See Section 3.5. for a detailed discussion about mastering foreign languages and intercultural misunderstandings.

1- يمكن تعريفه بما يعرف في اللهجة الليبية "بضرب" المعاني	
ʔalmaʕa:nj bidʕarb ʔallibi:a ʔallahʒa fj juʕraf bima taʕri:fuh jumkin	
the meaning beating the libyan the dialect in known that it define possible	
3- C	It can be defined as what is known in Libyan dialect as 'making meanings'.[127]

2- هو "تلقيح" أو ضرب معاني توصيل كلمة سيئة بدون قصد	
talqi:ħ ʔaw dˁarb maʕa:nj tawsˁi:l kalmia saji:ʔa bidu:n qasˁd	
it vaccinating or beating meanings conveying word bad without intention	
4- D	It is 'injecting' or 'making meanings', conveying bad words unintentionally

	أو بطريقة غير مباشرة.
	ʔaw bitˁaari:qa ɣajr muba:ʃera
	or way with not direct
D-	or in an indirect way.

3- هو انك تقول كلام مش كويس علي شخص انت متعمد	
hwa ʔinnik tqu:l kala:m miʃ kwai:s ʕala ʃaχsˁ ʔinta mitʕammid	
it you that say you speech not good on person you deliberate	
5- E	When you say something bad to someone deliberately,

	بس تقول فيه بطريقة غير مباشرة (تلقيح).
	bas tqu:l fi:h bitˁaari:qa ɣajr muba:ʃera talqi:ħ
	but say you it in way with not direct vaccinating
E-	but you say it in an indirect way.

1- هو اللف و الدوران حول الموضوع أو الوخز بالابر زي ما نقولوا	
hwa ʔallaf wa ʔaddawara:n ʔalmawdˁu:ʕ ʔaw ʔalwaχz bilʔibar zaj ma nqulu:	
it turning and spinning around the subject or injecting needles like as say we	
6- F	It is turning around the issue or 'pricking needles' as we say {in our society}.

7- الكلام الغير المباشر الذي يجرح الشخص سواء كان فيه أو لا.	
ʔalkal:m ʔalɣajr ʔalmuba:ʃer ʔallaj jaʒraħ ʔaʃʃaχsˁ sawaʔ ka:n fi:h ʔaw la	
the speech the not the direct that he hurt person the same if him in or not	
7- G	Indirect speech is the type of speech that hurts people, whether it is true or not.

هذا الكلام لا يخرج الا من شخص جبان و متكبر و صاحب فتنة.	
hada ʔalkala:m la jaχruʒ ʔilla min ʃaχsˁ ʒaba:n wa mutakabbir wa sˁa:ħib fitna	
this the speech no out except person from coward and arrogant and of discord	
G-	This kind of speech is used only by a cowardly, arrogant and mischievous person.

[127] An idiom used to describe a hidden impolite message intended to be hurting.

2- Generalizing Meanings

1- هو	مخاطبة	الاشخاص	من دون	ان	تنادي	الشخص	باسمه	
hwa	muχatˤabat	ʔalʔaʃʃχa:sˤ	du:n min	ʔan	tuna:dj	ʔaʃʃaχsˤ	biʔismah	
it	speaking	the persons	without	that	call you	the person	his name with	
1- H	It is talking to people in general without mentioning the target's name							

و	تقول	له	ماتريد	(توجيه	الكلام	للشخص	دون
wa	taqu:l	lah	ma:turi:d	tawʒi:h	ʔalkala:m	liʃʃaχsˤ	du:n
and	say you	him to	want you what	directing	the speech	the person to	without
H-	and you say what you want to him/her (when you mean a specific person without						

	(اسمه	ذكر
	ʔismih	ðikr
	His name	mentioning
H-	mentioning their name).	

	شخصيا.	يمسك	و	للعامة	يقال	ما	2- هو
	ʃaχsˤian	jamussak	wa	lilʕa:mmah	juqa:l	ma	hwa
	personally	you touch it	and	general to	said it	that	it
2- I	Speaking in general while the comment is targeted at one person.						

	الانسان	عن	يصدر	كلام	هو	المباشر	الغير	الكلام - 3
	ʔalʔinsa:n	ʕan	jasˤdur	kala:m	hwa	ʔalmuba:ʃer	ʔalʁair	ʔalkala:m
	the human	from	come it	speech	it	the direct	the not	the speech
3- J	Indirect speech is employed by somebody							

	منه	الغرض	و	بعينه	لشخص	أن	دون	لكن	و
	minh	ʔalʁarad^{ˤ}	wa	biʕajnih	liʃaχsˤ	juwaʒʒih	ʔan	du:n	lakin	wa
	it from	the purpose	and	specific	person to	direct	that	without	but	and
J-	without specifying names, and is used									

	به	مقصود	هو	لمن	الكلام	مضمون	يصل	أن
	bihi	maqsˤu:d	hwa	liman	ʔalkala:m	madˤmu:n	jasˤil	ʔan
	it with	meant it	he	who to	the speech	content	reach it	that
J-	to convey the content of the speech to a specific person.							

	الاحراج.	لمنع	عامة	بصفة	يعمم	الذي	الكلام	4- هو
	ʔalʔiħra:ʒ	limanʕ	ʕa:mmat	bisˤifah	juʕammam	ʔallaðj	ʔalkala:m	hwa
	the embarrassment	prevent to	generally	in	generalize	that	the speech	it
4- K	Speaking in general to avoid embarrassing others							

	بالكلام	المعني	الشخص	مع	مشاكل	يسبب	أو
	bilkala:m	ʔalmaʕna	ʔaʃʃaχsˤ	maʕa	maʃa:kil	jusabbib	ʔaw
	the speech with	the meaning	the person	with	problems	cause it	or
K-	or to avoid causing problems with the person to whom the comment is targeted.						

5-هو الكلام تقصد به شخص معين و تتغاضى أن تقوله	
taqu:lahu ʔan tataɤadˁa wa muʕajn ʃaχsˁ bih tuqsˁud ʔalkala:m hwa	
say you that prefer you and certain person it with mean you the speech it	
5- L	Speaking in general when you mean a specific person to avoid

	له مباشرة خوفا من احراجه
	lahu muba:ʃaratan χawfan min ʔiħra:ʒih
	him to directly afraid of him embarrassing
L-	embarrassing them.

6- الكلام الغير المباشر هو الكلام الذي لا يكون حسب	
ʔalkala:m ʔalɤajr ʔalmuba:ʃer hwa ʔalkala:m ʔallaðj la jaku:n ħasab	
the speech the not the direct it the speech that no be according	
6- M	Indirect speech is the kind of speech that is different from

المعنى مباشر و في العادة يكون كلام عام.	
ʔalmaʕna muba:ʃer wa fj ʔalʕadah jak:n kala:m ʕa:m	
the meaning direct and in the usually be specch general	
M-	direct speech and it is usually general speech.

7- تبليغ يلي يدور في راسك للي قاعد قدامك من غير	
tabli:ɤ jallj jadu:r fj ra:sik lillj qa:ʕid qiddamik min ɤajr	
conveying that turning in your head who to sitting you front without not	
7- N	Conveying the meaning you want to a certain person without

ما يفهمها حد من اللي حداك.	
ma jafhamha had min ʔillj ħada:k	
not it understand he one from who you beside	
N-	being understood by others in the gathering.

3- Implying Meanings

1- هو الكلام الذي ظاهره لا يعني باطنه بمعنى ان الكلام	
ʔalkal:m hwa ʔallaðj ðˁa:hirah la jaʕnj bimaʕnaba:tˁinah ʔan ʔalkalam	
the speech it that the speech literal no mean it its content mean that the speech	
1- O	When meaning is different from the words uttered, in other words,

الغير مباشر يجب على المستمع ان يفهمه بدون التركيز	
ʔalɤajr muba:ʃer jaʒib ʕala ʔalmustamiʕ ʔan jafhamah bidu:n ʔattarki:z	
the not direct must on the hearer that it understand he without the focusing	
O-	the hearer should understand the implied meaning without focusing

على معاني مفردات الجمل المنطوقة من قبل المتحدث.	
ʕala maʕa:nj mufrada:t ʔalʒumal ʔalmantu:qa min qibal ʔalmutaħaddiθ	
on meanings vocabulary the sentences the uttered from by The speaker	
O-	on the words uttered by the speaker.

2- هو توجيه كلام لشخص و المراد منه معنى اخر.	
ʔa:χar maʕna minh ʔalmura:d wa liʃaχsˁ kala:m tawʒi:h hwa	
another meaning it from the wanted and person to speech it direct it	
2- P	Not saying what you mean.

3- هو كلام مبطن يقال بشكل معين يراد منه معنى اخر	
ʔa:χar maʕna minh jura:d muʕajan biʃakil juqa:l mubatˁan kala:m hwa	
another meaning it from wanted specific form in said it hidden speech it	
3- Q	It is an implied speech which said in a specific way to convey a different meaning

قد يكون معنى طيب او معنى سئ.	
qad jaku:n maʕna tˁaji:b ʔaw maʕna saj?	
may be meaning nice or meaning bad	
Q-	which might be good or bad.

4- هو الذي يراد به معنى اخر غير الذي نطق به	
ʔallaðj hwa jurad bihi maʕna ʔa:χar ɣajr ʔallaðj nutˁiqa bih	
that it wanted it with meaning another not that uttered it with	
4- R	The meaning is different from the words uttered

او كلام يقصد به المعنى البعيد.	
ʔaw kala:m juqsˁad bihi ʔalmaʕna ʔalbaʕi:d	
or speech meant it with the meaning the far	
R-	or it can be a distant meaning.

5- كلام منقول او ملمح به لشخص معين أو مقصود.	
kala:m manqu:l ʔaw mulammah bih liʃaχsˁ muʕajan ʔaw maqsu:d	
speech conveyed or hinted it with person to specific or meant	
5- S	To send hints or hidden messages to a specific person.

6- حسب اعتقادي الكلام غير المباشر هو انك تريد ان تقول	
ħasab ʔiʕtiqa:dj ʔalkala:m ɣajr ʔalmuba:ʃer hwa ʔannak turi:d ʔan taqu:l	
according my opinion the speech not the direct it you that want you that say	
6- T	In my opinion indirect speech is when you

فكرة أو أمر و لا تريد ان تجرح به الشخص الذي أمامك	
fikra ʔaw ʔamr wa la turi:d ʔan tuʒrah bih ʔaʃʃχsˁ ʔallaðj ʔamamak	
idea or thing and no want you that hurt it with the person that you front	
T-	say something and you do not want to hurt the person meant by the speech,

فتلجأ الى امثلة و اسماء اخرى.	
fatalʒaʔ ʔila ʔamθilah wa ʔasama:ʔ ʔauχra	
use so to examples and names other	
T-	so you use some examples and other names.

7- يمكن التعرف على الكلام الغير مباشر من ضمن سياق الكلام.	
ʔalkala:m si:a:q dˁimni min muba:ʃer ʔalʁajr ʔalkala:m ʕala ʔattaʕarruf jumkin	
the speech context according from direct the not the speech to the knowing might	
7- U	Indirect speech can be understood through the context of the speech

و موضوع المحادثة	
wa mawdʕu:ʕ ʔalmuħa:daθah	
and topic the speech	
U-	and the topic of the conversation.

8- من خلال حديث الشخص في بعض المواقف باعطاء امثلة	
min χila:l ħadi:θ ʔaʃʃaχsˁ fj baʕdˁ ʔalmawa:qif bi ʔiʕtˁaʔ ʔamθilah	
from through speech the person some in the situations giving with examples	
8- V	Through the person's speech in certain contexts by giving examples

لتوجيه المتلقي الى نقطة معينة لسبب ما لا يريد ان	
litawʒi:h ʔalmutalaqqj ʔila nuqta muʕajana lisabab ma la juri:d ʔan	
direct to the hearer to point certain reason to some no want he that	
V-	to guide the hearer to a specific point which, for some reason, is is not spoken

يواجهه فيه.	
jua:ʒihuh fi:h	
him confront it of	
V-	directly.

4- Reaching the Goal through Longer Phrases

1- الكلام المباشر الغير هو عملية محاولة الشخص	
ʔalkala:m ʔalmuba:ʃer ʔalʁajr hwa ʕamaliaŧ muħawalaŧ ʔaʃaχsˁ	
the speech the direct the not it operation attempt the person	
1- W	Indirect speech is an attempt by a person

للوصول الى الهدف بطريقة أطول	
lilwu:sˁu:l ʔila ʔalhadaf bitʕarri:qa ʔatˁwal	
the reaching to to the target way with longer	
W	to reach their goal in a longer way.

2- هو الوصول للغاية التي يريدها بعبارات غير مباشرة	
hwa ʔalwu:sˁu:l lilʁaja ʔallatj juri:duha bitʕibara:t ʁajr muba:ʃera	
it the reaching the goal to that it want he expressions with not direct	
2- X	Reaching the goal through indirect expressions.

3- هو ما نستخدمه عادة للوصول للاخرين بفكرة معينة	
hwa ma nastaχdimuhu ʕadatan lilwu:sˁu:l lilʔa:χari:n bifikra muʕajana	
it what it use we usually the reaching to the others to idea with specific	
3-Y	It is what we usually use to convey a specific idea to others

	التفاصيل	من	كبير	قدر	باستخدام	موضوع	في	الرأي	اعطاء	أو
	ʔattafasˁi:l	min	kabi:r	qadr	bistiχda:m	mawdˁu:ʕ	fj	ʔarraʔj	ʔiʕtˁaʔ	ʔaw
	the details	of	big	amount	using with	topic	in	opinion	giving	or
Y	or give an opinion about a certain topic using lots of details									

	أحيانا	و	مباشر	غير	كلام	البعض	يراها	قد	التي
	ʔaħjanan	wa	mubaʃer	ɤajr	kala:m	ʔalbaʕdˁ	jaraha	qad	ʔallatj
	sometimes	and	direct	not	speech	the some	it see they	may	that
Y	which might be seen as indirect speech by some people, but sometimes								

	المداخل	هذه	مثل	المواضيع	بعض	تستحق	لا
	ʔalmadaχil	haðihi	miθla	ʔalmawadˁi:ʕ	baʕdˁ	tastaħiq	la
	entries	this	like	the topics	some	deserve	no
Y	some topics do not really need such details.						

The major similarity between the Libyan and British informants is their view that indirectness is a form of speech which can be conveyed implicitly.[128] In such cases, the interlocutors followed what is called 'the ideology of personalism', which focuses on the beliefs and intentions of the speaker rather than on the words uttered in order to interpret the hidden message (Hill, 2008). However, most of the definitions and functions of indirectness mentioned by the two groups differed. For example, although most of the definitions were neutral (23 English informants, and 15 Libyan informants, see Table 6.3 below), some of the Libyan informants (7 out of 25) mentioned cases where indirectness can be defined negatively (such as prodding, insinuation, hurting others and so on) (see Libyan informants' answers from 1A-7G above). No English informant gave such negative definitions of indirect speech. In addition, as in the case with the English informants, the Libyan informants used certain metaphors and idioms to define indirectness.[129] However, while the idioms used by

[128]Generally speaking, as Tannen and Oztek (1981) argue, our understanding of utterances is probably contextual rather than simply literal. Thus, when "the speaker's intention is clear, it does not matter what the words say literally" (Tannen and Oztek, 1981: 37)

[129]Coulmas (1981: 6) argues that "successful metaphors turn into idioms, and many idioms are metaphorically transparent", and that such metaphorical idioms "have become associated in everyone's mind and are often

the English were neutral and described the meaning rather than the function (see the English definitions in table 6.2 above), the Libyans' idioms were restricted only to the negative function of indirectness,[130] (such as beating meanings, pricking needles, injecting and so on),[131] which are primarily used to send hidden impolite messages that are intended to hurt others. No Libyan participant mentioned any positive or neutral idioms, as was the case with the English informants. This is not because there are no neutral idioms for indirectness in Arabic, but because the most common idioms are those which hold negative meanings.[132] Given the fact that idioms are a reflection of the frequent occurrence of certain linguistic routines in a given social community, as mentioned above, indirectness seems to have negative connotations in Libyan society, so that the idiomatic expressions that were used were mostly negative. These idioms hold what is called a 'performative ideology', in which "words have an active force, that they can soothe or wound" (Hill, 2008: 40), so it is more about "how language makes people feel" (Hill, 2008: 40).[133] It is noteworthy that not only was indirectness described negatively, but also that using this type of speech was seen as an indication of an impolite person who was described as cowardly, arrogant and mischievous (see 7G of the Libyan informants' definitions of indirectness above). This raises the question of the possibility of treating indirectness equally cross-culturally, ignoring variations among and across cultures. However, few informants (3 Libyans and 2 English) gave positive definitions for indirectness. The following table illustrates these differences:

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repeated in sequence" (Tannen and Oztek, 1981: 37), and thus can be used to convey the speaker's intended meaning in similar situations.

[130]More of these expressions were provided by my female Libyan focus group informants (see Section 6.3.5.).

[131]I deliberately use the literal meaning of the Arab idioms rather than translating their meanings into English to show the actual metaphors that are used to describe the negative functions of indirectness.

[132]Evidence for this claim will be provided through analysing the Arabic focus group data.

[133] See Section 1.4. for further discussion of this ideology.

Table (6.2): Responses to Question 3, Frequency and Percentage of a Sample of 25 Informants of each Nationality

Category of Indirectness	English		Libyans	
	No.	%	No.	%
Positive	2	8	3	12
Negative	0	0	7	28
Neutral	23	92	15	60
Both positive and negative	0	0	1	4

Another significant difference that should be noted between the Arab and English participants is that, while some of the English (5 out of 25) perceived indirectness as ambiguous and evasive, no Libyan informant considered it a sign of indirect speech.[134] This is interesting because most of the informants agreed that the intended meaning of indirectness is hidden and cannot be found in the words uttered, so the interlocutor needs to focus on assumptions about the speaker's intentions (according to the ideology of personalism) to understand the hidden message, and this does not guarantee that the right interpretation will be made. In my view, the reason for not mentioning ambiguity as an indication of indirectness is because the speaker wants his/her message to be understandable to the hearer, so he/she supposes it to be clear enough for the hearer to infer the intended meaning. For example, in the Arabic female focus group[135] the informants suggested that the speaker can

[134]See Section 4.2. for more details about the definitions of indirectness.
[135]See Appendix (C) for the Arab female focus group data.

always find a way to send his/her message indirectly through using specific intonations and a certain way of speaking.[136]

'Generalising meanings' is also a definition provided by many of the Libya informants (8 out of 25) to describe indirectness. Such speech, as the informants themselves implied, is usually used to convey an 'unpleasant message' which might hurt the hearer or cause them trouble with the speaker, if stated directly (such as criticism or advice), and the examples provided by the informants indicating generalisation illustrate this point.[137] Another definition mentioned by some of the Arab informants (3 out of 25) included adding extra words to direct speech (which is seen as unnecessary by some of them) to reach a specific point; in other words, reaching the goal through the use of longer phrases. Although such a definition was not cited by any of my English informants on the questionnaire, it was mentioned by some of the English focus group participants.[138]

6.2.2.2. Is Indirectness seen as Polite or Impolite by the Libyan and British Informants?

The responses of my informants, both Libyans and British, to the question of whether indirectness is used for politeness or impoliteness (Do you think English (Libyan) people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?), were also diverse, illustrating different views about what constitutes indirectness in both societies. The main difference between the two groups is that the Libyan informants, in general, gave more

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[136] It is striking that, several members of my focus group pilot study point out that, although the intended message is hidden, it is clear, because it is wanted to be understood by the hearer, and the reason for conveying it indirectly is simply to allow deniability and thus avoid arguments. However, I still believe that indirectness holds some degree of ambiguity, because, in some cases, it is misunderstood.

[137] As I will show in analysing some responses to question 7 of the questionnaire, as well as some recorded data in Chapter 7.

[138] See Appendix (E) for the English focus group data, p. 184, lines 210- 211.

detailed answers than the English ones, and also supported these answers with examples that illustrate their views. As illustrated in Table (6.4) below, far more Libyans (13 out of 25) than English (4 out of 25) participants pointed out that indirectness is used more to indicate impoliteness, whereas more English (10 out of 25) than Libyans (6 out of 25) mentioned that indirect speech can be used for polite purposes. 6 Libyans and 9 British mentioned that indirectness can be double-edged. It should be noted that two of the British informants gave vague answers (one answered 'yes', and the other answered 'yes, sometimes'), so their answers were excluded.

Table (6.3): Responses of a Sample of 25 Informants of each Nationality Regarding the Purpose of using Indirectness

Categories of Indirectness	**English**		**Libyans**	
	No.	%	No.	%
Polite	10	40	6	24
Impolite	4	16	13	52
Both	9	36	6	24

As this table clearly illustrates, there is a difference between the two groups concerning the concept of indirectness as being polite or impolite. According to the table, more than a third of the British informants think that English people use indirectness to be polite. However, one of them considered it annoying, because it is not truthful. This may justify Eelen's (2001) claim that politeness can be evaluated negatively at times, if it is seen as insincere or used as a mask to reach certain goals. Other British participants mentioned

that it can be used for both politeness and impoliteness.[139] However, those informants had different views regarding the judgement of indirectness as being polite or impolite. For example, 4 of them pointed out that it depends on the situation and context. Two others considered indirectness as being polite when used in everyday interaction, while indirectness, when impolite, is an attempt to hide the impoliteness and thus sound polite. One participant mentioned that indirectness is used to avoid unpleasantness or confrontation, and two others said that it is *directness* rather than indirectness that is frequently impolite or rude. Only one informant suggested that, although indirectness is largely used in an attempt to be polite, people can be highly unkind when speaking indirectly. The four people who saw indirectness as impolite did not comment on their choices.

More than the half of my Arab informants considered indirectness to be used more to indicate impoliteness than politeness. It is striking that two informants commented that indirectness to be impolite is used more by younger than older people. Another informant pointed out that indirectness is used by impolite people to embarrass others by focusing on their shortcomings and they can use very offensive words because the hearer cannot retaliate; otherwise, they would be more offended.[140] Two informants attributed using indirectness for impoliteness to the nature of the Libyans who, according to them, do not accept different views and thus use indirect speech to offend and insult others, while another informant

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[139] This is not to say that insincere behaviour is always evaluated negatively. For example, Pinto (2011) argues that, according to the results he obtained through questioning American informants, insincere communication can be polite because some "acts of kindness can be interpreted as a form of sincerity" (Pinto, 2011: 232). However, the interlocutor cannot be sure whether the behaviour is sincere or not due to the vague nature of sincerity. Thus, sincerity cannot be an assertive evaluation of polite behaviour. Thus, as Rothenbuhler (1998: 32) says, "[p]oliteness, whether it is motivated by caring for others or not, is one of the most powerful rituals of social order".

[140] Examples will be provided when discussing the Libyan focus group data below.

attributed using indirectness as an impolite tool because Libyans 'fear confrontation'. Less than a quarter suggested that indirectness is used by Libyans when being polite. One polite situation that was mentioned by one of the informants in using indirectness is in requesting something that the speaker feels reluctant to request directly.

Thus, according to the informants' responses, both Arab and British, indirectness seems to hold different values in these two societies. Despite sharing the view that indirectness can be polite, impolite or both, the ideological and cultural background of the two groups seems to have an influence on their concept of indirect speech. For example, while some of the English informants saw indirectness as a way of hiding impoliteness by the speaker in order to be seen as polite, the Libyans considered using this type of speech as a means to offend and insult others deliberately in a way that allows deniability, so it is not intended to soften the meaning, as in the case with the English, but is intended to hurt. In other words, while using indirectness to be impolite is seen in English as an attempt by the speaker to save their own face as well as their interlocutor's face,[141] in Libya, it seems more about saving the speaker's own face and attacking the hearer's face.

6.2.2.3. Are the British English Direct or Indirect?

As I mentioned in 5.4.2., in my pilot questionnaire, the English informants gave general answers to a question concerning the situations in which they usually use indirectness, which did not serve the purpose of this research. For this reason, it was important to rephrase the question: 'do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?'

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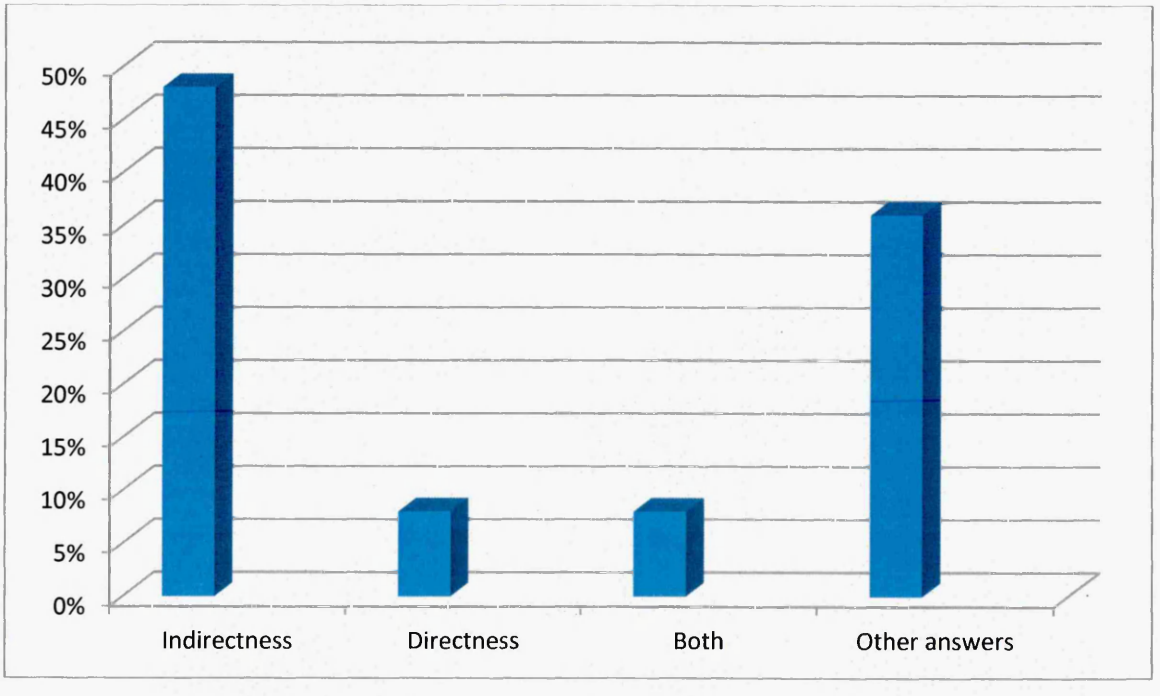
[141]However, this is not to say that English people always use indirectness to mitigate impolite messages, as some of the English informants mentioned examples which show deliberate offence but, in general, and according to the informants' comments, it is likely that indirectness is seen as a way of mitigating offensive behaviour.

in order to enable the informants to give more specific answers. Twelve out of the 25 English informants indicated that they think that British people are less direct. One of the informants attributed using indirectness more to avoid being rude, implying that directness might be deemed as impolite. Another informant commented, 'it is our reputation'. Two informants stated that the English usually use both, and only 2 others considered British people to be more direct. However, other informants gave various answers. Some of them (5 out of 25) suggested that the English are more indirect compared to certain cultures (such as Germany, America, Spain, France, India and Israel), while they might be more direct compared to others (such as Japan and China). One informant said that indirectness is used more by older people, while another perceived it as a matter of power: people in authority use directness more, while less powerful people use indirectness more. Two informants did not give specific answers (one answered 'no idea', the other 'I do not know'). The following diagram illustrates the English informants' choices:

Diagram (6.1) :Responses to Question (5) Concerning the Tendency to use Directness or Indirectness by a Sample of 25 Informants of English People



From the results shown in the above diagram, it can be seen that there is a tendency for the British informants to describe British people as using indirectness more (48% of the informants). These results are largely affected by the 'linguistic ideologies' which influence the informants' choices according to their beliefs about their language. Such ideologies, according to Hill (2008), as I discussed in Chapter 1, enable the members of a given community to acquire and share certain beliefs that, along with other functions of linguistic ideologies, can "rationalize and justify what people understand to be the structures of their language...and the ways that language should be used" (Hill, 2008: 34). As a result, such ideologies are usually understood as 'common sense'.[142] This might justify one of my informant's comment that indirectness is the 'reputation of the English'. However, about half of my informants chose to answer this differently. That can provide evidence of the difficulty of making generalizations about indirectness or arguing that all British people prefer indirect speech, while ignoring the diversity among their culture. Thus, there may exist a tendency for the English to use indirectness, but this is not clear-cut or unequivocal.

6.2.2.4. Situations in which Indirectness is usually used by the Libyans.

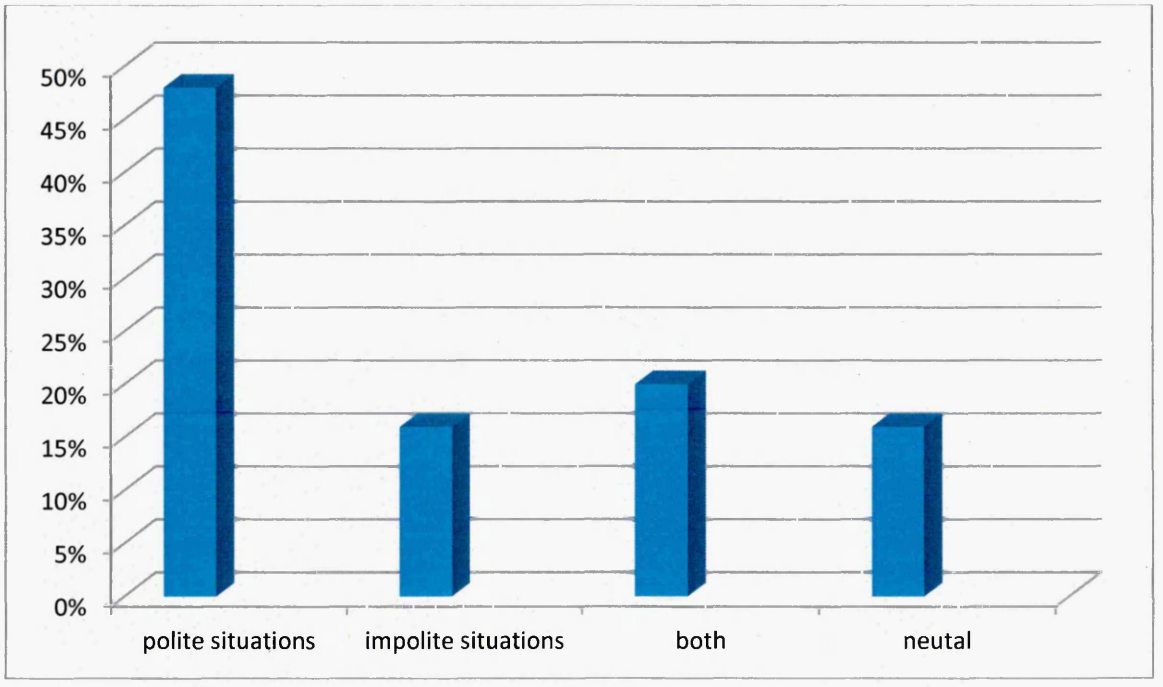
The Libyan informants provided various answers regarding the situations in which they usually use indirectness, which can be polite (such as giving advice, making requests, avoiding arguments or causing problems, avoiding embarrassing others or criticising them directly, misunderstandings, speaking to superiors, talking in public places and so on); neutral (such as clarifying a certain point to a specific person,[143] hinting, generalising meanings and so on); or impolite (such as anger, criticising, mocking or offending others, accusing others,

[142]See Section 1.4. for a discussion on the concept of common sense and linguistic ideologies in general.

[143]This is interesting because, usually, directness is used to clarify meaning rather than indirectness. This may support my claim that, although indirectness may hold some degree of ambiguity, it is usually clear enough for Libyan hearers to understand the message.

sending impolite messages, revenge,[144] and so on). Some informants considered indirect impolite speech to be more offensive than direct speech, because the hearers in such cases cannot retaliate or defend themselves.[145] It is striking that the highest number of Libyan informants (12 out of 25) considered themselves to use indirectness for polite purposes. Four others mentioned that indirectness can be used for neutral purposes, and 5 pointed out that they use it for both politeness and impoliteness. Even when they use indirectness impolitely, they justify it as defending themselves or others, avoiding arguments and so on. Only four informants mentioned that they use indirectness in impolite situations.

Diagram (6.2): Responses to a Question Concerning Situations in which Indirectness is usually used by the Sample of 25 Libyan Informants



[144]Revenge is a way of retaliating to an indirect offence which can be immediate or delayed. In such cases, the offended person uses the same indirect technique to show that they understand the message and are able to defend themselves. Examples of such situations will be provided with regard to the Arabic focus group discussion 6.3.2.

[145]Because indirectness is potentially deniable, it is sometimes difficult for the offended person to retaliate or defend themselves directly, as the offender simply denies any offensive intentions. Some examples will be discussed through analysing the focus group data related to the female Libyan informants 6.3.2.

Compared to the results I obtained from the responses to the question about whether indirect speech is used more for politeness or impoliteness (see the results in Table 6.4 in Section 6.2.2.2 above), it seems that the Libyans have different views regarding the usage of indirectness in general and their own use of such speech. Since people do not tend to see themselves as impolite, as Culpeper (2011) argues, but as polite, and the participants who described indirectness negatively, as I have shown above, appear to describe it as 'common sense' which reflects their belief about the use of indirectness by others. For example, Eelen argues that it is "others and their behaviour that trigger our evaluations: it is they who are (im)polite. We do not usually look at our own evaluations in a reflexive way but tend to take them for granted" (2001: 119). As a consequence, the Libyan informants chose polite situations to describe their own use of indirectness to show that they are *polite*. Thus, it is others who are *impolite* and they use indirectness impolitely.

6.2.2.5. Which do Libyans and British prefer: being Direct or Indirect?

Question 6 of the questionnaire asked the participants, both Arab and British, whether they prefer to speak directly or indirectly and why. The English informants showed a tendency to describe themselves as using more direct forms (10 out of 25) than indirect ones (4 out of 25). Other informants (8 out of 25) pointed out that they use both directness and indirectness, while 3 informants provided different answers. The following Table (6.5) illustrates the English informants' answers:

TABLE (6.4): English Informants' preference for Directness and Indirectness

Informants' Preference	The Reason behind their Choices
Directness	1- Because I'd know where I stand and it saves time.
	2- In general I prefer more direct forms of communication, but with courtesy and respect shown on both sides.
	3- Because you know where you stand with someone.
	4- Because you know where you stand with people and it's

	possible to say exactly what you mean without being rude.
	5- As it avoids confusion.
	6- I will speak to anyone to be friendly.
	7- It's speaking truthfully. What you really feel.
	8- Prefer it.
	9- Prefer people to be polite but to get to the point.
	10- I think compared with the 'average' British person I am slightly irritated sometimes by tokenistic politeness and the indirect forms associated with it.
Indirectness	1- as I sometimes think people who are direct can come across rude sometimes.
	2- I prefer indirectness but this isn't a strong preference. The less direct wording feels less authoritarian – and for me links to a sense of equality and social justice.
	3- Easier.
	4- I'm probably more given to indirect address. The reason would be that directness can be seen as aggressive and rude (by me as much as by any implied interlocutor).
Both	1- It depends on circumstances.[146]
	2- For information purpose – direct, for criticism indirect
	3- It depends on the context.[147]
	4- That would depend on the situation.
	5- It depends on the situation.
	6- Depends on purpose of exchange,
	7- Direct- when done in non-judgemental way. Indirect- when done to save face.
	8- Would depend on context- would prefer full truth of medical diagnosis but perhaps delivered kindly with a bit of social warning.
Other Answers	1- I don't know what I prefer – it depends who is talking to me.
	2-I don't really know. Honesty is a good thing.
	3- I prefer receiving direct, but don't always like to be direct if it means I will be mean/ rude

Although the answers to question 4 (do you think that when English people use indirectness they are being polite or impolite?) showed that about 10 out of the 25 informants considered indirectness to be used more for politeness, and the answers to question 5 (do you

[146]The informant's answer is rather long. See Questionnaire (B- 2) pp. 40-41, for the full answer.

[147]This informant also provided a long answer. See her full answer in Questionnaire (B- 6) p. 46.

think English people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?) also showed that about the half of the British informants describe British people as using indirectness more, and only 2 participants considered the British to be direct (see diagram 6.1 above). The answers to the above question concerning their own preference for directness or indirectness, meanwhile, showed that the English informants described themselves as using *directness* more than indirectness. These answers can be explained by linguistic ideologies (which clarified in section 2) which "are representations of how the difference between the way people feel that they or others *should* speak with the way they *do* speak" (Grainger et al., 2015: 45). Thus, what the English believe to be 'common sense' about their language is not necessarily true of their own practice, but nor does it mean that these ideological beliefs are inaccurate. Rather, as Grainger et al. (2015) argue, although the conventions and norms in a given language are usually adopted by its users as correct, "each language and/or cultural group develops over time a different evaluation of these conventions, and even of the use of convention itself" (Grainger et al., 2015: 45). Thus, such results should not be seen as paradoxical.

Unlike their answers regarding defining politeness and impoliteness, the Arab informants' answers concerning their preference for directness or indirectness were clearer and more straightforward than those of the English participants. As illustrated in the definitions below, the vast majority of my Libyan participants (18 out of 25) pointed out that they often use direct forms. Only 3 said that they prefer to be more indirect, while 4 mentioned that they use both forms. Again, since people have a tendency to describe themselves as polite, the participants, consciously or unconsciously, chose to describe themselves as using the form of speech that they may believe to be polite, which is directness,

and avoid forms which, according to certain ideological beliefs (which can be unnoticeable (Hill, 2008), might create a negative impression.

Libyan Informants' Preferences with regard to Directness and Indirectness

1- Directness

	المباشر	الكلام	استخدم	الاحيان	اغلب	1- فى
	ʔalmuba:ʃer	ʔalkala:m	ʔistiχda:m	ʔalʔaħia:n	ʔaʁlab	fj
	the direct	the speech	use I	the times	most	in
1- A	I mostly use direct speech.					

يجب	بانه	يشعرني	مباشر	الغير	لان	المباشر	الكلام	2- افضل
jaʒib	biʔannahu	juʃʕirunj	muba:ʃer	ʔalʁajr	liʔanna	ʔalmubaʃer	ʔalkala:m	ʔufadˁel
must	that	me feel	the direct	the not	because	the direct	the speech	prefer I
2- B	I prefer direct speech because indirect speech makes me feel that I have to							

اليه	ارمي	ما	يساء فهم	لا	بحيث	الكلمات	و	الجمل	اختار
ʔilaih	ʔarmj	ma	fahm jusaʔ	la	biħajθ	ʔalkalima:t	wa	ʔalʒumal	ʔaχtar
It to	want I	what	misunderstood	no	to	the words	and	the sentences	choose I
B	choose my sentences and words carefully in a way that will not be misunderstood.								

	اللباقة	من عدم	لانه	مباشر	الغير	الكلام	أفضل	3- لا
	ʔallabaqa	ʕadam min	liʔannah	muba:ʃer	ʔalʁajr	ʔalkala:m	ʔufadˁel	la
	the tact	not of	because	direct	the not	the speech	prefer I	no
3- C	I don't prefer indirect speech because it is a type of inelegance.								

باستخدام	قمت	اذا	و	المباشر	الكلام	استخدام	افضل	4- انا
bistiχda:m	qumt	ʔiða	wa	ʔalmuba:ʃer	ʔalkala:m	ʔistiχda:m	ʔufadˁel	ʔana
using with	do I	if	and	the direct	the speech	using	prefer I	I
4- D	I prefer direct speech, but if I use							

	حدود	في	استخدمه	فاني	مباشر	الغير	الكلام
	ħuwdu:d	fj	ʔastaχdimuhu	faʔinnj	muba:ʃer	ʔalʁajr	ʔalkala:m
	limits	in	it use I	me that	direct	the not	the speech
D	Indirect speech, I use it within						

	الذوق.	و	الادب
	ʔaðawq	wa	ʔalʔadab
	the tact	and	the politeness
D	politeness and tact limits.		

	الشخص	مع	اكون	عندما	عادة	المباشر	الكلام	5- استخدم
	ʔaʃʃχsˁ	maʕa	ʔaku:n	ʕindama	ʕadatan	ʔalmuba:ʃer	ʔalkala:m	ʔastaχdim
	the person	with	being I	when	usually	the direct	the speech	use I
5- E	I usually use direct speech in							

	لوضع	ذلك	و	احد	وجود	دون	و	لوجه	وجها
	liwadˁʕ	ðalik	wa	ʔaħad	wuʒu:d	du:n	wa	liwaʒh	waʒhan
	put to	to	and	someone	availability	without	and	face to	face
E	face to face interaction without the presence of anyone else to put								

	الحروف	ع	النقاط
	ʔalħuru:f	ʕ	ʔanniqa:tʕ
	letters	on	the points
E	points on the letters.[148]		

	كشخصي	اما	مباشر	الغير	الكلام	كليبي	عامة	بصفة	6-
	kaʃaχsˁj	ʔamma	muba:ʃer	ʔalʁajr	ʔalkala:m	kali:bj	ʕamma	bisˁifa	
	personally as	but	direct	the not	the speech	Libyan as	on the whole	general	
6- F	Libyans in general use indirect speech, but for me								

	المباشر	الكلام
	ʔalmuba:ʃer	ʔalkala:m
	the direct	the speech
F	direct speech.	

	ذلك	يرجع	ربما	و	المباشر	الكلام	يفضلون	انهم	7- اعتقد
	ðalik	jarʒiʕ	rubbama	wa	ʔalmuba:ʃer	ʔalkala:m	jufadˁilu:n	ʔannahum	ʔaʕtaqid
	that	belong	may be	and	the direct	the speech	prefer they	they	think I
7- G	I think they prefer direct speech and this might be attributed								

	ببعضهم	احتكاكهم	كثرة	و	الاجتماعية	العادات	الى
	bibaʕdˁihim	ʔiħtika:kihim	kuθraṯ	wa	ʔalʔiʒtimaʒi:a	ʔalʕada:t	ʔila
	together	them friction	many	and	the social	the habits	to
G	to social norms and their closeness to each other						

	عليهم	ثقيلا	مباشر	الغير	الكلام	يجدون	ربما	أو
	ʕalajhim	θaqi:lan	muba:ʃer	ʔalʁajr	ʔalkala:m	jaʒidu:n	rubbama	ʔaw
	them on	heavy	direct	the not	the speech	find they	may be	or
G	so they might see indirect speech as unsuitable for them.							

[148] An Arabic saying means 'to make everything clear for both sides in a discussion'.

	كنت	و	لو	نقاش	فيه	ليكون	المباشر	الكلام	طبعا	8-
	kunt	law	wa	niqa:ʃ	fi:h	ljaku:n	ʔalmuba:ʃer	ʔalkala:m	tˁabʕan	
	was I	if	and	argument	it in	be to	the direct	the speech	of course	
8- H	Of course direct speech to open the door for the discussion, and if I was									

		نعتذر.	غلطانة
		naʕtaðer	ɤaltˁana
		apologize I	wrong I
H	wrong I would apologize.		

	الكلام	من	النوع	لهذا	استخداما	أقل	الجديد	الجيل	ان	اعتقد 9-
	ʔalkala:m	min	ʔannawʕ	lihaða	ʔistiχdaman	ʔaqal	ʔalʒadi:d	ʔalʒi:l	ʔanna	ʔaʕtaqid
	the speech	of	the kind	this to	using	less	the new	the generation	that	think I
9- I	I think this type of speech is less commonly used by the younger generation									

	الوازع	و	التعليم	مستوى	ارتفع	كلما	نظري	وجهة	فمن
	ʔalwa:ziʕ	wa	mustawa	ʔattaʕli:m	ʔirtafaʕ	kullama	naðʕarj	wiʒhat	famin
	faith	and	level	education	arise	whenever	my view	point	from
I	because, in my view, the higher the level of education and religious								

	استخدام	قل	كلما	الخلق	لحسن	يوجه	الذي	الديني
	ʔistiχda:m	qal	kullama	ʔalχuluq	liħusn	juwaʒʒih	ʔallaðj	ʔaddi:nj
	Using	reduce	whenever	the moral	good to	guide it	that	the religious
I	faith, which directs to good manners, the lower the use							

		سوي.	غير	غرض	في	المباشر	غير	الكلام
		sawj	ɤajr	ɤaradˁ	fj	ʔalmuba:ʃer	ɤajr	ʔalkala:m
		good	not	purpose	in	the direct	not	the speech
I	of indirect speech for bad purposes.							

	عليك	تلقح	ماتجيش	حاجة	أحسن	الصراحة	لان	المباشر	الكلام	10-
	ʕalajk	tlaqqaħ	matʒi:ʃ	ħa:ʒa	ʔaħsan	ʔasˁara:ħa	liʔanna	ʔalmuba:ʃer	ʔalkala:m	
	you on	inject	not come she	thing	better	the frank	because	the direct	the speech	
10-J	Direct speech, because being frank is much better than									

		مباشرة.	غير	بطريقة	كويس	مش	كلام	تقول	و
		muba:ʃera	ɤajr	bitˁari:qa	kwajsa	miʃ	kala:m	taqu:l	wa
		direct	not	way in	good	not	speech	say she	and
J	saying bad things indirectly.								

		حديثي	في	الوضوح	احب	لاني	المباشر:	الكلام	11-
		ħadi:θj	fj	ʔalwudˁu:ħ	ʔuħib	liʔannaj	ʔalmuba:ʃer	ʔalkala:m	
		my speech	in	the clarity	like I	me because	the direct	the speech	
11- K	Direct speech because I like to be clear when I speak.								

	المعلومة	لتوصيل	المباشر	الكلام	غالبا	لكن	و	12- الاثنين
	ʔalmaʕlu:ma	litawsˁi:l	ʔalmuba:ʃer	ʔalkala:m	ɣa:liban	lakin	wa	ʔalʔiθnajn
	the information	convey to	the direct	the speech	often	but	and	the two
12- L	Both, but mostly direct speech to convey information							

	معين.	موضوع	في	نظري	وجهة	او	
	muʕajan	mawdˁu:ʕ	fj	naðˁarj	wiʒhat	ʔaw	
	specific	topic	in	my view	point	or	
L	or my view point in certain topic clearly.						

	المباشر.	الكلام	استخدام	13- أفضل	
	ʔalmuba:ʃer	ʔalkala:m	ʔistiχda:m	ʔufadˁal	
	the direct	the speech	using	prefer I	
13-M	I prefer direct speech.				

	الحدث	يوصف	لأنه	المباشر	الكلام	14- أفضل
	ʔalħadaθ	jusˁif	liʔannah	ʔalmuba:ʃer	ʔalkala:m	ʔufadˁal
	the event	describe	it because	the direct	the speech	prefer I
14- N	I prefer direct speech because it describes what happens					

	دقة.	بأكثر	
	diqqa	biʔakkθar	
	accuracy	more with	
N	accurately.		

	باعتقادي	لان	معاملاتي	في	المباشر	الكلام	15- أفضل
	biʔiʕtiqa:dj	liʔanna	muʕa:mala:tj	fj	ʔalmuba:ʃer	ʔalkala:m	ʔufadˁal
	my belief	because	my treatments	in	the direct	the speech	prefer I
15- O	I prefer direct speech in dealing with others, because I think						

	يكون	ان	و	اكثر	الوضوح	الى	يؤدي	المباشر	الكلام
	jaku:n	ʔan	wa	ʔakθar	ʔalwu:dˁu:ħ	ʔila	juʔaddj	ʔalmuba:ʃer	ʔalkala:m
	be	even	and	more	the clarity	to	result	the direct	the speech
O	direct speech is clear even if it is								

	قاسي.	الاحيان	بعض	في
	qa:sj	ʔalʔaħja:n	baʕdˁ	fj
	tough	the times	some	in
O	sometimes harsh.			

	المواقف	جميع	في	الأنسب	لأنه	المباشر	الكلام	16- أفضل
	ʔalmawa:qif	ʒami:ʕ	fj	ʔalʔansab	liʔannah	ʔalmuba:ʃer	ʔalkala:m	ʔufadˁal
	the situations	all	in	the best	because	the direct	the speech	prefer I
16- P	I prefer direct speech because it is suitable in all situations							

	النفاق.	و	المجاملة	عن	يبعدك	لأنه	كذلك
	ʔannifa:q	wa	ʔalmuʒamala:	ʕan	jubʕiduk	liʔannah	kadalik
	the hypocrisy	and	the complement	of	you away	it because	also
P	and also because it keeps you away from complemints and hypocrisy.						

	دائما	ميولي	ان	الا	الحالة	و	الظروف	حسب	17- كليبية
	daʔiman	mju:lj	ʔanna	ʔilla	ʔalħala	wa	ʔalðʕwru:f	ħasab	kali:bi:a
	always	my tendency	that	but	the case	and	circumstances	according	Libyan as
17- Q	As a Libyan, according to the circumstances and context, but for me, I always tend								

	الكلام	(خير	للتعبير	طريقة	كأفضل	المباشر	للكلام
	ʔalkala:m	χajr	littaʕbi:r	tʕari:qa	kaʔafdʕal	ʔalmuba:ʃer	lilkala:m
	the speech	good	expression to	way	best as	the direct	speech to
Q	to use direct speech as the best way for expression (good brevity						

		دل).	و	قل	ما
		dal	wa	qal	ma
		sense	and	reduced	that
Q	makes sense).[149]				

	أصدق	و	أوضح	لأنه	المباشر	الكلام	18- استخدم
	ʔasʕdaq	wa	ʔawdʕaħ	liʔannah	ʔalmuba:ʃer	ʔalkala:m	ʔastaχdim
	better	and	clearer	because	the direct	the speech	use I
18- R	I use direct speech because it is clearer and more truthful						

		البشر.	مع	المعاملة	في
		ʔalbaʃar	maʕa	ʔalmuʕamala	fj
		the humans	with	the treatment	in
R	in dealing with people.				

2-Indirectness

	أي)	مباشر	الغير	الكلام	استخدام	أفضل	أحيانا	1- أنا
	ʔaj	muba:ʃer	ʔalɤajr	ʔalkala:m	ʔistiχda:m	ʔafadʕel	ʔaħjanan	ʔana
	namely	direct	the not	the speech	using	prefer I	sometimes	I
1-S	I sometimes prefer to use indirect speech (namely							

	امامهم	الذي	الشخص	عن	يتكلموا	لكي	لماذا-	المعاني)	كلام
	ʔamamahum	ʔallaðj	ʔaʃʃaχsʕ	ʕan	jatkallamw	likaj	limaða	ʔalmaʕanj	kala:m
	them front	that	the person	about	speak they	to	why	the meaning	speech
S	making meanings). Why? Because it enables people to speak about a certain person in a gathering								

[149] An Arabic proverb.

	المقصود	هو	انه	له	يبينوا	ان	دون	حرية	بكل
	ʔalmaqsˁu:d	hwa	ʔinnah	lahu	jubaji:nw	ʔan	du:n	ħurri:a	bikul
	the meant	he	that	him to	clarify they	that	without	freedom	all with
S	more freedom without showing that he/she is intended								

		الكلام	بهدا
		ʔalkala:m	bihaða
		this speech	that with
S	by this speech.		

	لطبيعتي	نظرا	ذلك	و	مباشر	الغير	الكلام	2- أفضل
	litˁabi:ʕatj	naðaran	ðalik	wa	muba:ʃer	ʔalɤajr	ʔalkala:m	ʔufadˁal
	my nature to	because	because	and	direct	the not	the speech	prefer I
2-T	I prefer indirect speech because of my nature as							

	كتيرة.	مواقف	و	أحيان	في	بالخجل	شعوري	و
	kaθi:ra	mawa:qif	wa	ʔaħjan	fj	bilχaʒal	ʃwʕu:rj	wa
	lots	situations	and	times	in	shyness with	my feeling	and
T	a shy person, so I feel shy at most times and in most situations							

	تؤدي	قد	المباشر	الكلام	نتائج	لان	المباشر ...	3- غير
	twʔaddj	qad	ʔalmuba:ʃer	ʔalkala:m	nata:ʔiʒ	liʔanna	ʔalmuba:ʃer	ɤajr
	result	may	the direct	the speech	results	because	the direct	not
3- U	Indirect speech ... because direct speech may lead to some							

	مرغوبة.	أو	غير	محبذة	غير	تكون	قد	ردة فعل	الى
	marɤu:ba	ɤajr	ʔaw	muħabbaða	ɤajr	taku:n	qad	fiʕl raddat	ʔila
	desirable	not	or	wanted	not	be	may	reaction	to
U	reactions which have undesirable results.								

3- Both Directness and Indirectness

	مطلوب	و	لكن	جارح	يكون	أحيانا	المباشر	الكلام	1-
	matˁlu:b	lakin	wa	ʒa:riħ	jaku:n	ʔaħjanan	ʔalmuba:ʃer	ʔalkala:m	
	wanted	but	and	hurting	be	sometimes	the direct	the speech	
1- V	Direct speech sometimes is hurtful but required								

	كصورة	يكون	المباشر	الغير	الكلام	لكن	و	المعاملة	في	خاصة
	kasˁu:ra	jaku:n	ʔalmuba:ʃer	ʔalɤajr	ʔalkala:m	lakin	wa	ʔalmuʕa:mala	fj	χasˁatan
	picture as	be	the direct	the not	the speech	but	and	the treatment	in	especially
V	especially in dealing with people, but indirect speech can be a polite way									

	لشخص ما.	لا يعجبني	شيء	أو	ما	نقد	ايصال	عند	مؤدبة
	ma liʃaχsˁ	juʕʒibnj	la	ʃajʔ	ʔaw	ma	naqd	ʔi:sˁa:l	ʕinda	muʔaddaba
	someone to	like it	no	something	or	something	criticism	conveying	when	polite

V	to send criticism or something I don't like to somebody.

		قدامي	اللي	الموقف	على	الاثنين -2
		qiddamj	ʔillj	ʔalmawqif	ʕala	ʔalʔiθni:n
		me front	that	the situation	on	the two
2- W	Both, according to the situation.					

	سواءا	الخيرة	الاغراض	في	المباشر	غير	الكلام	افضل -3
	sawaʔan	ʔalχaji:ra	ʔalʔaʁradˁ	fj	ʔalmubaʃer	ʁajr	ʔalkala:m	ʔufadˁel
	either	the good	the purposes	in	the direct	not	the speech	prefer I
3- X	I like indirect speech when it is used for good purposes, such as							

	شي	طلب	او	الاحراج	لتجنب	او	التوجيه	في
	ʃajʔ	tˁalab	ʔaw	ʔalʔiħraʒ	litaʒannub	ʔaw	ʔattawʒi:h	fj
	something	request	or	the embarrassment	avoid to	or	the guiding	in
X	giving advice, avoiding embarrassment or requesting something							

	حق	لاحد	ليس	لانه	الشريرة	الاغراض	في	جدا	اكرهها	و
	ħaq	liʔaħad	lajsa	liʔannah	ʔaʃʃerri:ra	ʔalʔaʁradˁ	fj	ʒiddan	ʔakrahuha	wa
	right	someone to	not	because	the evil	the purposes	in	very	it hate I	and
X	but I really hate it when it is used for evil purposes, because no one has the right									

	به	عيوب	على	بالتركيز	احراجه	و	الاخر	في	التدخل
	bihi	ʕju:b	ʕala	bittarki:z	ʔiħra:ʒih	wa	ʔalʔaχar	fj	ʔattadaχul
	him in	shortcomings	on	focusing	him embarrass	and	the other	in	the intervene
X	to intervene in others' affairs or embarrass them by focusing on their shortcomings								

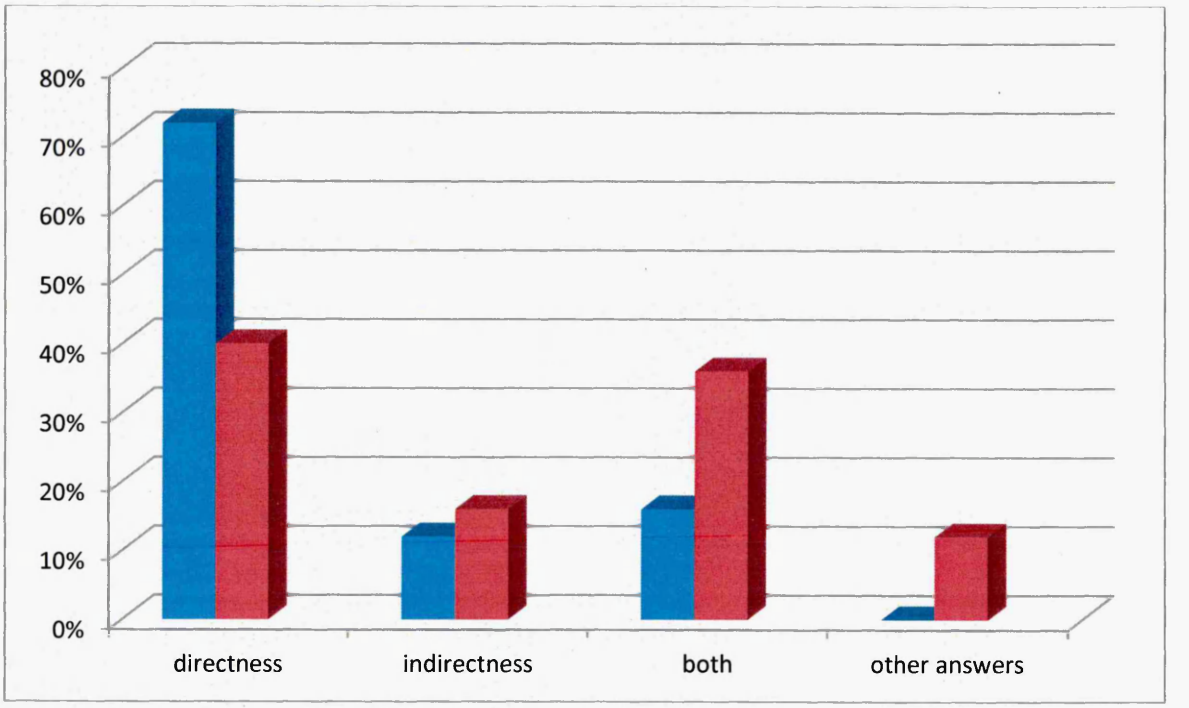
	الرد.	في	حق	له	يكون	ان	دون	اهانته	او
	ʔarrad	fj	ħaq	lahw	jaku:n	ʔan	du:n	ʔihanatah	ʔaw
	the retaliation	of	the right	him to	be	that	without	him offend	or
X	or offend them when they can't retaliate.								

		الموقف.	حسب -4
		ʔalmawqif	ħasab
		the situation	according
4- Y	According to the situation.		

Despite the preferences of both groups for direct forms at the expense of indirect ones, the Arab informants (72%, about three-quarters of the informants) much more than the English (40%) claimed that they use directness more (see diagram (6.3) below). Furthermore, both groups provided various reasons to justify their choice of directness and indirectness

which clearly reflect the cultural and ideological values they hold. For example, the English informants who preferred directness mention that it enables them to know where they stand with others, it saves time, avoids confusion, is friendly, and indicates truthfulness. These results, thus, show that directness can indirectly index positive values in English (e.g. truthfulness, clarity, friendliness, honesty). However, two informants asserted the importance of speaking directly without being rude, implying that directness can appear rude sometimes.

Diagram (6.3): Responses to Question (6), Percentage of a Sample of 25 Informants of each Nationality



The reasons provided by the Libyan informants for using direct speech were different and demonstrated their ideological beliefs about indirectness as impolite. For example, one informant (see 3-C above) perceived indirectness as a kind of 'inelegance', so she (as a polite person) positions herself as standing above such *impolite* speech. Another informant (see 10-

J above) said that directness as frank speech is much better than conveying *bad* messages indirectly, implying that indirectness is usually linked to impoliteness. Misunderstandings and hypocrisy were the reasons mentioned for avoiding indirect speech, while truthfulness, clarity, closeness and accuracy were the reasons for using directness. It is striking that, unlike two informants, who linked using indirectness impolitely to young people in answering question (4) (concerning their view about the use of directness and indirectness by Libyans), in answering question (6), one informant (see 9-I above) associated using indirectness with the level of education and religious faith. Thus, she considered indirectness as less common among the younger generation, who are better educated. Furthermore, while some of the English informants asserted the possibility of using directness without being considered rude, one Libyan informant (see 4-D above) claimed that she tends to use directness but, if she uses indirectness, she does so within the limits of politeness and tact, implying that indirectness is not something that can be linked to polite behaviour. Another Libyan participant (see 6- F above) points out that Libyans in general use indirectness, but he said that himself used direct forms.

The main reason mentioned by the English respondents for using indirectness is to avoid rudeness, a judgement which might be evoked when speaking directly. But it is also used as it seems easier and creates a sense of equality. By contrast, the Libyan informants, who prefer indirect speech, gave different reasons for their choice, ranging from personal motives, such as feeling too shy to speak directly,[150] to general motives, such as using indirectness as a 'shell' to cover speaking negatively about someone at a gathering, and

[150]See 3.3. for more discussion about the influence of and the difference between identity and culture

fearing the undesirable reactions that might result from using direct speech.[151] However, the major similarity between the Libyan and British informants with regard to the possibility of using both forms is that they attributed it to the situation and context, albeit they seem to differ with regard to this. For the English informants, these situations include obtaining medical information for directness, while saving face and avoiding criticism are their reasons for indirectness. For the Libyan informants, indirectness can also be seen as a polite way of making requests, avoiding embarrassment (see 3-X above) or even sending unpleasant messages politely (e.g. criticism) (see 1-V above). However, it can be seen as highly negative way of intervening in others' affairs and focusing on their shortcomings, without them being able to defend themselves (see 3-X above). Thus, the responses of my informants may reflect their ideological and cultural beliefs about themselves and others within their social communities. These answers should not be treated as personal opinions, as if they exist in a vacuum, but should rather be seen as indicative of linguistic ideologies about indirectness.

6.2.3. Examples of Indirectness.

Question (7) asks my informants to provide an example of a real situation in which they used indirectness or someone used it towards them. I will present an overview of the differences between the two groups in their view of the concept and interpretation of indirectness which were reflected in the examples they mentioned. In general, the English informants gave examples in which indirectness is used politely (or neutrally) for requests, justifications, comments and compliments. However, there were a few negative examples where the informants used indirectness or it was used towards them impolitely, mainly for the purpose of sarcasm. Most of the examples mentioned by the Libyans were negative and portrayed

[151] Some examples will be provided in Chapter 7 to illustrate this point.

their impression of this form of speech, including negative reproach,[152] negative idiomatic expressions, sarcasm, pretending not to understand polite indirect requests,[153] revenge, generalising meanings and so on. However, there were some examples where the informants mentioned using indirectness politely, such as avoiding embarrassment, getting information, giving advice and so on. It is striking that this question had a different impression on the informants who took part in the questionnaire. For example, while one of my English informants found it "a surprisingly direct request" as the question says 'please give an example...', two of the Arab informants (whose answers to the questionnaire were discarded because they were incomplete) commented that this question was 'silly', and one of them even added 'I would say it in colloquial language as requested; this question is silly and involves some kind of curiosity which creates problems'. Such comments clearly illustrate the negative interpretation some of the Libyans hold towards indirect speech.

6.2.4. Summary

Although the number of my informants was limited, I believe that their responses to the questionnaire provided several insights into the concept of politeness and impoliteness in both linguistic groups. From my discussion of the responses provided by the informants, both Arab and British, about their views of politeness and impoliteness, it seems that consideration for others' feelings is the most important aspect of politeness in both societies. However, as I have shown, there seems to be greater agreement among the English informants about what

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[152]'Reproach' can be positive or negative, direct or indirect, and it is used to send a message to the hearer that they are not doing what is expected of them. Some Arabic examples, both polite and impolite, are provided in Chapter 7.

[153]Although failing to understand indirect requests can be seen as accidental, it is usually seen as intentional and highly offensive in Libyan society, as I will show in Chapter 7. To illustrate this claim, one of my informants gave an example of failing to understand her indirect request, considering it impolite behaviour, as I will show in Section 7.3.1., example 16.

constitutes politeness than among the Arabs who defined it in broader terms. Furthermore, the English appear to attach greater significance to apologies and expressions of gratitude as required forms of politeness, which might not be appreciated to the same extent by the Libyans, particularly in a familial context. Such a difference should not be seen as a matter of degree; rather, it arises from the different conception of what constitutes politeness in Libya and Britain. Similarly, despite the agreement between the two groups' view of impoliteness as a lack of consideration for others, the English informants' definitions in general, as in the case of defining politeness, were more direct and straightforward.

The Arab and British informants also agreed about the concept of indirectness as a form of speech that can be conveyed implicitly. However, the definitions provided by both groups illustrate that there are basic differences between the conception of what indirectness means and, consequently, its manifestations. The main difference between the two groups is that some of the Arab informants gave negative definitions for indirectness. For them, it is more about the function rather than a description, and they used some negative idioms that are usually used to describe impolite hidden messages. This negative interpretation is reflected in some of the Libyan informants' choices concerning their views of whether Libyans use indirectness when being polite or impolite, as more than the half of them considered indirectness to be impolite. While about half of my English informants considered that the British use more indirect forms, only four of them considered that they themselves use indirect forms, and 10 described themselves as using direct forms. Such contradictory views shed light on the importance of considering the ideological difference between how people feel they and others *should* speak and how they *do* speak.

6.3. Focus Group Analysis

I organised the focus group responses into 6 categories, determined according to the answers of my informants in the different focus group discussions. As I mentioned in section 5.5.2.3., I conducted three focus group discussions: two for Libyan Arab informants (one each for males and females, respectively) and one was for the English informants, both males and females together.

6.3.1. Defining Directness and Indirectness:

The English focus group informants (see Appendix E for the English focus group, pp. 177-189) stated that directness is explicit, while the meaning of indirectness is implicit (see Appendix E, p. 177, lines: 9-17):

- Defining directness and indirectness by the English informants

9- K: So direct is speaking (0.5) directly to somebody (0.3) and indirect is (.)
10- M: Like making a comment
11- P: Not clear
12- K: So for example I might say to John (2) emm your shirt doesn't suit you (.) to his face
13- (1.3) or indirect (.) might be to say that
14- ((Noise, not clear))
15- K: Although it'd be like Jo:::hn =
[
16- M: Now sometimes
[
17- K: = worn a pink suit a pink shirt then
[
18- D: Yeah ((laughter))
[
19- P: Yeah ((laughter))

Thus, directness and indirectness, according to the above view, can be seen as a way of giving an opinion about somebody or something by some of the English informants.

However, directness and indirectness can also be judged according to the way of giving answers or information (see Appendix E, p. 77, lines: 20- 23), as follows:

20- M: Yeah but sometimes direct
21- and indirect is like I said are we meeting on Saturday and the person I said it to went oh
22- aaa o:h I d o:h (0.4) and gave me an indirect answer (.) so I assumed that it is still going
23- to be happening (0.6) had she's just given me a direct answer and said no

The Arab informants considered directness as a way of conveying messages through the words uttered. However, it was perceived more as something to do with criticism, that is to send impolite messages directly to the target (See Appendix C, pp. 73-74, lines: 3-8 and Appendix D, p. 131, lines: 3-6), as follows:

- Defining directness by Libyan Arab female informants

ف: (2) الكلام	المباش::ر	يعني	ال	اا	زي	ما	نقولوا	الهدرزة	العادية
ʔalkala:m	ʔalmuba:ʃer	jaʕnj	ʔal	aa	zaj	ma	nqwlu:	ʔalhadirza	ʔaʕa:di:a
the speech	the direct	the mean	the	aa	as	like	say wa	talking	the normal
3- F	(2) Direct spee::ch means the aa like, we can say colloquial speech								

ف: الكلام	العادي (.)	ما	يعني اا ما	تقصد	من	وراه (.)	غير
			]				
ʔalkala:m	ʔalʕa:dj	ma	jaʕnj aa ma	matuqsud	min	wara:h	ɣair
the speech	the normal	not	mean aa not	not mean you	from	it behind	not
4- F	informal speech (.) I mean aa I just (.) mean						
			[				

]
(أصوات في الخلفية)
[
((voices in the background))

ف: اللي	اللي	قلته	بالزبط	يعني (.)	الكلام (1)	المعنى	في	الكلام
ʔillj	ʔillj	qultah	bizzabitˁ	jaʕnj	ʔalkala:m	ʔalmaʕnà	fj	ʔalkala:m
that	that	it said I	exactly	mean	the speech	the meaning	in	the speech
5- F	exactly what I said, I mean (.) the speech (1) the meaning of speech							

ف: اللي اا صار↓ (.) فهمتيني (.) الحديث (1) المعنى متاعه (.) يعني مش]	
ʔillj aa sˁa:r fhamti:nj ʔalħadi:θ ʔalmaʕnà mta:ʕah jaʕnj miʃ	
that aa happened understood me the speech the meaning it's mean not	
6- F	I uttered ↓ (.) OK. (.) the speech (1) its meaning (.) I mean is not [

ح: واضح	
wadˁiħ	
clear	
7- H	Is clear

ف: واضح ماهوش اا (.) ما يبيش تفكير أو يعني باش ادور	
wadˁiħ ma:hu:ʃ aa majebbi:ʃ tafki:r ʔaw jaʕnj ba:ʃ ʔiddawir	
clear not it no aa not want it no thinking or mean to look for you	
8- F	It's clear and it's not aa (.) it does not need to think about or, I mean, to look for

- Defining directness by Libyan Arab male informants

ز: يعني ف ف بما معناه (0.5) تجي للشخص يعني (.) اااا بتقوله تنتقده	
jaʕnj bima f f maʕnah tʒj liʃʃaχsˁ jaʕnj bitqu:lah tintiqdah	
mean what w w it mean come you the person to mean say you will criticize him	
3- Z	It means a a as when (0.5) you say to someone I mean (.) you say, you criticize him

بشي بحاجة معينة مرات تجيه مباشرة بتقوله انت (.)	
biʃaj biħaʒa muʕainah marrat tʒi:h muba:ʃaratan bitqu:llah ʔinta	
thing thing specific sometimes him come directly him say you will you	
4- Z	for a specific thing he did sometimes you criticize him directly as when you say you (.)

فيك و فيك	
fi:k wa fi:k	
you in and you in	
5- Z	did this or did that

ن: ماكش كويس	
]	
makiχ kwai:s	
not you no good	
6- N	You are not good

As in the case with the English informants, the meaning of indirect speech was seen as implicit by the Arab participants. However, indirectness was also linked to criticism and

causing offence by the Arab interviewers (See Appendix C, p. 74, lines: 9-13; and Appendix D, p. 131-132, lines: 7-15) as follows:

- Defining Indirectness by Libyan Arab female informants

ف: المعنى متاعه عادي كلام (.) بس كلام الكلام غير المباشر نتوقع	
?almaʕnà mta:ʕah ʕa:dj kala:m bas kala:m ?alkala:m ɣair ?almuba:ʃer nitwaqqaʕ	
the meaning its normal speech but speech the speech not the direct expect I	
9- F	its meaning, it is normal speech (.) but indirect speech, I assume,

ف: انه يكون الكلام اللي (1) المعنى متاعه مخبىء بين السطور	
?innah jaku:n ?alkala:m ?illj (1) ?almaʕnà mta:ʕah muχaba? bajn ?alsutˁu:r	
that it be the speech that (1) its meaning hidden it between lines	
10- F	It is the kind of speech whereby (1) its meaning is hidden behind words

س: تقصد بيه شيء اخر	
tuqsˁud bi:h ʃaj? ?a:χar	
mean you it with thing another	
11- S	You use it to mean something else

ف: أو تقصد (.) كلام يعني مش هو نفس المعنى اللي انت	
?aw tuqsˁud (.) kala:m jaʕnj miʃ hu:a nafis ?almaʕnà ?illj ?inta	
or mean you speech mean not it same the meaning that you	
12- F	Or you mean (.) another meaning other than the one you

ف: قلته (.) لازم يعني تبحث (.) أو:::: ادور على المعنى باش	
qultah (.) la:zim jaʕnj tabħaθ (.) ?aw ?iddwir ʕalà ?almaʕnà ba:ʃ	
it said you should it mean look for you (.) or look for you on the meaning to	
13- F	said (.) you have to look for (.) o:::r find the meaning to

- Defining Indirectness by Libyan Arab male informants

ز:مش كويس والا درت حاجة مش كويسة (.) والا في وقت تاني بتجي تلف لفان	
miʃ kwai:s walla dirt ħa:ʒa miʃ kwai:sa (.) walla fj waqit tanj bitʒj tlif Laffan	
not good or did thing not good (.) or in time another you come you turn turning	
7- Z	[
8-	It could be you are not good or you did something bad (.) or sometimes you just go around

عليه بتقوله راه الكلام هدا مش كويس في ناس تقول في الكلام	
ʕalaih bitqu:lah rah ?alkla:m hada miʃ kwai:s fj na:s taqu:l fj ?alkala:m	
on him say you will him is this the speech not good in people say you of the speech	
9- Z	and say that what you said is not good and there are some people who say

	هدا مش كويس والا قلة ادب يعني بطريقة (0.3) bitari:qa jaʕnj ʔadab qillat walla kwai:s miʃ hada way in mean polite non or good not this
10-Z	such bad things or that is impolite I mean in a way (0.3)

م:	تجيبهاله ماتبيش توصله الدوة ان هو اللي قاله tʒi:bhalah matibbi:ʃ twasʕillah ʔaddu:a ʔinnah hu:a ʔillj qa:lah him to it bring you not want you no him reach you the speech that he that it said
11- M	In a way that does not make him feel that he was intended by the speech

	اللي قال الكلام هدا والا] qa:l ʔillj ʔalkala:m hada walla said that the speech this or
12- M	or he was the person who said that or [

ز:	] بتوصلهاله بطريقة (.) بتلف لفان و توصلهاله بمعنى bitwasʕulha:lah bitari:qa bitliff laffa:n wa twasʕulha:lah bimaʕna him to it reach you way with turn you will turning and him to it reach you meaning with
13- Z	[You convey it in a way (.) you go around and make him understand the meaning

Some of the Arab participants, particularly females, even went further and described indirect speech using the idiom 'making meanings' (or literally 'beating meaning ضرب معاني') which means conveying hidden offensive messages to the hearer indirectly (Appendix C, pp. 74-75, lines: 14-17),[154] as follows:

ف:	تفهمه ووو (.) و نتوقع الكلام الغير مباشر tafahmah wa www netwaqqaʕ alkali:m alɣajr ʔalmuba:ʃer it understand you and aaa expect I the speech the not the direct
14- F	to understand it and aaa (.) and I think indirect speech

[154]Examples are provided through analysing the Arab focus group discussions.

	المعاني	ضرب	نقولوا:(.)	زي ما	يعني	الحاجات	في	ف: يستخدم]
	almʕɑ:nj	dˁrb	nqwlu:	zajma	jʕnj	ʔilħa:ʒa:t	fj	justχdam
	meanings	beating	say we as	like	mean	thethings	in	used
15-F:	is used for things like (.) 'making meanings' [							

					]
		المعاني	ضرب (غير واضح)]		ن: الليبيين
		almʕɑ:nj	fdˁrb		ʔallibjji:n
		the meanings	beating		Libyans
16- N:	[Libyan people ((not clear)) 'making meanings' [				

						]
	المباشر	غير	الكلام	المعاني	ضرب]	س: عندي
	almuba:ʃer	ɣajr	alkali:m	almʕɑ:nj	dˁrb	ʕindj
	the direct	not	the speech	the meanings	making	have I
17- S	[I see indirect speech as 'making meanings'					

Thus, although directness and indirectness seem to be defined similarly by both the Arab and English informants, they seem to be perceived to have different functions by both groups, as I show in the following section.

6.3.2. Using Directness and Indirectness:

Using direct or indirect forms of speech, according to my informants, depends on many factors, such as the situation, the relationship between interlocutors and so on. For example, directness is claimed by both the English and Arab groups to be used more among people who have a close relationship to each other (such as members of the same family, close friends and so on) (see Appendix C, pp. 80-81 lines: 54-58, Appendix E, pp. 180-181, lines: 101-113, and p. 185, lines: 222-243). Using directness is also seen as a matter of power: it is

used more by superiors towards inferiors than vice versa, such as when managers speak to their employees (see Appendix D, pp. 153-154, lines: 193-198),[155] parents to their children (see Appendix E, pp. 185-186, lines: 244-255; Appendix D, pp. 145-146, lines: 129-137),[156] and teachers to their students (see Appendix E, p. 182, lines: 145-147). However, for the English informants, directness is mostly used with and accepted from children, but avoided with adults (see Appendix E, p. 184, lines: 195-221). Directness is seen as required in some situations: for the male Libyan informants, for example, it is required to show the magnitude of a mistake that someone has made (a son, for example), which might lose its effect if it were said indirectly (see Appendix D, pp. 140-141, lines: 86-96). In this example, according to my informant, the father needs to speak directly to his son to show him the enormity of his fault, because if he spoke indirectly, his son might feel that his mistake was less serious than it actually was. Thus, according to the informant, indirectness in such a case is less effective than directness.

For the English participants, directness is required in giving directions (e.g. when coaching somebody) (see Appendix E, p. 180, lines: 83-85), issuing exact answers to avoid confusion which might be caused when speaking indirectly (see Appendix E, p. 177, lines: 20-29) or providing important information (e.g. medical or urgent information) (see Appendix E, p. 189, lines: 336-338). However, the English informants pointed out that using

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[155]However, some of the English participants pointed out that they can speak directly to their head teacher and give direct opinions about him (commenting on his shirt, for example) to his face, due to their close friendship. That shows that solidarity can be more important than power in relationships among friends (see Grainger 2004 on the importance of solidarity).

[156]Both groups, Arab and English, mentioned that the younger generation (e.g. sons and daughters) are more direct to their parents than the older generation were, like themselves. However, requests, for example, are usually made directly in Libyan Arabic either by parents or children. However, children usually use certain kinds of intonation to soften its impact, as we will see in Chapter 7.

directness, particularly in making requests, can upset or even hurt others (see below) so they tend to use indirect forms for requests (see Appendix E, p. 183, lines: 174-186). This may be attributed to the stereotypical cultural norms in Britain where "requests ... are perceived as impositions to a greater extent and they are preferably expressed more elaborately and indirectly" (Sifianou, 1992: 42):

174- Z: So (.) when you want to requ to:: request something you sometimes can't say it
175 directly just try to =
[
176-P: Yeah
[
177- J: Yeah
[
178- D: Yeah
[
179- Z: find a way
[
180- D: You don't want to hurt the person
[
181- J: I think (.) there is a worry that if you're direct with
182- somebody that you might (.)
183- R: Upset them
[
184- J: Upset them yeah hurt them
185- D: you'd not actually get the best from people always as well you can actually get for
186- more and and (0.5) it sort of shows more (not clear)

Indirectness is also preferred by the English participants when criticizing somebody or being criticised, and is seen as a more polite approach than direct criticism. However, direct criticism can be accepted as long as it is analytical and factual (see Appendix G, p. 188, lines: 307-324), not just a personal opinion.

Direct requests, particularly if conceived of as being very serious (e.g. borrowing a car or requesting money) were also seen as impolite by the Libyan focus group informants,

who mentioned that using this type of speech is seen as an indication of an impolite person who was described as 'a strong-faced person وجهه صحيح [157]', which means someone who does not care about the imposition which might be caused due to his/her direct requests (see Appendix D, pp. 148-149, lines: 156-163).

However, directness was seen to be preferable for requests in certain situations (e.g. less serious things, such as turning on a heater) by the Arab informants (see Appendix C, pp. 111-114., Lines: 264-287, and Appendix D, pp. 159-160, lines: 239-246), because they prefer to get straight to the point. However, there was a difference between the male and female Libyan participants with regard to preferring direct or indirect forms in expressing or receiving criticism, which was also different from that of the English informants. Although indirect forms were preferred by both groups in criticising others, the reasons behind this preference differ in some respects: for both Arab groups, male and female, indirectness can often mitigate the meaning. For example, instead of criticising somebody for not being generous directly, as one male Libyan informant suggested, people can use generalisation by talking to others, in the presence of such a person, about the dreadfulness of such a character and how miserly people are not liked nor accepted by others in society (see Appendix D, pp. 165-166, Lines: 280-293). However, it is striking that the informant who mentioned this example used the phrase 'throw words يعزق الكلام' which is usually used to convey offensive messages indirectly:

[157]The Libyan expression used when criticising somebody, directly or indirectly, and the offended person, for some reason, cannot retaliate.

	] س: = فيك عيب معين (.) ما نجيش نقول مثلا (.) لا قدر الله fi:k ʕajb muʃajen manʒi:ʃ nqu:l maθalan laqaddar ʔallah you in fault specific I no come say I for example forbid God
280- S 281-	[If you suffer from a certain shortcoming (.) I can't just say for example (.) God forbid

	مثلا (.) ااا فتحي هذا مثلا (.) مثلا (.) يعني (.) والا مهند
	maθalan aaa fatħj haða maθalan maθalan jaʃnj walla muhannad
	maθalan aaa Fathi this for example for example mean or Muhannad
282- S	For example (.) aaa (Fathi) for example (.) for example I mean (.) or (Muhannad)

	مثلا (.) رجل اا عنده مشاكل والا رجل أخلاقه مش كويسة
	maθalan raʒul aa ʕindah maʃa:kil walla raʒul ʔaχla:qah miʃ kwajsa
	for example man aa has he problems or man his morals not good
283- S	For example (.) was a man aa who suffers from shortcomings or he was ill-bred

	والا رجل بخيل والا رجل (.) نبقى نحن كجماعة هكي نعزقوا
	walla raʒul baχi:l walla raʒul nabqà naħna kaʒama:ʕa hikkj naʕizqu:
	or man stingy or man stay we we as a group like that throw we
284- S	or he was stingy or he was (.) we as a group would just throw words

	فيها والله فلان هذا والله البخل مش كويس والله مش عارف
	fi:ha wallahi fula:n haða wallahi ʔalbuχl miʃ kwajs miʃ wallahi ʕa:rif
	it in God by man this God by the stinginess not good not God by know I
285- S 286-	towards him, we would say for example, this man is, or by God [really] stinginess is not good and things like that

	فيه كان كذا كذا اللي الزمن في فلان يعني (.) فلان والله ايش
	fi:h ka:n kaða kaða ʔillj ʔazzaman fj fula:n jaʃnj fula:n wallahi ʔajʃ
	it in was like that like that that age in man mean man God by what
287- S	by God = [really] that man I mean (.) we would say for example, in the past there

	واجدات مشاكله كانت والا هني (.) والا ايش عارف مش كان بخيل واحد
	waʒda:t maʃa:klah ka:nit walla hnj walla ʔajʃ ʕa:rif miʃ ka:n baχi:l wa:ħid
	many his problems were or here or what know I not was stingy one
288- S 289-	was a man who was stingy and things like that (.) or he was suffering from lots of problems

	والا الناس كانت تكرهه لانه بخيل
	walla ʔanna:s ka:nit takerhah liʔannah baχi:l
	or the people were him hate they him because stingy
290- S	or people hated him because he was stingy [

	بخيل	اضله	معاش	و	بخيل	انت	تقوله	] ن: ما تجيش
	baχi:l	ʔadˁallah	maʃa:ʃ	wa	baχi:l	ʔinta	tqu:lah	ma:tʒi:ʃ
	stingy	stay you	not	and	stingy	you	him to say you	not come it no
291- N	[It is very difficult to just say 'you are stingy and don't be like that'							

	((ضحك))]
((Laughter)) [	

	ماتحبش	ما	ما	دائما	الناس	والله	واجدات	مشاكله	] س: والا
	maṯibbiʃ	ma	ma	da:ʔiman	ʔanna:s	wallahi	wa:ʒda:t	maʃa:klah	walla
	not like they no	no	no	always	the people	God by	many	his problems	or
292- S	Or he had many problems and people usually don't like to {socialise with}								

	واجدات	مشاكلهم]	اللي	الناس	تخالط
	wa:ʒda:t	maʃa:kilhum	ʔillj	ʔanna:s	tuχa:litˁ
	many	their problems	who	the people	do relations
293- S	those who have many problems				

Thus, in this example, instead of criticising the target person for not being generous directly, the informant used an indirect strategy, which was generalising the meaning to convey his message without confronting or embarrassing the target. However, although this informant claimed that indirect criticism is used to avoid embarrassing others (this may be true because the target was not accused directly of miserliness), using the phrase 'throw words' gives the impression that these words may have a negative impact on the target. For example, if a physical thing is thrown (e.g. a stone), a person may be hurt physically. By the same token, if words are 'thrown' towards somebody, they may be hurt emotionally. Furthermore, direct criticism was evaluated negatively by the male Libyans, who described it as 'punching in someone's teeth يعطيهاله في السنون' = [being blunt] (see Appendix D, p. 143, lines: 111-114) and as an indication of an impolite person.

For the female Libyan informants, indirectness can be used to mitigate the meaning of criticism (see Appendix C, p. 77, line: 34), but also because of a fear of confrontation (see Appendix C, pp. 77-78, lines: 35-37),[158] fear of reaction (see Appendix C, p. 88, lines: 109-111), or fear of revenge, which might be instant or delayed (see Appendix C, p. 88, lines: 115-116).[159] In this case, the offended person uses the same indirect strategy that is used by the offender and usually talks about the same subject for retaliation. To illustrate this point, consider the following example (see Appendix C, pp. 90-91, lines: 126-136), which was mentioned by one of my female Libyan informants:

يقعمزوا	جرحتني	سابق	موقف	في	يعني	هكي	واحدة	عندي	أنا :س
jqaʕmzu:	ʒurħitnj	sabiq	mawqif	fj	jaʕnj	hikkj	waħda	ʕindj	ʔana
sitting they	they me hurt she	previous	event	in	mean	like	one	I have	I
126- S	I used to have {female} friends who hurt me in a previous situation while sitting in
127-	a group

أنا	بيه	يقصدوا	حسيت	انا	كلام	قالو	و (.)	مجموعة	بعض	مع :س
ʔana	bi:h	juqusˁdw	ħassait	ʔana	kala:m	qa:lu:	wa	maʒmu:ʕa	baʕdˁ	maʕa
I	it of	mean they	felt I	I	speech	said they	and	group	together	with
128- S	together and they said something I felt I was meant by it

مشكلة	ما نبيش	حاجة	أول	أسباب	لعدة	ممكن	أنا	(0.6) طبعا :س
muʃkla	manibbi:ʃ	ħ:aʒa	ʔwal	ʔasb:ab	liʕiddat	mumkin	ʔana	tˁabʕan
problem	not want no	thing	first	reasons	many for	may	I	of course
129- S	(0.6) of course maybe for many reasons, first of all I didn't want to create a
130-	problem,

(0.5) خلاص	و	ما سماعتاش	روحي	درت	يعني	(0.6) نواجه	ما نبيش	:س
χalasˁ	wa	masmaʕtaʃ	ru:ħi:	dirt	jaʕnj	nwaʒah	manibbi:ʃ	
that is it	and	not it heard I no	myself	did	mean	face I	not want no	
131- S	I didn't want to face them (0.6) I mean I pretended I didn't hear it (0.5)

[158]It should be noted that 'fear of confrontation' may mean 'to avoid an argument' rather than 'avoid embarrassing others' which is the expected meaning of this phrase. In this case, the offence is intended, and indirectness is simply used to avoid the risk of retaliation.

[159]By 'delayed revenge' here, I mean that the offended person cannot retaliate immediately (e.g. cannot find the words), so they postpone their retaliation for another 'suitable' context when they can take revenge on the offender.

س: فيه موقف تاني يعني صارلي و حسيت ان أنا	
fi:h mawquf tanj jaʕnj sˁarlj wa ħassait ʔinna ʔana	
it in event another mean me to happened and I felt that I	
132- S	there was another situation, I mean, happened to me and I felt

س: في هديك اللحضة نقدر نجرحهم (0.5) قلته بطريقة غير مباشرة يعني [	
hadi:k fj allaħdˁa niqdir niʒraħhum (0.5) qwltah bitˁariqa ɣair muba:ʃra jaʕnj	
that in moment was able I them hurt I it said I way with not directly mean	
133- S	that I was able to hurt them at that moment (0.5) I said it in an indirect way I mean [

	ز: رديتيها [نفس الشي يعني
	raddjtjha nafs alʃaj jaʕnj
	it replied you same the thing mean
134- Z	[You got even with them, didn't you?

	س: مسحت على كبدي ((ضحك)) [
	masħat ʕala kabdj
	wiped I on my liver
135- S:	I retaliated ((laughter)) [

	] ((ضحك))
[((laughter))	

	ز: ((ضحك)) انتقام يعني ((ضحك)) [
	ʔintiqam jaʕnj
	revenge mean
136- Z:	[((Laughter)) revenge, wasn't it? ((laughter))

However, one of the main reasons mentioned by my female informants for using indirectness to cause offence was that it allows deniability. For them, not only does it allow the offender to avoid the risk of retaliation, but it also gives them greater freedom to use highly offensive words to attack the target. Consider the following example (see Appendix C, pp. 103-105, lines: 215-226):

ح: لما نجي نلقحلها من بعيد تعرفي هديك دراه كبد	
lamma nʒj nlaqaħilha min baʕi:d taʕurfj hadika drah kabid	
when I come her use meanings from far know you that one disgusting liver	
215- H	So when I use meanings I say you know, that person {female} is unbearable ((not clear))

ح: لا مش عليك انت نقصدوا راه (.) كنا نتكلموا علي واحدة تانيه هي	
la miʃ ʕalaik ʔinti nuqusˁdu: rah kunna nitkalmu: ʕala waħda tania hai	
no not about you you mean we anyway were we speak about one another ok	
216- H	no, it is not about you, we don't mean you (.) we were talking about someone else

ف: امم	
Emmm	
217- F	Emmm

ح: مش عليك انت	
]	
miʃ ʕalaik ʔinti	
not you about you	
218- H	It wasn't about you
	[

ز: ايه ايه	
]	
ʔaih ʔaih	
yes yes	
219- Z	Yes yes
	[

]	
ح: خيرك انت مش واثقة فينا والا ما عنكش ثقة في نفسك	
χairik ʔinti miʃ waθqa fi:na walla maʕindikiʃ θiqa fj nafsik	
you why you not confident us of or not you have no confidence in yourself	
220- H	what's wrong with you, don't you trust us or are you unconfident

ف: ((ضحك))	
]	
221- F	((Laughter))
	[

ز: صح انت ما	
]	
sˁaħ ʔinti ma	
right you not	
222- Z	Yes you didn't …
	[

	انت (.)	عليك	تحسابيه	تسمعيه	شي	كل	انت	ح: والا
	ʔinti	ʕalaik	taħsabl̪i:h	tasimʕi:h	ʃaj	kul	ʔinti	walla
	you	you about	it think you	it hear you	thing	every	you	or
223- H	[Or anything you hear you think it is about you							

		ايه	س: ايه
		]	
		ʔaih	ʔaih
		yes	yes
224- S	Yes yes [		

			]
		مش ااا	ز: يعني
			]
		miʃ	jaʕnj
		not	mean
225- Z	[not it means aaa … [		

		فهمتي	نرجع	] ح: نقدر
		]		
		fahamtj	narʒaʕ	niqder
		understood you	got back I	can I
226- H	[I can deny it, understand?			

Another female Arab informant also mentioned that it is difficult to accuse another of causing offence when it is indirect, because they would simply deny it, and she used the expression 'whoever is ill their elbows will hurt them صاحب العلة ينخصوه مرافقه [160], to describe the reaction of the offender if confronted. Thus, in such cases, the offended person cannot retaliate or confront, because they would be offended (see the example above) so the claim that indirectness is more polite, because it opens up options for the hearer (Leech, 1983),

[160]This expression is usually used by the offender as a 'shell' to deny the offensive action if they are confronted, and to show that the offended person would not feel bad about the offence, if they do not suffer from the shortcomings of which the offender is accusing them.

appears to be invalid, as far as such cases are concerned, because the options here are extremely restricted.[161] For this reason, the female Libyan informants prefer to be criticised directly in order to have the opportunity to defend themselves. One of the informants even went further, stating the Libyan saying that 'whoever likes you will criticise you directly to your face not behind your back اللي يبيك يقوهالك في وجهك مش من وراك' to show that direct criticism, in general, is better. However, because of the vague nature of indirectness, and due to the notion of generalising meaning, which seems to be conventionalised among the Libyan informants, indirectness is sometimes misunderstood as being offensive when it is not intended to cause offence. For example, one of the female Libyan informants (see Appendix C, pp. 94-95, lines: 156-161) pointed out that she sometimes says something, but then regrets saying it, because it might be misunderstood. For example, the speaker might talk about the importance of education in the presence of a non-educated person who might regard this speech as about themselves, when it is not, and feel upset because of it. She pointed out that:

	أ: فيه اللي يقولك حاجة غير مباشرة مثلا (0.6) و بعدين
	fi:h ʔillj jaqu:lik ħaʒa ɣair muba:ʃira maθalan wa baʕdai:n
	it in who you to say he something not direct for example and later
156- A	Sometime someone says something indirectly for example (0.6) but then

	أ: يندم عليها أنا صايرتلي أنا (0.5) شخصيا (0.5) والله ما =
	]
	jandam ʕalajha ʔana sˁajritlj ʔanan ʃaχsˁjan wallahi ma
	regret he it on I me to happened it I personally God by not
157- A	regrets saying it this happened to me (0.5) personally (0.5) and I really didn't=
	[

[161]More examples and discussion are provided in the following chapter.

	ز: تنفهم [غلط] tanifhim [ɣalatˤ] understood it [wrong]
158- Z	[it is misunderstood [

	أ:-= ما [عندي أي نية سيئة بيها] ma [Ɛindi: ʔaj ni:a saj?a bi:ha] I have not [any intention bad it of]
159- A	[I didn't have any bad intention [

	ف: لأن [عندنا حني فكرة الكلام غير المباشر li?anna [Ɛindna ħnai fikrat alkala:m ɣair almuba:ʃer because [we have we notion the speech not the direct
160- F	[Because we have the notion of indirect speech

	أ: ايه ?aih yes
161- A	Yes

As generalising meanings is conventionalised in Libyan Arabic as a way of conveying hidden messages, mainly impolite ones, incidents such as that described in the above example might cause offence, because they are misunderstood.

6.3.3. Direct or Indirect

The English informants seemed to be more certain about what constitutes directness and indirectness, while there was confusion among some of the Arab participants, both males and females, regarding the difference between indirect speech and using polite expressions to soften the impact of directness. For example, one female Libyan informant (see, Appendix C,

pp. 80-82, lines: 54-68) mentioned that she usually uses and accepts direct forms when making requests to members of her family, but not strangers. She pointed out that:

	مثلا	امية	جيبيلي	قالتلي	و	أختي	جتني	لو
	maθalan	immaja	ʒjbjlj	qalitlj	wa	ʔuχtj	ʒitnj	law
	for example	water	me to bring	me to said she	and	my sister	me came	if
54-S	If my sister said to me bring me water for example							

	منها	ما نزعلش	الامر	بصيغة	قالتهالي	لو	حتى
	minha	manizʒilʃ	ʔalʔamr	bisˁiɣat	qalithalj	law	ħatta
	her of	not upset I no	the order	form with	me to it said she	if	even
55- S	even if she uses an order form I will not get upset with her						

		أختي =	لأنها
		]	
		ʔuχtj	liʔanha
		my sister	she because
56- S	because she is my sister		
	[		

			]
		عادي .	ايه
			]
		ʕa:dj	ʔaih
		normal	yes
	[		
57-F	Yes, that is OK.		

	لو	(.) الحوش	في	بعضنا	مع	اياها	و	أنا	ديمة	هده
	law	alħu:ʃ	fj	bʕdˁna	maʕa	ʔiha	wa	ʔana	di:ma	hadih
	if	home the	in	together	with	her with	and	I	always	this
58-S	This is me and her with each other always at home (.) but if, for example,									

	مم=	يعني	مش	يعني	مثلا	أو	ما نعرفاش	تاني	حد	مثلا
	]									
	mm	jaʕnj	miʃ	jaʕnj	maθalan	ʔaw	manaʕrfaʃ	tanj	ħad	maθalan
	mm	mean	not	mean	for example	or	not know I no	else	someone	for example
59- S	it was someone who I don't know very well or for example I mean not, I mean errr=									
										[

	ح: مش مقرب زي أختي] miʃ muqarrab zai ʔuχtj not close like my sister
60- H	[Not close like my sister [

	س: = صلة القرابة بيناتنا مش قوية (.) يستحسن إنها تكون بأدب] sˁilaṯ alaraba bainatna miʃ qawi:a justaħsan ʔinnha tku:n biʔadab relation closeness us between not strong better it be politeness with
61- S	[= We are not very close, it should be said politely

	س: مثلا الله يرحم والديك لو سمحتي من فضلك والا maθalan Allah yarħam waldai:k law samaħtj min fadˁlik walla for example God bless your parents if you allow of your favour or
62-S 63	for example: may God bless your parents, if you allow = [please (formal)] do a favour = [please (formal)] or

	س: معليشي سامحيني] maʕlaiʃj samħjnj me excuse me forgive
64- S	excuse me (informal), forgive me = [please (informal)] [

	ز: بعدها؟ (1.3)] baʕdha it after
65-Z	[And then? (1.2)

	س: بعدها أكيدة أنا] baʕdha ʔaki:da ʔana it after sure I
66- S	And then I would say [

	] ز: جيبيلي اميه ʒjbjlj immaja me to bring water
67- Z	[Bring me water

	س: ايه بعدين ʔaih baʕdain yes later
68- S	Yes later

What the participant seems to be suggesting is that she does not use polite formulaic expressions when with her family due to their closeness to each other. However, her claim about using such formulaic expressions, especially formal ones, was challenged by other informants, even with strangers, and seen as 'unnecessary' (see Appendix C, pp. 106-108, lines: 236-241). It is striking that, when this informant was challenged about the unpopularity of using polite expressions, she insisted on using informal expressions (e.g. excuse me, my sister) rather than formal ones (e.g. please)[162] which might indicate the limitations associated with using formal polite expressions even with strangers, as follows:

	] أ: يا ودي ما عندناش من فضلك و الله الا غير زيادة نحس فيها انا] jawiddj maʕindna:ʃ min fadˁlik wallahi ʔilla ɣair zjada nħiss fi:ha ʔana love not we have no from favour God by but just addition feel I it in I
236- A	[But love we don't use please {formal} by God [really] I think it is unnecessary [

[162]It should be noted that some apology formulae (e.g. forgive me) can sometimes be used to express pleas or even gratitude in Libya Arabic. When used as gratitude, it is sometimes followed by 'I'm troubling you متاعبك'even for small favours to show that thesefavours are truly appreciated.

	س: عندنا و الله الا نقولوا معليشي يا اخويتي = ʕindna wallahi ʔilla nqu:lu: maʕlaiʃʃ ja ʔuχajtj we have God by but say we excuse me oh my sister
237- S	We use it by God = [really] we say excuse me {informal} my little sister

	أ: والله ما فيه fi:h ma wallahi it in not God by
238- A	By God = [really] it is not used

	س: = لو سمحتي (غير واضح) law samaħtj if allowed you
239- S	= Please {formal}

	أ: باهي معليشي باهي معليشي bahj maʕlaiʃʃ bahj maʕlaiʃʃ ok excuse me ok excuse me
240- A	Excuse me {informal} is fine excuse me is fine

	ن: بالله عليك هذه نقولوا فيها بالله عليك billahi ʕalaik hadih nqu:lw fi:ha billahi ʕalaik God with you on this we say it in God with you on
241- N	'For God's sake' we usually use it 'for God's sake'

Another example was the confusion between indirectness and what we can call 'openers', or 'pre-requests',[163] which are the small interactions that precede requests. That is, people in general, as Mills (2003) argues, are usually motivated by short-term goals "that they wish to achieve in the here and now; but they also have longer term goals" (Mills, 2003: 40). In order to achieve such goals in making requests, for example, particularly if they are serious, people tend to open their conversations with general questions about the person's health, family and so on (see Appendix D, pp 162-163, line: 263-270) which save both the interlocutors' faces and mitigate the imposition which might be provoked when asking for a favour directly. Thus, in order to avoid being accused of being 'a strong-faced person', Arab people may use such openers before making the request which is direct. Consider the following example:

	(.) سفر جواز	نبي	تقوله	عليه	توقف	انت	] ف: تجي
	safar ʒawa:z	nibbj	tqu:lah	ʕalaih	tu:qif	ʔinta	tʒj
	passport	want I	him to say you	him at	stand you	you	come you
263- F	[If you need a passport {for example}, would you request it directly (.)						

		سمحت	لو	ر: تقوله
		] samaħat	law	tqu:lah
		allow you	if	him to say you
264- R	You would say please [			

[163]Levinson (1983) suggests thatsome speech acts, such as requests, are unavoidable, as they are frequent in a variety of everyday conversations. According to Levinson, in order to solve this problem, speakers can use preface speech acts called 'pre-sequences', by which he means "a certain kind of turn and a certain kind of sequence containing that type of turn" (1983: 345). If we take soliciting requests as an example,Levinson (1983:357) suggests that speakers tend to use 'pre-requests' to avoid rejection because "it allows the producer to check out whether a request is likely to succeed, and if not to avoid one in order to avoid its subsequent dispreferred response".

	] س: بتقولها لو سمحت هده bitqu:lha law samaħat hadj it say you will if allow you this
265- S	[You would say 'please'

	ف: شن حالك يا حاج شن اخبارك ان شاء الله الامور تمام] ʃin ħa:lik ja ħa:ʒ ʃin ʔaχba:rik ʔin ʃa:ʔ ʔallah ʔalʔumu:r tama:m what your state oh Hajj what your news if welling God the matters perfect
266- F	You would say, how are you how is it going, I hope everything is fine [

	] ر: هذا هذا أسلوب اخر هذا الادبيات] haða haða ʔuslu:b ʔa:χer haða ʔalʔadabja:t this this method another this the politeness
267- R	[This is another technique, this is politeness [

	] س: هذا الادبيات للمباشر] haða ʔalʔadabja:t lilmuba:ʃer this the politeness the direct to
268- S	[This is a polite direct speech [

	] ف: لكن ماتجيشي انت مباشر] lakin matʒi:ʃʃ ʔinta muba:ʃer but not come you no you direct
269- F	[But you can't say it directly [

	] ر: لكن الطلب مباشر] lakin ʔalt^{ʕ}alab muba:ʃer but the request direct
270- R	[But the request itself is direct

In this example, the informant F insisted on the importance of using the strategy of 'pre-requests' before making the request, regarding such a way as 'indirect'. However, the claim that such conversations are indirect was challenged by the other participants who insisted that the request itself is direct, so it cannot be counted as indirect (see the example above). According to the informants' discussion, the distinction between being rude (or a 'strong-faced person') or polite seems not to be due to the use of directness in requests, because they are direct in both cases. The distinction is due to whether openers are used or not, with serious requests. Another example mentioned by one of the male Arab informants was when the hearer prepares for direct criticism by softening it, by mentioning the good manners of the hearer before criticising him/her directly. Such a preparation for criticism can also be labelled as 'pre-criticism' rather than 'indirect'. For example, one male Arab informant pointed out that, in order to criticise someone (e.g. a friend), you need to prepare him for the criticism by reminding him of the close relationship you share, and then 'punch him in his face أعطيهاله في وجهه' which means criticising him directly. Thus, the criticism itself is direct rather than indirect, but the preparation for it can soften its impact, as in the following example (see Appendix D, p. 157, lines: 221-224):

	بينه	و	بينك	اللي	الصحبة	ال	ال	اديره
	bainah	wa	bainak	ʔillj	ʔalsˁuħba	ʔal	ʔal	ʔiddi:rah
	him between	and	you between	that	the friendship	the	the	it do you
221- N	you would start by reminding him of your close relationship and your friendship							

وجهه	في	تعطيهاله	بعدين	و	شني	عارف	مش	و	المحبة	و
]										
waʒhah	fj	taʕtˁi:halah	baʕdain	wa	ʃinj	ʕa:rif	miʃ	wa	almaħabba	wa
his face	in	him to give you	then	and	what	know	not	and	the relationship	and
222- N	whatever and then you punch him in his face = [punch meaning straight to his face]									

	صح	والله	صح	مقدمات	تعطيه	ايه	صح	[((ضحك)) ايه	ز:
	]								
	sˁaħ	wallahi	sˁaħ	muqaddima:t	taʕtˁi:h	ʔajh	sˁaħ	ʔajh	
	right	by God	right	preliminaries	him give you	yes	right	yes	
223- Z 224-	[((laughter)) yes right yes you have to prepare him for that right by God = [absolutely] right								

According to the above discussion, then, there seem to be many strategies that are used to mitigate the impact of direct speech (e.g. 'pre-requests' and 'pre-criticism') in Arabic. However, the evaluations of indirectness might differ from one situation to another, as I show in the following section.

6.3.4. Evaluations of Indirectness

One reason given by the English informants for using indirect speech is to avoid being impolite by speaking directly, as directness can sometimes be interpreted as rude (see Appendix E, p. 188, lines: 131-136):

131- M:But then sometimes I have to be indirect so that (.) I'm being polite (0.5) cause
132- sometimes it comes to rude as been ((not clear)) or shirty or whatever when it isn't
133- really intended so after thinking about it sometimes and not (.) going straight for the
134- K: Emmm
135- M: This is what I want (.) and this is what I'm going to ask John ask directly and
136- everybody is like how rude ((laughter)) so to think about it ((laughter))

Directness, then, can sometimes be misunderstood as being rude when this is not the intention. For example, one of my English participants mentioned that she regrets being so direct sometimes to others, because it might be interpreted negatively, while this is not her intention. She pointed out (see Appendix E, p. 189, lines: 358-365):

358- M: And also there're some things when you say something very directly (0.7) you (1)
359- can then relieve that moment and think I wish should said it this way I wish should said
360- it that way if it is memorable big (.) I've only had this opportunity to tell you once that

361- I'm pregn... if only I have this opportunity to tell you once and once I've said those that
362- words out (.) and then once they're out you think o:h wish could redo that and have a bit
363- more ((not clear))with it or redo that and be more subtle with it or (.) you know so (.)
364- being direct sometimes can leave you thinking wish I've made more (not clear) of that
365- ((laughter))

However, according to one English participant, avoiding direct forms is not only to avoid being impolite, but also to avoid being *seen* as impolite by others. He pointed out (see Appendix E, p. 183, lines: 131-136):

189- P: It's it's not just it's not just for that but
190- also (.) how (.) you perceive they will think about you (1.5) as well you know if you ask
191directly it's like oh oh how o::h Gosh yeah (.)
192- K: Have I upset them
[
193- P: Have I upset them
194- K: Yeah

Indirectness (as I have already mentioned) was seen by the English participants as a way of mitigating criticism, to avoid offending the hearer directly, as well as to avoid confrontation. However, it is sometimes seen as confusing (see Appendix E, p. 177, lines: 20-29; and p. 183, lines: 171-173), so directness is preferred in such cases. For the Libyan participants, indirectness can also be positive as well as negative. As in the case with the English participants, it is preferred when making requests (albeit serious ones) and to avoid confrontation and arguments with the hearer when criticising him/her. However, judging indirectness as negative by the Arabs seems to be different in some respects, not only between the Libyans and English, but also between the male and female Arab participants themselves, who mentioned several different reasons for using this type of speech. Indirectness was judged negatively by the male Arabs because, as I mentioned above, it does not have the same strength of direct speech in judging serious mistakes and because it might

not be understood by the hearer, so the goal of indirect speech is not achieved (see Appendix D, pp. 137-138`, lines: 65-69), as follows:

	] ف: هو هو أنا وجهة نضري عيب ال الكلام غير المباشر (.) ʔalmubaːʃer ɣair ʔalkalaːm ʔal ʕaib nadˁarj wiʒhat ʔana huːa huːa the direct not the speech the shortcoming my view point I it it
65- F	[It is, it is, from my point of view, the problem with indirect speech (.)

	انه مرات ʔinnah marrat it that sometimes
66- F	it sometimes

	ن: ماتوصلش (.) ماتوصلش الفكرة] matwasˁiliʃ matwasˁiliʃ ʔalfikra not reach you no not reach you no the idea
67- N	It doesn't convey (.) it doesn't convey the idea [

	] ف: ماتوصلش الفكرة (.) و بعدين يفقد قوة الحاجة نفسها] matwasˁiliʃ ʔalfikra wa baʕdain jaffqid quːaṯ ʔalħaʒa nafisha not reach you no the idea and then lose it power the thing itself
68- F	[it doesn't convey the idea (.) and the meaning itself might lose its influence [

	] ر: الحاجة صح اه (.) ʔalħaʒa sˁaħ ʔah the thing right yes
69- R	[The meaning right yes (.)

Thus, for the male Arab informants, indirect speech is not preferred in certain situations (such as the example above), because it might be misunderstood by the hearer. However, the Arab females judged indirectness itself as a negative way to convey an offensive message to hurt others deliberately. For example, one of the Arab female

participants pointed out that indirectness is mainly used to criticise others in Libyan society (see Appendix C, p. 83; lines: 73-77). Not only did other participants not challenge her claim, but they also agreed with her, as follows:

	عندنا	الليبي	مجتمعنا	في	نحن	لينا	بالنسبة	م:
	ʕindna	ʔalli:bj	muʒtamaʕna	fj	naħna	li:na	binnisba	
	have we	the Libyan	our society	in	we	us to	regard with	
73- M	For us as Libyans							

	العادي (0.5)	الكلام	في	العادية	الاجتماعات	في	المباشر	الكلام	م:
	alʕa:dj	alkala:m	fj	alʕadi:a	alʔiʒtimaʕa:t	fj	almuba:ʃer	alkala:m	
	the normal	the speech	in	the normal	the gatherings	in	the direct	the speech	
74- M	we use direct speech in informal gatherings in informal speech (0.5)								

	ننتقد	نبي	لما	مباشر	الغير	م:
	]					
	nuntaqid	nibbj	lamma	muba:ʃer	ʔalɣair	
	criticize we	want we	when	direct	the not	
75- M	indirect speech is used when I want to criticize {someone}					
	[					

	]
	أ: أيوه
	]
	ʔaiwah
	Yes
76- A	[Yes [

	]
	ن: امم صح
	]
	Saħ emm
	Right emm
77- N	[emm right

According to the female Arab informants, thus, indirectness is particularly used for criticism in Libyan Arabic. However, when the male participants were asked whether indirectness is used more by males or females, one of the participants pointed out that directness is mostly

used by men and linked that to strength and power, which is usually associated with masculinity, while women usually avoid *aggressive* situations which might result in direct speech; thus, for them, women are more indirect (see Appendix D, pp. 168-170, lines: 307-323):

	الرجال (2)	بين	أكتر	منتشر	مباشر	الغير	الكلام	أ: هل
	ʔarriʒa:l	bajn	ʔaktar	muntaʃer	muba:ʃer	ʔalʁair	ʔalkala:m	hal
	the men	between	more	widespread	direct	the not	the speech	do
307- A	Is indirect speech more common among men (2)							

		النساء	بين	أم
		ʔannisa:ʔ	bajn	ʔam
		the women	between	or
308- A	or women			

		ف: النساء (0.7)
		ʔannisa:ʔ
		the women
309- F	among women (0.7)	

		المباشر	غير	والا	المباشر	م: المباشر
		]				
		ʔalmuba:ʃer	ʁair	walla	ʔalmuba:ʃer	ʔalmuba:ʃer
		the direct	not	or t	he direct	the direct
310- M	Direct, direct or indirect?					
	[					

		مباشر	الغير	الكلام	] أ: ال
		]			
		muba:ʃer	ʔalʁair	ʔalkala:m	ʔal
		direct	the not	the speech	the
	[				
311- A	Indirect speech				
	[				

		النساء	بين	] ر:
		]		
		ʔannisa:ʔ	bajn	
		the women	between	
	[			
312- R	Among women			
	[			

	] بين النساء bajn ʔannisa:ʔ between the women
313- M	[Among women

((غير واضح))
((Not clear))

ف:	لانه	شنو	قلنا	علاش (1)	واحدة	من	الاسباب (.)	ان	الراجل
	liʔannah	ʃinw	qulna	ʕala:ʃ	wahida	min	ʔalʔasba:b	ʔinna	ʔarraʒil
	because	what	said we	why	one	of	the reasons	that	the man
314- F	Do you know why? (1) one of the reasons is that (.) men								

في	مواقف	معينة	عنده	نوع	من	القوة (0.5)	يمكن	يحس	روحه	قوي (.)
fj	mawaqif	muʕajana	ʕindah	nu:ʕ	min	ʔalqu:a	jumkin	jeħis	ru:ħah	qawj
in	situations	specific	has he	type	of	the power	possible it	feel he	he	strong
315- F	in certain situations have a kind of power (0.5) they might feel strong (.)									

يجي	قدام	مرة	والا	قدام	زوجته	والا	بنته
jeʒj	qidda:m	marah	walla	qidda:m	zawʒatah	walla	bintah
come he	in front of	woman	or	in front of	his wife	or	his daughter
316- F	so one might speak to a woman such as his wife or his daughter						

يكون	كلامه	مباشر	لكن	النساوين (0.4)	النساوين	بصفة	عامة (0.5) هده
jaku:n	kala:mah	muba:ʃer	lakin	ʔansa:wi:n	ʔansa:wi:n	bisʕifa	ʕa:mmah hadih
be	his speech	direct	but	the women	the women	in	general this
317- F	directly but women (0.4) women in general (0.5) usually						

متعودين	علي	حاجات	زي	هديا	ماهمش	متاعين	عنف (.)
mitʕu:di:n	ʕalà	ħa:ʒa:t	zaj	hadja	ma:humuʃ	mta:ʕi:n	ʕunf
accustomed they	on	things	like	this	not they no	of	violence
318- F	don't have a tendency to speak in an aggressive way (.)						

و	عادة	الكلام	المباشر	ديمة	ليه	ترتيبات	فيها	عنف
wa	ʕadatan	ʔalkala:m	ʔalmuba:ʃer	di:ma	li:h	tarti:ba:t	fi:ha	ʕunf
and	usually	the speech	the direct	always	have	arrangements	it in	violence
319- F	and direct speech is usually aggressive							

و	فيها	كدا	و	فيها	ردة فعل	سيئة	
wa	fi:ha	kada	wa	fi:ha	fiʕel raddat	saj?ah	
and	it in	like that	and	it in	reaction	bad	
320- F	and the reaction to it is usually bad and so on						

	للنساء]	شي (.)	أكتر	مباشر	الغير	الكلام	هو	أ: لكن
	linnisa:ʔ	ʃaj	ʔaktar	muba:ʃer	ʔalʁair	ʔalkala:m	hu:a	lakin
	the women to	thing	more	direct	the not	the speech	it	but
321- A	But indirect speech is more common among (.) women [							

	يبوا	لانهم	ليش (.)	هم	بيه	يتجاملوا	] ف: هم
	jebbu:	liʔannhum	lajʃ	humma	bi:h	jetʒa:mlu:	humma
	want they	them because	why	they	it with	compliment they	they
322- F	[They usually use it (.) because they want						

	منها	ما ينضروا	بدون	رسالتهم	يوصلوا
	minha	majendˤarru:	bidu:n	risa:lithum	jwsˤlu:
	it from	harm they	without	their massage	reach they
323- F	to convey their messages without being affected by them				

However, although the male Libyan informants tended to describe indirect speech as both positive and negative, depending on the situation and context, when asked whether the type of indirectness, which they claimed to be used more by women, is positive or negative, they responded as follows (see Appendix D, pp. 170-171, lines:324-333):

	اا	منتشر	النوع	هدا	هل	و	السؤال	تبع	هو	أ: باهي
	aa	muntaʃer	ʔannu:ʕ	hada	hal	wa	ʔasswʔa:l	jatbaʕ	hu:a	ba:hj
	aa	widespread	the kind	this	do	and	the question	follow it	it	ok
324- A	OK, there's a completion of the last question, is indirect speech aa									

		يعني (0.6)	ايجابي	أم	سلبي	النوع	هدا	هل]
		jaʕnj	ʔjʒa:bj	ʔam	salbj	ʔannu:ʕ	hada	hal
		mean	positive	or	negative	the kind	this	do
325- A	is this kind of speech negative or positive I mean (0.6)							

	] ((أصوات في الخلفية))
[((Not clear))	

		سلبي (.)	ف: سلبي
		salbj	salbj
		negative	negative

326- F	Negative negative (.)

								ر: نعم naʕam yes
327- R	What							

	سألتهولكم (.) saʔalthu:lkum you to it ask I	توا tawa now	اللي ʔillj that	الاخير ʔalʔaχi:r the last	هدا hada this	السؤال ʔasswʔa:l the question	ال ʔal the	أ: هدا hada this
328- A	This was the, the last question I asked you (.)							

		يعني] jaʕnj mean	ايجابي ʔjʒa:bj positive	أم ʔam or	سلبي salbj negative	اا aa aa	هل hal do
329- A	is it negative or positive I mean [						

							] سلبي جدا (0.4) ʒiddan salbj		ف:
very	negative								
330- F	[So negative (0.4)								

بين	أكتر	منتشر	المباشر	الغير	الكلام	هل	اااا	هو	اللي	أ:
Bajn	ʔaktar	muntaʃer	ʔalmba:ʃer	ʔal ɤair	ʔalkala:m	hal	aaaa	hua:	ʔillj	
between	more	widespread	the direct	the not	the speech	do	aaaa	it	that	
331- A	The question was that aaaa, is indirect speech more common among									

ايجابي	أم	سلبي	النوع (.)	هدا	هل	و	فهمت (.)	النساء (.)		الرجال أم	
ʔjʒa:bj	ʔam	salbj	ʔannu:ʕ	hada	hal	wa	fhamit	ʔannisa:ʔ		ʔam ʔarriʒa:l	
positive	or	negative	the kind	this	do	and	understood	the women		or	men
332- A	men or women (.) OK. (.) and is this kind of speech (.) negative or positive?										

بالذات (.)	العائلات	بين	واجد (1)	مشاكل	يسبب	لانه	سلبي	س:
biðða:t	ʔalʕa:ʔila:t	bajn	wa:ʒid	maʃa:kil	jusabib	liʔannah	salbj	
especially	the families	between	many	problems	cause it	it because	negative	
333- S	Negative because it causes lots of problems (1) especially among families							

Thus, the male Arab participants evaluated the type of indirectness, which they claimed to be used more by women, as negative. Such answers are interesting, because none of the male informants mentioned such negative use of indirectness when discussing indirectness in

general but, when linked to women's use, their view of indirectness changed. Indirectness in this case was described as (see above) 'negative' and 'so negative', due to the problems it causes, especially among families. This might reflect the negative evaluation of indirectness in Libyan society in general, but also raises the question of whether indirectness is believed to be used more by males or females (an ideological belief) and whether there is a difference between males and females with regard to using such speech at a perceptual level.

6.3.5. Is There any Difference between Males and Females' Perceptions of the Use of Indirectness?

All of these negative expressions, which are used to describe indirect speech in Libyan Arabic, reflect the negative evaluation of such speech. It is in this context that one must view the many expressions that the Libyans have to describe indirectness. However, none of these names were mentioned by the male participants.[164] This is not to say that negative indirectness is never used by men, but it might be less common among them.[165] By contrast, the English informants provided neutral descriptions of indirectness (see Appendix, pp. 186-187, lines: 286-292). However, when the English informants were asked to list words which are usually used to describe directness, they provided negative descriptions (see Appendix, p. 187, lines: 295-304), as follows:

295- M: = <u>direct</u> could be seen as being rude (0.5) abrupt (1)

296- D: Direct

[

297- Z: Those those names are for direct

[

---

[164] After the male focus group discussion, I asked myassistant for the session, on my behalf, to show them the words associated with indirectness mentioned by the women to see if they recognised any of them. They mentioned that 'injecting' and 'making meanings' were familiar, while the others were not.

[165] However, some of the male Libyan informants used some negative expressions to describe indirectness during the discussion, such as 'throwing words', as I have shown above.

298- D: Direct yeah
[
299- M: Direct but (.) if somebody was very direct you
300- would say oh they've been abrupt =
[
301- J: Blunt
[
302- M: = or they've been
[
303- P: Blunt yeah
[
304- Z: Blunt! emm

Such evaluations of directness and indirectness reflect, at least partly, the ideological beliefs about these forms in both societies. Indirectness seems to be evaluated negatively by the Arab informants, especially when it is linked to women's use, while directness seems to be seen as negative by the English informants and linked more to rudeness and imposition.

6.3.6. Indirectness needs Skills

Indirectness was seen by both groups, Arabic and English, as a form of *sophisticated* speech that needs certain skills. For English, the individuals who are skilful in using indirectness are described positively as 'diplomatic' (see Appendix E, p. 182, lines: 148-155). For the male Libyan participants, individuals who do not have the skills to speak indirectly (in requesting something, for example) can find other ways to convey their message (e.g. through a mediator) (see Appendix D, p. 148, lines: 148-155). However, for the female Arab informants, being skilful in using indirectness is more about being able to use 'techniques of retaliation'. In other words, using indirectness to defend themselves while being attacked or criticised indirectly (see Appendix C, pp. 128-129, lines: 390-398), as follows:

	ز: لا قصدي مرات ت ت تردي بغير المباشر حتى انت] qasˁdj la marra:t t t triddj biɣair ʔalmuba:ʃer ħattá ʔinti I mean no sometimes y y reply you not with the direct even you
390- Z	[No I mean sometimes y y you yourself reply indirectly [

	ح: حتى انت تردي بغير المباشر] ħattá ʔinti triddj biɣair ʔalmuba:ʃer even you reply you not with the direct
391- H	[You reply indirectly then [

	ز: و تبدوا عاد تردوا علي بعضكم (.) و هكذا ((ضحك))] wa tabdw ʕa:d triddw ʕala baʕudʕkum wa hakaða and start you so reply you on you together and so on
392- Z	[And you start speaking to each other indirectly (.) and so on ((laughter)) [

	ح: هده فنيات هده ((ضحك)) متاعة خبرة] hadj fanni:at hadj mtaʕit χibra this techniques this of experience
393- H	[It is a matter of techniques then ((laughter)) this needs an experience [

	ف: ليها ناسها =] li:ha na:sha it to its people
394- F	[This needs experienced people [

	] ز: تبي ناسها] tibbj na:sha want it its people
395-Z	[This needs experienced people [

	] ف: = فالحة بال ((ضحك))] fa:laħa bil skilful to the
396- F	[Skilful enough to ((laughter)) [

	] ح: خبرة في التلقيح (0.3) attalki:ħ يقولك jaqu:llik كلمتها kalmitha في fj فمها fammha في fj مش miʃ كلمتها kalmitha of fj experience the vaccination you to say he jaqu:llik her word kalmitha in fj her mouth fammha not miʃ her word kalmitha
397- H	[People who have an experience in 'injecting' (0.3) as the proverb says: some women have their words in their mouths but others left their words

	عند ʕind أمها ʔummha with ʕind her mother ʔummha
398- H	with their mothers

One of the female Arab informants (H, see above) used the Arabic proverb 'some women have their words in their mouths, but others left their words with their mothers',[166] to describe two types of women: the first type (whose words are in their mouths) are skilful, so they can retaliate immediately, but indirectly, while the second type (whose words are with their mothers) are unskilled, so they usually feel upset at being offended 'indirectly' and not able to retaliate. Thus, although both the English and Arab informants agreed that

[166] A metaphorical proverb used to refer to situations where some women can retaliate, even if the offence is indicated indirectly, while others cannot, because they lack of the 'skills' that enable them to do so.

indirectness needs skills, the evaluation of these skills seems to differ. For the English informants, these skills are needed for positive purposes while, for the Arab informants, particularly the females, such skills are used for negative purposes.

6.4. Concluding Remarks

The descriptions of directness and indirectness by both groups, Arabic and English, which are discussed in this section, clearly reflect the linguistic ideologies of what constitutes both forms in these communities. The main research question that has been addressed throughout this chapter is whether (in)directness perceived differently in Arab and English cultures. The responses of the informants to the questionnaires and focus groups do appear to substantiate certain similarities between Arab and British groups surveyed. For example, in general, there is an agreement between both groups about the concept of (in)directness: directness is described as explicit, while indirectness is seen as implicit. Both groups perceive indirectness s being polite, impolite or both according to the context. However, the major difference between Arab and English groups is that directness, in general, is perceived by the English informants as impolite and indirectness as polite. By contrast, indirectness seems to be seen as impolite by the Arab informants and directness is perceived as polite. Thus, "different cultures give precedence to different values, which, moreover, interpreted differently" (Sifianou, 1992: 94). However, although such beliefs provide valuable insights into how directness and indirectness are evaluated by both groups, they do not necessarily reflect the actual use of these forms.[167] Thus, in the following chapter, which analyses naturalistic data, I

[167] For example, English people might be more direct than they are aware, as I will show in the following chapter.

investigate the extent to which individuals from both the Arabic and English communities conform to the way they feel they and others *should* speak.

Chapter 7

Data Analysis: Naturalistic Data

7.1. Introduction

My naturalistic data are based on several resources, including recorded data, log-book data and some examples of (in)directness that the participants had provided both on the questionnaires and during the focus group discussions. The main aim of this chapter, thus, is to investigate whether the traditional theories of politeness (Brown and Levinson, 1987; Leech, 1983) can be used adequately to analyse cross-cultural interactions. It also aims to examine the extent to which people from both Arabic and English communities conform to the way they feel that they and others should speak or behave (as discussed in the questionnaires and focus groups), and compare this with the way in which they do speak or behave. The research question that the results of this chapter address is: To what extent is there a correlation between indirectness and politeness, and directness and impoliteness? I divided this part of the data analysis into three main sections: in the first section, I discuss directness and its relation to politeness and impoliteness, Following this, I investigate the relationship between indirectness and politeness. Finally I show how indirectness can be used to send hidden impolite messages.

7.2. Directness and (Im)politeness

This section is divided into two parts: the first part focuses on the way in which directness is mitigated in both Arabic and English. It aims to show how the ideologies of dealing with direct speech through mitigation can be similar in both cultures, but through different strategies which are affected by different cultural norms and expectations. It also aims to show that the Arabic preference for direct forms in some situations does not necessarily mean

that they do not seek modification to mitigate the impact of direct forms of speech, which are seen as appropriate and are thus conventionalised as a norm. In the second part, I show that some direct forms of speech are intensified in certain situations due to different ideological motivations (which will be discussed later). By doing so, I aim to illustrate the point that Arabic and English cultures should not be portrayed as polar opposites, as they are usually described, as they share the goal of displaying appropriate behaviour but by using different strategies, due to the different expectations they are expected to meet in their communities.

7.2.1. Mitigating the Force of Direct Speech

In this section, I consider some examples which illustrate how the ideologies about what is considered appropriate might be similar in both Arabic and English cultures, but that they "may be mitigated by other concerns and expectations" (Grainger et al., 2015: 42) which cause certain behaviour to be considered conventionalised. The first example took place between an English mother (in her 50s) and her two sons, whom I labelled 'Mack' (17 years old), and Jack (21 years old), at lunch time. This example is from my Recorded Data (see Appendix G, pp. 206-207).

Example (1)

1- Jack: I thought you said play I was like you can stand up on some plays.
2- Mother: (.) More?
3- Jack: (.)Yes please.
4- Mack: (.)What plays can you stand up in?
5- Jack: The globe.
6- Mother: About that (.)
7- Jack: (0.3) Urrr a little bit smaller (.)the globe theatre you can stand up (.) a::nd
[
8- Mack: That's because
9- they didn't have chairs then.
10- Jack: There's some others actually
[

((cough))
[
11- Jack: They have chai::rs.
[
((Not clear))
[
12- Mack: They hadn't invented them
[
13- Jack: That's not true
14- though
[
15- Mack: Can I have some more.
17- Mother:↑ Just ↓a minute.
18- Jack: (0.4) Some others as well (0.6 not many but some (1) ((whispering)) It wasn't
19- funny
((Not Clear))
[
20- Mack: Then why did you laugh?
[
21- Mother: How about that
22- Mack: Yes please (3)
23- Jack: So Mack (.) it looks like you're in on your own tonight (.)
24- Mack: Really
[
25- Mother: Yeah cause I'm out (2) Which one do you want, that one or that one
[
26- Jack: ↑Why are you so ↓lo::nely
[
27- Mother: Mack?
28- Mack: Actually I'm going out tonight. Urrr that please.
29- Mother: This one? (.)
30- Mack: ↑Yes ↓please (.) not a ↑lot ↓please.

In the above example, Mack's request, in line 15 (Can I have some more), which is usually classified as a kind of directive, is mitigated through using what is called 'conventional indirectness', in order not to impose on the hearer, who is (as a mother) already in a higher position. Furthermore, besides using an appropriate linguistic structure, Mack frequently combines this with a certain intonation (line 30: '↑yes ↓please; not a ↑lot ↓please') and the

polite expression 'please', which he uses four times within a few seconds (lines: 22, 28, 30). According to Searle (1979), the linguistic structure of this request, which is a suggestion, is 'a very modest attempt' to get the hearer to do something for the speaker, and thus, according to Searle, it is polite. However, it seems that, in this example, there is a convention that it is appropriate to use such linguistic strategies in similar recurrent situations in British-English. Thus, certain elements of behaviour are conventionalised and routinised over time within English culture to be seen as appropriate, which might be similar to or different from the other cultural groups.

In Libyan-Arabic, the force of directives is also mitigated through using certain strategies, albeit it is different from English due to the different cultural norms and ideologies, as I show in the following Arabic example, which is from the Recorded Data. This conversation took place among members of the same family (a mother and her three daughters) at tea-time. I have labelled the individuals who were present at the following conversation as follows: Y= the mother, 59 years old; and her daughters: A= 38 years old; S= 33 years old; and H, 31 years old (see Appendix F, pp. 191-192).

Example (2)

		أ: يام (.) أعطيني شاهي↓ شوية ↑
		ya:m ʔatˁjni: ʃahi ʃwaja
		mum me give tea little
1-A:	Mum, give me ↓a little ↑tea	

		ي: (0.5) وينه؟
		wainah
		it where
2- Y	(0.5) There is no more tea	

		أ: (ه) تبي شاهي (.)
		tibbj ʃahi
		want tea

3-: A	H wants tea (.)

		شاهي]	ما فيش	خسارة س:
		ʃahi	mafi:ʃ	χsara
		tea	not there no	what loss
4-S:	Oh there is no more tea [			

							]	
	(.) (بطة) يا	العشاء	في	بعدين	شاهي	اديريلنا	باش	ه:
	Batta ja	ʔalʕaʃa:	fj	baʕdain	ʃahi	ʔiddjri:lna	baʃ	
	duck o	the dinner	in	later	tea	us to do you	you	
5- H:	[Em (.) you make tea for us later at dinner (you duck)							

		الله	بإذن (.) :س
		Allah	be-ithn
		God	permission with
6- S:	(.) God willing = [OK.]		

As we can see from the above example, both requests (line, 1; and line, 5) were performed directly through direct imperatives (give me; you do), which is believed to be inappropriate when making requests in English (Sifianou, 1992). Furthermore, no formulaic polite expressions were used in either request. For these reasons, Arabs are usually judged by the English as too direct and thus rude when they are speaking English (Hamza, 2007), which is based on ideological beliefs about what constitutes acceptable behaviour in English culture (Mills and Kadar, 2011). However, as I mentioned above, the notion of mitigating the force of directives seems to be also linked to certain ideologies in Libyan-Arabic. For example, in the first request (line: 1), A mitigated her request to her mother by using two strategies: the first was a certain intonation (↓a little ↑tea) in a way that shows respect; and the second what Sifianou (1992) labels 'internal modifications', which was the phrase 'a little', used to soften the impact of direct requests. In the second request (line: 5), H asked her sister to make tea for them at dinner, but this time directness was mitigated in a different way, where the word

'you duck', which is often used in banter, was used to address the hearer instead of using her real name, as an indication of closeness and kindness.[168] However, this is not to say that failing to use banter or an item of internal modification has a negative impact, as the speakers used a certain intonation pattern that was required for a successful request, and thus no offence was taken.

Because of the different ideological beliefs about what constitutes appropriate behaviour in both cultures, the Arabic way of requesting might be unacceptable to the English, but the English way of speaking might be inappropriate for Arabs. To illustrate this point, we can cite the following Arabic example which took place between my brother and myself (taken from the Log Book data) (see Appendix F, p. 201):

Example (3)

سنين	أربعة	عمره	ولدي	ليلة	في	خوي	حوش	في	كنت
sni:n	ʔarbʕa	ʕumrah	wildj	lajlah	fj	χu:j	ħu:ʃ	fj	kunt
years	four	his age	my son	night	in	my brother	home	in	I was
1-	One night, I was at my brother's home. My four year-old son								

لولدي:	قلت	أنا	الريموت.	أعطيني	خالي,	لخوي	قال
liwildj	qult	ʔanan	ʔalrimu:t	ʔaʕtˁinj	χa:lj	liχu:j	qa:l
my son to	said I	I	the controller	me give	my uncle	my brother to	said he
2-	said to my brother: uncle, give me the controller. I said to my son:						

ما نتخيلش	قال:	و	شافلي	خوي	لخالك	فضلك	من	قول
manitχajiliʃ	qa:l	wa	ʃa:flj	χu:j	liχalik	fadˁlik	min	qu:l
not imagine I no	said he	and	me to looked	my brother	your uncle to	favour	of	say
3-	say 'please' to your uncle. My brother looked at me and said: I cannot imagine							

	هذه.	زي	حاجات	صغاري	نعلم	روحي
	hadj	zaj	ħaʒa:t	sˁʁa:rj	nʕallim	ru:ħj
	this	like	things	my children	teach I	myself
4-	teaching my children things like that.					

[168]This kind of softener is less common than what are called 'diminutives' (e.g. Ahamad becomes Hmaida, or using 'little sister, little brother, little son and so on').

What is interesting about this example is that I did not ask my son to change the linguistic structure he used to make the request, which seems, in spite of its imperative form, to be performed correctly through appropriate intonation and addressing (calling the addressee 'uncle'). I just asked him to use the formulaic expression 'please' to appear more polite. My brother rejected this use of 'please' because it seems to be strange for him, as such expressions are not conventionalised to be seen as appropriate in Arabic.[169] The reason why the hearer did not accept such a polite expression as 'please' may be because it may indicate social distance, while avoiding such expressions may indicate close relations and familial warmth, which has a priority in Arabic culture.

Thus, imperative forms of speech do not appear to be seen as a problem in themselves in Arabic, as long as they are used with certain strategies, particularly intonation. So, in order to show the difference that different intonation can make, we can consider the following example which is taken from my Focus Group Data for Libyan males (see Appendix D, pp. 160-162, lines: 252-262):

Example (4)

	شيك	تصرف	تبي	للمصرف	ماشي	مثلا
	ʃaik	tusˁruf	tibbj	lilmasˁrif	ma:ʃj	maθalan
	cheque	withdraw money you	want you	the bank to	walking you	for example
252- S	for example, when you go to the bank to withdraw some money					

	مديتله	(.) مباشر	(.) طلب	هذا	حقك	هذا	(.) شيك	تعطيهم
	maddaitlah	muba:ʃer	tˁalb	haða	ħaqak	haða	ʃaik	taʕtˁi:hum
	him to gave you	direct	request	this	your right	this	cheque	them give you
253- S	you just give the banker a cheque (.) this is your right and this is a direct (.) request							

[169] My insistence on my son using the formulaic expression 'please' can be attributed to the cultural impact of English culture, as I had already spent several years in England by that point.

254-	(.) you just give the banker

			فلوسي	اعطيني	تقوله	والا	شيك
			]				
			flu:sj	ʔaʕtˁi:nj	tqu:lah	walla	ʃaik
			my money	me give	him to say you	or	cheque
255- S	the cheque or you say give me my money						
				[			

										]
	هات (.)	للمصرف	تمشي	لما	انت	لكن	يصير	مفروض	اللي	ف: هدا
	ha:t	lilmasˁrif	timʃj	lamma	ʔinta	lakin	jasˁi:r	mafru:dˁ	ʔillj	hada
	give	the bank to	walk you	when	you	but	happen	supposed	that	this
256- F	[									
	This is what is supposed to happen, but when you go to the bank (.) do you say									

		فلوسي (.)	اعطيني
		flu:sj	ʔaʕtˁi:nj
		my money	me give
257- F	give me my money! (.)		

		((غير واضح))	معناها	مش	المباشر	لا	ر: لا لا
		]					
			maʕna:ha	miʃ	ʔalmuba:ʃer	la	la
			it mean	not	the direct	no	no
258- R	No no direct speech doesn't mean ((not clear))						
			[				

	]
	((غير واضح))
	]
[	
((Not clear))	
[	

						]
	مباشر	بشكل	الشي	تطلب	معناها	ر:
		]				
	muba:ʃer	biʃakil	ʔalʃaj	tatˁlub	maʕna:ha	
	direct	form with	the thing	request you	it mean	
259- R	[					
	It means you make requests in a direct way					
			[			

	م: تطلب الشي مباشر] tatˁlub ʔalʃaj muba:ʃer request you the thing direct
260- M	[you request something directly [

	ز: مباشر صح صح] muba:ʃer sˁaħ sˁaħ direct right right
261- Z	[Direct right right [

	ر: تقول الكلام بشكل مباشر (غير واضح) مش ماشي تعارك] tqu:l ʔalkala:m biʃakil muba:ʃer miʃ maʃj tˁa:rik say you the speech form with direct not walking you fight you
262- R	[You are just saying it directly ((not clear)) you are not fighting.

As we can see in the above example, although the linguistic structure of requests in lines (255) and (257) was the same 'give me my money' (both imperatives), the second request was judged negatively by the other participants. Due to a rising, emphatic stressed intonation that was used to make the request, it was described as 'fighting'. The first request was not judged in this way although, as I mentioned, it consisted of exactly the same words. This sheds light on the importance of the fact that language is neither inherently polite or impolite (Mills, 2011) but, rather, it is more about the situation and what is seen as appropriate and thus conventionalised within a particular linguistic group.

However, I am not arguing that the above strategies are the only ways open to interlocutors. There are different strategies that can be used in both cultures in different

situations in order to make requests. For example, in Arabic, they might use some indirect forms (as I show in the next section) or polite expressions for something they may conceive of as being very serious. Consider the following Arabic example which took place among the participants in the Arabic Focus Group for males (see Appendix D, p. 167, lines: 298-302):

Example (5)

	فلوس	مني	تبي	لما	توا	بتقولي	ف: شن
	flu:s	minnj	tibbj	lamma	tawa	bitqu:llj	ʃin
	money	me from	you want	when	now	me to say you will	what
298- F	So what would you say when you want your money back						

	عليك	فاتح	ربي	كان	فتحي	يا	سمحت	لو	بنقولك	ن:
	ʕalajk	fatiħ	rabbj	ka:n	fatħj	ja	samaħt	law	binqu:lik	
	you on	open	my lord	if	Fathi	oh	allowed you	if	you to say I will	
299- N	I would say (Fathi) if Allah opens it to you = [if you can], if you don't mind									

	خلصني
	χallisˁnj
	me give my money
300- N	give me my money back

	خلصني	ر:
	]	
	χallisˁnj	
	me give my money	
301- R	Give me my money back	
	[	

		]	
	ايه	خلصني	ز:
	ʔaih	χallisˁnj	
	yes	me give my money	
	[		
302- Z	Give me my money back yes		

In this example, it seems that using some polite formulaic expressions to ask for serious things can soften the impact of the request and is not seen as offensive even when using

imperatives (give me my money back). Thus, the strategies used should meet the expectations and concerns of the interactants in order to be considered acceptable.

Similarly, using forms of what is called 'conventionalised indirectness', which is usually described as polite by the traditional politeness theories, does not appear appropriate in certain situations in English. Consider the following English example, which is taken from the English Focus Group data (see Appendix E, p. 186, lines: 258-273):

Example (6)

258- K: I think yeah I think yeah I think it is how we've been brought up
259- J: [Yes (.) doesn't it it
260- depends massively yea::h
261- P: [O:K yes
262- K: [Or situations
263- J: [Yeah (0.4)
264- K: I think it changes doesn't it (.)
265- M: And that is come my father ((laughter))
266- P: [I would n:ever ever (.) challenge anything my parents (0.4)
267- M: No
268- K: No no
269- P: [No (.) never oh God (.) even now I'm fifty six I would I would no (hffff) it's not
270- is not worth ((laughter))
271- R: [((Not clear)) Being direct can be just (.) can you lend me ten pounds because I've forgotten my
272- purse rather than …
273- K: [Yeah

In this example, the speaker R described asking for money, which is conceived as a serious request, using what is known as 'conventionalised indirectness' as 'direct' (lines, 271-272:

'Being direct can be just (.) can you lend me ten pounds because I've forgotten my purse'), which, according to the ideological beliefs in Britain, is linked to unacceptable or even impolite, behaviour.

So far, I have discussed several methods that Libyan and British people can use to mitigate the force of directives. In the following sub-section, I investigate the strategies that are used to intensify directness and their relation to politeness in both Arabic and English.

7.2.2. Directness and Optionality

7.2.2.1. Directness and Reducing Options

In this section, I focus on the strategy of intensifying direct speech, particularly the insistence on the hearer doing something for the speaker in both Arabic and English. In contrast to the above section, in which I investigated the notion of modifying the force of directives, in this part, I show how intensifying the force of direct speech is preferred, if not required, in certain situations. However, before illustrating this point, let us consider the following example and see how it would be analysed and perceived by traditional researchers of cross-cultural politeness. This example took place at lunch-time between an English mother in her 50s, whom I label 'Andrea', and her son (21 years old), whom I label 'David' (this example is from my Recorded Data. See Appendix G, p. 207):

Example (7)

1- Andrea: Can you have some more salad?
2- David: Me:::?
[
((Noise in the background))
[
3- Andrea: Yeah.
4- David: I've had loads.

According to the traditional method of analysis, in this example, the interactants perfectly represent how the English are supposed stereotypically to behave in such situations. The offerer used a 'very modest' form of directive, which was a suggestion (line 1: 'Can you have some more salad?'), in order to avoid imposing on the hearer or forcing him to do what the speaker wanted him to do by using direct forms or insisting on the offer (Searle, 1979). On the other hand, the offeree tries to find a polite way to refuse the offer (line 4: 'I've had loads') because, according to Levinson (1983), refusals are dispreferred acts, and so avoided. However, such assumptions are built on ideological beliefs, because

> All languages normalise certain conventionalised elements and forms of behaviour and individuals have the choice as to whether they go along with this linguistic ideology and establish and maintain their social position through conformity to the norm, or whether they establish and maintain their social position through the use of individualistic utterances (Grainger et al., 2015: 48).

Thus, individuals have a choice whether to conform to certain linguistic ideologies (as in the above example) or not. To illustrate this point, we can consider the following example which took place between the same individuals who were present in the above example at the same lunch-time (see Appendix G, p. 207):

Example (8)

1: Andrea: Do you not like black olives?
2: David: No, I hate black olives (.)
3: Andrea: Well, try that one cause it's got lemon on it
4: David: [aaa No, I don't trust it (0.4)
5: Andrea: No but just ↑try ↓it (1) it's really really nice.

In this example, there were three offers (lines 1, 3 and 5): the first took the form of a question, while the second and third were made in the form of imperatives. The process of the offers contains the following sequences:

1- Insisting on an Offer:

1- Offers: As I mentioned above, there were three offers involved in the conversation: one of which was interrogative (line 1: 'Do you not like black olives?') and two imperatives (line 3: try it; and line 5: just ↑try ↓it). Thus, insisting on directives does not seem to be seen as a 'fierce attempt', as Searle (1979) claims, even by the English. Thus, imperatives are not completely avoided by the English, as is thought to be the case.

2- Temptations and alternatives: The offeree was given different temptations in order to persuade him to accept the offer: (line 3: 'try that one 'cause it's got lemon on it'; line 5: 'it's really really nice') which could be seen as a kind of insistence.

2-Refusing the Offer:

1- Insisting on Refusal: The offer was refused directly twice (line 2: 'No'; and line 4: 'aaa No'). The offeree did not feel imposed on, because of the insistence on the offer by his interlocutor, who did not seem to take any offence because of his refusal.

2- Excuses: The offeree provided some excuses (line 2: 'I hate black olives'; line 4: 'I don't trust it') to justify his insistence on refusing, although indicating that you hate something is problematic in English, particularly in regard to food (Stadler, 2011) being offered to you.

As we can see from this example, direct linguistic practices and insisting on them do not necessarily reduce the options open to the hearer, because they can simply refuse to respond positively to the speaker and no offence is taken by either side. Furthermore,

insisting on such linguistic practices is not evaluated as an imposition on the hearer, as claimed by some of the traditional theories (Brown and Levinson, 1987; Leech, 1983).

It might be argued, however, that the imposition was not taken in the above example because the offer was made in a familial context. So, it may be acceptable for the offerer, due to her position as a mother, to use such direct forms with her children (as argued in the English focus group data), which might be true. I agree that the relationship between the interactants plays a significant role in determining the way they behave, but my main aim is to show that directives and insisting on them can be found in English conversations which are always described as giving priority to the freedom of the other person through performing indirect forms only. However, I am not saying that freedom is not a priority in English; it is, but the claim that using directives always impedes this freedom is not entirely accurate. To illustrate this point, we can consider the following example, where I show that insistence can occur even among friends in English. Three people took part in the following conversation (which is taken from my Log Book data): 'Mary' and her husband 'Jonathan', who had been invited by their friend 'Karin' for lunch. After lunch, Karin offered her guests some cake and they responded as follows (see Appendix G, p. 208):

Example (9)

1- Karin: Would you like a piece?
2- Mary: Yes please (takes a piece).
3: Jonathan: No, thank you.
4: Karin: Go on! Have some.
5: Jonathan: No it's alright. I am still full from lunch.

In this example, whereas Mary immediately accepted the initial offer, which was made in the form of a question (line 2: 'would you like a piece'), Jonathan refused the offer directly

without giving any excuse at first, but he showed his gratitude for the offer (line 3: 'No, thank you'). Karin then renewed her offer which was coupled with an insistence which was made quite baldly this time with an imperative structure (Line 4: 'Go on! Have some'). The refusal was then in terms of a reassurance that (line 5: 'It is alright') and then an excuse for not accepting the offer (line 5: 'I am still full from lunch'). When the first and second offers were refused with a reassurance and an excuse, the sequence was brought to a close. Thus, as we saw in this example, although Karin made her second offer quite baldly with an imperative structure, she did not seem to be impeding Jonathan's freedom of action, as he refused the offer again and did not consider the direct offer as restricting his choice to accept or not. Thus, the claim that directness always restricts choices seems to be a myth. However, after refusing the offer a second time, there was no repeated sequence of offers and refusals and that may be because refusals, in general, are accepted at a certain stage in English to avoid the imposition on the offeree (Grainger et al., 2015). Offers in Arabic seem to take a long sequence of turns before they are accepted or refused, as we will see in the following example (taken from the Recorded Data) which took place between Hind (32 years old; the hostess) and Manal (33 years old; the guest) while Hind was offering fruit to her guests after lunch. Before giving her a dish of fruit, Manal started the conversation as follows (see Appendix F, pp. 192-194):

Example (10)

	منال: ماتعطينيش أنا يا هند mataʕtˁjni:ʃ ʔana ja Hind not me give you no I oh Hind
1–Manal	Hind, don't give me any

	هند: نعم nʕam Yes
2- Hind	What

	منال: ما تعطينيش mataʕtˁjni:ʃ not me give you no
3- Manal	Don't give me any

	هند: علاش ʕalaʃ Why
4- Hind	Why

	منال: لا لا والله ما تعطينيش الحمد لله lillah ʔalaħamdw mataʕtˁjni:ʃ wallahi la la God to Thank not me give you no by God no no
5- Manal	No no by God=[please] don't give me any, thank God= [I don't want any more]

	هند: باهي اهوه ʔahwah bahj This OK
6- Hind	So what about this

	منال: خلاص لما نشرب القهوة راهو ماعادش ن] n maʕa:diʃ rahw ʔalqahwa nuʃrub lamma χala:sˁ I not that the coffee drink I when enough
7- Manal	When I drink coffee I can't I [

	] هند: باهي بنيتك بالك تبي حاجة تانية tanja ħa:ʒa tibbj balik bnajtik bahj Another thing want she might your daughter OK
8- Hind	[What about your {little} daughter she might want something else

	منال: تبي بانانا تاني (.) تبي بانانا] banana tibbj tanj banana tibbj Banana want you again banana want you
9- Manal	{To her daughter} Do you want another banana (.) do you want a banana [

	هند: قصدي كان ما تبيش موزة تعطيها] taʕtʕi:ha mu:za matibbi:ʃ kan qasʕdj Her give you banana not want she no if I mean
10- Hind	[I mean if she doesn't want a banana you give her {something else} [

	منال: الحمد لله؟ (0.4) الحمد لله] lillah ʔalaħamdw lillah ʔalaħamdw God to thank God to thank
11- Manal	[thank God↑? ={you don't want any?} Thank God↓ {doesn't want any} [

	هند: انت منال علاش] ʕala:ʃ Manal ʔinti Why Manal you
12- Hind	[What about you Manal why (.)

	منال: ام Em What
13- Manal	What (.)

	هند: قصدي اي حاجة بالله عليك زيدي شوية qasʕdj ʔaj ħaʒa billahi ʕalaik zjdj ʃwaja I mean any thing with God on you take more little
14- Hind	I mean have something for God's sake = [please (informal)} have a little

	منال: لا لا خلاص la la χalasʕ no no Enough
15- Manal	No no that's enough

	هند: باهي عنب شوية هكي (0.3) bahj ʕinab ʃwaja hikkj OK grapes little Like
16- Hind	A few grapes maybe (0.3)

	منال: لا لا La la No no

17- Manal	No no

	هند: بالله عليك] ʕalaik billahi You on God with
18- Hind	For God's sake = [please (informal)] [

	] منال: الحمد لله والله (.) مش متحشمة كان نبي ناخذ بروحي ʔalħamdu lillah wallahi miʃ mitħaʃma kan nibbj naχið bru:ħj thank God to by God not shy I if want I take I myself by
19- Manal 20-	[Thank God = [I don't want any], by God = [really] (.) I'm not shy if I want I will take some by myself

In this example, Hind was preparing some fruit to give to Manal. Hind asked her not to give her any using an imperative form (line 1:'don't give me any'). Hind did not hear Manal's request at first, so she repeated it using the same bald structure (line 3: 'don't give me any'). Hind asked the reason for Manal's refusal to find out whether it was sincere or ritual. Manal did not give an excuse at this stage, which made Hind repeat her offer. This time, Manal gave an excuse that she could not eat after drinking coffee, which was seen as a convincing reason to Hind. However, this did not satisfy Hind's desire to be seen as a good host; therefore, she asked Manal to find out whether her young daughter, who was already eating a banana, wanted anything else, to indicate that her guest's daughter was as welcome as she was herself. Hind started again offering some fruit to Manal, using different strategies for insisting on her offer, trying to persuade her by invoking God (lines 14 and 18) and offering a choice of any kind of fruit the guest would like, instead of taking the whole offered fruit (lines 14 and 16). After several turns of offering, refusing and insisting, Manal asserted her sincerity by claiming that she was not shy, which is usually considered one of the main reasons why hosts/esses insist on their offers, and supported her claim by invoking God (line

19: 'by God I'm not shy'). When Hind was convinced that Manal's refusal was genuine, she stopped insisting, and they both turned their attention to other guests. Thus, as I mentioned in Section 4.3.3., in Arabic, "the insistence is a display of genuine generosity" (Grainger *et al.*, 2015: 59), since it is seen as a significant part of the ritual routines that are required for a successful offer. It is also worth mentioning that directness in such a case does not actually restrict the options open to the hearer and force them to do what the speaker wants them to do because, as we have seen in this example, the hearer refused the speaker's offer despite the speaker's insistence.

It might be interpreted that the sequences of such a linguistic practice are completely different in Arabic and English. In order to show that this is not exactly true, let us consider the sequences of the above Arabic example:

1- Insisting on offers

1- Offers: There were three offers in this example: (lines: 10, 12, 14), one of which was made in the form of a question (line 10: 'What about your {little} daughter? She might want something else'), another was made in the form of an imperative (line: 14: 'have some') and the last is a suggestion (line 16: 'A few grapes may be'). Note that the offerer used different strategies in making her offer, including questions, suggestions and imperatives, so offers are not always directives in Arabic.

2- Temptations and Alternatives: The offerer used different types of alternative to tempt the offeree to accept her offer. For example, offering a certain type of fruit which was not too big [an orange (line 6: 'what about this')], or a small amount of fruit (line 16: 'a few grapes may be'); shifting the offer to the offeree's daughter (line 8: 'what about your {little}

daughter? she might want something else'); and giving alternatives to this offer (line 10: 'I mean if she doesn't want a banana you give her {something else}').

3- Invoking 'God': Using formulaic phrase which is equivalent to 'please' in English, albeit informal, in lines 14 and 18 ('for God's sake').

4- Asking for Reasons: The offerer asked for reasons for not accepting her offer in line 4 ('why'); and in line 12 ('What about you Manal, why'). It should be noted that asking for reasons can be ritual in such cases, so the offeree is not actually required to give reasons. Hence, she did not give any reason after these questions in the above example.

2- Insisting on Refusals

1-Refusing the Offer: The offers were refused directly five times (line 1 and 3: 'don't give me any'; line 5: 'no no … don't give me any'; line 15: 'no no that is enough; and line 17 'no no'). The offeree's insistence on refusal shows that she still has the choice not to respond to the offerer's repeated offer, which does not restrict her options, despite the insistence on it.

2- Giving Excuses: The offeree provided an excuse for not accepting the offer in line 7: ('When I drink coffee I can't I…'). Despite this excuse, the offerer renewed her offer several times.

3- Invoking 'God': In order to be seen to be sincere about her refusal, the offeree used phrases that involved God on several occasions: line 5: ('by God = [please] don't give me thanks God = [I don't want any]'; and lines 19 and 20: ('Thank God = [I don't want any] by God = [really] (.) I'm not shy if I want to I will take some by myself').

Although such a linguistic practice in Arabic seems to take a much longer sequence of turns before they are refused than in English (at least in the above examples), I believe that there are some similarities between the two languages. For example, both the Arab and English interactants used similar forms for making offers, including questions and directives, which were made with an imperative structure. They also adopted the same strategy of insisting on the offers through repeated offers, temptations and alternatives (such as in examples 8 and 10), and insisting on the refusal either by offering a direct refusal, or by giving an excuse. However, the main difference between Arabic and English in the above examples is that the Libyan participants occasionally invoked 'God' when they offered or refused an offer. This can be attributed, as I mentioned in Chapters 3 and 6, to the dominance of religion within Libyan society. Furthermore, some religious formulaic phrases that were used in the above Arabic example, as we have seen, can be translated into English as 'please'. Thus, while it might be appropriate to use some polite formulaic expressions in certain situations in English (e.g. requests, see example (1) above), they could be more appropriate for use in other situations in Arabic (e.g. offers), taking other factors (such as the closeness of the relationship among the participants) into consideration.[170]

7.2.2.2. Restricting Options and Politeness

So far, I have shown that directness and insistence do not necessarily restrict the options of the hearer, who does not seem, according to the above examples, to feel imposed on by repeated actions or insisting on them, either in English or Arabic. Thus, they are not obliged to respond positively to the speaker. In this part, I show that reducing options can be seen as

[170]However, it should be noted that I am not comparing requests and offers in Arabic and English; merely aiming to evaluate the extent to which directness and insistence can restrict the options open to the hearer in different situations, and the examples discussed so far seem to provide a good view of what is seen as appropriate in both cultures.

appropriate (or even required) in some situations in Arabic,[171] even if the hearer's options are restricted to the extent that they have no choice but to accept what the speaker asks them to do, because it is conventionalised and ritualised as a norm in such a situation. In order to illustrate this point, we can consider the following example (which is from my Recorded Data). Three male friends took part in the conversation, whom I label as follows: Abdu Allah (50 years old); Faris (45 years old); and Hassan (32 years old). Abdu Allah invited Faris and Hassan to his house for lunch and they had this conversation (see Appendix F, pp. 194-197):

Example (11)

	ع: عندك ʕindak you have
1-A	Have some

	عندك ʕindak you have	ح: عندك ʕindak you have
2- H	Have some have some	

	منه] minnah it of	مايصير majsʕjir happen no	عندك↓ ʕindak you have	والله↑ wallahi by God	ع: لا la no
3- A	No ↑by Allah = [I insist] ↓ have some, it couldn't happen = [it is not accepted) [				

	] ح: والله =] wallahi by God
4- H	[By God = [really] = [

[171]Because the rights of the interlocutor to freedom of action take precedence over any other respects in English, it might be difficult to find English examples where the hearer is forced to do something by the speaker, so discussing this phenomenon in this section will be restricted only to Arabic examples, where it occurs in some situations.

	] ع: غير كول كول] ʁir ku:l ku:l just eat eat
5- A	[Just eat eat

	] ح: = كليت ماكله::] klait ma:kla: ate I eating
6- H	[= I have eaten too:: much [

	] ع: باهي (.) صحة صحة (0.5) صحتين] bahj saʕħa saʕħa (0.5) saʕħtain OK be healthy be healthy two health
7- A	[OK. (.) be in good health, be in good health (0.5), have two health = [be healthy] [

	] ح: والله العظيم الا خلاص wallahi ʔalʕaðʕji:m ʔilla χala:sʕ by God the greatest but enough
8- H	[By God = [really] I don't want any more

	ع: هيا حسونة (.) haja ħsu:na come on Hsouna
9- A	Come on Hsouna [diminutive] (.)

	ح: عندك عندك والله عندك (1) ʕindak ʕindak wallahi ʕindak you have you have by God you have
10- H	Have some, have some, by God = [I insist] have some (1)

	ع: حسونة (.)	هو	هدا	ايكال	هو
					]
	ħsu:na	hwa	haða	ʔi:ka:l	hu:a
	Hsouna	it	this	eating	it
11- A	Hsouna (.) do you call this eating = [you ate nothing]				
			[		

	ح: والله	الا	عندك		
			]		
	wallahi	ʔilla	ʕindak		
	by God	but	you have		
12- H	By Allah = [I insist] you have some				
		[			

	ع: هذا	تنقيش	هذا (0.4)		
					]
	haða	tanqi:ʃ	haða		
	this	little	this		
	[				
13- A	This is nothing (0.4)				

	ح: لا	والله	خلاص (.)	فل	الفل (.)
	la	wallahi	χal:sˤ	ful	ʔilful
	no	by God	enough	full	the full
14- H	No, by God = [really] I = I've had enough (.) I am really full				

	ع: نقسمها	أنا	وياك (.)	
	niqsimha	ʔana	wi:a:k	
	it divide I	I	you and	
15- A	Share it with me then (.)			

	ح: لا لا			
	]			
	la la			
	no no			
16- H	No no			
	[			

	ع: نقسمها	أنا	واياك (.)	بروحي	ما نقدرها
	niqsimha	ʔana	wi:a:k	bru:ħj	manaqdarha
	it divide I	I	you and	myslf with	it can no
17- A	Share it with me (.) I can't eat it all by myself				

	ح: ماهو قتلك (.) باهي نقسموها حني التلاتة (.) ((غير واضح))]
	mahw qutlik bahj niqismu:ha ħnj ʔattalata
	but you to said I OK it divide we we the three
18- H	But I said to you … (.) OK. let us share it with 'Faris' then (.) ((not clear)) [

	ع: لا أنا كليت والله عندك ↑ عندك ↑ عندك أنا كليت والله كليت وكلة باهية]]
	bahja wakla klait wallahi klait ʔana ʕindak ʕindak ʕindak wallahi klait ʔana la
	good eating ate I by God ate I I you have you have you have by God ate I I no
19- A 20-	No, I've eaten too much, by God = [I insist] have some ↑have some ↑have some, I've eaten too much, by God = [really] I've eaten too much. [

	ف: خلاص خلاص]]
	χala:sˤ χala:sˤ
	enough enough
21- F	[That is enough, enough [

	ح: غير كول كول ↑ كول يا راجل]
	ɣir ku:l ku:l ku:l ja raʒil
	just eat eat eat o man
22- H	[Just eat eat ↑eat ↑man

Before analysing the above example, it should be noted that the sequence of turns of insisting on offers and refusals in the above conversation lasts about 80 seconds. This shows how the process of insistence can be fairly long and yet still be seen as acceptable, or even required, in Arabic. However, in this example, I am not analysing the process of insisting on offers and refusals but, rather, on occasions when the hearer might be seen to be obliged to accept the speaker's offer and the strategies used to persuade him/her to do so. This example involved the following strategies:

1-Invoking God: God was invoked twice by the offerer: in line 3 ('No ↑by God = [I insist] ↓ have it, it cannot be = [it is not accepted')[172], and line 20 ('by God = [I insist] have some'). It is striking that this form of swearing allows the hearer no option but to accept because, according to Islamic teachings, whoever swears something by God and it is not done must fast for three days or feed ten poor people so, to avoid the consequences of refusals for the offerer in such cases, the offeree accepts the offered thing or at least something smaller.[173]

2- Evaluating the Guest's Eating: The offerer evaluated the guests' eating on two occasions: line: 11 ('do you call this eating = [you ate nothing]') and in line 13: ('This is nothing'). The host preceded his evaluation by using a diminutive form, whereby he changed the name of the guest ("Hassan" to "Hsouna") to indicate closeness and familiarity. However, this is not a real criticism of the way the guest eats but, rather, more a ritual evaluation to show that the guest is not seen as greedy, by asserting that he only ate a small amount of food in order to encourage him to eat more.[174] Moreover, such evaluations made the offeree agree to eat more to show that he liked the offered food and enjoyed his meal, and to confirm that he was not shy (as in the Arabic example (10) above), thus satisfying the host's desire to be seen as a good host.

3- Alternatives: Similar to the above examples, instead of insisting on the same offer, the offerer provided some alternatives. For example, after an assertion by the offeree that he was really full (line 10: 'No, by God = [really] it is enough (.) I am really full'), the offerer

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[172] The Arabic equivalent is not given here because it is already given above.

[173] Allah says in the Holy Quran ' فكفارته اطعام عشرة مساكين من أوسط ما تطعمون أو كسوتهم أو تحرير رقبة فمن لم يجد فصيام ثلاثة أيام ذلك كفارة أيمانكم إذا حلفتم ' which can be translated into English as follows: 'For expiation (for your oaths), feed ten indigent persons, on a scale of the average for the food of your families; or clothe them; or give a slave his freedom. If that is beyond your means, fast for three days. That is the expiation for the oaths ye have sworn' (Sura Almaaidah, verse: 91).

[174] An example about how a guest eating too much can sometimes be judged negatively in Arabic is provided in section 3 of this chapter.

suggested that the offeree should share a piece of meat with him (line 15: 'share it with me'). When this alternative offer was rejected, the offerer gave a reason for sharing, which was (line 17: 'I can't eat it all by myself'), which implied that the piece of meat would go to waste if the offeree continued to refuse to share it. According to religious beliefs, it is highly dispreferred to let food go to waste, so, because he did not want to be the person responsible for this, the offeree accepted the offer, but with the participation of the other guest (line 18: 'But I said to you... (.) OK. let us share it with Faris then').

4- Commands: The offerer made his offer in the form of commands and used an emphatic intonation when he asked his guest to eat more in line 5: ('just eat eat') and line 19: ('have some ↑have some ↑have some').[175] Unlike requests, in which such forms are inappropriate (as we saw in example (4) above), in offers, insisting on commands and a rising intonation seem to be more acceptable. They reflect the offerer's sincerity about their offer, because offers are not always seen as sincere if they were optional in Arabic (as I show below). Thus, commands and a rising intonation are strategies used for this goal, because they show that the offerer is sincere about his offer.

According to the above example, the offerer has to ensure that his/her guests are satisfied by his/her service, which is called in Arabic "the duty of hospitality,[176] واجب الضيافة", whereby the offerer is trying his/her best to serve his/her guests through frequent insistence (as I have shown in the above example). Performing this duty can be burdensome for the host

[175] Another phenomenonthat emerges from the Arabic data is the wide use of repetition of imperatives in making offers. Wierzbicka calls the repetition of this sort 'clausal repetition'. It seems that, according to Wierzbicka, one purpose in employing this sort of repetition is to convey the message that "I want you to do something NOW" (Wierzbicka, 2003: 260).

[176] Although the phrase 'duty of hospitality' is understood as referring to the host's obligations towards their guests, this duty is usually respected by the guests, who should allow their host to show generosity and hospitality (Grainger *et al.* 2015).

sometimes, who might prefer to eat only a little or even give up their own meal, in order to serve his/her guests. For this reason, on many occasions in the above example, the guests requested the host to eat, instead of continuing to offer, not because they felt imposed on by the frequent offers, but because the host was seen to be busy in serving them at his own cost (see for example, line 10: ('Have some, have some, by God = [I insist] have some'; and line 22: when one of the guests asserts 'Just eat eat ↑eat ↑man'). Furthermore, in order to show that the host has performed his duty of hospitality perfectly, the guests frequently assert their satisfaction through confirming that they have enjoyed their meal, which implies that the host has fulfilled his duty (see line 6: 'I have eaten too:: much'; line 8: 'By God = [really] I don't want any more'; and line 14: 'by God = [really] I've had enough (.) I am really full'). The host did not want his guests to feel guilty about his efforts to serve them and confirmed that he has already eaten well (see line 19, 20: 'I've eaten too much, by God = [really] I've eaten too much').

Although such routines are expected by both host and guest in Arabic culture, the degree of insistence depends on many factors (such as the situation, the relationship between the interactants and so on) so, in Arabic, the speaker might be assertive (or even aggressive from the perspective of some non-Arab cultures such as English) about their offer and yet still be seen to be behaving appropriately. In order to illustrate this point, I consider the following example (which is taken from the Log Book data) in which a female, Sana (30 years old) visited her female friend, Amani (28 years old). Unexpectedly, after an hour, Sana decided to go home and the following conversation took place between the two friends (see Appendix F, pp. 201-203):

Example (12)

	توا	أنا	أماني	يا	نمشي	بنوض:	سناء
	tawa	ʔana	ʔamanj	ja	nimʃj	binnu:dˁ	
	now	I	Amanj	o	walk I	get up	
1- Sana	Amani, I'm going home now						

	بالله	ما صارت	والله	شنو!	أماني:	
	ballah	masˁa:rit	wallahi	ʃinw		
	by God	happen not	by god	what		
2- Amani	What! by God = [I insist] it can't be = [you won't go home]					

	بنمشي	الا	والله	ما تحلفيش	لا	لا: سناء
	binimʃj	ʔilla	wallahi	mataħilfi:ʃ	la	la
	go I	but	by God	not swear no	no	no
3- Sana	No no, don't swear by God, by God = [really] I want to go					

	فيه	شن	علاش	أماني:
	fi:h	ʃin	ʕala:ʃ	
	it in	what	way	
4- Amani	Why do you want to go?			

	والله	بنمشي	هكي	و	الصغار	تعرفي	والله	لا: سناء
	wallahi	binimʃj	hikkj	wa	ʔalsʕiɤa:r	taʕirfj	wallahi	la
	by God	go I	like	and	the children	know you	by God	no
5- Sana	No, you know the children are waiting for me, by God = [really] I want to go							

	الصغار	بروحهم	قاعدين	أماني: شن
	ʔalsʕiɤa:r	bru:ħhum	qa:ʕdi:n	ʃin
	the children	themselves	sitting	what
6- Amani	Are your children on their own			

	بنمشي	الا	والله	لكن	بوهم	معاهم	هم	لا: سناء
	binimʃj	ʔilla	wallahi	lakin	bu:hum	maʕa:hum	humma	la
	go I	but	by God	but	their father	them with	they	no
7- Sana	No, their father is with them, but by God = [really] I have to go							

	ماشية	ماكي	والله	زايد	هبال	بلا	اقعدي	اقعدي: أماني
	ma:ʃja	makj	wallahi	zajed	haba:l	bla:	ʔuqaʕdj	ʔuqaʕdj
	going	not	by God	more	craziness	without	stay	stay
8- Amani	Don't be crazy, stay stay, by God = [I insist] you won't go							

	بس	ماتحلفيش	غير	سناء:
	bis	mataħilfi:ʃ	ɤir	
	only	not swear no	just	
9- Sana	Just don't swear by God			

	توا	ماشية	مانك	و	تقعدي	الاما	فيك	مادخلني	والله	أماني:
	tawa	maʃia	ma:nik	wa	tuqaʕdj	ʔillama	fi:k	madaχalnj	wallahi	
	now	going	not	and	stay	will	you of	me bother not	by God	
10- Amani	By God = [really] I don't bother about what you are saying, you won't go now									

	تحلفي	حق	ماعنكش	سناء:
	taħilfj	ħaq	maʕindikiʃ	
	swear	right	not you have no	
11- Sana	You shouldn't have sworn			

	توا	حلفت	خلاص	أماني:
	tawa	ħalaft	χalasʕ	
	now	sworn I	enough	
1- Amani	I've already sworn by God			

In this example, the guest informed her hostess that she was leaving, which was unexpected because, in Arabic, particularly when you have made an appointment in advance, guests are expected to stay a long time in order to allow their host to show their hospitality by offering different types of food and drink. Because the hostess has only had an opportunity to offer coffee during her guest's short stay, she insisted (by swearing by God) on her staying (line 2: 'by God = [I insist] it couldn't happen = [you won't go home]'). When the guest refused and asked the hostess not to swear by God, because she was aware of the consequences of refusal in the case of invoking God (as discussed in relation to Arabic example 11), the hostess asked why the guest was leaving. Unlike in the Arabic example 10, where asking for a reason was ritual, here this request for a reason was real, to find out whether the guest had a sufficiently strong excuse. The reason provided by the guest was not persuasive, as the children were already being cared for by their father. The real reason might be because the hostess was busy with her studies, so the guest did not want to take up her time. Thus, as part of her duty of hospitality, the hostess had the right strongly to reject this excuse and be assertive about the refusal (line 8: 'Don't be crazy, stay stay, by God = [I insist] you won't go'), and she even

went further, declaring that her guest's opinion was unimportant (line 10: 'By God = [really] I don't bother about what you are saying, you won't go now'). When the guest saw that the hostess was being assertive about her offer and was thus sincere, she had no choice but to agree to stay.

Thus, reducing options, according to ideological beliefs, might be seen as impeding the individual's freedom of action, and thus be evaluated as impolite in English but, in Arabic, it is not only seen as appropriate, but the absence of such actions could be evaluated negatively, because they are expected by both the guest and the host/ess in similar situations. We can consider the importance of reducing options in the above example and the consequences of failing to meet the expectations in the following points:

1- **Not Opening Options is Expected**: The guest in the above example (example 12) expected her request to leave to be refused, so did not prepare a strong reason for her request ritual, because she did not want to be seen as what is called in Arabic "a heavy guest, [dˤajf θaqi:l]" "ضيف ثقيل ", which can be translated into English as "an unwelcome guest", who had outstayed her welcome. The hostess, on the other hand, needed to show her sincerity through assertion, or even aggression at times, in order to be seen as a good hostess. However, the hostess' insistence here is not only seen as an obligation within the duty of hospitality, but also as a right which should be respected. For example, if the guest was blamed for being late by her husband, she would justify her lateness by confirming that the hostess "caught her, [ʃaddat fi:ha] شدت فيها ", which means that 'she insisted on not letting her go' and this would be respected. Furthermore, non-opening options make the guest feel that her presence is appreciated, a person with whom the hostess enjoys spending time.

2- Opening Options are Dispreferred: In this example, both the hostess and guest had certain expectations which they are expected to meet in order for their behaviour to be evaluated positively. The guest expects insistence on her staying. If this expectation were not met, and the hostess respected her desire to leave, because she does not want to impede her freedom of action through insistence (as in English), that would have greatly upset the guest. She would have interpreted this as being seen as an unwanted guest whom the host would like to leave.[177]

3- Reducing Options is a Right: Within the duty of hospitality, the guest has the right to be offered hospitality, but must also respect the host/ess' right to show it (Grainger et al. 2015). This hospitality, as we have seen, can be demonstrated through insistence and reducing options, but the host/ess can also use what might be seen as 'aggressive language' in English, such as a command (line 8: 'stay stay, by God = [I insist] you won't go'); evaluating the guest (line 8: 'don't be crazy') and evaluating her opinion (line 10: 'By God = [really] I don't bother about what you are saying, you won't go now'). If such assertive language were to be used in other situations (e.g. a request, or criticism), it might be seen as offensive, but here, because the hostess has the right to use such language, through which she illustrates sincerity, it seems appropriate or even required, because the guest, who wanted to be sure that her stay was desired, did so in a genuine attempt to force her hostess to prevent her from leaving.

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[177]The Arabic expression that is usually used in such cases (where the departing guest complains that they are not being urged to stay) runs: "they do not catch me even with pretending ما شدوش فيا حتى بالكذب" which means that 'the host/ess is not even pretending to insist that I stay'.

Unless a strong reason is provided by the hearer, it is highly dispreferred to insist on refusing this kind of offer. Thus, such strategies oblige the hearer to comply with the speaker's wishes so, if the hearer in the above example insists on leaving, despite the speaker's insistence, that would be evaluated negatively because, as I mentioned above, the hostess was not given an opportunity to demonstrate her hospitality. However, hosts/esses do not always easily give up their right for their offer to be accepted, even when their guests' desire to leave is genuine, and they sometimes resort to even more aggressive methods in order to persuade their guests to accept their offer. This method is called in Arabic "malama, ملامة" or "ʔita:b, عتاب", which can be translated into English as "reproach". To illustrate this point, we can consider the following example (taken from the Recorded Data) which took place between three Libyan women: Mariam, the hostess (40 years old); Nada, a guest (32 years old); and Nada's mother, a guest (59 years old). Nada and her mother were visiting their relative, Mariam, who lives in another town, and spent the night with her. Mariam invited them to stay for another night, which was evaluated as a serious offer. Hence, Nada and her mother repeatedly and genuinely refused Mariam's offer, providing different reasons, which she did not accept. Because they did not want to burden her, both guests requested her not to swear by God at the beginning of her offer (which might be ritual). Therefore, Mariam resorted to another method to assure her guests that she was serious about her offer and that their staying was genuinely desired. After a long sequence of turns of insisting and refusal, which lasted over a minute, the hostess became assertive and used a 'reproach' for her offer to be accepted as follows (see Appendix F, pp. 197-198):

Example (13)

	م: متقلقلة من شفيلد لهني (.) يا شفشة] mitqaliqla min ʃefild lahnj ja ʃifʃa travelling from Sheffield here to o skunk
1- Mariam	Coming all the way from Sheffield to here (.) you skunk [

	] ن: ((ضحك))]
2- Nada	[((Laughter)) [

	] م: والله ما تتحشمي (.) معليشي ↑ سامحيني ↓ يعني wallahi matitħaʃmj maʕlaiʃj samħi:nj jaʕnj by God ashamed you not me excuse me forgive mean
3- Mariam	By God =[really] you ought to be ashamed (.) excuse me ↑forgive ↓me = [sorry]

	ن: يا اخيتي هذه ماتغلبيهاش اغلبيها يا يما ((ضحك)) ja ʔuχaitj hadj mataɤilbi:ha:ʃ ʔɤilbi:ha ja jumma o my little sister this not her defeat I no her defeat o mum
4- Nada 5-	O my little sister = [oh my God] I can't defeat = [convince] her, defeat = [persuade] her, mum.

	أنا والله ما نغلبها (.) والله ما نقدرها] ʔana wallahi manaɤlibha wallahi maniqdirha I by God her defeat no by God her able not
6-	By God = [really] I can't defeat = [convince] her (.) I'm not able to do so

	] م: ((غير واضح))]
7- Mariam	[((Not clear)) [

	] الأم: أنا نتصنت و خلاص ʔana nitsˁannit wa χala:sˁ I listen I and only
8- The mother	[I'm just listening

In this example, the hostess criticised her guests for incurring the trouble of travelling all the way to the town where she lived to stay only for one night. Although the word 'skunk' is usually used by the Libyans as a form of banter, showing closeness and kindness, here it was more used as a 'reproach' to blame the young guest for not accepting her offer.[178] Further, while the phrase 'you ought to be ashamed',[179] is usually used to criticise people who are behaving really badly, here it was used to reproach the young guest, Nada, for resisting her offer. Because this phrase was extremely offensive, the hostess followed it with an apology (line 3: 'excuse me ↑forgive ↓me = [sorry]'), as it might offend the guest. Both guests failed to persuade the hostess to let them leave (see line 4: 'Oh my little sister = [oh my God] I can't defeat = [convince] her'; line 5: 'defeat = [persuade] her, mom' and line 8: 'I'm just listening'). Both guests then agreed (or were obliged to agree) to spend another night with their hostess.

From the above discussion, it is clear that insistence and consequently non-opening options are not necessarily impolite. Rather, they might be appropriate, or even required in some situations, as in the case of Arabic offers. As we have seen, within the host/ess' duty of hospitality, the guest expects insistence or even reduced options by the host/ess to be assured that they are welcome. Equally, the host/ess has the right to use insistence and non-opening options as a way of demonstrating sincerity and thus good hospitality. The reasons provided for refusing the offer may not always be accepted, despite an insistence on the refusal,

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[178]Here, the hostess directs her speech to the younger guest, because, in general, it is not acceptable in Arabic to speak in that way to older people.

[179]It should be noted that such a phrase can be used among very close friends or relatives (e.g. parents to children, or among siblings and friends) with regard for failing to behave as expected, for rejecting an offer and so on but, because the relationship between the wider family is less close, she might feel that it might be seen as offensive by her guest.

because the host/ess, as we have seen in examples (12 and13) above, still has the right to use assertive language, or even what might be seen in English as aggression, for their offers to be accepted, as long as the offer has no negative impact on the guest (e.g. if they have a serious reason for their refusal). Thus, directness can be intensified according to the context and yet still be seen as acceptable due to certain ideologies about what is conceived as appropriate.

Several researchers (House, 2012; Fukushima, 2002; Sifianou, 1995) argue that directness can be seen as polite in some cultures, because it is not seen as impeding the individual's freedom of action. However, in this research I would go further and suggest that directness needs to be even intensified in some situations (e.g. offers) in some cultures (e.g. Arab) where insistence and non-opening options are used to indicate sincerity and hospitality. The results of the Arabic data analysis have shown that reducing options (which can be judged as assertive or aggressive language by non Arab cultures) is not seen as impolite, as claimed by some traditional theories (Leech, 1983; Searle, 1979), because it is seen as a part of ritual routines. These results have also shown that directness does not necessarily restrict options.

7.3. Indirectness and Politeness

In the previous section, we have seen that directness and insistence do not necessarily restrict options, and reducing options is not necessarily considered impolite. In this section, I discuss the notion of indirectness and its relation to politeness, through investigating the claim that indirectness necessarily opens options and thus is necessarily seen as polite. Thus, in this section, I show how opening options for different interpretations can be evaluated negatively in both Arabic and English, and how indirectness does not necessarily open options.

7.3.1. Opening Options and Politeness

As I mentioned in Section 4.3., one reason for describing indirectness as being more polite than directness is because the former raises the level of 'optionality' and consequently reduces the force of the illocutions on the hearer (Leech, 1983). In other words, indirectness is seen as having more than one possible illocutionary force, and thus the interlocutor has a choice to respond to the force that suits them and ignore other forces. That would save face for both the speaker and hearer (Brown and Levinson, 1987). However, I would argue that opening options through indirectness is not always evaluated positively. In order to illustrate this point, we can consider the following English example, which was mentioned by one of my female English informants M who took part in the English Focus Group discussion, when I asked them to define directness and indirectness (see Appendix E, p.77, lines: 20-21):

Example (14)

20- M: Yeah but sometimes direct
21- and indirect is like I said are we meeting on Saturday and the person I said it to went oh
22- aaa o:h I d o:h (0.4) and gave me an indirect answer (.) so I assumed that it is still going
23- to be happening (0.6) had she's just given me a direct answer and said no
[
25- K: No
26- M: (0.3) Then (0.5) I would've been less confused.

In this example, the speaker was obviously irritated by the indirect answer given by her interlocutor, who seemed to avoid directness in order to give the speaker an opportunity to interpret her answer indirectly. This way of opening options for different interpretations seems to be evaluated negatively by the speaker who preferred a more direct answer, because that would be less confusing for her. Thus, opening options through different interpretations in such situations seems to cause confusion rather than being evaluated as being polite.

Thus, describing English as a language where indirectness is preferred in all situations seems to be inadequate, because there are some situations in which directness is the preferred choice. However, on the basis of this one example alone, we cannot be sure that this claim is true, so we can consider the following example, which is taken from my Questionnaire data (see Questionnaire B-2, p. 41):

Example (15)

Recently a colleague was upset because her printing to our work printer was being held up by some printing that someone else had sent (this was me!): a large job. Instead of asking something like "does anyone know whose is the large job printing at the moment – I need to interrupt it", she instead said something like "Oh my god, there's a large printing job going through"

According to Brown and Levinson's (1987) view of the degree of politeness, an utterance like 'there's a large printing job going through', which is 'off-record', is the most polite strategy that the speaker can use (see 4.3 for an explanation of their strategies). However, according to the informant's comment, it seems that he would have preferred a more direct form, such as 'does anyone know whose is the large job printing at the moment? I need to interrupt it' because, he seems to be annoyed at the way his colleague made her request. He commented:

She didn't directly ask who was printing, or if anyone could help with her problem. What she was trying to do (unconsciously or consciously) was get someone to feel sorry for her, and possibly help her to sort out the problem, without directly talking to the only two people who could have been responsible for the large print job and asking them if she could interrupt it.

Thus, instead of interpreting her indirect method of request as an attempt to be polite, as it would be using the traditional theories, it was evaluated negatively by the informant who perceives it as a way of making people take pity on her.

It is true that different interpretations which are claimed to be associated with indirect speech may hold more than one possible illocutionary force, as Leech (1983) argues (which is supposed to be seen as polite), but opening options for different illocutionary forces is not necessarily considered polite. I illustrate this in the following Arabic example, which took place during the Focus Group interaction for Arab females after one of my participants (N, a close friend of mine) put on her coat and headscarf, because she was very cold, hoping that I would understand her message and turn on the heater. Unfortunately, because I was busy with the other participants, I recognised her hidden message very late. When I asked her later why she had not simply told me to turn on the heater, she said that, because I was very busy, she did not want to interrupt me. Therefore, I used this event to ask my participants which type of requests they preferred in such a case: direct or indirect (either verbal or nonverbal), and the answers were as follows (see Appendix C, pp. 111-113, lines: 264-278):

Example (16)

	] ف: ايه حتى عادي مثلا اااا نحس فيه الجو صقع شوية يا زينب شن ʃin Zainab ja ʃwaja sˁaqaʕ ʔalʒaw fiːh nħis aaaa maθalan ʕaːdj ħatta ʔaih what Zainab oh little cold the weather it in feel I aaaa for example normal even yes
264- F	[Yes, it is fine for example aaaa {if you said} I feel a bit cold Zainab what

	] أنا و هكي صقع مثلا اا قلتي لو (.) الدفاية تفتحي رايك ʔinnj hikkj wa sˁaqaʕ maθalan aa qultj law addiffaja tafitħj rajik I like and cold for example aa said you if the heater open you your opinion
265- F	[if you turn the heater on (.) if you just said aa for example it is cold or so I

	بنتحشم أكثر من اا ((غير واضح))] bintħaʃem ʔakθar min aa shy will I more than aa
266- F	would feel embarrassed more than aa ((not clear))

	أ: لا حتى انا صح عندي هكي la ħatta ʔana sˁaħ ʕindj hikkj no even I right I have like
267- A	Yes me too, right, I agree

	ف: اممم Emmm
268- F	Emmm

	((غير واضح))]
((Not clear)) [	

	] أ: ماهو تقولك افتحي الدفاية↑ و خلاص↓ ليش اللف↑ و الدوران↓] addawara:n wa ʔallaf laiʃ χalasˁ wa addaffaja ʔafetħj taqu:lek mahw the turning and the spinning why enough and the heater open you to say she just
269- A	[Why don't you just say turn on the heater↑ and that is it↓ why you'r going↑ around↓ [

	] ح: تبي تحسسك ان انت راك انت مقصرة في حقها =] ħaqqha fj muqasˁra ʔinti rak ʔinti ʔinna thasasik tibbj her right in delinquent you you you that you that you feel she want she
270- H	[She may want to make you feel that you are not doing your duty towards her = [

	] أ: أنا نحس ((غير واضح))] nħis ʔana feel I I
271- A	[I feel that ((not clear)) [

	ح: = و هكي و:::ك صقع =] sˤaqaʕ woook hikkj wa cold oooooh like that and
272- H	[And so on {so she just say} o:::::h it is cold = [

	] ((غير واضح))]
	[((Not clear)) [

	] ح: متع انت خيرك ما تبيش تحسي لين يقولوهال:::ك] jqu:lu:hali:::k lain tħissj matibbi:ʃ χairik ʔinti mtaʕ you to it say they until feel you not want you no you good you of
273- H	[like to say: what is wrong with you, do you need to be told directly {to understand} [

	] ز: أمل (.) أمل نبي هل هي ليها هي (.) لانها (.) لف و دوران (0.3) ما تبيهاش (.) matibbi:ha:ʃ dawara:n wa laf liʔannaha hi:a li:ha hi:a hal nibbj ʔamal ʔamal not want you no turning and spinning it because it it to it do want I Amal Amal
274- Z 275-	[Amal Amal (.) Amal I want to know whether (.) because it is (.) going around (0.3) you don't like it

	والا لانها زي ما قالت حنان (.) كأنك انت ما قمتيش بالواجب (2) walla liʔannaha zai ma qalet hanan kaʔinnik ʔinti maqumti:ʃ bilwaʒib or because it like as said Hanan you seem you no do not with the duty
276- Z	or because it is, as Hanan said (.) as if you aren't doing your duty (2)

	أ: لا لا بالنسبة ليا أنا نحس فيها لف و دوران (.) حني لغتنا la la binnisba li:a ʔana nħis fi:ha laff wa dawara:n ħnai luɣitna no no for to me I I feel it of spinning and turning we our language
277- A	No no for me I feel like it is going around, so why I mean (0.4) our language

	أبسط من كونك تلفي و ادوري ʔabsatˤ min kawnik tliffj wa ʔiddu:rj simpler than being you spin and you turn
278- A	is simple, so we don't need to go around

According to Leech's view, in this example, the phrase 'it is cold', which was used by some of the participants above, seems to hold more than one possible illocutionary force: the force of both informative and request (for turning on the heater). However, this phrase, which is supposed to open options and thus reduce the force of illocution, was judged negatively by the participants, who responded only to the force of the request. For F, it would be embarrassing if such an indirect phrase were to be used by her guest, for example, to ask her to turn on the heater. She prefers more direct forms, perhaps because it shows the closeness that the guest feels toward her. For H, it is seen more as a criticism for not being hospitable when it is said by a guest, while A interpreted it as 'going around' instead of using direct, simple forms. Thus, although such a phrase is, according to Leech (1983), supposed to open options for the hearer to choose an interpretation that reduces the force of the illocution and thus being more polite, it was judged negatively by the participants who did not consider it a polite way for making requests and they preferred more direct forms. It might be argued that, as Brown and Levinson (1987) suggest, if such indirect forms (or off-record meanings) are chosen to be misunderstood, both the speaker and hearer would save face because they have an 'out'. However, acting as if the meaning of such an indirect speech is not present has negative consequences in Arabic, as we show in the following example (taken from the Arabic Questionnaire data) which the (female) informant mentioned took place between herself and her sister-in-law (her brother's wife) (see Questionnaire A-6, p. 11):

Example (17)

حد	زيارة	لمكان	تطلع	تبي	زوجته	لما	كنت	و	خوي	جارة	أنا
ħad	zjara	limakan	tatˁlaˁ	tibbj	zwʒtah	lamma	kunt	wa	χu:j	ʒarat	ʔana
someone	visit	place to	go she want	his wife	when	was	and	my brother	neighbour	I	
1- I live next door to my brother. When his wife wants to visit someone or go somewhere,											

عندي	تخليهم	صغارها	ترفع	ما تبيش	و
ˁindj	tχalli:hum	sˁʁa:rha	tarfaˁ	matibi:ʃ	wa
me have	them leave she	her children	take she	not want she no	and

2- she usually leaves her children with me when she does not want to take them with her,

لفرح	دعوة	عندي	كان	مرة	نتذكر	عندي,	عادي	طبعا	و أنا
lifarah	daʕwa	ʕindj	ka:n	marra	nitðakker	ʕindj	ʕa:dj	tˁabʕan	ʔana wa
party to	invitation	have I	was	once	remember I	have	normal	of course	I and

3- and I'm always pleased to do so. One day, I wanted to go to a wedding party

للفرح	معاي	نرفعها	استحالة	انه	عارفة	و	صغيرة	قاعدة	بنتي
lilfarah	maʕaj	narfaʕha	ʔistiħala	ʔinnah	ʕa:rfa	wa	sˁaɤi:ra	qaʕda	bintj
party to	me with	her take I	impossible	that	know I	and	small	still	my daughter

4- and because I have a baby who is too young, I couldn't take her with me,

تعيط	تقعد	و	عالي	صوت	و	موسيقى	لان
tʕajetˁ	tuqʕud	wa	ʕa:lj	sˁu:t	wa	mu:si:qa:	liʔanna
cry she	stay she	and	loud	voice	and	music	because

5- because of the loud music and voices and she would keep crying,

طول	نرفعها	تحشمت	بس	خوي	لمرة	نرفعها	اني	ففكرت
tˁu:l	narfaʕha	tħaʃimit	bas	χu:j	limarɬ	narfaʕha	ʔinnj	fafakkart
directly	her take I	shy I	but	my brother	woman to	her take I	I	thought I

6- so I thought of taking her to my sister in law. But I was reluctant to take her directly

للفرح	بنمشي	اني	قلتلها	طبعا	و	الجو	نشوف	نمشيلهم	خلي	قلت
lilfarah	nimʃj	ʔinnj	qultilha	tˁabʕan	wa	ʔalʒaw	nʃu:f	nimʃi:lhum	χallj	qult
party to	walk I want I	I her said I		of course	and	the air	see I	them to go I	let	said I

7- without asking her first. So I went to her house and said to her I would go to the party

قالتلي	طول	فعلى	لجميلة	اندير	كيف	عارفة	مش	لكن
qa:litlj	tˁu:l	faʕala	liʒami:la	ʔindi:r	ki:f	ʕa:rfa	miʃ	lakin
me to said she	directly	at	Jameela to	do I	how	know I	not	but

8- but I'm just worried about Jameela (the baby's name). She immediately said to me

مرضعتها	و	غياراتها	حطيلها	معاك	رفعتيها	كان	فيها	شن
mardˁʕitha	wa	ɤiaratha	ħutˁi:lha	mʕa:k	rfaʕti:ha	ka:n	fi:ha	ʃin
her milk bottle	and	her nappies	her put	you with	her take you	if	it in	what

9- "what is wrong about taking her with you, just put her milk bottle and extra nappies

نمسك	ديمة	أنا	زي ما	ان	توقعت	لاني	وجعتني	عدي	و	شنطة	في
nimsik	di:ma	ʔana	zaj ma	ʔinna	twaqqaʔt	liʔannj	wiʒʕitnj	ʕaddj	wa	ʃantˁa	fj
catch I	always	I	like	that	expect I	because	me hurt it	go	and	bag	in

10- in your hand bag and go". I really felt hurt; because I am always happy

بتقولي	هي	حتى	أكيد	رحب	صدر	بكل	و	صغارها	في
bitqu:llj	hi:a	ħattà	ʔaki:d	raħib	sˁader	bikul	wa	sˁɤa:rha	fj
me to say she will	she	even	sure	welcome	chest	all with	and	her children	in

11- for her children to stay with me while she is out, so I thought she would suggest my

للفرح.	ما مشيتش	لهذا	و	عندي	خليها
lilfarah	mamʃaitiʃ	liha:ða	wa	ʕindj	χalli:ha
party to	not went I no	so	and	me have	her leave
12- leaving my daughter with her. So I couldn't go to the wedding party.					

In this example, the speaker's utterance 'I'm worried about Jameela' holds more than one possible illocutionary force: the force of both informative and request (to look after the baby). The speaker used indirectness here because the request was serious, so she avoided saying it directly. However, it should be noted that this type of indirectness in such situations can be regarded as conventional or routine indirectness in Arabic, so the force of it as a request is obvious,[180] and taking up only the explicit one (informative) by the addressee was evaluated negatively by the speaker, who might accuse the hearer of choosing to misrecognize her request, instead of accepting to look after her baby or at least apologize for being unable to do so (line 10: 'I really felt hurt'),[181] especially as the addressee was indebted to the speaker for looking after her children on several occasions (lines 10- 11: 'I am always happy for her children to stay with me while she is out'). However, such an indirect request, which is seen as conventional in Arabic, might not be easily interpreted or accessible in English in similar situations. For example, Grainger (2011) explains the difficulty she faced in understanding her Zimbabwean friend's request for a lift home at the end of an evening out with her and her husband, because she used the same indirect strategy as used by the Arab participants in the above example. The exchange took place between herself and her friend 'Ellen' as follows:

[180]Because of the vague nature of indirectness, it might be misunderstood in other situations, but here it is clear.

[181]However, I am not saying that the addressee should respond positively to the speaker's request, because they can apologize for being unable to comply and still be evaluated positively. What I am saying is that choosing not to understand is highly dispreferred.

Example (18)

Ellen: I think we will wait for a bus, I don't feel like walking home
Karen: OK. Good night then (Grainger, 2011: 182).

Grainger's reply might be evaluated negatively by native Arabic speakers, where the force of Ellen's utterance as a request is seen as obvious. Thus, such a reply would be taken as ignorance by an Arabic speaker, rather than misunderstanding. However, Grainger justifies her misunderstanding on the grounds that there was no clear evidence for her that her friend was intending to make a polite request through indirectness. Therefore, she simply responded to the clear illocutionary force of this utterance, which is informative. Later that evening, the alternative interpretation occurred to her, Grainger said, so she texted her friend, saying:

Example (19)

Karen: Sorry, should have offered you a lift home. Wasn't thinking straight.
Ellen: Its OK. We were just being lazy. (2011: 183)

According to Grainger, Ellen's response here "suggests that her most accessible interpretation is that of a request for a lift" (2011: 183), which is, due to cultural and ideological beliefs, that are not understood immediately by the English interlocutor, who does not seem to use such strategies in similar situations and would prefer to use other strategies (such as what is called 'conventional indirectness').[182] Thus, while it is appropriate to use direct forms in some situations in Arabic (as we saw in the previous section), which might be evaluated negatively by English people, there are other situations in which the English prefer certain strategies that are seen as inappropriate in Arabic, because they might be evaluated as face-

[182]Such a strategy might be regarded as more direct and may not appear to signal politeness in such situations in other cultures, such as Arabic and Zimbabwean English.

threatening actions. Therefore, it is not a matter of the Arabs being more direct or the English being more indirect; rather, it is more about how certain conventional elements being normalized over time within a linguistic or cultural group to be appropriate and thus acceptable in certain situations.

Thus, according to the above examples, opening options for different interpretations is not necessarily preferred, as these can be evaluated negatively by the addressees. Hence, more direct forms are preferred in such situations (as in examples 14 and 15 above). Thus, indirectness, despite the different interpretations that it may hold, does not necessarily open options, as we will see in the following part of this section.

7.3.2. Indirectness and Reducing Options

So far, we have seen that opening options through indirectness is not necessarily seen as polite but, rather, might even be evaluated negatively. Here, I would go further and suggest that indirectness does not necessarily open options, as claimed by Leech (1983), because the hearer in some cases is guided towards the intended meaning, and thus no options are really open to them. To illustrate this point, we can consider some Arabic and English examples. I will start by citing an English example (which is taken from the English Questionnaire data) which is mentioned by a male informant (17 years old) (see questionnaire B-21, p. 65):

Example (20)

- My mum always saying 'your room is untidy' and she means 'tidy it up'. Really annoying.

The phrase 'your room is untidy' has two illocutionary forces: informative and request. Although the explicit one is the informative, the force of the illocution here does not seem to be reduced, as the participant responded only to the intended meaning (tidying the room),

because it was not actually optional, despite the indirect language that was used to form it. Due to the repeated actions in such situations, there might be no need for the speaker to repeat her request for her son to tidy his room whenever needed. In other words, there is no need for the mother to be explicit, because both interactants share the same repertoire (Terkourafi, 2011). Simply informing him that his room was untidy was enough for the son to be guided to the intended meaning, due to the repertoire that he shares with his mother. Thus, the claim that indirectness is used because it is more optional and consequently more polite is inadequate, because it can be used for frequent and regular actions for which directness could have been used instead. The participant's comment that his mother's request as 'really annoying' may illustrate this point.

Thus, just because the intended meaning is 'hidden' in indirect forms does not guarantee 'optionality'. Furthermore, there are some situations where the form of speech used is direct, while the intended meaning is hidden, as we will see in the following English example (which is taken from the Questionnaire data), provided by a female participant (30 years old) (see Questionnaire B-9, p. 51):

Example (21)

- When my mother asks me to 'put the kettle on' she really means 'make me a cup of tea'.

In this example, directness is used to form the first request 'put the kettle on', which, according to Leech (1983), raises the force of illocutions, because it holds only one meaning, which is a request in this case. However, according to the participant, this was not exactly the intended meaning because, beyond this direct request lay another meaning, which was recognised by her due to the same interpretive repertoire she shares with her mother in such a situation. Thus, instead of simply putting the kettle on, she makes tea for her mother. Such a

situation may justify Wilson and Sperber's (2007) claim that communication is indirect because it requires a degree of inferential work.[183] Thus, different interpretations, which are seen to raise the level of optionality and thus as more polite, can also be generated by certain direct forms, so it is not restricted only to indirectness.

Such situations can also be found in Arabic where direct forms can be used to send a hidden message, as I show in the following Arabic example given by one of the (male) participants (37 years old) who took part in my Questionnaire (see Questionnaire A-2, p. 4):

Example (22)

في	نهار	ماشيين	نعزوا	في	والد	صاحبنا	في	طرابلس
fj	nha:r	ma:ʃji:n	nʕazzw	fj	walid	sˁaħibna	fj	tˁarablis
in	one day	going we	sympathise we	in	father	our friend	in	Tripoli
1- One day, a friend of mine and I visited a friend of ours in Tripoli for his father's funeral.								

و	جي	وقت	الغدي	و	كان	الجو	قبلي	و	حمو	بكل
wa	ʒaj	waqit	ʔalʁada	wa	ka:n	ʔalʒaw	qiblj	wa	ħamw	bukkul
and	came	time	the lunch	and	was	he weather	windy t	and	hot	very
2- It was a very hot and windy day. After welcoming us, we were offered lunch										

و	جابوا	الغدي	بازين	و	كان	الايدام	ساخن	يفرفط	ليدين
wa	ʒa:bw	ʔalʁada	ba:zi:n	wa	kan	ʔili:da:m	saχen	jafarfetˁ	lidain
and	brought they	the lunch	bazeen	and	was	the soup	hot	burn it	the hands
3- which was'bazeen'[184] and was very hot									

و	صاحبي	اللي	معاي	ياكل	و	يقول	حامية	التركة
wa	sˁa:ħbj	ʔillj	mʕa:j	jakul	wa	jaqu:l	ħa:mia	ʔatterka
and	my friend	that	me with	eat he	and	say he	hot	the thing
4- and my friend was eating and repeatedly saying 'how hot it is',								

و	يعاود	فيها	كم	مرة	لين	تحشمت	بكل
wa	jʕa:wid	fi:ħa	kam	marra	li:n	tħaʃimt	bukkul
and	repeat he	it of	many	once	so	embarrassed I	too much
5- I was really embarrassed							

[183] However, this is not to say that I agree with this claim, because a distinction can be made between the two notions in certain situations.

[184] A kind of Libyan food that needs to be eaten by hand (no spoons).

سكت.	و	فهمها	لين	راجل	يا	رحم	و	كول	قتله	و
skat	wa	fhamha	li:n	ra:ʒil	ja	raħim	wa	ku:l	qutla	wa
silent	and	it understood he	so	man	o	bless	and	eat	him to say I	and

6- and said to him 'eat and bless = [give thanks], man'. My friend understood me and stopped saying it.

The phrase 'eat and bless = [give thanks]', according to Leech's (1983) understanding, involves only one illocutionary force: the force of request (for eating and blessing), so any other interpretations might be impossible due to the reduction in options caused by directness. However, this was not the intended meaning of the speaker, who was embarrassed by his friend's comment on the lunch, in continuing to say 'how hot it is'. In Arabic, as in most other countries, making negative comments about offered food is highly dispreferred so, in this case, the speaker wanted to remind the hearer of what is called in Arabic 'ʔwsˁu:l aldˁjafa أصول الضيافة' which can be translated into English as 'hospitality assets'. That is, whereas the host/ess has certain obligations within 'the duty of hospitality', as we saw in the previous section, the guest also has some rules which need to be respected within 'hospitality assets', so such a comment is unacceptable, because it may cause embarrassment to the hosts. Because asking his friend directly to stop making comments about the food might embarrass him, the speaker chose to use the phrase 'eat and bless' which implies that he should eat without complaining about the food. Although the form that was used to make the request was direct, the intended meaning was hidden, and was understood by the hearer who stopped complaining about the food. Thus, if the main difference between directness and indirectness is that the latter allows for more than one interpretation, where the intended meaning is supposed to be arrived at through inference, it seems that a clear-cut distinction between directness and indirectness in such cases is not always possible, as directness can also sometimes hold different interpretations.

However, it is not only the structure of the utterance or the relationship between the interlocutors that determine the intended meaning of the uttered words. It is also what might be seen as conventional, where the intended interpretation is accessible in certain situations, albeit hidden. To illustrate this, we can consider the following Arabic example, which is taken from the Focus Group data, where the (female) participant (40 years old) explained the situations in which indirectness can be used (see Appendix C, pp. 86-87, lines: 97-107):

Example (23)

ف: ايه اكثر شي يكون مع حد يكون مثلا هو فيه يكون
jaku:n fi:h hu:a maθalan jaku:n ħad maʕa jaku:n ʃaj akθar ʔaih
be it in he for example be someone with be thing more yes
97- F | Yes it is mostly used with people who we have

ف: قرابة معاه (0.4) زي انا مرة خويا أو (.) بنت عمي (.)
qara:ba maʕah zaj ʔana marɬ χu:ja ʔaw bint ʕammj
closeness him with like I wife my brother or girl my uncle
98- F | a relationship with (0.4) like my sister in law or (.) aaa my cousin (.)

ف: مرات حتى أختي والله (.) متحشمة منها يعني ما يجيش
marrat ħattá auχtj awallahi mitħaʃm minha jaʕnj majʒi:ʃ
sometimes even my sister God by shy I her from mean no come not
99- F | sometimes even with my sister, I'm serious (.) sometimes I feel reluctant

ف: نقوللها مثلا أنا اليوم ااا بن (0.5) مثلا بنحط ظنايا
nqu:lilha maθalan ʔana aljawm aaa will I bin maθalan binħutˁ ðˁanaja
her to say I for example I today aaa will I bin for example leave I my children
100-F | to just say to her: today I will aaa (0.5) for example I will leave my children with you

ف:عندك والا كذا (0.3) نجي نقول و الله انا عندي مشية للمكان الفلاني
ʕindik walla kaða nʒj nquːl wallahi ʔana ʕindj maʃja lilmakaːn ʔalfulanj
you at or so on come I say I God by I have I going the place to that
101- F | or something like that (0.3) instead I would say I have to go to that place

ف: و هكي (0.4) و ماني عارفة وين نحط الصغار و هكي نراجي في عرض
ʕardˁ fj nraːʒj hikkj wa alsˁiɣar nħutˁ waiːn ʕaːrfa manj wa hikkj wa
offer of wait I like that and children leave I where know I not and like that and
102- F | and so on (0.4) and I don't know who to leave my children with and so on

ف: منها تقولي تفضلي و الا حاجة فهمتي و الا
minha tquːlj tafadˁalj walla ħaʒa fahamtj walla
her from me to say by all means or something you understood or

103- F	and I am waiting for an offer from her, to say by all means or

كذا	والا	روحك	في	اتعبي	عندي (.) علاش	نحطهم	هاتي	هاتي	ف:
kaða	walla	ru:ħik	fj	ʔittaʕbj	ʕala:ʃ ʕindj	nħutʕhum	hatj	hatj	
something	or	yourself	of	trouble you	why me at	them put I	give	give	
104- F	leave them leave them I will look after them (.) why you are troubling yourself or								

(.) كذا	و	فاضية	و	ندير	ما	عندي	ما	أنا	و	عندي	خليهم	ف:
kaða	wa	fadˤja	wa	ndi:r	ma	ʕindj	ma	ʔana	wa	ʕindj	χalli:him	
so on	and	free I	and	do I	what	I have	not	I	and	I have	them leave	
105- F	something like that leave them with me and I have nothing to do and I am free and											

عليك	نكثر	ما نبيش	و	لا	بتقولي	الاول	من	طبعا	ف
ʕalaik	nkaθar	manibbi:ʃ	wa	la	bitqu:lj	ʔalʔawal	min	tˤabʕan	
you on	burden	I not want not	and	no	say you will	the first	from	of course	
106- F	so on (.) of course at the beginning you would say: no I don't want to trouble you								

	هو	انه	النهاية	في	عارفة	انت	لكن	ف:
	hu:a	ʔinnah	annihaja	fj	ʕa:rfa	ʔinti	lakin	
	it	it that	the end	in	know you	you	but	
107- F	but you know that at the end it…							

In this example, the participant talked about a situation where indirectness can be used for a polite request. Although what was used to make this request was indirect (line 5 and 6:'I have to go somewhere (0.4) and I don't know who to leave my children with'), the most accessible interpretation was that of a request to look after the children. In other words, although this utterance has more than one possible illocutionary force: explicit (informative) and implicit (request), the implicit one should be taken up by the addressee in order to be positively evaluated, because such an indirect speech, in fact, is not optional; it is more conventional or routine. It is probably preferable to use indirectness in such situations rather than direct forms, because such requests might be conceived as being serious (lines 3 and 4: 'sometimes I feel reluctant to just say to her: today I will aaa (0.5) for example I will leave my children with you'). Therefore, no actual choices are open to the hearer to misrecognize the request, pretending that it is not present (as Brown and Levinson (1987) argues) if they want to be evaluated positively because, as we have seen, in example (17) above, misrecognition of the

indirect request is highly negatively evaluated. Furthermore, one main aim for using such indirect forms in such situations is for the hearer to transform the request into an offer (line 7 and 8: 'I am waiting for an offer from her, to say by all means'). As we saw in the previous section, offers are highly preferred actions in Arabic.[185]

Thus, indirectness is not always optional, as some traditional theories (e.g. Leech, 1983) try to present it because, in some situations, even if it opens up different interpretations, only one meaning should be taken up by the addressee, as all other possible interpretations are unacceptable. However, I would go further to argue that people can be evaluated as rude or even *mean* when using indirectness for requests in certain situations in Arabic but, before citing an example, it should be noted that indirectness, as Merkin (2012) argues, cannot be defined only through using an ambiguous linguistic structure whose intended meaning is hidden and takes place only between a speaker and their interlocutor(s). Rather, there are some situations where the intended meaning is conveyed through a third party, whether the linguistic structure used is direct or indirect.[186] The following example (which is taken from the Log Book data) took place between two female participants: Arwa, (25 years old) and her sister in law (her brother's wife) Fatima, (32 years old). Fatima wants to leave her daughter (6 years old) with Arwa and, instead of using the forms that might be evaluated positively (as I have shown above), Fatima chose to make her indirect request through speaking to her daughter as follows (see Appendix F, pp. 204-205):

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[185]It is striking that the participant says that she is waiting for an offer from her interlocutor (I am waiting for an offer from her, to say by all means), not to understand her request, because indirectness in such a case, as I mentioned, is obvious and has only one acceptable meaning.

[186]More examples, both Arabic and English, will be provided in the next section.

Example (24)

بنسأل	و	نمشي	لما	شطانة	ماديريش	و	عاقلة	كوني	فاطمة:
binasʔal	wa	nimʃj	lamma	ʃtˤa:na	maddiri:ʃ	wa	ʕa:qla	ku:nj	
ask I will	and	go I	when	misbehaving	not do you no	and	behaved	be	
1- Fatima	Behave well and don't trouble your aunt while I am out. I'll ask								

منك	بنغضب	شطانة	درتي	كان	و	بنجي	لما	عمتك
minnik	bnuɤdˤub	ʃtˤa:na	dirtj	ka:n	wa	binʒj	lamma	ʕamtik
you of	angry I will	misbehaving	did you	if	and	back I	when	your aunt
2-	your aunt when I come back, and I would be very angry if you misbehaved							

It might be understood from this example that the speaker's request to look after her daughter has already been accepted by the requestee, but in fact Fatima has not even asked Arwa to look after her daughter. Arwa, who was frustrated by Fatima's behaviour, she told me, was unable to challenge or reject it, in order to avoid any problems that might be caused by any possible argument, and she looked after the child without even being asked.

Therefore, Leech's (1983) claim that indirectness necessarily opens options and is consequently polite is inaccurate because, as we have seen in this section, opening options is not always seen as polite, and indirectness does not necessarily open options. In many cases, there is only one acceptable meaning which is taken up by the hearer in order to be positively evaluated. Furthermore, what constitutes indirectness and its functions might differ from one linguistic group to another, so what might be perceived as conventional or routine in certain groups in some situations might be seen as vague and ambiguous in others. Thus, we cannot make generalisations about the concept and interpretation of indirectness across languages. Thus, the functions of indirectness may differ from one situation to another within different cultural groups, and declaring indirectness to be necessarily polite is built on a restricted view, which not only ignores the different functions that indirectness may fulfil in different linguistic groups, but also ignores other functions that it can perform (such as impoliteness).

Thus, in the following section, I will show how indirectness can be used deliberately to cause offence.

Some researchers (House, 2012; Pinker, 2007; Culpeper, 2011), as discussed in chapter 4, argue that indirectness is not necessarily associated with politeness, as suggested by the traditional theories. However, in this research (as I have shown in this section) I would go further and argue that the association between indirectness and opening options, which is also suggested by the traditional theories, is not always accurate. According to the results of this section, it is obvious that the relationship between (in)directness, optionality and politeness is not static; rather, it is dynamic. The results of the Arabic and English data analysis have shown that optionality that is claimed to be provided by indirectness is not always evaluated positively. It might be seen to cause confusion sometimes (for the English informants), or to indicate deliberate request misrecognitions (for the Arab informants).

7.4. Indirectness and Impoliteness

In this section, I investigate the notion of indirectness and its relation to impoliteness. Apart from a few studies (e.g. Culpeper's, 2011), there is very little work on investigating how indirectness can be used for impoliteness. It might be argued that the reason behind that might be because indirectness is rarely used for such purposes, particularly in English, where indirectness is ideologically associated with politeness, but this is not the case. For example, Culpeper (2011) points out that about 60% of his reported impoliteness events, provided by his English participants, were indirect. Such a number makes it obvious that using indirectness for impoliteness is not rare, as it might be believed, in English. Furthermore, although indirectness can be used for polite purposes in some cultural groups, such as in Libyan Arabic, the overall perception of such a notion can be negative, (as I have shown in

the results I obtained from the Arabic Questionnaire and the Focus Groups), because it is usually linked to impoliteness. The type of indirectness I refer to has been discussed by Culpeper (2011) under the heading 'implicational impoliteness' (which I already have discussed in 4.6.). I adopt the terms he suggests in discussing this phenomenon. Although Culpeper provides a very good description of this phenomenon, I would argue that it is far more complicated, at least in Arabic, than has been discussed by him. As I discussed in 4.6., Culpeper classified 'implicational impoliteness' into three types of trigger: Form-driven, Convention-driven and Context-driven, each of which I will discuss in this section.

7.4.1. Form driven

As I discussed in Section 4.6., Culpeper (2011) suggests that this kind of implicature relies on conveying hidden messages intended by the speaker to be impolite. These messages involve some degree of ambiguity and vagueness, so they need some inferential work and cognitive effort on the part of the hearer to interpret the intended meaning. Everyday terms for this kind of phenomena, as Culpeper identifies them, include "insinuation', 'innuendo', 'casting aspersions', 'digs', 'snide comments/remarks', and so on" (Culpeper, 2011: 156). According to the Arabic data I collected, either through the Questionnaire or Naturally Occurring data, it seems that this kind of 'implicational impoliteness' is the most commonly used type compared to the other types in Arabic, whereas convention-driven, according to my English data and the examples provided by Culpeper in explaining this phenomenon, seems to be more common among other types in English. In order to explain this phenomenon, I focus on the most common types of this form that can be used in both Arabic and English in order to illustrate the similarities and differences related to using such a strategy in both cultures. According to the data I collected, I classified this form into two main groups: 1- face-to-face offence; and 2- offence through a third party.

7.4.1.1. Face-to-Face Offence

In such cases, the speaker conveys their hidden impolite message while speaking to the person who is intended by the speech. This type can take several forms such as:

1- Personal Criticism:

The speaker sometimes chooses to criticise someone simply to undermine them, not because they say or do things for which they need to be criticised. Culpeper (2011: 159) provides an example that illustrates this meaning as follows:

Example (25)

Sitting with housemates in the lounge and one comes in after finishing making her tea. she sits close to me and my other housemate within close earshot and says
'see I made a curry that doesn't come out of a jar'
Knowing full well that I eat food like that which she clearly looks down upon.

In this example, according to Culpeper, because food that 'comes out of a jar' is seen as inferior to fresh food, and the informant eats non-freshly made food (curries), thus the impolite implication was that the informant eats inferior food. Similar implications can be found in Arabic where the speaker uses them to undermine the hearer as in the following example (which is taken from the Arabic Questionnaire) which is provided by a female informant (29 years old) and took place between her and her sister-in-law (see Questionnaire A-9, p.16):

Example (26)

غالية	ملابس	لصغاري	نشري	رفضت	الفطر	عيد	في	مرة
ɣa:lja	malabis	lisˁɣa:rj	niʃrj	rfadˁet	ʔilfitˁer	ʕi:d	fj	marra
expensive	clothes	my children to	buy I	refused I	al Fitr	Eid	in	once
1- Once in Eid al Fitr I refused to buy expensive clothes for my children. One of my sisters in law								

(زوجي	(أخ	نبيل	في	ما	أحسن	حماتي	فقالت
zawʒj	ʔaχ	nabi:l	fj	ma	ʔaħsan	ħama:tj	faqa:lit
my husband	brother	Nabil	in	of	best	my sister in law	so said she
2- said to me 'the best thing about my brother Nabil (another brother, not her interlocutor's							

غالية	كانت	مهما	صغاره	في	حاجة	ما يتستخسرش
ɤa:lja	ka:net	mahma	sˁɤarah	fj	ħa:ʒa	majstaχseriʃ
expensive	was it	whatever	his children	in	thing	not lose he no
3- husband), he always buys nice clothes for his children, no matter how expensive they are'.						

	صغاري	في	نستخسر	أساس	على	أني	تقصدني
	sˁɤa:rj	fj	nistaχser	ʔasa:s	ʕala	ʔanj	tuqsˁudnj
	my children	in	lose I	base	on	I	me mean she
4- She implies I don't see my children are worth such clothes							

In this example, given the context knowledge that the informant did not want to buy expensive clothes for her children, the informant can infer the impoliteness implications as follows: in contrast to the speaker's brother, the informant would not spend that amount of money on children's clothes. Not spending money on the children's clothes can be linked to negative values, such as being mean or miserly.

However, there are some situations in Arabic where personal criticism can be used to make requests in an offensive way. The following example, which is taken from the Arabic female Focus Group data, illustrates this point. In this example, one informant, M (32 years old), was talking about one way in which indirectness can be used in Libyan society (see Appendix C, pp. 83-85, lines: 78-89):

Example (27)

	كنت	عندنا	كانت	زمان	نتذكر	الليبيين (.)	نحن	م: هكي
	kunt	ʕindna	kanit	zman	nataðakkar	alljbji:n	naħna	hikkj
	was I	have we	was	ages ago	remember I	the Libyans	we	like that
78- M	That is how indirectness is used by Libyans (.) I remember there was… when I was							

ندرس	أنا	كنت	(0.5) البيضا	في	ليبيا	في	(0.5) مدرسة	في	ندرس	أنا	م:
ndarris	ʔana	kunt	albaidˁa	fj	li:bya	fj	madirsa	fj	ndarris	ʔana	
teach I	I	was I	Albaida	in	Libya	in	school	in	teach I	I	

79- M	teaching at a school (0.5) in Libya in Albaida {Libyan city} (0.5) I was teaching

م:	في	مدرسة	مديرتها	فيه	واحدة	من	المدرسات	دبشها
	fj	madrasa	mudi:ritha	fi:h	waħda	min	almudarrisat	dbaʃha
	in	school	headmaster its	it in	one	of	the teachers	her clothes
80- M	at a school whose the {female} head teacher didn't like one of the {female} teacher's							

م:	مش	عاجبها (0.7)	نحن	كنا	نلبسوا	في (0.6)	نلبسوا	طويل	نلبسوا	في
	miʃ	ʕaʒibha	naħna	kunna	nalbsw	fj	nalbsw	tˁwi:l	nalbsu:	fj
	not	it like she	we	were we	wear we	in	wear we	long	wear we	in
81- M	clothes (0.7) we used to wear (0.6) we used to wear modest clothes									

م:	جاكات	هكي	طوال (0.5)	فيه	واحدة	من	المدرسات (0.7)	الملابس	متاعها
	ʒakkat	hikkj	tˁw:al	fi:h	waħda	min	ʔalmudarisat	ʔalmalabis	mtaʕha
	jackets	like	long	in it	one	of	the teachers	the clothes	her
82- M	like long jackets (0.5) one of the {female} teachers' clothes (0.7) were not the type								

م:	مش	عاجبة	المديرة	مش	على	مزاج	المديرة (1)	جت	المديرة
	miʃ	ʕaʒba	almudi:ra	miʃ	ʕla	mazaʒ	ʔalmudi:ra	ʒat	almudi:ra
	not	like	the headmaster	not	on	mood	the headmaster	came she	the headmaster
83- M	of clothes the head teacher likes (1) one day the head teacher said								

م:	أهلا	أبلة (ف)	كيف	حالك	شن	أخبارك	قالتلها	والله	اليوم
	ʔahlan	ʔabla F	ki:f	ħalik	ʃin	aχbarik	qalitilha	wallahi	aljawm
	hello	miss F	how	your health	what	your news	her to said she	God by	today
84- M	'Hello miss (F) how are you how is it going', and then she said to her, 'today									

م:	في	طابور	الصباح	ماعرفتكش (1.3)	نحسابك	واحدة	من
	fj	tˁ:abu:r	alsˁabaħ	maʕaraftikiʃ	naħsabik	waħda	min
	in	queue	the morning	not you know I no	you thought I	one	of
85- M	in the morning assembly I didn't recognize you among other high school's						

م:	البنات	متاع	الثانوي
	ʔalbanat	mtaʕ	ʔalθanawj
	the girls	of	high school
86- M	{female} students, I thought you were one of them'		

ز:	اممم	ايه	
	emmm	ʔaih	
	emmm	yes	
87- Z	Emmm yes		

			((ضحك))	هده	ف: شن معناها]
				haði	maʕnaha ʃin
				this	mean it what
88- F	What does that mean ((laughter)) [				

					]	
	مباشرة	غير	بطريقة	الكلام	فوصلتلها	م:
	muba:ʃira	ɣair	bitaria	ʔalkala:m	fawasˁlitlha	
	direct	not	way with	the speech	her to reached she	
89- M	[Soshe conveyed her message to her in an indirect way					

In this example, the head teacher wanted her interlocutor, whose clothes were similar to those worn by the students, to wear more modest clothes because, according to her, the teachers' clothes in the school should be different from the students' clothes. Thus, instead of asking her directly to do so, the head teacher chose to give her indirect but harsh criticism in front of other teachers (who of course understand the intended meaning) to strengthen her message (see lines 8, 9: 'today, in morning assembly, I didn't recognize you among other high school {female} students, I thought you were one of them'). The teacher interpreted the hidden request and did not wear the same clothes again, according to the informant who mentioned this example. This may show that the effect of indirect impolite messages can sometimes be stronger than direct ones.[187]

[187]See Section 4.5., concerning the debate about whether direct impoliteness is more or less offensive than indirectness.

2- Parallel Messages[188]

Another form-driven strategy that can be used, particularly in Libyan-Arabic, is based on conveying two parallel messages; one polite but the other not.[189] To illustrate this, we can consider the following example (which is taken from the Questionnaire data) which took place between a female informant (17 years old), and her aunt (see Questionnaire A-13, p. 21):

Example (28)

خوي	بنية	عليك	الله	ما شاء	قالتلي	عمتي	مرة
χu:j	bnajet	ʕalaik	ɑllah	masha?	qalitlj	ʕamtj	marra
my brother	little girl	you on	God	welling	me to said she	my aunt	once
1- Once my aunt said to me: 'O little niece, may God bless you,							

صدمتني	ايديك	زي	مش	مليح	عقلك
sˤudmetnj	ʔidaik	zaj	miʃ	mli:ħ	ʕaqlik
me shocked she	your hands	like	not	brilliant	your brain
2- your brain is brilliant not your hands'. I was really shocked.					

In this example, there are two messages: one is polite: 'your brain is brilliant'; and the other is impolite: 'not your hands'. The aunt's intended impolite meaning is that the informant is not good at housework, which is well viewed behaviour in Libyan society for girls. Although preceding the criticism with a polite message might be seen as a way to mitigate its impact, the informant's comment does not seem to support this view, as she said: line 2: 'I was really shocked'. So, parallel messages can be seen as a way of avoiding arguments, and thus saving the speaker's face rather than an attempt to mitigate its impact.

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[188]This is different from mixed messages, Culpeper, (2011) suggests, which I will explain below. Although the parallel messages I suggest also involve both polite and impolite features, the difference between them is that Culpeper's notion involves a sense of humour, so it is classified as convention-driven, while my parallel messages, I suggest, do not seem to be used for humour, and so can be categorised as form-driven.

[189]According to mine and Culpeper's data, it seems that this form of indirect strategies may not be used in English, so no English examples are included.

3- Citing Others' Opinions

This strategy relies on conveying what others feel about the hearer. This strategy offers the offender the protection that enables them to deny any impolite intentions. To illustrate this point more clearly, we can consider the following example (from the Log-book data) which took place between two colleagues: Rania and Laila (see Appendix F, p. 203):

Example (29)

هلبة	مغرورة	ليلى	قالتلي	صاحبتي	عندي	ليلى	رانيا : تعرفي
halba	maɤru:ra	lajlà	qa:litlj	sˁa:ħibtj	ʕindj	lajlà	taʕirfj
too much	arrogant	Laila	me to said	my friend	have I	Laila	know you
1- Rania	Do you know Laila; a friend of mine said to me, Laila is so arrogant.						

	قلتيلها؟	شن	انت	ليلى : و
	qulti:lha	ʃin	ʔinti	wa
	her to said you	what	you	and
2- Laila	And what did you say to her?			

	شي.	رانيا : ما قلتلها
	ʃaj	maqultilha
	thing	her said I no
3- Rania	I said nothing.	

مغرورة؟	أنا	رايك	في	انت	ليلى: و
maɤru:ra	ʔana	rajek	fj	ʔinti	wa
arrogant	I	your opinion	in	you	and
4- Laila	So, do you think I am arrogant?				

	قلت.	اللي	أنا	رانيا: مش
	qult	ʔillj	ʔana	miʃ
	said I	that	I	not
5- Rania	It was not me who said that.			

مغرورة؟	انا	رايك	في	انت	لكن	ليلى: فاهمة,
maɤru:ra	ʔana	rajek	fj	ʔinti	lakin	fahma
arrogant	I	your opinion	in	you	but	I understand
6- Laila	I know, but do you think I am arrogant?					

انا.	مش	قالت	اللي	هي	فيا؟	تسألي	رانيا: علاش
ʔana	miʃ	qa:lit	ʔillj	hja	fja	taʔalj	ʕalaʃ
I	not	said she	that	she	me in	ask you	why
7- Rania	Why are you asking me? My friend said that, not me.						

As this example clearly illustrates, the offender sent her offensive message through claiming that accusing the hearer of being arrogant is another person's opinion, denying any responsibility for causing offence. Even when the hearer tried to find out whether the speaker shared her friend's opinion, the speaker insisted that she was simply conveying someone else's point of view, and thus she should not be blamed for any offence.

However, the degree of implicitness in causing offence through the 'others' opinion' strategy is dependent on the context. For instance, in the previous example, the speaker conveys what is said about the hearer explicitly and directly, but there are other situations where the speaker uses more ambiguous strategies, as in the following example (which is from the Arabic Questionnaire data) described by a female informant (27 years old) (see Questionnaire A-4, p. 8):

Example (30)

هلي	نشوف	عشان	برا	دراسة	سنة	بعد	لليبيا	رجعت	لما
halj	nʃu:f	ʕaʃa:n	barra	dirasa	sana	baʕd	lili:bya	rʒaʕt	lamma
my family	see I	to	abroad	studying	one year	after	Libya to	back I	when
1-	I was back Libya after one year studying abroad to see my extended family.								

الصغير	خوي	بيت	معاها	يسكنوا	أمي	طبعا	و
ʔalsˁaʁi:r	χu:j	bajt	mʕa:ha	jusknu:	ʔummj	tˁabʕan	wa
the small	my brother	home	her with	live they	my mother	of course	and
2-	My youngest brother and his wife live with my mother at her home						

قلت	خوي	مرة	لي	قالت	أمي	في	نزور	جيت	فلما
qult	χu:j	marɬ	lj	qa:lit	ʔummj	fj	nzu:r	ʒait	falamma
said I	my brother	wife	me to	said she	my mother	in	visit I	came I	when
3-	When I visited my mother, my sister in law said to me, when I said to your brother								

مازال	اللي	هذا	قاللي	دراستي	نكمل	نبي	لخوك
maza:l	ʔillj	haða	qa:llj	dera:stj	nkammal	nibbj	liχu:k
still	that	this	me to said he	my study	complete I	want I	your brother to
4-	I want to study abroad he said what on earth are you saying that for,						

	منها	فوجعتني	مرته,	فيه	حاكمة	يديرها	اللي	نعرف
	minha	fawuʒʕitnj	martah	fi:h	ħa:kma	jadi:rha	ʔillj	naʕruf
	her of	me hurt it	his wife	him of	controlled	it do	whoever	know I
5-	whoever allows his wife to study abroad is controlled by her. I was really hurt							

كان	لأنه	أبدا	خوي	نظر	وجهة	مش	هذه	طبعا	لأن
ka:n	liʔannah	ʔabadan	χu:j	naðʕar	wiʒhat	miʃ	haðih	tˁabaʕan	liʔanna
was he	him because	never	my brother	view	point	not	this	of course	because
6-	because, of course, this is not my brother's view at all. He has always encouraged me								

ماحصلتش	لأنها	تقصدني	فحسيتها	فيا	يشجع	ديمة
maħasʕlitiʃ	liʔannha	tuqsˁudnj	faħassi:tha	fi:a	juʃʒʒaʕ	di:ma
not get she no	her because	me mean she	her felt I	me of	encourage	he always
7-	so I felt she means me because she hasn't had an opportunity to study abroad					

	قرايتي.	شان	من	و	شاني	من	تقلل	فتبي	برا	تقرأ
	qrajtj	ʃa:n	min	wa	sa:nj	min	tuqallil	fatibbj	barra	taqra
	my study	value	of	and	my value	of	lessen	want she	abroad	study
8-	so she just wants to undermine me.									

The speaker in this example used two strategies: generalisation[190] and other's opinion. Unlike the previous example, where the speaker is more direct, the speaker's strategy here is more implicit. For example, the speaker did not clearly illustrate that the informant was intended by her speech; instead, she used a generalisation, that: line 5: 'whoever allows his wife to study abroad is controlled by her', which implicitly included the informant herself who was already studying abroad. However, in order to save her face, the speaker claimed that it was her husband's (the informant's brother) view, not hers, so she cannot be blamed. However, the informant pointed out that this was not her brother's view, because he has always encouraged her (see line 6), so, that was her sister-in-law's opinion, not his.

[190]Further explanation about this strategy will be provided below.

7.4.1.2. Offence through a Third Party

There are some situations, either in Arabic or English, where the offender does not have any direct interaction with the targeted person; instead, he/she chooses to convey the impolite message indirectly through an addressee (a third party) to the targeted person. This can take several forms as follows:

1- Exclusion

In this strategy, the speaker uses a third party to make the target feel neglected or excluded. Culpeper (2011: 160) mentioned an example which can illustrate this point:

Example (31)

As I walked over to the table to collect the glasses, Sarah said to Tim 'Come on Tim let's go outside' implying she didn't want me there. This was at the pub on Sunday night, and I just let the glasses go and walked away.

Culpeper explained that the impolite implication which was drawn by the informant in this example was that she felt excluded, as illustrated by her moving away. Thus, impolite implications did not necessarily entail criticism in order to be taken as offence. Ignoring the presence of others can also be evaluated negatively. Similar examples can be found in Arabic where the target is offended through exclusion, as in the following Arabic example (taken from the Questionnaire data), where a female informant (28 years old) mentioned an exchange which took place between her sister and sister-in-law in her presence (see Questionnaire A-23, p. 34):

Example (32)

اللي	خوي	مرة	شوية	الصالة	في	مقعمزين	كنا	أختي	و	أنا	مرة
ʔillj	χu:j	mart	ʃwaja	ʔilsˤa:la	fj	mqaʕimzi:n	kunna	ʔuχtj	wa	ʔana	marra
who	my brother	wife	then	the lounge	in	sitting we	were	my sister	and	I	once
1-	One day my sister and I were in the lounge when our sister in law, who lives										

علي	عازمة	"اليوم	لأختي	قالت	و	علينا	خشت	بجبنا	ساكنة
ʕala	ʕa:zma	ʔalju:m	liʔuχtj	qa:lit	wa	ʕalaina	χaʃʃit	bʒanbna	sa:kna
on	inviting	today	my sister	to said she	and	us on	entered she	us beside	living
2-	next door to our house, came in and said to my sister 'Huda, I invited some								

أختي	طبعا	معانا"	تغدي	هدى	تعالي	المدرسة,	في	معاي	أبلات
ʔuχtj	tˤabʕan	mʕana	tʁaddj	huda	tʕa:lj	ʔilmadrsa	fj	mʕa:j	ʔabla:t
My sister	of course	with	have	Huda	come	the school	in	me with	teachers
3-	colleagues to my home today come with me and have lunch with us'. My sister of course								

	وجهها	ما صح	ليا.	اهانة	شافتها	لأنها	رفضت
	waʒahah	masˤaħ	lja	ʔihana	ʃa:fitha	liʔanha	rufdˤut
	her face	strong how	me to	insult it	saw she	her because	refused
4-	refused her offer because it was an insult to me. How mean she is.						

As this example illustrates, the informant assumed that, while the addressee was her sister, she herself was the target, something which seems to be supported by the informant's claim that: lines 3-4, 'my sister of course refused her offer because it was an insult to me, how mean she is'. Thus, the implication which was drawn by the informant was that inviting the informant's sister for lunch entails deliberate neglect by the speaker; in other words, she was being excluded.

2- Speaking within Earshot of the Target

There are some situations where the offender deliberately speaks to a third party in earshot of the targeted person to convey an impolite message. The following English example (from the Questionnaire data), which was described by a female informant (23 years old) illustrates this point (see Questionnaire B-4, p. 44):

Example (33)

A lady was complaining to a stranger about me + my family, whilst we could hear. If she had a problem with what we were doing she should have spoken to us, not let us know by speaking within earshot of us.

Thus, instead of speaking directly to the informant and her family in this example, the offender chose to convey her offensive message through a third person which can avoid possible arguments with the informant. However, the informant seems to prefer more direct forms, as she pointed out 'if she had a problem with what we were doing she should have spoken to us'. Thus, indirect forms are not always the preferred forms of speech, even when they are used for criticism. Such situations can also be found in Arabic as in the following Arabic example (from the Questionnaire data) which was described by a female informant (33 years old) (see Questionnaire A-5, p. 9):

Example (34)

	لما	عادة	و	حامل	كنت	و	غدي	عزومة	في	كنت	مرة
	Lamma	ʕa:datan	wa	ħa:mil	kunt	wa	ɤdai	ʕazu:ma	fj	kunt	marra
	when	usually	and	pregnant	was I	and	lunch	invitation	in	was I	once
1-	One day, while I was pregnant I was invited to a wedding banquet										

	بالبيت	أكلي	من	أكثر	البيت	برا	ناكل	حامل	نكون
	bilbait	ʔaklj	min	ʔakθar	ʔalbait	barra	na:kil	ħa:mil	nku:n
	the home	my eating	from	more	the home	out	eat I	pregnant	be I
2-	Usually when I am pregnant, I eat more at other								

	فوحدة	الأكل	في	انسجمت	أني	فالباين	طيب	كان	فالاكل
	fawaħda	ʔilʔakil	fj	ʔinsaʒamit	ʔinnj	faʔilbajen	tˁajeb	ka:n	faʔalʔakel
	someone	the eating	in	interested I	that	seem it	delicious	was	the food
3-	people's homes than at mine. Because the food was delicious, I did not notice								

	بكل	ما تبصري	قالت	و	صاحبتها	همزت	القعد	علي	معانا	كانت
	bukkul	matbasˁrj	qa:lit	wa	sˁaħbitha	hamzat	ʔalqaʕd	ʕala	maʕana	kanit
	never	not joking	said she	and	her friend	point she	the plate	on	us with	was she
4-	that I ate so much at that day, so one of the ladies who was sitting next to me									

	فيا	تشوف	كانت	صاحبتها	عيني	رفعت	أنا	الوقت	نفس	في	و
	fja	tʃu;f	ka:nit	sˁa:ħbitha	ʕainj	rfaʕt	ʔana	ʔilawaqit	nafs	fj	wa
	me of	look she	was she	her friend	my eye	raised I	I	the time	same	in	and
5-	said to her friend "you are not joking at all". When I looked up, her friend was looking										

	بكل	وتحشمت	منها	وجعتني	ناكل.	اني	تقصدني	كانت	وتضحك
	bukkul	tħaʃimt	minha	weʒʕitnj	na:kil	ʔanj	tuqsˁudnj	ka:nt	tadˁħak
	a lot	embarrassed I	her of	me hurt it	eat I	I	me mean	was she	laugh she
6-	at me and laughing, so I knew she means I ate too much. I felt really embarrassed and								

		بنيتي. bnjtj my intention	ياخدها jaχidha her take he	ربي rabbj my Lord
7-	hurt. May God take revenge on her for me.			

Unlike the above English example (31), where the offender used direct forms in sending her 'within-earshot' message. In this Arabic example, the offender used more implicit forms in conveying her message through a third party. The message that the speaker wanted to convey was that 'you eat so much', and thus 'you are greedy'. Obviously, the informant assumed that, while the addressee was another person, the target was herself, something which seems to be supported by the informant saying: line 5, 'when I looked up, her friend was looking at me and laughing'. It should be noted that the phrase 'you are not joking at all ما تبصري بكل' is a conventionalised ironic expression which is usually used in Libyan-Arabic to mock someone who is doing something to excess (such as eating too much, speaking too loudly, and so on). However, it is not supposed to be heard by the target. Thus, saying it within earshot of the informant causes significant offence to her (see line: 7).

Thus, in Arabic, as I mentioned above, there are some forms of speech (which are considered to be indirect) that do not leave interpretation open to negotiation, because such forms' meanings are conventionalised to be accessible and understandable. One way of using such indirect forms for criticism in Libyan Arabic is generalising meanings, which will now be discussed.

3- Generalizing Meanings تعميم المعنى (Signifying)

Generalising speech, or what Morgan (1996) labels 'baited indirectness', which she suggests happens "when a speaker attributes a feature to someone which may or may not be true" (1996: 406), is a strategy that is commonly used in Libyan-Arabic. It is when general

statements are used to criticise someone, rather than specific criticism. However, this strategy, according to the data I collected and the examples Culpeper (2011) mentioned, does not seem to be used in English. It is more a conventionalised way of giving offence in Libyan-Arabic. There are many different ways of using this strategy: one way is when the speaker includes themselves when attributing a feature to someone, such as in the following Arabic example (from the Questionnaire data), where the male informant (34 years old) referred to a dialogue which took place between himself and a classmate in the presence of five other Libyan friends at Sheffield University (see Questionnaire A-18, p. 26):

Example (35)

	فسألته	عاد	ثم	شهر	حوالي	قعد	و	ليبيا	في	كان	الشخص
	fasʔaltah	ʕa:d	θumma	ʃahr	ħawalj	qʕad	wa	li:bja	fj	ka:n	ʔaʃʃaχsˁ
	him ask I	back	then	a month	about	stayed	and	Libya	in	was	the person
1-	A classmate had been to Libya for a month and then came back. I asked him										

	مية	مية	البلاد	فقالي	النواحي,	جميع	من	ليبيا	حال	عن
	mja	mja	ʔalbla:d	faqa:llj	ʔannawa:ħj	ʒami:ʕ	min	li:bja	ħa:l	ʕan
	hundred	hundred	country	me to said he	the sides	all	from	Libya	condition	about
2-	about Libya[191], he said it was very good.									

	لائق	غير	هدا	له	فقلت	الوزارات	بعض	محاصرة	عن	فسألته
	la:ʔiq	ɤair	hada	lah	faqult	ʔalwaza:ra:t	baʕdˁ	mħa:sˁra	ʕan	fasʔaltah
	acceptable	not	this	him to	said I	the ministries	some surrounding		about	him asked I
3-	Then I asked him about surrounding some ministries buildings by some armed groups									
4-	and said this is unacceptable									

	ماتجيش	و	لو	الحرية	هكي	شي	أحسن	هذا	فقال لي	مشكلة,	يعني
	ma:tʒi:ʃ	law	wa	ʔalħurri:a	hikkj	ʃaj	ʔaħsan	haða	faqa:llj	muʃkla	jaʕnj
	not come no	if	and	the freedom	like	thing	best	this	me to said he	problem	mean
4-	and can cause problems, he said 'no, what happened was good, this is freedom, if we									

	الليبيين	نحن	للحاضرين	أنظر	أنا	و	فقلت	بالسلاح.	تجي
	ʔalli:bji:n	naħna	lilħa:dˁri:n	ʔanðˁur	ʔana	wa	faqult	bissla:ħ	tʒj
	the Libyans	we	the others	look I	I	and	said I	weapons with	come it

[191]Asking about his country after the Libyan Revolution (2011) as armed groups were everywhere, so the situation might be dangerous.

5-	can't take our rights peacefully, we will use weapons'. So I said, while looking at the

الحرية	فاهم	انه	هو	أقصده	أنا	بالعكس.	الحرية	فاهمين
ʔalħurri:a	fa:him	ʔinnah	hwa	ʔaqsdah	ʔana	bilʕaks	ʔalħurri:a	fa:hmi:n
the freedom	understanding	that	he	him mean I	I	opposite	the freedom	understand
6-	others: 'we Libyans have a wrong understanding of the meaning of freedom'.							

كلنا	لنا	الفهم	عدم	فعممت	احراجه	لتجنب	بالعكس
kulna	lana	ʔalfahm	ʕadam	faʕamamet	ʔiħra:ʒah	litaʒannub	bilʕaks
us all	us to	understanding	not	generalised I	him embarrassing	avoid to	the opposite
7-	I actually meant him by my speech, but I wanted to avoid embarrassing him, so I used a						
8-	generalisation to include all of us.						

As this example illustrates, the speaker attributed the feature of 'having a wrong understanding of what constitutes freedom' to the target while including himself and the others present in order, according to him, to avoid embarrassing the target and also to avoid possible arguments with him.

Another form that can be used through the generalisation strategy is when the speaker attributes a feature that is strongly linked to someone from previous experience and believed to be true about them. To illustrate this, we can consider the following Arabic example (from the Recorded Data), where the informant spoke an incident which took place between two of her sisters-in-law (see Appendix F, pp. 198-199):

Example (36)

	بيتسا	عجينة	عجنت	دارت	فهمتي	سلفتي (1)	زمان
	bitsa	ʕaʒi:nat	ʕaʒnit	darit	fhamtj	salftj	zama:n
	pizza	dough	kneaded she	did she	understand	my sister in law	ages ago
1-	One day, my sister in law (1) OK, did she made pizza dough aaa						

اعجنوا	قالت	عزوزتي	بعده	اللي	اليوم	مشي	قنينة	ما جتهاش
ʔaʕʒnw	qa:lit	ʕazu:ztj	baʕdah	ʔillj	ʔalju:m	mʃai	qnainah	maʒitha:ʃ
knead	said	my mother in law	after	that	the day	so	nice	not came it no
2-	and it wasn't very good ((laughter)) the next day my mother in law said aa said to us							

	دارتها	ودارتها (0.8)	حماتي	عجنتها	فرن (.)	خبزة	ديروا
	da:ritha	da:ritha	ħama:tj	ʕiʒnitha	furn	χubzit	di:rw
	it did she	it did she	my sister in law	it knead she	oven	bread	do
3-	make makethe bread dough (.)my sister in law (her husband's sister) kneaded it and						
4-	made it (0.8) made it						

بتديرها	بت	عزوزتي	جت	لما	بالسكر(.)	عبتها
biddi:rha	bit	ʕazu:ztj	ʒit	lamma	bissukkur	ʕabbitha
it do she	will	my mother in law	came she	when	sugar with	it full she
5-	and put lots of sugar in it (.) when my mother in law wanted to bake it ((not clear))					

	حماتي	قالتلها	درتولها (.)	شن	خيركم	شني	هده	قالت
	ħamatj	qa:litilha	dirtu:lha	ʃin	χairkum	ʃnj	hadj	qa:lit
	my sister in law	her to said she	it to did you	what	you what	what	this	said she
6-	she said what is this what's wrong with you (for all) what did you do to it (.) her							

ناشطة	تجيني	باش	قالتلها (.)	علاش	و	قالتلها	السكر	درتلها
na:ʃtˤa	tʒjnj	ba:ʃ	qa:litilha	ʕala:ʃ	wa	qa:litilha	sukkar	dirtilha
nice	me come it	to	her to said she	why	and	her to said she	the sugar	it to did I
7-	daughter said I added sugar to it. She said why. She said (.) because I wanted it to be nice							

باهية	مش	العجينة	تجيهم	البايرات	البايرات	متاعة	مش زي	وحلوة
ba:hia	miʃ	ʔalʕaʒi:na	tʒi:hum	ʔilba:jra:t	ʔilba:jra:t	mta:ʕit	zai miʃ	ħilwa
good	not	the dough	them come it	the unskilled	the unskilled	of	as not	delicious
8-	and delicious not like dough which is made by unskilled people (,) only unskilled							
9-	people's dough is not good.							

The speaker's strategy in this example relies on generalisations; that is, no names were mentioned, but an implied reference to a certain behaviour of the target (lines1 and 2: 'she made pizza dough and it wasn't very good') is enough for her to be guided to the intended meaning. The speaker's goal in using this strategy, then, does not seem to mitigate the impact of the offence; rather, she achieved at least three goals through using this strategy:

1- It allows deniability: It is difficult for the target in such a case to retaliate or defend him/herself, because the offender will simply deny any offensive intention and suppose that the target should not assume that this speech means her, because there is no obvious evidence to support such an assumption. That enables her to attack the hearer with less fear of retribution.

2- Changing the focus: In order to move the focus to her fault (adding sugar to the bread dough), the speaker implicitly draws attention to another fault of the target, which seems to be known by all present, to avoid being blamed.

3- Using offensive words: This strategy also provided the speaker with protection when using highly offensive words (line 8: 'unskilled people') without suffering retaliation from the offender, or being blamed by others present for using direct, clearly offensive words.

A similar example (from the Log Book data) which can illustrate the generalisation strategy took place between two female relatives: Dania (my informant, 38 years old) and her relative Salwa (40 years old), as follows (see Appendix F, p. 205):

Example (37)

	فنهدرزوا	خالي	بنت	جتني	و	بريطانيا	من	جاية	كنت
	fanhadirzu:	xalj	bint	ʒitnj	wa	bri:tˁanja	min	ʒa:ja	kunt
	we talk	uncle	daughter	me came	and	Britain	from	I coming	I was
1-	When I came back Libya from Britain, my cousin came to see me. We were talking								

	حلو	لبس	مافيش	بريطانيا	في	شكله	لي:	قالت	مشي	اللبس,	علي
	ħilw	libis	mafi:ʃ	bri:tˁanja	fj	ʃaklah	lj	qa:lit	mʃaj	ʔallibis	ʕala
	nice	clothes	not	Britain	in	it seem	me to	said she	then	clothes	about
2	about clothes when she said to me: it seems that children's clothes are not nice in Britain.										

	عاجبها	مش	صغاري	لبس	في	ذوقي	إن	فاستنتجت	للصغار.
	ʕa:ʒibha	miʃ	sˁɤa:rj	libis	fj	du:qj	ʔinna	fastantaʒt	liSˁɤa:r
	it like she	not	my children	clothes	in	my taste	that	concluded I	children to
3	I concluded that she did not like my taste in choosing my children's clothes.								

In this example, it was not difficult for the hearer, as she told me, to interpret that the speaker was referring to her taste, rather than the clothes themselves. The judgement of the hearer's relative regarding English children's clothes was based on her assessment of the clothes of

the hearer's children, as she implied that she did not like these clothes and thus the target's taste was poor.

4- Using Idioms

According to my data, there are some situations mentioned by some of my Arab informants where certain idioms are used as an indirect tool to guide the hearer(s) to certain meanings. There are two main cases mentioned by the informants: the first when a speaker uses an idiom to speak to a group of people but in fact intends to refer only to one person; and the second when a speaker speaks to a certain person but intends to refer to a group of people. The following example (from the Arabic Questionnaire data) was mentioned by a female informant (40 years old) to explain what happened between her mother-in-law and her son (see Questionnaire A-3, p. 6):

Example (38)

	ابوه	ام	جدته	مع	يقعد	يحب	سنه 11	عمره	ولدي	مره
	ʔabu:h	ʔum	ʒadatuh	maʕa	juqʕed	juħib	sana 11	ʕumrah	wildj	marra
	his father	mother	his grand ma	with	stay he	like he	years 11	his age	my son	once
1-	My son (11 years old) likes spending time with my husband's family									

	و	لما	تهمهم	شخصيه	امور	علي	يحكوا	كانوا	فمره	عماته و
	wa	lamma	thimhum	ʃaχsˤja	ʔumu:r	ʕala	jaħkw	kanw	famarra	ʕammatah wa
	and	when	them concern	special	things	on	speak they	were	once	his aunts and
2-	(his grandmother and aunts). One day, while they were talking about personal things									

	بالحرف	جدته	قالت	يسمع	و	معاهم	جالس	ولدي	ان	انتبهوا
	bilharf	ʒadatah	qa:lit	jesmaʕ	wa	mʕa:hum	ʒa:lis	wildj	ʔinna	ʔintabhw
	the letter	his grandma	said	hear	and	them with	sitting	my son	that	realise they
3-	his grandmother said literally to her daughters: 'there is a dog in the sea'.									

	الكلام	يسمع	لازم	مش	حد	فيه	ان	بمعني	كلب –	فيه البحر –	الواحد
	ʔalkala:m	jesmaʕ	la:zim	miʃ	had	fi:h	ʔinna	bimaʕnà	kalib	fi:h ʔalbaħr	ʔalwa:ħid
	the speech	hear	necessary	not	one	it in	that	mean	dog	it in the sea	the one
4-	This means that there is someone who should not hear what they are saying.										

اللي	العباره	من	وجعاته	ذكي	ولدي	طبعا	و	فيه	نقولوا	اللي
ʔillj	ʔalʕiba:ra	min	wiʒʕatah	ðakj	weldj	tˁabʕan	wa	fi:h	nqu:lw	ʔillj
that	the phrase	from	him hurt	clever	my son	of course	and	it of	say we	that
5-Of course my son is smart, so he knew that he was intended by his grandmother's utterance										

تحسابني	جدتي	قالي	و	ييكي	يوم	تاني	جاني	و	قالتها
taħsa:bnj	ʒadatj	qa:llj	wa	jabkj	ju:m	tanj	ʒa:nj	wa	qa:litha
me think she	my grandma	me to said he	and	cry he	day	next	came he	and	it said
6-	When he came back home, my son started crying and said to me 'my grandma thought								

يهدرزوا	عليش	مركز	كنت	ما	اني	و	حتي	تقصد	شن	مانفهم
jhaderzw	ʕlajʃ	mrakkez	kunt	ma	ʔanj	wa	ħattà	tuqsˁud	ʃin	manifhim
speak they	why	concentrate	was	not	I	and	even	mean she	what	understand not
7-	I did not understand what she meant. I did not even know what they were talking about,									

انكون	لازم	مش	اني	فهمت	كلب	فيه	البحر	قالت	لما	لكن
ʔinku:n	la:zim	miʃ	ʔinnj	fhamit	kalib	fi:h	ʔalbaħr	qa:lit	lamma	lakin
be I	necessary	not	I	understood I	dog	it in	the sea	said she	when	but
8-	but when she said 'there is a dog in the sea', I understood that									

يسامحهم	ربي	يالله	نطلع.	مفروض	و	هدرزتهم	في	معاهم
jsa:maħhum	rabbj	jalla	natˁlaʕ	mafru:dˁ	wa	haderzithum	fj	mʕa:hum
them forgive	my lord	God	out I	should I	and	their speech	in	them with
9-	I should've not been with them and I should've gone out". May God forgive them							

The idiom used in this example: line 4, 'there is a dog in the sea' is usually used to warn other participants that someone is eavesdropping on their conversation. Such an idiom is not supposed to be said within earshot of the target, but because the target is young (11 years old), the speaker may have assumed that he would not understand her meaning, and thus would not be offended. However, according to the informant, this child was intelligent enough to interpret the intended meaning and thus was hurt by it.

The second case mentioned by the Arab informants was when a speaker speaks to a certain person and means a group of people, as in the following example (from the Arabic Questionnaire data) which was mentioned by a female informant (30 years old) (see Questionnaire A-1, p. 3):

Example (39)

كانت قريبة لي تبذل مجهودا في عرس ما و أهل العريس نفسه	
kaːnit qaːriːba lj tabðul maʒhuːdan fj ʕers ma wa ʔahl ʔalʕariːs nafsah	
she was relative to me do effort in wedding one and family the groom the same it	
1-	In a wedding party, a relative of mine was making a great effort which has not even

لا يبذلون الجهد نفسه و لديها أطفال و كنا جالسين معا و	
jabðuluːn la ʔalʒuhd nafsah wa ladiːha ʔatˤfaːl wa kunna ʒalisiːn maʕan wa	
do they no the effort it same and has she children and were sitting together and	
2-	been exerted by the groom's family themselves, and she has children who need to be

معنا جمع من النسوة فقلت لها يا فلانة هل الميت صبروا	
maʕana ʒamʕ min ʔanniswa faqult laha ja fulana hal ʔalmajet sˤubrw	
us with gathering of the women I said to her o you family the dead the patient	
3-	looked after. When we all were sitting together and there were other women sitting with
4-	us I said: listen you (saying her name) 'the deceased's family accepts

و المعزين كفروا.	
wa ʔalʕazjiːn kufrw	
and the mourners disbelieved	
5-	his death, while the mourners don't'.[192]

In this example, while the addressee was one person, the target was a group of people. The idiom 'the deceased's family accepts his death, while the mourners don't',[193] is usually used to refer to situations where someone exaggerates their feelings about something, giving importance to certain things or making an extra effort to do something. In this example, the informant's addressee made more effort at the wedding party than the groom's family themselves, who were supposed to make that effort, due to their close relationship to the groom. Thus, using this idiom in front of the groom's family, as well as other guests, enabled the speaker to convey harsh criticism to this family.

[192] This is a proverb that can be used on any occasion in a similar situation. Thus, although this is a wedding party, this saying is suitable for this context.
[193] Those people who come to sympathise with the deceased's family.

So far, I have discussed one type of implicational impoliteness, which is 'Form-driven', which can be used to convey impolite messages indirectly. In the following section, the 'Convention-driven' type of implicational impoliteness will be discussed.

7.4.2. Convention-driven

With regard to this type of implicational impoliteness, as I discussed in Section 4.6., Culpeper (2011: 165) includes in his discussion the following terms: "'sarcasm', 'teasing', and some labels for humour, such as '[harsh/bitter] jokes/humour'". Culpeper (2011) argues that these terms tend to involve mixed messages: one points towards a polite feature and the other towards an impolite one. As I mentioned in Section 4.7., he classified mixed messages into two main types: the first when there is an internal mismatch [e.g. "can you just fuck off" (Culpeper, 2011: 166)]; and the second, when there is an external mismatch, as in the following English example (from the Questionnaire data) which took place between my male informant (42) and his supervisor many years ago (see Questionnaire B-12, p. 62):

Example (40)

My PhD supervisor to me, many years ago, commenting on a chapter of my thesis: "Very good, Sam, very good". For a moment, indeed, I actually believed it." This was indirectness, possibly touched with sarcasm.

In this example, 'very good' is a conventionalised politeness formula associated with good work which was the first interpretation which came to the informant's mind: 'For a moment, indeed, I actually believed it'. However, it seems that it constitutes an external mismatch, probably triggering a sarcastic interpretation, as the informant pointed out 'This was indirectness, possibly touched with sarcasm'. Thus, the informant's work was not actually very good. Such interpretations, which are triggered through mismatching, as Culpeper

(2011) argues, are more difficult to infer than those which are triggered through matching, so they need more cognitive effort to resolve.

Similarly, such mismatched interpretations can also be found in Arabic data. The following Arabic example (from the Recorded data) illustrates this point. This conversation was between two sisters in a family setting: Reem (28 years old) and Dalia (34 years old), while talking about a woman called Nawal (see Appendix F, p. 200):

Example (41)

		بس	للخامس	قرت	(نوال)	داليا: تعرفي
				]		
		Bes	lilxamis	gret	(nawal)	taʕrfi
		Only	the fifth to	studied	(Nawal)	know you
1- Dalia	you know (Nawal) studied only:: up to year five					
	[					

		]
		((ضجة في الخلفية))
		]
2-	[	
	((noise in the background))	
	[	

			]	
		الله ((ضحك))	ما شا:::ء	ريم:
		Allah	maʃa	
		God	wills	
3- Reem	[			
	God bless he:::r ((laughter))			

In this example, the conventionalised polite item 'God bless her', which can be translated into English as 'how brilliant she is' here, was recontextualised to contrast with its intended meaning. In other words, studying up to year five only is not something that is actually appreciated; rather it can be associated with negative values, such as being unskilful or uneducated. Thus, it is sarcastically maximising the contrast between the context projected by

the conventionalised polite formula 'God bless her', and the current context 'Nawal studied only up to year five'.

A similar example took place during the Focus Group discussion for the female Libyan informants, as follows (see Appendix C, pp. 101-102, lines: 203-205):

Example (42)

س: مثلا أنا زمان صارلي موقف مع صاحبتي يعني فهمتي (.)	
maθalan ʔana zaman f sˁa:rlj mawqi maʕa sˁaħibtj jaʕnj fahamtj	
for example I once me to happened event with my friend mean understood	
203- S	For example, the other day a friend of mine I mean

س: من النوع اللي ديمة تلقح في الدوة يعني ت تجرح فيا [	
min annu:ʕ ʔillj di:ma tlaqqaħ fj addu:a jaʕnj t taʒraħ fi:a	
of the kind that always use she in meaning mean sh hurt she me in	
204- S	right she is the kind of person who always 'uses meanings'[194] I mean she hurts me [

ز: ونعم الصحاب	
waniʕma alsˁħa:b	
good friends	
205- Z	how good a friend she is

((ضحك))
((Laughter))

In this example, the conventionalised polite utterance (how good a friend she is) contrasts with the actual meaning. Due to the offence and hurt caused by this 'friend', she should be perceived as a bad friend. Thus, this example maximises the contrast between the context projected by the conventionalised polite utterance 'how good a friend she is' and the current context (she is the kind of person who always 'makes meanings'. I mean she hurts me).

[194]'Using meanings' or 'making meanings' is an expression used by Libyan people to refer to using hints to offend others or send impolite messages.

Due to the fact that "an interpretation triggered through mismatching is more implicit and involves more inferencing than one triggered through matching" (Culpeper, 2011: 167), there are some situations where the interlocutor does not succeed in interpreting the intended meaning. Let us consider the following English example (from the Questionnaire), which was mentioned by a female informant (38 years old), to illustrate that (see Questionnaire B-6, p. 47):

Example (43)

I was sitting in a café (in France) the other day and a grandfather trying to get past with his grandchild in a pram said "Can't you move your chair?" in what I thought was an aggressive way (I had my back to him so hadn't seen him). I replied sarcastically "yes of course, seeing as you asked so nicely!". He sat down near us and a few minutes later our children / grandchildren were playing together and he was smiling at us and being friendly. I think he didn't think that he had been impolite so for him there was no problem and perhaps he hadn't understood my British sarcasm so wasn't angry at me.

Of course, in such intercultural contexts, misunderstandings can be expected. However, misinterpreting the intended meaning in the above example is not necessarily related to the different cultural background of the interlocutors because, as we have seen in Example (39) above, misinterpretation may occur even among people who belong to the same language group. Thus, such sarcasm is not specific to an English context. To illustrate this point, we can consider the following example (from the Log-book data) which took place between my English driving instructor and myself when we were driving past a group of road workers. Of about five workers, there was only one digging the road, while the others stood about, chatting and laughing, so I initiated a conversation as follows (see Appendix, G, p. 208):

Example (44)

Me: How hard they are working! ((laughter))
The instructor: Yes, they are ((laughter))

The utterance 'how hard they are working' was an indication of the effort that was made by the workers at the moment of saying it. However, this mismatches the current context, where the workers in fact were not even working. So, there was an external mismatch, which was correctly interpreted by the addressee as sarcasm, something which seems to be supported by the laughter of both interlocutors.

However, there is a form of convention-driven implication (which is not mentioned by Culpeper, 2011),[195] where the offender uses a conventionalised impoliteness formula and cover its offence with a joke or humour. In other words, when there is a match between the context projected by the conventionalised formula and the wider context, but it is masked with a joke, as in the following Arabic example (from the Log-book Data). This example took place between three individuals at breakfast time: Asma (29 years old), Mariam (62 years old) her mother-in-law, and Salem (65 years old) her father-in-law. Asma left her baby (1 year old) with her parents, who live in another town in Libya, for a month. When she went to fetch him back, the following dialogue took place between those involved (see Appendix, F, p. 204):

Example (45)

	مريم: ولدك	ضاعف	ضاعف	لن	خلاص
	wildik	dˤa:ʕuf	dˤa:ʕuf	lin	χalasˤ
	your son	thin	thin	too	much
1- Mother-in-law	Your son became really really thin				

أسماء: أكيد	نسيتي	كيف	كان	كان	أضعف	من	هكي	هلبة	توا	أحسن	من	قبل
ʔaki:d	nsaitj	ki:f	ka:n	ka:n	ʔadˤʕuf	min	hikkj	halba	tawa	ʔaħsan	min	qabil
surely	forgot you	how	was	was	thinner	of	this	much	now	better	from	before
2- Asma	You may've forgotten how he used to be, he was much thinner than now											

[195]This might be because this type is not commonly used in English.

	قبل	من	خير	توا	عليه	الله	ما شاء	قالتلي	بنتك	حتى
	qabel	min	χajr	tawa	ʕaljah	ʔallah	maʃa:ʔ	qa:litlj	bintik	ħattà
	before	from	better	now	him on	Allah	welling	me to said she	your daughter	even
3-	he is much better now than before, even your daughter said to me he is much better now.									

	جيعان	مخليينك	جدك	حوش	هذا	ولدي	كول	سالم: كول
	ʒi:ʕa:n	mχallji:nik	ʒiddik	ħu:ʃ	hada	wildj	ku:l	ku:l
	hungry	leave they	your grandparents	home	this	my son	eat	eat
4- Father-in-law 5-	(to the baby):eat eat my son, your grandparents (his daughter-in-law's parents) seem to leave you hungry							

It should be noted before analysing this example that, in Libyan society, it is very important for the baby's mother, in particular, to look after her child. One way of showing this is through making sure that the baby is in good health. A thin baby is regarded as one who is not being given a priority by its mother, and thus she would be seen as a bad mother. In this example, Mariam implicitly conveyed harsh criticism of Asma's parents, who had looked after her baby for a month, by claiming that the baby had become thin to show that her parents did not look after the baby well. In such cases, the addressee can be offended through criticising someone related to them (a member of their family, a friend, and so on) instead of criticising them directly. Asma understood her mother-in-law's hint, so she tried to confirm that her baby appeared to be much better than before and supported her claim by mentioning that her sister-in-law said that the baby was even heavier than before, in order to show that her parents had looked after the baby very well. To confirm the intended meaning of the criticism, Asma's father-in-law, pretending to speak to the baby, said: line 4-5 'eat eat my son, your grandparents seem to leave you hungry'.[196] This conventionalised impolite

[196] Although this utterance was not supported by laughter to be seen as an actual joke, such direct harsh criticism was not expected from the father-in-law. Thus, the hearer pretended to take it as a joke, as it was intended to be perceived.

utterance, while it was said as a joke, was actually meant to show that Asma's parents had neglected the baby, but the form of a joke allowed deniability.

According to the above discussion, 'Convention-Driven' is the type of non-conventionalised impoliteness where offensive interpretations are triggered through mismatching. In Context-driven, which will now be discussed, there is no interpretation mismatching. However, impolite interpretations are drawn within the context.

7.4.3. Context-driven

As I mentioned in Section 4.6., Culpeper (2011) suggests that Context-driven includes two forms: 1- unmarked behaviour and 2- absence of behaviour.[197] One example of unmarked behaviour mentioned by Culpeper (2011: 181) is as follows:

Example (46)

TO SHOP ASSISTANT:[198] You've not given me the pound.
SHOP ASSISTANT: I think I did [Abruptly]
TO SHOP ASSISTANT: Well it's not there. Look. (opened wallet to show him)
SHOP ASSISTANT: Go like that. [Implied I was trying to con him] (He pointed to his sleeves, gesturing to loosen them)
TO SHOP ASSISTANT: See. [raised volume] (Opened sleeves to show him) (He handed me a pound)
TO SHOP ASSISTANT: Thank you.

---

[197] Absence behaviour, as I mentioned in Chapter 4, is when the participant expects certain behaviour which, if absent, leads to an understanding of impoliteness. The example mentioned by Culpeper (2011) was when a student gave incorrect answer to the teacher's question and, without giving any feedback, the teacher transferred the question to another student, which made the student feel offended.

[198] Capitals are in origin.

According to Culpeper, the shop assistant's utterance 'go like that' seems to be cooperative. However, given the knowledge about hiding things up sleeves, the impolite implication that the shop assistant was implying that the informant 'was trying to con him' is triggered. Here, there is no mismatch involving a conventionalised polite formula, but impolite interpretations are drawn by the expectations within the context.

There was also an example mentioned by a female Libyan informant during the Focus Group discussion which illustrates a similar point about the absence of mismatches between the conventionalised polite formula and the current context (see Appendix C, pp. 115-116, lines 292-303):

Example (47)

ف:حني عندنا في حاجة (.) لما مثلا مناسبة و يقدموا العشي	
fˈ:ħni ʕindna fj ħa:ʒa (.) lamma maθalan munasba wa jqaddmu: alʕaʃai	
we have we something in when for example occasion and offer they the dinner	
292- F	In my town (.) in, for example, an occasion when the hosts offer dinner (0.4) OK

قبل (0.5) ما يقدموا العشي تأخروا في العشي تجي وحدات نساوين	
qabil ma jqaddmu: alʕaʃai taʔaχru: fj alʕaʃai tʒj waħda:t nasawi:n	
before that offer they the dinner late they of the dinner come ones women	
293-F	(0.5) before offering dinner I mean if they were late in offering dinner, some women

يلبسن فراريشهن والا عباياتهن والا جلابيبهن و يطلعن هذه (.) هذه (0.5)	
jalbsun fara:ri:ʃhin walla ʕaba:ja:thin walla ʒala:bi:bhin wa jatʕilʕan haðj haðj	
wear they their ferrashia or their Abayat or their Jilbabs and go out they this this	
294- F	would put on their Ferrashia[199] or Abayas or Jilbabs[200] and go home this (.) this (0.5)

أكبر حشمة↑ لأصحاب الحوش↓ (0.3) طريقة غير مباشرة معناها انتم	
ʔakbar ħiʃma liʔasˁħa:b alħu:ʃ (0.3) tˁari:qa ɣair muba:ʃra maʕnaha ʔintum	
biggest embarrassing owners to home way not direct it mean you	
295- F	is really shameful to the hosts (0.3) it is an indirect way to say that you {the hosts}

[199]A name for a kind of traditional Libyan outer clothes, which covers the whole body, worn by women (particularly older women) over their main clothes before going out.

[200]Abayas and Jilbabs are also a type of hijab, but they are used in many other Muslim countries, so they are not specified to the Libyan society.

	ما قدمتوش معانا الواجب =] maqaddamtu:ʃ maʕana ʔilwaʒib not offer you no us with the duty
296- F	didn't do your duty [

	] أ: صح حتى حني عندنا] ʕindna ħnai ħatta sˁaħ we have we even right
297- A	[Right we have this {in my town} too [

	] ف: = تلقينا نجرو::: غير قعمزي ↑ و مش عارف شنو و ندخلوهن لدار معينة muʕai:ana lida:r nduχlu:hin wa ʃinw ʕa:rif miʃ wa qaʕimzj ɣair niʒru: talqi:na certain room to them enter we and what know not and sit just run we find you
298- F 299-	[= The hosts would do their best to not let them go, they would say just stay and so on and the guests would be taken to a certain room

	باش كله شن اسمه (.) كان هي خلاص معناها اعتبرت ان هذه يعني (.) قلة qillat jaʕnj haðj ʔ inna ʔiʕtabarat maʕnaha χalasˁ hi:a kan ʔismah ʃin kullah baʃ little mean this that regard she it mean enough she if its name what it all to
300- F	to, I mean (.) if she {the guest} regarded it as, I mean (.) disrespectful

	احترام والا قلة اداء واجب منا حني (0.4) تطلع (0.3) تبدا عندنا كبيرة ان ʔinna kabi:ra ʕindna taḅda tatˁlaʕ ħnai minana waʒib ʔadaʔ qillat walla ʔiħtira:m that big we have it start go out she we us from duty doing little or respect
301- F 302-	or not doing the duty by the hosts (0.4) she would go (0.3) and this is seen as shamingthat

	هي طلعت من غير ما تتعشى titʕaʃʃá ma ɣair min tˁulʕut hi:a eat dinner not without go out she she
303-F	she went home without having dinner

In Libya, women are expected to wear a Jilbab or Abaya when leaving the house due to religious and traditional conventions. However, according to the informant, wearing these clothes in certain situations, which is here before having dinner at a wedding party, might

imply that the hosts are not doing their duty towards their guests or might even be seen as a sign of disrespect, which will affect the hosts' reputation seriously if they fail to persuade their guests to stay for dinner.[201] Thus, while the act itself (wearing outer clothes) is accepted and expected, doing so in certain situations can cause offence.[202]

In this section, I have investigated the notion of indirectness and its relation to impoliteness. According to the above discussion, indirectness can also be used to cause deliberate offence, either in Arabic or English. Thus, the association between indirectness and politeness does not always seem to be accurate. In the following section, I will discuss the main findings of the data analysis (the Questionnaires, Focus Groups and Naturalistic Data) and highlight the similarities and differences between directness and indirectness in Arab and English cultures.

7.6. Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, I have examined the research question of to what extent is there a correlation between indirectness and politeness and directness and impoliteness, through analysing a range of naturalistic data, provided by my informants from Libya and Britain. According to the findings from my data which I have examined, English culture should not be treated as being the polar opposite to other cultures. Furthermore, the evaluations and functions of directness and indirectness can differ from one situation to another within a given cultural group, so none can be judged as being always polite or impolite, as claimed by the traditional

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[201]This is attributable to the importance of hospitality in Libyan society, as illustrated in the first section of this chapter.

[202]However, according to the other informants who took part in this discussion, this act is not interpreted thus in their hometown. This draws attention to the importance of not treating all cultural groups as if they were homogeneous.

theories (e.g. Brown and Levinson, 1987). Rather, within each cultural group, certain cultural aspects are seen as conventionally appropriate in that social group. Thus, directness can be modified or intensified according to the situation and context and yet still be seen as appropriate, due to certain ideologies about what is conceived as appropriate. Indirectness can fulfil different functions that lead to different interpretations which might be considered polite or impolite, again, according to the various ideologies about what is appropriate.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

8.1. Introduction

In this thesis, I have investigated certain aspects of cross-cultural politeness and impoliteness, by analysing Arabic and English preferences for performing directness and indirectness. My principal original contribution to knowledge is that the concept of politeness and, consequently, the preference for specific strategies is influenced by different conventions and ideologies around the use of such forms which differ from one culture to another. In this concluding chapter, I discuss the main findings of the data analysis and highlight the similarities and differences between directness and indirectness in Arab and English cultures, and then I discuss the main contributions of this study. I then discuss the implications of the thesis. Finally, I present recommendations for further work.

8.1. Overall Research Findings

According to the data-analysis discussion in this and the previous chapter, I can present the similarities and differences between Arabic and English concerning directness and indirectness and their relation to politeness and impoliteness in the following observations:

1- Perception of Directness and Indirectness

There is a general agreement between the Arabs and English surveyed about the concept of directness and indirectness: directness is seen as explicit and obvious, while indirectness is perceived as a form of speech that holds a degree of ambiguity and implicitness. What is known as 'conventional indirectness' does not seem to be seen as indirect by my English informants, who perceived it as a direct form of speech. However, although both the Arab and English informants are aware that indirectness can be considered polite, impolite or both, the main difference between the two groups is that the Arabs, in general, describe the

function of indirectness negatively. This negative interpretation is reflected in the definitions and examples that the Libyan informants provided related to the meaning and function of indirect speech in the different types of data collected. It is noteworthy that not only is indirectness described negatively, but also that using this type of speech can be seen as indicative of impoliteness.

There was some contrast between the ideological beliefs about the function of directness and indirectness used by the English and their actual function. The overall interpretation is that the English are indirect and consequently polite, while directness is usually associated with rudeness. However, the English, according to many English informants' description of their own use and the examples mentioned in the data, seem to be more direct than they are aware. Furthermore, according to some of the naturalistic data examples, indirectness is not only seen as dispreferred in certain situations in English, but it can also be used for impolite purposes. That can be evidence of the difficulty of making generalisations about indirectness or considering all British people to prefer using indirect speech to be polite, ignoring the diversity among their culture. Thus, it is possibly a tendency for English people to use indirectness for polite purposes, but this is not clear-cut. Finding such contradictory views shed light on the importance of considering the ideological differences between how people feel they and others *should* speak and how they actually *do* speak (Grainger et al., 2015).

2- Ideologies in Mitigating Directness

The notion of softening the impact of directness seems to be similar in both Arabic and English in similar situations, but the way of doing so differs, due to the different ideologies and norms in each culture. In English, it seems, that it is important to use certain linguistic

structures with requests as well as appropriate intonations and politeness expressions (e.g. please) to be appropriate and thus acceptable,[203] while Arabic is more focused on a certain intonation with direct requests. However, it might be understood that I am simply arguing that the above strategies are the only ones open to the interlocutors, or that they form the base and other strategies are exceptions. By contrast, there are different complex strategies that can be used in both cultures in different situations. For example, in Arabic, people can engage in a simple conversation before talking about the request they want to make (e.g. pre-request structures). Furthermore, using direct forms (e.g. imperatives) for less serious requests indicates social closeness between the participants; and thus is preferable. However, because of the different ideological beliefs of what constitutes appropriate behaviour in both cultures, the Arabic way of requesting might not be acceptable to English speakers, and *vice versa*.

3- Indirectness and Opening Options

The claim that indirectness necessarily opens options (Leech, 1983) indicates that directness reduces such options and thus is considered impolite. As I have shown in the recorded data-analysis discussion, this claim is problematic for two main reasons: first, reducing options is not necessarily seen as impolite in some cultures, such as Arabic, where it is considered appropriate or even required in some situations (e.g. offers). Offers are preferred in unmodified or unmitigated form, and may even be intensified due to different ideological motivations related to sincerity and good hospitality. Second, the claim that directness always reduces options and indirectness always raises the level of optionality is inaccurate. In fact, there are some situations where people have the choice not to respond positively to the

[203]This is not to say that intonation is unimportant in English or that such a linguistic structure is always polite, because there are some situations where such structures can be used sarcastically.

speaker's direct speech, while they, because of some ideological motivations, have fewer or no choices, but answer the speaker positively, even while speaking indirectly.

Another issue that is related to indirectness is regarding whether it is always polite, which is inaccurate, because indirectness can be offensive and thus impolite. Therefore, people's choices of particular forms of speech reflect the fact that the culture normalizes certain conventional elements within a cultural or linguistic group to be seen as appropriate and thus acceptable within that social group (Grainger, et al., 2015). Thus, Arabic and English cultures should not be portrayed as polar opposites, as they are usually described. They share the goal of employing appropriate behaviour but through different strategies due to the different expectations that individuals are supposed to fulfil in their respective societies.

Although indirectness may open options, it does not always guarantee 'optionality'. For example, in some situations in Arabic (e.g. requests), indirectness is not optional, as some traditional theories (Leech, 1983) argue, because no actual choices are open to the hearer to misrecognise the request and pretend that it is absent (as Brown and Levinson (1987) argue), if they want to be evaluated positively. In other words, choosing to misrecognise the intended meaning can be highly negatively evaluated. Thus, in such cases, indirectness, despite the different interpretations that it may hold, does not necessarily open up options from which the hearer may choose. Furthermore, there are some situations where the form of speech used is direct, while the intended meaning is hidden. Thus, if the main difference between directness and indirectness is that the latter allows for more than one interpretation, where the intended meaning is supposed to be arrived at through inference, it seems that it is not always possible to draw a clear-cut distinction between both directness and indirectness. Therefore, we cannot

make generalisations about the concept of (in)directness across languages, because its interpretations and functions may differ from one situation to another across different cultural groups.

4- Directness and Opening Options

The strategy of intensifying direct speech, particularly the insistence on the hearer doing something for the speaker, is required in certain situations (offers) in Arabic, because the insistence is a demonstration of genuine generosity and hospitality (Grainger et al., 2015). In other words, insistence in offers is a part of the ritual routines which are considered very important in Arab society. However, it is worth mentioning that directness in such a case does not necessarily restrict the options open to the hearer or force them to do what the speaker wants them to do. The hearer can sometimes refuse the speaker's offer despite the speaker's insistence on their offer. Thus, the claim that reducing options through performing insistence is impolite and describing it as a 'very fierce attempt', as Searle (1979) argues, is inadequate. However, insisting on offers in some situations occurs even in English culture (as discussed above).

Reducing options to the extent that the hearer has no choice but to accept what the speaker asks them to do is also seen as appropriate in making offers in Arabic, because it is conventionalised and ritualised as a norm in such situations. Thus, it is not evaluated negatively. The offerer must ensure that their guests are satisfied, where the offerer serves their guests through frequent insistence. Such routines are expected by both host and guest in Arabic. However, in English, according to ideological beliefs, such behaviour might be considered an impediment to the individual's freedom of action, and thus be evaluated as impolite but, in Arabic, it is not only seen as appropriate, but the absence of such actions

could be evaluated negatively. Thus, it is more about a shared agreement among the members of a certain cultural group about what constitutes appropriate behaviour than the judgement of certain linguistic behaviour as being good or bad *per se*. However, the degree of insistence depends on many factors (such as the situation, the relationship between interactants and so on). In Arabic, the speaker might be assertive (or even aggressive from the perspective of some non-Arab cultures) about their offer and yet still be seen as behaving appropriately.

5- Cultural Effect on the Speakers' Choices

What constitutes indirectness and its functions might differ from one linguistic group to another. What might be perceived as conventional or routine in certain groups in some situations might be seen as vague and ambiguous in others. For example, using indirectness, or going off-record, may be considered appropriate and evaluated as polite in certain situations in Arabic, while the same strategy might be seen as a hint or vague from a British perspective. Grainger (2011: 189) argues that "where the participants do not share the same interpretation framework misunderstanding and misattribution of intention may result". For example, Levinson (1983) accuses Germans of being less polite than the English simply because they prefer more direct forms in certain situations, without taking into consideration any factors that might affect individuals' choices (such as what is normalised as conventional behaviour in that group). Thus, while it is appropriate to use direct forms in some situations in Arabic, which might be evaluated negatively by some British-English people, there are other situations in which British-English people prefer some strategies that are seen as inappropriate in Arabic. Therefore, it is not a matter of Arabic-speakers being more direct or English-speakers being more indirect. Rather, it is more that certain conventional elements become normalised or enregistered over time within linguistic or cultural groups as being appropriate in certain situations.

6- Indirectness and Impoliteness

Indirectness can be used deliberately to cause offence. The vast majority of research on politeness and (in)directness, either English or cross-cultural, has focused only on the positive aspect of the function of indirectness in English or when English is compared to other cultural groups. However, in this study, it seems that not only is indirectness dispreferred in some situations, but it can also be offensive, both in Arabic and English. As I have shown above, indirectness can be used to indicate impoliteness in both Arabic and English. Furthermore, although indirectness can be used for polite purposes in some cultural groups, such as in Libyan Arabic, the overall perception is negative, because it is ideologically linked to impoliteness.

The strategies used by the Libyans and English in using indirectness to cause offence are, more or less, similar. However, according to the Arabic data I collected, it seems that 'Form-driven implicational impoliteness' is the most commonly used type compared to the other types in Arabic, whereas Convention-driven, according to my English data and the examples provided by Culpeper in explaining this phenomenon, seems to be more common in English. Furthermore, due to the negative interpretation of indirectness in Libyan-Arabic, it seems that using indirectness for impolite purposes is more complicated in Arabic than in English. For example, there are some situations and examples that are mentioned by the Libyan informants which do not seem to occur in English. This claim is not based on my data alone, but also on the examples mentioned by researchers who work on this phenomenon in English (e.g. Culpeper, 2011). The most common examples that are mentioned by the Libyan informants that are not mentioned in the English data are: getting revenge; sending out parallel messages; conveying others' opinion about the target; offending the addressee through criticising people who have a close relationship with them; and generalising

meanings. However, although 'generalising meanings' 'تعميم المعنى' (or signifying) is seen as an indirect form of speech, it seems to be conventionalised in a way that is sufficiently understandable and accessible for the hearer(s) to be guided towards the intended meaning due to the 'mutual cognitive environment' of the interactants. Thus, such utterances are unambiguous. This can be attributed to the nature of such a strategy, which allows for deniability more than any other strategy, where offence can be performed with less fear of retribution.

7- The Role of Religion

Religion seems to play a significant role within Libyan-Arabic society, where politeness and impoliteness are evaluated according to conformity to Islamic teachings. However, it is not only that behaviour is dominated by religious teachings, but religion also seems to be reflected in everyday language, particularly in polite formulaic expressions (e.g. 'for God's sake بالله عليك' = please; 'May God give you good health صحيت' = thanks).

According to these findings, we can conclude that the strategies employed are conventionalised in a way that makes certain behaviour polite within a certain linguistic group, but not in another. However, we should not suppose that these two communities are completely different because, as we have already seen, people in both cultures are motivated to meet the expectations of their respective society. Furthermore, these strategies may differ from one situation to another, so the Arabs may not see themselves as being direct, as they might be seen by, say, English people. For example, as I have shown in analysing the Arabic male focus group, Arabs ideologically perceive themselves as being indirect and describe people who use direct forms as 'strong-faced وجه صحيح', while some Arabic examples might be judged as overly direct by English speakers. This might be explained by the fact that most

studies (e.g. collectivist vs. individualist) focus only on classifying cultures and linguistic groups as being direct or indirect, which is inadequate in itself, because directness and indirectness occur in most societies, but to different extents in different situations (Grainger, 2014). Furthermore, the situations that influence individuals' choices, and what constitutes directness and indirectness might differ. Therefore, we cannot simply judge a whole culture as preferring certain forms of speech rather than others. For example, while some studies indicate that Arabs are direct (Hamza, 2007; Al Batal et al. 1993), others present them as indirect (Katriel, 1969; Merkin, 2012). This demonstrates Mills and Kadar's (2011) point that the degree of (in)directness is ideological, because it relies on people's judgements about a language.

8.3. Original Contribution to Knowledge of the Research

This thesis makes the following major contributions:

1- Cultural Stereotypes

The analysis of the data clearly demonstrates that there are some differences between Libyan Arabic and British English perceptions of what constitutes appropriate behaviour in both cultures. However, the stereotypical description of British English as indirect and as a negative politeness culture (as argued by Sifianou, 1992), that the majority of the research, does not offer a real demonstration of actual linguistic practices of the British people. Although there may be some elements of truth in this stereotype, these elements should not simply be explained by the generalised view that is usually presented. For example, cross-cultural analysts usually contrast other cultures' indirectness to the role that indirectness is supposed to play in British culture. It seems, then, that when analysing other cultures, the researchers apply Western analysts' understanding of how indirectness is interpreted in

British English to other cultures. Such studies (Sifianou 1991; House, 2010), thus, suggest that directness is more appropriate in certain contexts, such as requests, where indirectness is preferred for English-speakers. However, these studies do not show whether indirectness occurs in their cultures or not, and if it does exist, how it functions and is interpreted. Thus, as Mills and Kadar (2011: 44) argue, "we need to distance ourselves from the conservative and ideological nature of this type of analysis". Thus, in this thesis I have moved away from this type of ideological stereotype of politeness, (as stereotypical views are often very different from actual behaviour). Therefore, through criticising the stereotypical representation of cultures, and focusing more on politeness norms derived from data analysis without depending on ideological views, this thesis has provided a more adequate analysis of politeness norms in both Arabic and British cultures.

2- Developing a Methodology for a Cross-cultural Study

Stadler (2011) argues that most cross-cultural studies often make cross-cultural comparisons relying on Discourse Completion Tasks (DCT), or questionnaires that simply ask the informants to put themselves in imaginary situations to answer certain questions, even if they were not within their own experience, rather than on data from real-life encounters. This raises the question of the validity of such data to account for politeness as a complex phenomenon in these cultures. Thus, the present study, using a range of data drawn from the situations that the informants experienced, presents a more adequate representation of what might influence people's choices in different contexts and accesses not only participants' performance, but also their beliefs about performance. It is this examination of ideologies as well as performance which is important.

3- Comparing Cultures

Cultures in most cross-cultural research are usually contrasted. As a result, cultures are presented as being totally different, which gives the impression that intercultural interactions between different cultural communities are impossible or at least they always result in unavoidable misunderstandings. This thesis, however, is an attempt to show that cultures should not be treated as diametrically opposed. Rather, cultures should be examined carefully and separately in order to investigate how different language activities are performed without being simply compared to other cultures, according to certain criteria, suggested by certain theories which might not be applicable cross-culturally. Thus, this thesis has focused as much on similarities as on differences.

4- Developing the Approaches of Interactions in Cross-cultural Contexts

Moving away from the traditional theories of politeness towards a more context- and situation-based model, this thesis adopts a more adequate approach to the complexity of understanding politeness in cross-cultural contexts. The main contribution to knowledge this thesis has made is that the discursive approach to (im)politeness I developed proposes the possibility to infer the indexical meaning of specific linguistic practices, such as directness and indirectness, where the meanings become associated with certain social values. As a result, such an approach contributes to the investigation of certain areas which are often neglected in the field of politeness. For example, directness and indirectness are shown to be multifunctional and can have different implications and interpretations. Thus, we cannot rely only on linguistic features to understand (im)politeness norms, and instead we need to focus on how these features are interpreted within cultures. In addition, to my knowledge, this thesis is the first to investigate the relationship between (in)directness, optionality and (im)politeness. The results of this thesis have shown that directness does not necessarily

restrict options, and indirectness does not necessarily open options, as claimed by Leech (1983).[204] Furthermore, optionality that is claimed to be provided by indirectness is not always evaluated positively.

On the whole, this thesis has proved that (im)politeness cannot be analysed through models which are built on certain rules (such as those of speech act theory), nor by analysing only the linguistic meaning of utterances. A simple link between particular linguistic forms and certain functions, ignoring contextual and cultural factors, that lead to different evaluations of contexts is inaccurate. Thus, a more context-based model is required, in order to capture the complexity and diversity of contextual evaluations across cultures.

8.4. Implications of the Study

1- Cultural Differences

According to the data-analysis discussion, there seem to be some differences between the British and Arab participants with regard to the assessment of the concept and functions of directness and indirectness. Thus, the interpretation of a certain context depends on a cultural assessment. However, there are also some similarities in such assessments. These results underline the importance of focusing as much on the similarities between different cultural communities as on the differences between them. Thus, this study has investigated a combination of different factors (such as cultural norms, ideologies, conventions, expectations and so on) that influence such assessments instead of simply contrasting cultural values.

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[204] Of course, this is not to say that indirectness does not open options or directness does not restrict options, but there are other cases which need to be taken into consideration, as I have shown above.

2- Cultural Generalisations

Most previous cross-cultural studies have relied on making generalisations about cultures at a stereotypical level (Merkin, 2012; Fukushima, 2002). English people, for example, are often characterised as indirect. However, as the results of this study show, the stereotype of British people as indirect does not always hold true, as they can be more direct than they are aware. Furthermore, such classifications are primarily based on the presupposition about the concept and the functions that indirectness is assumed to have. Thus, the studies that characterise Arabs as being indirect, for example, might be seen as evaluating Arabs negatively, if we take into consideration the Arab informants' overall evaluations of indirectness as being associated with impoliteness. This not only demonstrates the danger of making generalisations about cultures, but also the risk of generalising about the concept and function of different cultural practices in different cultural groups.

3- Intercultural Communication

This thesis, like many other studies (as I have shown in chapter 3), draws attention to the importance of taking the communicative aspects of language into consideration in teaching or learning a foreign language. Thus, to avoid possible misunderstandings in intercultural communications, foreign language learners are advised to aim at communicative competence as well as linguistic competence (Sifianou, 1992). However, misunderstandings and communication problems may occur even with individuals who belong to the same cultural background in certain situations. Thus, misunderstandings are not necessarily attributed only to belonging to different cultures. Furthermore, as I have shown in chapter 7, people from different cultures might share similar knowledge about the inference of some complex linguistic forms (e.g. sarcasm), which shows that similarities may occur among cultures as well as differences. Thus, we need to be cautious in our discussion of cultures.

8.5. Suggestions for Further Research

The topic I have explored in this thesis suggests the need for further research. Thus, a great deal more cross-cultural and politeness-focused empirical research is needed in order to explain a wide variety of linguistic activities in general, and of directness and indirectness in particular. An investigation of this type is principally useful with languages like Arabic and English, which are often categorised according to certain stereotypical presuppositions. For example, it is often taken for granted or assumed that British politeness is necessarily focused on indirect forms. Thus, the work I have done on English could be used as a starting point for further research on the difference between how people feel that they or others should speak and the way they actually do speak. Furthermore, a greater focus on the role that gender plays in the preference for direct or indirect forms is needed. Although this thesis has shed light on the importance of taking such an element into consideration, gender has not been extensively discussed, because it was not the focus of the study. The concept of 'face' and its relation to (in)directness and (im)politeness is also a neglected area within Arabic (im)politeness work. Thus, it is worth investigating this concept in Arabic, because its evaluation might be different from that of English. Through exploring how people use language to indicate politeness in different cultures, intercultural communications may be improved, and thus misunderstandings can be reduced among individuals who come from different cultural backgrounds. It is for this reason that pursuing further research in this area is very important, as directness and indirectness are considered to be one of the main elements that give rise to pragmatic failure in intercultural communication.

8.6. Final Concluding Remarks

The success or failure of communication depends on the extent to which people's behaviour meets certain cultural expectations, which might differ from one culture to another. For

example, my interest in investigating direct and indirect speech and other issues related to them stemmed from observing the way in which they are often performed in Arabic. As a member of an Arabic cultural community, I realised that both directness and indirectness are multifunctional and can be used for different purposes, either polite or impolite. The supposed English indirectness should not be seen as static or limited to a certain function (e.g. politeness). Indirectness is mostly treated in the literature as being necessarily used for polite purposes. Even when it is claimed to have a negative side, this is shown as being marginal whereas, as the results of this thesis show, indirectness can be synonymous with impoliteness in some cultures, such as Libyan-Arabic, in certain contexts.

Through this study, I have drawn attention to the importance of avoiding treating cultures, especially those which are claimed to come from different politeness orientations (e.g. positive vs. negative), as polar opposites because, although ideologies about what might be seen as appropriate might differ, the motivation for meeting the expectations and thus behaving appropriately might be similar. This study has provided an analysis of British and Arabic cultures in respect to directness and indirectness, and it will be of some help in questioning the representation of these cultures at a stereotypical level. I have moved away from Brown and Levinson's theory towards a more adequate approach that can cope with the complexity and diversities of cultures. Although this study constitutes a small step in such a field, particularly within the research on Arabic-speaking communities, it has contributed to the development of a theoretical and analytical framework on cross-cultural politeness and impoliteness research.

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CONTENTS

1- QUESTIONNAIRES 1

1- Appendix (A): Arabic Responses to the Questionnaire 2

2- Appendix (B): English Responses to the Questionnaire 37

2- FOCUS GROUPS 70

1- Arabic Focus Group Discussion..... 71

- Appendix (C): Arabic Focus Group Discussion "Female Group" 72

- Appendix (D): Arabic Focus Group Discussion "Male Group" 130

2- Appendix (E): English Focus Group Discussion..... 176

3- NATURALLY OCCURRING DATA 190

1- Appendix (F): Arabic Naturally-Occurring Data 191

- Arabic Recorded Data 191

- Arabic Log-book Data 201

2- Appendix (G): English Naturally-Occurring Data 206

- English Recorded Data 206

- English Log-book Data 208

- Appendix (H): Questionnaire for Arabic Pilot Study 209

- Appendix (I): Questionnaire for English Pilot Study 210

4-Appendix (J): Consent Forms 211

QUESTIONNAIRES

Appendix (A): Arabic Questionnaire

In this section, 25 Libyan informants' (12 females and 13 males) responses to the Arabic questionnaire are presented. These responses start on page 3 and end on page 36.

Questionnaire (A-1)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 30

الجنس: أنثى

الجنسية: ليبية

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

حسن الحوار و التعامل

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

سوء الحوار أو عدم حسن التصرف

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

بالهمز و اللمز

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

لانقاذ شخص في موقف ما أو أثناء غضبي من شيءمعين

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشرفي المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

في المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ و لماذا؟

في أغلب الأحيان أستخدم الكلام المباشر

7- هل بامكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص, المكان, الاشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا.

كنت أعاتب قريبة لي لأنها تبذل مجهودا في مناسبة ما و أهل المناسبة نفسها لا يبذلون الجهد نفسه و لديها أطفال و كنا جالسين معا و معنا جمع من النسوة فقلت لها يا فلانة: هل الميت صبروا و المعزيين كفروا

Questionnaire (A-2)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 40

الجنس: ذكر

الجنسية: ليبي

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

عدم الاساءة للغير

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

التطاول على مشاعر الغير

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

تبليغ يللي يدور في راسك للي قاعد قدامك من غير ما يفهمها حد من اللي حداك

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

في حالة أخطأ حد حداك في مجمع هدرزة والا حد يهدرز في موضوع يتعلق شخص قاعد معاه

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشرفي المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

الاثنين جميع

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ و لماذا؟

الاثننين على الموقف اللي قدامي

7- هل بامكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص, المكان, الاشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا.

في نهار ماشيين نعزوا في والد صاحنا في طرابلس و جي وقت الغدي و كان الجو قبلي و صاحب العزي قاعد معانا و جابوا الغدي بازين و كان الايدام ساخن يفرفط اليدين و صاحبي اللي معاي ياكل و يقول حامية التركة و يعاود فيها كم مرة لين تحشمت كل و قتله كول و رحم يا رجال لين فهمها وسكت

Questionnaire (A-3)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 40

الجنس: أنثى

الجنسية: ليبيه

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

التهذيب هو حسن الخلق ومعامله الناس بما يرضي الله والرسول بمعني معامله الناس بكل احترام وتقدير حتي وان لم يعاملوك بالمثل

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

هو عدم احترام الاداب العامه في السلوك الذي يسلكه الشخص

مثل عدم احترام الصغير للكبير او التلفظ بالفاظ نابيه غير مقبوله

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

هو الكلام الذي ضاهره لا يعني باطنه بمعني ان الكلام الغير مباشر يجب علي المستمع ان يفهمه بدون التركيز علي معاني مفردات الجمل المنطوقه من قبل المتحدث

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

المواقف عاده التي يستحي فيها المتحدث ان يبين مطلبه مباشره للمستمع بحيث لا يتعرض المتحدث للاهانه –كما نفسرها احيانا-عندما يكون الجواب الرفض

وكذلك الكلام الغير مباشر احيانا يستخدم بطريقه غير مقبوله عند توجيه اهانه او سخريه لشخص ما بدون توجيه الكلام مباشره اليه مثلا عند سخريه اثنان من شخص ثالث

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشرفي المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

يستخدمونه احيانا في المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب عندما يريدون طلب شئ ويخجلون من طلبه مباشره

والاكثر في المواقف التي تسدعي قله الادب وخاصه عند صغار السن اقصد الشباب بنات-اولاد

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ و لماذا؟

افضل الكلام المباشر لان الغير مباشر يشعرني بانه يجب اختار الجمل والكلمات بحيث لايساء فهم ما ارمي اليه

7- هل بامكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص, المكان, الاشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

مره ولدي عمره 11 سنه يحب يبات مع جدته ام ابوه وعماته فمره كانوا يحكوا علي امور شخصيه تهمهم ولما انتبهوا ان ولدي جالس معاهم ويسمع قالت جدته بالحرف الواحد –البحر فيه كلب – بمعني ان فيه حد مش لازم يسمع الكلام اللي نقولوا فيه وطبعا ولدي ذكي وجعاته من جدته العباره اللي قالتها وجاني تاني يوم يبكي وقالي جدتي تحسابني مانفهم شن تقصد حتي واني ماكنت مركز عليش يهدرزوا لكن لما قالت البحر فيه كلب فهمت اني مش لازم انكون معاهم في هدرزنهم ومفروض نطلع

يالله ربي يسامحهم

Questionnaire (A-4)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 27

الجنس: أنثى

الجنسية: ليبية

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

حسن التصرف ومعاملة الناس بلطف في الافعال

اما عن الاقول فيجب ان يكون الكلام لطيف وطيب ومراعي لحال السامع وعدم احراجه باستخدام مصطلحات لا يفهمها

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

اي فعل او قول يسبب اذى للاخر بشرط ان يكون هذا الاخر طبيعي وليس مفرط الحساسية

ايضا في الاماكن العامة عدم احترام وجود الاخرمثلا في طابور او ازعاج من أي نوع كان

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

هو مخاطبة الاشخاص من دون ان تنادي الشخص باسمه وتقول له ماتريد (توجيه الكلام للشخص دون ذكر اسمه وانتظار رد منه)

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

في 3 مواقف

الاول: ان توجه شخص لفعل شيء صواب دون ان تحرجه وتقول له انت لا تعرف ماعرفه انا.

اثاني: ان توقف شخص يقوم بفعل غير جيد- أي انه يؤدي احدهم- عند حده دون ان تدخل معه في صدام وتوجه الكلام له مباشر.

الثالث: ان تطلب من احد طلب وتعرف رأيه هل هو موافق او لا دون ان تتعرض لاحراج الرفض وذل السؤال.

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشرفي المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

هذا يتوقف على سلوك الشخص هناك من يستخدم الكلام غير المباشر في غرض خير كما سبق في اجابة 4

ولكن البعض من الناس التي ينقصها التهذيب قد تستخدم الكلام غير المباشر في احراج شخص كالتركيز على عيب به اوالتركيز على خطا غير مقصود قام بارتكابه

وقد تصل حدة الكلام غير المباشر الى الاهانة الشديدة لان الشخص ليس لديه حق الرد في هذه الحالة والا اهان نفسه اكثر

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ و لماذا؟

افضل الكلام غير المباشر في الاغراض الخيرة سواءا كما ذكرت في التوجيه مني او الي لتجنب الاحراج او طلب شي مني لانني قد لا استطيع الرفض في حالة طلب مني شخص شي حتى لو كنت غير راضية علي ذلك كذلك لتجنب الم رفض احدهم لطلب طلبته منه بشكل مباشر.

واكرهها جدا في في الاغراض الشريرة كما سبق لانه ليس لاحد حق التدخل في الاخر واحراجه بالتركيز على عيوب به او اهانته دون ان يكون له حق في الرد.

7- هل بامكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص, المكان, الاشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

لما رجعت لليبيا بعد سنة دراسة برا عشان نشوف هلي وطبعا أمي يسكنوا معاها بيت خوي الصغير فمرة خوي قالت قلت لخوك نبي نكمل دراستي قاللي هذا اللي مازال نعرف اللي يديرها حاكمة فيه مرته, فوجعتني منها لأن طبعا هذه مش وجهة نظرخوي أبدا لأنه كان ديمة يشجع فيا فحسيتها تقصدني لأنها ماحصلتش تقرأ برا فتبي تقلل من شاني ومن شان قرايتي.

Questionnaire (A-5)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر:33

الجنس: أنثى

الجنسية: ليبية

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟
الأخلاق الاسلامية

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟
هو سوء التعامل أو التخاطب

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

الاشارات و الهمز و اللمز

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

لا استعمله الا لتوضيح شيء لغيري لا علاقة لأحد غيره به

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشرفي المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

في المواقف التي تستدعي عدم التهذيب

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ و لماذا؟

لا أفضل الكلام الغير مباشر لأنه من عدم اللباقة

7- هل بامكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص, المكان, الاشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

اي صار لي موقف...مرة منت في عزومة غدي و كنت حامل و عادة لما نكون حامل ناكل برا البيت أكتر من أكلي بالبيت فالاكل كان طيب و انا الواقع ما ناكل الا فترة و فترة فالباين اني انسجمت في الاكل فواحدة كانت معانا في القعد همزت صاحبتها و قالت: ما تري بكل و في نفس الوقت أنا رفعت عيني صاحبتها كانت تشوف فيا كانت تصدني اني ناكل وجعتني منها وتحشمت بكل. ربي ياخذها بنيتي

Questionnaire (A-6)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمز: 30

الجنس: أنثى

الجنسية: ليبية

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

التهذيب او الادب في رأي هو سلوك الفرد والذى ينعكس في تصرفاته و في طريقة حديثه وهو انعكاس لتربية الفرد والبيئة التي نشأ فيها.

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

يمكن معرفة قلة الادب او عدم التهذيب من خلال طريقة حديث الشخص او تصرفاته التي تدل علي عدم تهذيب.

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

يمكن التعرف علي الكلام الغير مباشر من ضمن سياق الكلام وموضوع المحادثة.

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

عندما تريد اتهام شخص ما بعمل شيء ما ولكنك غير متأكد فتقوم بتوجيه كلام غير مباشر و كذلك اذا اردت ان تطلب طلب معين او ان تقوم بتعميم معين كواجب نظافة البيت بين افراد الاسرة يمكن استخدام الكلام الغير المباشر وبعض الافراد يستخدم الكلام الغير مباشر لمضايقة الغير.

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشرفي المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

في اعتقادي في المواقف التي تستدعى قلة التهذيب.

6- كاليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ و لماذا؟

انا افضل استخدام الكلام المباشر واذا قمت باستخدام الكلام الغير مباشر فاني استخدمه في حدود الادب والذوق.

7- هل بامكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص, المكان, الاشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

أناجارة خوي و كنت لما زوجته تبي تطلع لمكان زيارة حد و ما تبيش ترفع صغارها تخليهم عندي وأنا طبعا عادي عندي, نتذكر مرة كان عندي دعوة لفرح بنتي قاعدة صغيرة وعارفة انه استحالة نرفعها معاي للفرح لان موسيقى وصوت عالي و تقعد تعيط ففكرت اني نرفعها لمرة خوي بس تحشمت نرفعها طول قلت خلي نمشيلهم نشوف الجو و طبعا قلتلها اني بنمشي للفرح لكن مش عارفة كيف انذير لجميلة فعلى طول قالتلي شن فيها كان رفعتيها معاك حطيلها غياراتها مرضعتها في شنطة وعدي وجعتني لاني توقعت ان زي ما أنا ديمة نمسك في صغارها وبكل صدر رحب أكيد حتى هي بتقولي خليها عندي ولهذا ما مشيتش للفرح.

Questionnaire (A-7)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر :- 47

الجنس :- ذكر

الجنسية :- ليبي

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

معناه تحلي الشخص بالاخلاق الحميده من " صدق ووفاء بالعهد و اداء الامانات " في جميع معاملاته الحياتية حركة كانت او لفظا و مع اي شخص كان قريب او بعيد دون النظر للون او الجنس او العرق و في اي مكان كان " البيت , العمل ، الشارع ".

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

عدم التحلي بالاخلاق الحميدة من " كذب و غش وعدم اداء الامانة " .

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

و هو مايقال للعامة و يمسك شخصيا .

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

المواضيع العامة التي تخص الناس عادة او بعض منهم .

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشرفي المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

الليبيون بوجه عام !! لا اعتقد.

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ و لماذا؟

استخدم الكلام المباشر عادة عندما اكون مع الشخص وجها لوجه و دون وجود احد و ذلك لوضع النقاط ع الحروف .

7- هل بامكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص, المكان, الاشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

المواقف كثيره و لا تحضرني في هذه اللحظة و لكن ساذكر موقف ع الفيس " في تعليقات احدي الاصدقاء كانت املاؤه خاطئه فعلقت بعده مباشرة و كررت نفس الكلمة بالصورة الصحيحة " الكلام لك و المعني الغيري " بمعني ماكتبت من تعليق لصاحب الموضوع و الهدف من تعليقي تصحيح كلمة من سبقني في التعليق .

Questionnaire (A-8)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (x) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 38

الجنس: ذكر

الجنسية: ليبي

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

هو ان تتصرف وفق القواعد المتعارف عليها في المجتمع سواء المستمدة من الدين او العادات او القوانيين الوضعية التي تنظم المجتمع

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

من خلال مشاهدة تصرفات الناس الخارجة عن المألوف سواء بالقول او الفعل

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

من خلال حديت الشخص في بعض المواقف باعطى امثلة لتوجيه المتلقي الى نقطة معينة لسبب ما لا يريد ان يواجه فيه

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

مثل ان يكون الشخص في موقف ولا يريد ان يسبب في تازم موقف ما خاصة عندما يكون موجه الحديث اضعف من المتلقي (اي الخوف) او لا يريد المشاكل خاصة عندما تكون في الاماكن العامة او يكون الكلام الغير مباشر بين الاصدقاء

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشرفي المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

نعم يميلون في كلا الحالتين لاننا مجتمع تعودنا على عدم قبول وجه نظر الطرف الاخر حتى وان كنا على خطأ باستثناء الحالات التي يكون فيها المتحدث عنده القوة سواء المتمثلة في منصب او العمر او الواجه الاجتماعية

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ و لماذا؟

بصفة عامة كليبي الكلام الغير مباش اما كشخصي الكلام المباشر

7- هل بامكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص, المكان, الاشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

هر عندنا احد الاصدقاء حراج لاي نقد حتى وان كان هو غالط وكنا نسهر تقريبا مع بعض والمشكلة كيف ما نقول لسانه ما يهنيشي وفي اغلب الاحيان يحدث بينه وبين احد الاصدقاء مناوشات تبدا بالبصارة كيف ما نقول سريعا ما تتحول الى تلقيح كلام على بعضهم احيانا احنا الباقين نقوم بالتدخل لاسكاتهم الصديق الدي اشرت اليه دائما لا يعجبه كلامنا لانه بصفة عامة يتطاول كثيرا فيحرج واحيانا يقعد ايام لا ياتي الى السهرية

Questionnaire (A-9)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (x) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 29

الجنس: أنثى

الجنسية: ليبية

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

أن يتحلى الانسان بأخلاق حسنة في الحديث كعدم مقاطعة الاخرينو طلب ما يريد بطريقة مهذبة

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

أن يكون الانسان بأخلاق سيئة كعدم احترام الاخرين و رفع الصوت و مقاطعة الحديث

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

هو أن يتكلم المرء بطريقة غير ماشرة خوفا من احراج الاخرين في طلبه أو يمكن تعريفه بما يعرف في اللهجة الليبية "بضر المعاني"

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

اذا كان الشخص الذي اتحدث اليه لا أعرفه جيدا أو عنما انتقد شخصا ما

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشرفي المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ و لماذا؟

اعتقد انهم يفضلون الكلام المباشر و ربما يرجع ذلك الى العادات الاجتماعية و كثرة احتكاكهم ببعضهم أو ربما يجدون الكلام الغير مباشر ثقيلا عليهم

7- هل بامكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص, المكان, الاشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

مرة في عيد الفطر رفضت نشري لصغاري ملابس غالية فقالت حماتي أحسن ما في نبيل (أخ زوجي) ما يتستخسرش حاجة في صغاره مهما كانت غالية تقصدني أني على أساس نستخسرفي صغاري

Questionnaire (A-10)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (x) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 33

الجنس: أنثى

الجنسية: ليبية

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

هو أن تتمتع بالاخلاق الحميدة و أسلوب حسن

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

هو أن تلفظ بالكلمات جارحة تسيء للغير

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

هو تلميح أو ضرب معاني توصيل كلمة سيئة أو بطريقة غير مباشرة

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

توصيل كلام سيء بطريقة غير مباشرة

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشرفي المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب "جيل جديد"

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ و لماذا؟

طبعا الكلام المباشر ليكون في نقاش و لو كنت غلطانة نعتذر

7- هل بامكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص, المكان, الاشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

المثال هو أنني ذات مرة كنت في جلسة مع قريبات لأهل زوجي وكنا نتكلم عن مواضيع مختلفة فبدأن بالتلميح ببعض الامور التي شعرت انهن كن يقصدنني أنا بها مثل أنها لا تمتلك جسم جميل أنها ممتلئة الجسم يعني مثل هذه الامور فأحسست ببعض الضيق .

Questionnaire (A-11)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 35

الجنس: أنثى

الجنسية: ليبية

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

الأدب هو أن تكون مهذب السلوك و حسن الألفاظ و عدم التلفظ بالالفاظ البذيئة و السيئة

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

هو أمر غير جيد يدل على سوء التربية

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

الكلام الغير مباشر هو انك تريد أن تقول فكرة أو أمر ولا تريد أن تجرح به الشخص الذي أمامك فتلجأ الى أمثلة و أسماء أخرى

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

أحيانا عندما أكون في جلسة مع نسوة أشعر أو أعرف أنهن يوجهن بعض الكلام لي. فحين يحدث موقف مشابه أتكلم ببعض الكلام الغير مباشر

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشرفي المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

هم يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشرفي المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ و لماذا؟

أنا أحيانا أفضل استخدام الكلام الغير مباشر "أي كلام المعاني" لكي يتكلموا عن الشخص الذي أمامهم بكل حرية دون أن يبينوا له أنه المقصود بهذا الكلام

7- هل بامكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص, المكان, الاشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

شخص يسمع خبر من شخص اخر من مكان اخر مش من مصدره فيوصل معلومة أنا سمعت خبر بطريقة غير مباشرة

Questionnaire (A-12)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 28

الجنس: أنثى

الجنسية: ليبية

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

الأدب هو كلمة تعني أن يتبع الانسانن سلوكيات صحيحة فعلا و قولا. و أقصد بصحيحة أن لا تتنافى مع القيم المثلى للمجتمع و تختلف هذه القيم من مجتمع لاخر

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

هو أي خروج عن التهذيب بفعل أو بقول قد يسبب أذى أو احراج لأي شخص كان بشرط أن يكون هذا الشخص طبيعيا أي غير مفرط الحساسية

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

الكلام الغير مباشر هو كلام يصدر عن الانسان و لكن دون أن يوجه لشخص بعينه و الغرض منه أن يصل مضمون الكلام لمن هو مقصود به.

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

يستخدم الكلام غير المباشر في عدة أغراض أولها حسن النية كلوم من أم لأحد أبنائها و ثانيها يقصد به الاهانة أو الاستفزاز و هو أشد من الاهانة المباشرة لأن حق الرد غير مكفول

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشرفي المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

هناك من يستخدم الكلام المباشر في هذا و ذاكو و لكن طبيعة الشعب الليبي ناقد و مستهزيء و يستخدم كثيرا الكلام غير المباشر في قلة التهذيب و الاهانة

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ و لماذا؟

أعتقد أن الجيل الجديد أقل استخداما لهذا النوع من الكلام فكلما ارتفع مستوى التعليم و الوازع الديني كلما قل استخدام الكلام الغير مباشر في غرض غير سوي

7- هل بامكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص, المكان, الاشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

لا أتذكر موقف بعينه ولكن دائما استخدم الأسلوب الغير مباشر مدعما بالمواقف والأحداث بهدف تقديم النصح والنهي عن أفعال أو أقوال غير لائقة قد يقوم بها الطلبة و لا أفضل اللجو إلى النصح المباشر حتى لا أحرج الطالب

Questionnaire (A-13)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 17

الجنس: أنثى

الجنسية: ليبية

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

هو حسن المعاملة و حسن الخلق و عدم تقليل الادب أو التطاول على الاخرين

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

هو قلة الاحترام للناس عامة

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

هو انك تقول كلام مش كويس على شخصة انت متعمدة بس تقول فيه بطريقة غير ماشرة "تلقيح"

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

ممكن في مواقف سوء التفاهم أو انك توقضيه علي حاجة أو تذكريه

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشرفي المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

ممكن يقول كلام غير مباشر بطريقة مش كويسة و ممكن تكون كلام مباشر بطريقة مش كويسة و العكس صحيح حسب أخلاق الشخص

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ و لماذا؟

الكلام المباشر لأن الصراحة أحسن شيء ما تجيش تلقح عليك و تقول كلام مش كويس بطريقة غير مباشرة

7- هل بامكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص, المكان, الاشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

مرة عمتي قالتلي ما شاء الله عليك بنية خوي عقلك مليح مش زي ايديك. صدمتني

Questionnaire (A-14)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 39

الجنس: ذكر

الجنسية: ليبي

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

هو أن يتحلى الانسان بالاخلاق الحميدة و احترام الاخرين و عدم جرح مشاعرهم

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

هي عدم احترام الاخرين و عدم التحلي بالاخلاق الحميدة

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

الكلام الغير مباشر هوعملية محاولة الشخص للوصول الى الهدف بطريقة أطول

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

المواقف التي يمكن أن تسبب الاحراج للمستمع

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشرفي المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

لايمكن الجزم

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ و لماذا؟

حسب الموقف

7- هل بامكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص, المكان, الاشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

بعض الشخاص أحيانا يهمك أمرهم و لكن لايمكن نصيحتهم بطريقة مباشرة و في هذه الحالة يكون من المفيد أن تضرب لهم بعض الامثال على أشخاص اخرين

Questionnaire (A-15)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 43

الجنس: ذكر

الجنسية: ليبي

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

أن نحترم الاخرين و نحترم الدين و العادات و التقاليد

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

هو عدم احترام الدين و الاخرين و و العادات و التقاليد و التصرف دون مراعاة هذه العناصر الاربعة

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

هو الوصول للغاية التي تريدها بعبارات غير مباشرة

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

لتجنب الاحراج أو لاضفاء نوع من الدعابة و الفكاهة في الحديث أو لتجنب الحديث غير المهذب

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشرفي المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ و لماذا؟

الكلام المباشر لاني أحب الوضوح في حديثي

7- هل بامكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص, المكان, الاشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

قالت لي زوجتي مرة أن اذهب الى محل المواد الغذائية لاحضضر شيء و كنت لا اريد الذهاب فاتصلت بصاحب المحل بالهاتف فقال لي أنه أغلق فقلت لها "جت منك يا جامع" راه المحل مغلق

Questionnaire (A-16)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 28

الجنس: ذكر

الجنسية: ليبي

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

هو التصرف أو السلوك الذي يتبعه شخص معين في مجتمع و يكون السلوك مقبول أو محبوب

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

هو التصرف أو السلوك الغير مقبول أو محبوب في مجتمع معين

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

هو الكلام الذي يعمم بصفة عامة لمنع الاحراج أو بسبب مشاكل مع الشخص المعني بالكلام

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

في الاماكن العامة و في مجمع من الناس و عند مخاطبة شخص مسؤول

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشرفي المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

في المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ و لماذا؟

الاثنين لكن غالبا الكلام المباشر لتوصيل المعلومة أو وجهة نظري في موضوع معين

7- هل بامكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص, المكان, الاشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

حدثت مشكلة في الشغل و المدير كان عارف من الشخص الذي سبب الخللفكان كلام المدير عام بدون توجيه الكلام للشخص المعني مباشرة لمنع الاحراج أو تسبب المشاكل

Questionnaire (A-17)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 37

الجنس: ذكر

الجنسية: ليبي

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

هو عدم مخالفة الشرع و عرف المجتمع عند التعامل مع الاخرين

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

هومخالفة الشرع و العرف بالتعدي على الاخرين أو ايذائهم بقول أو فعل

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

هو توجيه كلام للشخص و المراد منه معنى اخر

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

عند نصح شخص لا تربطني به علاقة قوية

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشرفي المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ و لماذا؟

أفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر

7- هل بامكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص, المكان, الاشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

كان الموقف في المسجد مع أحد الاخوة الليبيين و الذي لا تربطني به علاقة, وكان الكلام بيني و بينه و عندما خالفته الرأي في الموضوع الذي سألني عنه أصبح يوجه كلام غير مباشر و دون أن يشعر أصبحت لهجته أقرب الى التهديد

Questionnaire (A-18)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 34

الجنس: ذكر

الجنسية: ليبي

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

الأدب هو أن يتحلى المرء بالاخلاق الحسنة بمعنى أن كل عمل حسن أدب

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

هو كل عمل أو تصرف غير محبوب بمعنى اخر هو كل الكلام الغير مرغوب في سماعه

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

هو الكلام تقصد به شخص معين و تتغاضى أن تقوله له مباشرة خوفا من احراجه

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

عندما انتقد تصرف شخص ما

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشرفي المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

في المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ و لماذا؟

أفضل الكلام المباشر لأنه يوصف الحدث بأكثر دقة

7- هل بامكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص, المكان, الاشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

أولا صلة القرابة زميل في الدراسة, المكان في الجامعة , الحاضرون حوالي خمس أشخاص. الشخص كان في ليبيا و قعد حوالي شهر ثم عاد فسألته عن حال ليبيا من جميع النواحي, فقالي البلاد مية مية فسألته عن محاصرة بعض الوزارات فقلت له هدا غير لائق يعني مشكلة, فقال لي هذا أحسن شي هكي الحرية و لو ماتجيش تجي بالسلاح. فقلت و أنا أنظر للحاضرين نحن الليبيين فاهمين الحرية بالعكس. أنا أقصده هو انه فاهم الحرية بالعكس لتجنب احراجه فعممت عدم الفهم لنا كلنا

Questionnaire (A-19)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 38

الجنس: ذكر

الجنسية: ليبي

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

هو سلوك انساني طيب ناتج عن التربية و البيئة التي نشأ فيها الشخص

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

هو عدم احترام الشخص لنفسه و للاخرين و التصرف بشكل غوغائي وهو ناتج عن سوء التربية و البيئة التي نشأ فيها الشخص

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

هو كلام مبطن يقال بشكل معين و يراد منه معنى اخر قد يكون معنى طيب أو سيء

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

أحيانا للتخلص من موقف معين أو طلب شيء من شخص لا تربطني به علاقة مباشرة قوية

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشرفي المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

في المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ و لماذا؟

أفضل الكلام الغير مباشر و ذلك نظرا لطبيعتي و شعوري بالخجل في أحيان و مواقف كثيرة

7- هل بامكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص, المكان, الاشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

تحدثت مر الى صهري قبل زواجه من شقيقتي حيث كنا قد حددنا موعد الفرح و لكن توفيت أمه قبل الفرح بشهرين فكنت محرج جدا أن أسأله عن موعد الفرح هل سيتم تأجيله أو لا فتحدثت معه بطريقة غير مباشرة عن هذا الموضوع ففهم المقصود و أجابني.

Questionnaire (A-20)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 25

الجنس: ذكر

الجنسية: ليبي

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

الادب هو سلوك الشخص العام و علاقته بالقوانين و اللوائح و العادات و التقاليد العامة

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

هو التصرف المخل بالاداب العامة من تصرف أو رد فعل أو ماشابه

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

هو الي يراد به كلام اخر غير الذي نطق به أو كلام يقصد به المنى البعيد

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

هي التي عادة ما تكون الكلام المباشر يؤدي الى نتائج غير مرغوب بها

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشرفي المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

نعم و ذلك لانهم لايجيدون المواجهة سواء سلبا ام ايجابا

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ و لماذا؟

غير المباشر لان نتائج الكلام المباشر قد تؤدي الى ردود فعل قد تكون غير محبذة أو غير مرغوبة

7- هل بامكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص, المكان, الاشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

عندما يتحدث شخص على امبادئ و على التصرفات غير المرغوب فيها و هو في نفس الوقت يتصرف أو يتعامل بعكس هذه المبادئ فانه من المحرج أن توصل له انطباعك عليه بصورة مباشرة لذلك فان الكلام غير المباشر هو أفضل حل

Questionnaire (A-21)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 46

الجنس: ذكر

الجنسية: ليبي

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

في اعتقادي كلمة الادب كلمة عظيمة لان الادب صفة ملزمة للمسلم لان الادب يزكي النفوس و يهذب الاخلاق و يلين القلوب

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

من وجهة نظري قلة الادب هي عدم احترام الانسان لنفسه و ذاته و أيضا عندما يسمح الانسان لنفسه بالتعدي على حقوق الاخرين

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

الكلام غير المباشر هو الكلام الذي لا يكون حسب المعنى مباشرة و في العادة يكون كلام عام

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

عادة تكون عندما توجه نصيحة أو نقد لشخص لتصرف صدر منه عدة مرات فتحاول أن تنوه بكلام غير مباشر يدور حول الموضوع لتجنب احراجه

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشرفي المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

في اعتقادي في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ و لماذا؟

أفضل الكلام المباشر في معاملاتي لان باعتقادي الكلام المباشر يؤدي الى الوضوح أكثر و ان يكن في بعض الاحيان قاسي

7- هل بامكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص, المكان, الاشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

يوجد صديق لنا يريد ان يتزوج و قد تقد لفتاة و تم القبول من حيث المبدأ و عند قراءة الفاتحة طلب منه بعض التحاليل و تفاجأ ان لديه الهيباثاتيس فرفضت الفتاة الزواج به فأخبروني أصدقائي عما حدث لصديقنا و طلب مني الاتصال به و التخيخ عن مصيبته فحاولت أن أنوه عن الموضوع بطريقة غير مباشرة بضرب الامثلة لعدة أشخاص يتعايشون مع الامراض و حياتهم مستمرة وليست هذه حد الدنيا و كان ذلك دون أن احسسه بأني أعرف عن مرضه و كانت الهدرزة بشكل عام وحسيت ان معنوياته ارتفعت من خلال كلامه و تفاعله مع الحديث و صرح لي في نهاية الهدرزة بأن صار معه كذا و كذا

Questionnaire (A-22)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 43

الجنس: ذكر

الجنسية: ليبي

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

هو حسن الخلق و احترام الغير

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

قلة الادب هو عدم احترام الغير و كذلك عدم مراعاة من هم أكبر سنا و عدم أخذ النصيحة منهم

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

الكلام الغير مباشر الذي يجرح الشخص سواء كان فيه أو لا هذا الكلام لا يخرج الا من شخص جبان و متكبر و صاحب فتنة

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

أهم المواقف عندما يخطئ شخص ما فمن الواجب نصحه و ارشاده الى الصواب من غير احراج أو أذى بطريقة غير مباشرة

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشرفي المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

الكلام الغير مباشر عامة عند الليبيون يكون في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ و لماذا؟

أنا أفضل الكلام المباشر لأنه الانسب في جميع المواقف طذلك لانه يبعدك عن المجاملة و النفاق

7- هل بامكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص, المكان, الاشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

أذكر أحد المواقف عام 1996 عندما ذهبت لأجراءات تعييني في احدى الشركات النفطية و تم انهاء الاجراءات وكنت أحمل بكالوريوس هندسة ميكانيكية و عندماا رأى رئيس القسم أنني أحمل شهادة فخاف على مكانه فما كان منهم الا ابلاغي بطريقة غير مباشرة لما يفضى مكان في الكادر الوظيفي سوف نبعث لك تستلم عملك و للأسف مازلت أنتظر حتى اليوم...

Questionnaire (A-23)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 28

الجنس: أنثى

الجنسية: ليبية

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

التهذيب يتمثل عندي في عدة معاني و أهمها السمو في الاخلاق و قلة المجادلة وفرض الرأي و حب السيطرة و الغاء شخصية الطرف الاخر مهما كان ضعيفا

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

عدم التهذيب من وجهة نظري الشخصية هو الانتقاص من حقوق الاخرين و التعالي و عدم مراعاة شعور الناس و كذلك التدخل المفرط في شؤون الغير

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

هو ما نستخدمه عادة للوصول للاخرين بفكرة معينة أو اعطاء الرأي في موضوع باستخدام قدر كبيرمن التفاصيل التي قد يراها البعض كلام غير مباشر وأحيانا لا تستحق بعض المواضيع مثل هذه المداخل

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

بالنسبة لي استخدمه أحيانا لتجنب الاجابة المباشرة في مواضيع قد تحرجني أو تحرج الطرف الاخرو الكلام غير المباشر يعتمد في تفسيره على ذكاء الشخص الموجه له عادة

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشرفي المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

ارجح المقطع الثاني

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ و لماذا؟

كليبية حسب الظروف و الحالة الا ان ميولي دائما للكلام المباشر كأفضل طريقة للتعبير. "خير الكلام ما قل و دل"

7- هل بامكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص, المكان, الاشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

مرة أنا وأختي كنا مقعمزين في الصالة شوية مرة خوي اللي ساكنة بجبنا خشت علينا و قالت لأختي "اليوم عازمة علي أبلات معاي في المدرسة, تعالي هدى تغدي معانا" طبعا أختي رفضت لأنها شافتها اهانة ليا. ما صح وجهها.

Questionnaire (A-24)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 37

الجنس: ذكر

الجنسية : ليبي

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

حسن الخلق في الكلام و المعاملة الطيبة بصفة عامة

2- عرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

عدم التربية والتعامل مع الاخرين بطريقة سيئة و غير مقبولة

3- عرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

كلام منقول او ملمح به لشخص معين أو مقصود.

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

التلميح أو ارسال رسالة لشخص مقصود

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشرفي المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

على حسب الشخص

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ و لماذا؟

استخدم الكلام المباشر لأنه أوضح و أصدق في المعاملة مع البشر

7- هل بامكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص, المكان, الاشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

الموقف التي تحدث فيه بطريقة غير مباشرة كان في الخطب الجُمعية أثناء أحداث ثورة 17 فبراير فاستعملت اسلوب التورية فيي الخطاب الديني للناس لابين لهم أن الثورة ستنتصر وخاصة في الدعاء وكانوا أفراد الامن جالسين ولم يفهموني هل أنا من المؤيدين أم من المعارضين للثورة .

Questionnaire (A-25)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 30

الجنس: أنثى

الجنسية : ليبية

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

اللباقة في الكلام و زنه قبل التفوه به ومراعاة مشاعر الاخرين عند التفوه بأي موضوع

2- عرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

وضع الكلام بمعنى و بدون معنى و عم الشعور بالخرين أو التدخل في شؤونهم دون استئذان

3- عرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

هو اللف و الدوران حول الموضوع أو الوخز بالابر زي ما نقولوا

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

في بعض الموضيع المحرجة التي لا استطيع ايصالها للطرف الاخر أو عند ايصال معلومة معينة لابنائي فيها نوع من الخجل أو الاستحياء

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشرفي المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ و لماذا؟

الكلام المباشر يكون جارح أحيانا لكن يكون مطلوب خاصة في المعاملة و لكن بعض الاحيان الكلام الغير المباشر يكون كصورة مؤدبة عند ايصال نقد ما أو شئ لا يعجبني لشخص ما

7- هل بامكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص, المكان, الاشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

الامثلة كثيرة مثلا في مرة من المرات أردت اكمال دراستي و عندما تحدثت مع زوجي في هذا الموضوع لم يقل لي لا أو نعم أكتفى بقوله ستكونين النهار كله برا و من بيهتم بالعيال شوفي مرة فلان انفصلوا بسبب القراية حسيت انه كلام غير مباشر بعدم القبول باكمال دراستي لان رسالته وصلتني بطريقة غير مباشرة.

Appendix (B): English Questionnaire

In this section, 25 British informants' (13 females and 12 males) responses to the English questionnaire are presented. These responses start on page 38 and end on page 69.

Questionnaire (B-1)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 49

Sex: Male

Nationality: British

1-Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

Respect, patience and tolerance

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

Opposite of politeness

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

Generally, evasive or vague.

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

Of people I know it happens but depends on the context - anger, embarrassment, insecurity, and so on. it is perhaps used most frequently in extreme situation - but my experience is quite narrow, I'd have thought.

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

No idea.

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

Overall and mostly, direct forms, because I'd know where I stand and it saves time.

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

At work, indirectness takes the form of withholding or obscuring information. A recent example was criticising a colleague without passing on the criticisms to them directly.

Questionnaire (B-2)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 43

Sex: Male

Nationality: British

1-Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

I see it as a question of communicating and behaving in a way which takes account of the needs, sensitivities, and emotional state of 'the other person' (or people) that you are interacting with, in a positive way which is intended to acknowledge their implicit importance as a human being. There are norms – culturally situated – which different groups of people tend to adhere to (or not!), such as holding the door, using words like 'please' and 'thank you'. It's culturally situated – so that British (English, particularly) people in Spain seem to the Spanish to have a quaint way of saying 'thank you' six times at a supermarket checkout. Politeness is a sort of exchange of 'tokens' of communication.

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

It's an active process of consciously or unconsciously deciding not to obey these cultural norms of politeness when you are (or should be) aware of them. It can be done as a 'statement of self' in that it is situated in a sense of one's own self worth, or as a comment on the other person/people, in that it positions the other people as 'worth less' or not worthy of politeness.

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

In all sorts of ways, but I think (from the context) that you are focusing on a way of communicating in which there is an expectation that (a) saying the thing directly is somehow rude, or impolite, and (b) the other person/people will be able (or 'should' be able) to infer

what it is that you mean even if you don't say it directly. Given that English (British English) is so full of idiom and the need to infer pragmatic meaning from something that semantically appears to mean something very different, this (indirectness) is very much a core part of how 'we' communicate.

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

It depends. In normal speech, I think indirectness is used a lot. Amongst friends, or in a supportive, positive context, it's often an aspect of politeness. So you might, if asked 'what do you think of Fred?', say 'he's OK, I suppose', and it's up to the listener to infer whether you mean you like him or you don't – and the interpretation of this can depend on the viewpoint of the listener, so that the statement 'he's OK, I suppose' is designed to allow the listener to choose an interpretation – if they wish – that fits with their own world view. But it can also be used as a tool to be impolite – especially if done with an 'audience'. So, for example, if someone publicly asks a question, you can give an indirect answer that you know the audience will understand in one way – a pragmatic meaning – which is both different from the semantic meaning and different perhaps from the way that the person asking the question might interpret the answer. This can be a sort of 'put-down', in that the audience is aware that you are more intelligent / savvy than the questioner.

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

I think we use directness more in normal speech, in that most of our utterances are fairly straightforward. But I believe that we tend to use indirectness much more than many other languages and cultures. (For example, Indian English tends in my experience to use less indirectness than British English.)

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

It depends on the circumstances. In straightforward situations, I prefer to use directness for simple communications – for example, "could you pass me that knife?", or "I need to just

reach past you". But I think that indirectness is one of the very good cultural aspects of 'our' very rich language and culture, and adds nuance and colour to the ways we communicate.

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

Recently a colleague was upset because her printing to our work printer was being held up by some printing that someone else had sent (this was me!): a large job. Instead of asking something like "does anyone know whose is the large job printing at the moment – I need to interrupt it", she instead said something like "Oh my god, there's a large printing job going through" and carried on going round huffing and puffing for a minute or two and walking round the area with an exaggerated air of distress and impending disaster. She didn't directly ask who was printing, or if anyone could help with her problem. What she was trying to do (unconsciously or consciously) was get someone to feel sorry for her, and possibly help her to sort out the problem, without directly talking to the only two people who could have been responsible for the large print job and asking them if she could interrupt it.

Thank you for your help

Questionnaire (B-3)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 34

Sex: Male

Nationality: British

1-Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

Politeness means complying with standard expectations of respect and recognition of other people's needs, particularly in dealing with strangers.

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

Ignoring other people's needs and acting as though they do not matter

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

Using wordings which avoid explicit judgements or conclusions.

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

Both – indirectness when being polite is normal and everyday. Indirectness when being impolite is often an attempt to hide impoliteness as very often impoliteness is direct.

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

Both, depends on the context.

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

I prefer indirectness but this isn't a strong preference. The less direct wording feels less authoritarian – and for me links to a sense of equality and social justice.

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

Two situations waiting with other people.

In one context sitting waiting to speak to someone at a reception desk where I said "Would you like to go first"

In another context standing to get off a train where I said "Go ahead" – more direct (both shorter and more directive) because a decisions was needed quickly so that other people were not delayed – though that feels rather like an attempt to rationalise this afterwards.

Thank you for your help

Questionnaire (B-4)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 23

Sex: Female

Nationality: British

1-Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

being considerate

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

Being rude. Being inconsiderate

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

Talking around the issue, not getting to the point.

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

Both, depending on the situation

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

people in authority use directness more, lower people use indirectness more

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

For information purposes- direct, for criticism indirect

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

a lady was complaining to a stranger about me + my family, whilst we could hear. If she had a problem about what we were doing she should have spoke to us, not let us know by speaking with in ear shot of us.

Questionnaire (B-5)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 21

Sex: Male

Nationality:

1-Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

Someone who says please or thank you

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

Someone who is rude or doesn't say please or thank you

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

Someone who skirts around the main point they want to make

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

polite

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

Indirectness

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

indirect, as sometimes think people who are direct can come across rude sometimes

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

When I was weighing someone and needed to say in a nice way they need to lose weight but didn't want to offend them, so I got my point across in around-about way.

Questionnaire (B-6)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 38

Sex: Female

Nationality: British

1-Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

Showing concern for the other person's feelings, making sure the interaction goes smoothly without conflict.

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

A selfish attitude. When someone doesn't care about the person they're interacting with as long as they get what they want

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?
Subtleness

4- Do you think British people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

Polite.

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

I live in France and am often taken aback at how direct (and often "impolite") French people can be so I suppose the English must be more indirect and "polite" compared to the French.

6- Do you, as an English person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

Again it depends on the context. I'd say I use more direct forms with my family and close friends and indirect with people at work or in shops etc. It also depends on the person I'm talking to – I have some colleagues who I have to be indirect with and others who I can just ask things directly. So I suppose direct forms are more natural for me.

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

I was sitting in a café (in France) the other day and a grandfather trying to get past with his grandchild in a pram said "Can't you move your chair?" in what I thought was an aggressive way (I had my back to him so hadn't seen him). I replied sarcastically "yes of course, seeing as you asked so nicely!". He sat down near us and a few minutes later our children / grandchildren were playing together and he was smiling at us and being friendly. I think he didn't think that he had been impolite so for him there was no problem and perhaps he hadn't understood my British sarcasm so wasn't angry at me.

Questionnaire (B-7)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 45

Sex: Male

Nationality: British

1-Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

Being civil and considerate (as understood through convention) to others, especially in speech, but also in action (queuing in an orderly fashion in the UK, for example)

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

The opposite of the above (breaking the conventions of accepted speech - not saying "please" and "thank you" in shops; pushing in to a queue)

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

Responding to a question through circumlocution; avoiding saying explicitly what can be implied - either to avoid hurting the feelings of the other; or to avoid having to take sides or adopt a position.

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

Hmmm... not sure. But, I think indirectness is typically a way of trying to be polite rather than rude (indeed, directness itself may be deemed rude, perhaps)

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

My expereicne is that indirectness is probably more common.

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

It depends, but I'm probably more given to indirect address. The reason would be that directness can be seen as aggressive and rude (by me as much as by any implied interlocutor)

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

That's a surprisingly direct request, given the topic! A classic example is when I know someone has had a haircut, and I am not altogether sure it is a good one, I would likely commend the colour and avoid discussion the style. Although, that might be outright avoidance as opposed to indirectness.

Thank you for your help

Questionnaire (B-8)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 47

Sex: Male

Nationality: British

1-Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

Using linguistic methods to align behaviours to meet expectations that those behaviours are evaluated as appropriate

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

Intentional or interpreted as face threat/harm/attack

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

Any speech act whose function isn't that of the formats expectations of the syntax

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

Polite – yes

Impolite - often

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

Indirectness

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

I don't know what I prefer – it depends on who is talking to me.

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

I was trying to get my admin to order me a filofax diary and planner. Admin sent the request to line manager. Line manager sent me an e-mail: 'Sorry to be mean Andrew, but could you buy your own filofax and planner?' I replied 'I'm guessing that's a non-epistemic modal'.

Questionnaire (B-9)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 30

Sex: Female

Nationality: British

1-Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

Being considerate and kind

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

Being rude + abrupt

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

Not being direct in approaching something

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

polite

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

I don't know

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

It depends on the situation

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

When my mother asks me to 'put the kettle on' she really means 'make me a cup of tea'!

Thank you for your help

Questionnaire (B-10)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 27

Sex: Female

Nationality: British

1-Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

Socially appropriate behaviour

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

Socially inappropriate behaviour

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

Not saying what you mean

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

polite

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

Indirectness

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

I don't really know. Honesty is a good thing

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you,

'Do you want a biscuit?' Directness

'There are the biscuits'. Indirectness.

Thank you for your help

Questionnaire (B-11)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 57

Sex: Female

Nationality: British

1-Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

Being careful to show courtesy and respect to others – considering the effect of your behaviour and attitudes on people

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

Being rude discourteous, disrespectful, inconsiderate.

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

Being evasive.

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

Both

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

Indirctness

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

In general I prefer more direct forms of communication, but with courtesy and respect shown on both sides.

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

Sorry, can't think of an example right now. Perhaps the people I deal with are generally direct in the way we speak to each other

Questionnaire (B-12)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 50

Sex: Female

Nationality: British

1-Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

Being pleasant and courteous

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

The opposite of politeness sharp with replays.

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

When people skirt around what they are trying to say

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

Both

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

Directness

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

direct, because you know where you stand with someone

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

Trying to get a quote for home repairs builders are not able to give you a time or date when they can come + and give quote. Saying things like 'um' not sure when I can come, I will give you a call when I check my diary. Then no call comes.

Thank you for your help

Questionnaire (B-13)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 26

Sex: Female

Nationality: British

1-Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

Being considerate to other people, having respect to everyone, saying please and thank you.

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

General rudeness.

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

Not saying exactly what you mean straight away.

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

Usually when they trying to say something that may be misconstrued as impolite, but they wish to sound polite.

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

I think a mixture of both – generally I think they are more indirect

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

Direct because you know where you stand with people and it's possible to say exactly what you mean without being rude.

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

When I lived in Singapore for two years, some of my lifelong friends didn't keep in touch very often, which upset me. I spoke to one of my friends about this after a while, and she is good friends with one of the girls who behaved like this. When I mentioned this girl's

behaviour to my other friend, she defended her saying 'I think when you both speak she doesn't want to feel like you are angry at her, she just wants to have a nice chat'. What my fiend was indirectly telling me was this girl had obviously mentioned not contacting me and that she knew I would be annoyed and wanted to talk to me without me confronting her about it – probably because she felt guilty

Thank you for your help

Questionnaire (B-14)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 45

Sex: Female

Nationality: British

1-Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

Being respectful, kind.

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

Being rude, short, not listening, not responding appropriately

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

Avoiding eye contact.

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

Yes, instead of being rude, English people will avoid the situation.

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

Indirectness (to avoid being rude)

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

I prefer receiving direct, but don't always like to be direct if it means I will be mean/ rude.

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

Does my bum look fat in this?

No, it complements your curves!

Thank you for your help

Questionnaire (B-15)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 32

Sex: Female

Nationality: British

1-Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

Treating people with respect

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

Communicating in a way that disrespects people

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

Communicating in a way that allows ambiguity

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

Yes, they are often being polite.

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

Indirectness more.

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

both direct when does in non-judgemental way, indirect, when does to save face

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

How interesting? meaning anything from the literal meaning to polite boredom.

Thank you for your help

Questionnaire (B-16)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 52

Sex: Female

Nationality: British

1-Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

Different meanings in different contexts, e.g. could mean acknowledging and valuing other people or it could mean a politeness code in a tokenistic way.

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

Causing offence or upset, or, again some contexts might consider the use of particular impolite when in fact the intention is not to cause offence.

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

When meaning is derived as an implicature rather than (only) from the proposition expressed in an utterance. Also when communication is covert.

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

Yes, sometimes.

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

I don't know many other cultures in enough depth. However, British people tend to be indirect in requesting things compared to Spanish people, but can also be direct to speakers in a way that would be considered rude by Spanish people.

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

I think compared with the average British person I'm slightly irritated sometimes by tokenistic politeness and the indirect forms associated with it.

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

I once had a friend tell me about a situation a friend of hers was in and what she should do about it. It was a few days later when I realised she was really talking about me. very annoying!

Thank you for your help

Questionnaire (B-17)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 17

Sex: Female

Nationality: British

1-Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

To have good manners

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

Someone who is rude

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

When someone is not straightforward in their request or comment.

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

Impolite

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

Indirectness– to avoid unpleasantness or confrontation

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

Directness as it avoids confusion.

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

When someone was hinting that they wanted to share my food by saying 'that looks nice' repeatedly.

Thank you for your help

Questionnaire (B-18)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 42

Sex: Female Male x

Nationality: British

1-Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

treating somebody with courtesy and respect

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

rudeness

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

A way of communicating in which there is an expectation that saying the thing directly is somehow rude or impolite.

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

mostly polite.

5- Do you think English people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

mostly indirect

6- Do you, as an English person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

Prefer people to be polite but to get to the point

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

My PhD supervisor to me, many years ago, commenting on a chapter of my thesis: "Very good, Sam, very good. For a moment, indeed, I actually believed it." [This was indirectness, possibly touched with sarcasm].

Thank you for your help

Questionnaire (B-19)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 25

Sex: Male

Nationality: British

1-Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

Being kind to someone else.

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

Being rude.

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

Not addressing the person formally

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

Impolite

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

Both

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

Indirect, easier

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

When a person walks off after an argument giving direct looks.

Thank you for your help

Questionnaire (B-20)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 45

Sex: Female

Nationality: British

1-Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

Being sociable to people you don't always know.

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

Not saying thank you or please to people

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

Speaking to someone and not looking at them while you speak

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

Impolite

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

Directness more

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

Directness, I will speak to anyone to be friendly

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

Mostly in a shop if someone seems too busy can't be bothered to answer you fully.

Thank you for your help

Questionnaire (B-21)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 17

Sex: Male

Nationality: British

1-Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

Being kind and friendly to others.

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

Being mean. Others say you have offended them

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

When you don't speak your mind.

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

Polite, but it is annoying as not truthful.

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

Old people use indirectness more.

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

Direct. It's speaking truthfully. What you really feel

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

My mum's always saying 'your room is untidy' and she means 'tidy it up'. Really annoying.

Thank you for your help

Questionnaire (B-22)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age:35

Sex: Female

Nationality: British

1-Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

Treating others with courtesy and respect

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

Not treating others with courtesy and respect

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

Avoiding unpleasant truths by hinting/ evading rather than going straight to the point.

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

It would depend on context, but generally when being polite.

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

British people are generally less direct than Germans/ Israelis for example, but more direct than Japanese/ Chinese pears (as a generalisation).

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

Would depend on context – would prefer full truth on medical diagnoses but perhaps delivered kindly with a bit of social warning.

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

I'm sorry, this is a bit vague so hard to think of anything – although this could be an example of indirectness.

Thank you for your help

Questionnaire (B-23)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age:50

Sex: Male

Nationality: British

1-Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

Respect

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

Not respecting

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

Evasion

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

Both

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

Indirectness

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

Direct, prefer it

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

My partner visited her father in prison. He made her cry. I was trying to support her. She asked me whether her father was bad. I was careful/ indirect in my response.

Thank you for your help

Questionnaire (B-24)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 38

Sex: Male

Nationality: British

1-Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

Paying attention to needs of others, being nice!

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

Not being nice.

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

Going round the house

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

When being impolite

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

Indirectness

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

Depending on the purpose of exchange.

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

Someone said of my thesis 'well, it's not ill conceived!'

Thank you for your help

Questionnaire (B-25)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age:43

Sex: Male

Nationality: British

1-Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

Being appropriately o the situation

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

Implying something without going right out and saying it

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

Not saying what you mean

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

largely when they are being polite – but you can be very mean by speaking indirectly.

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

They use indirectness as a way of being polite more than some other cultures.

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

That would depend on the situation.

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

I was concerned about whether a colleague really understood what to do as he had just taken on something so I asked him how he was getting on - an indirect method of seeing if he understood the job.

Thank you for your help

Arabic Focus Group Discussion

For the presentation of the data in this study, I used a simplified transcription scheme for improved readability. Transcription conventions are as follows: underlined words indicate emphatic stress; [indicates overlap; ↑indicates a rising intonation; ↓indicates a falling intonation; = indicates the continuity of utterances when someone overlaps or interrupts; (.) very brief pause; (x s) pauses of stated length in seconds; (( )) descriptive symbols that are difficult to describe; ((laughter)) indicates laughter; : indicates the extensions of the sound or syllable.

Since I am transcribing the Libyan Arabic language, which is different from English in terms of script and word order, I followed four steps model of transcription suggested by Mills:

Step 1: I represent Libyan Arabic in its own script.

Step 2: I translate this into a fair equivalent in English using IPA Arabic symbols

.Step 3: I give a literal word by word translation under each word.

Step 4: I give a functional equivalent in English.

Due to the diglossic nature of Libyan Arabic, I encountered some problems in transcribing data. Some of these problems include:

1: Some words used in everyday Libyan Arabic (such as "راه" 'rah'), do not have an equivalent even in standard Arabic which makes translating them into English very difficult. In order to overcome such a problem, I tried to use the nearest meaning to these words and used the brackets = [] to clarify the meaning of such words.

2: Some letters in Libyan Arabic are not pronounced as in Standard Arabic. For example, the letter "ق" 'qaf' is pronounced as /g/ by all Libyan people. However, while letters such as "ث" /θ/ as in 'thin' and "ذ" /ð/ as in 'then' are pronounced as they are in the east part of Libya, they are pronounced differently in the west part; as 't' is used for 'θ' and 'd' is used for 'ð'. Since my informants were from different parts of Libya, I transcribed the letters as they were pronounced by them, except in the case of "ق" where I used 'q' rather than 'g' to follow the transliteration of Arabic sounds that I provided at the beginning of this research.

3: Due to the religious dominance in Libyan society, the name of 'God' is frequently used by Libyans. In such cases, I write what the participants literally said and put the actual meaning between brackets { } to clarify the intended meaning. For example, "والله" 'by God' is frequently used to mean 'really' in English rather than actually swearing to God. However, I also used the brackets { } to clarify some sentences which cannot be understood in English without adding some words that were not uttered by the participants.

Appendix (C): Arabic Focus Group Discussion 'Female Group'

As I mentioned in Chapter 5, for cultural reasons, it was difficult for me to include Arab males and females in the same discussion. Therefore, a separate focus group was conducted for each group. Here, I present the focus group discussion which I conducted for the Arab female group. Seven participants took part in the discussion. The participants in the study came from different parts of Libya, and their residence in the UK ranged from 10 days to 2 years. I recorded a 59:31 minute interaction and the participants who took part in my discussion included one relative, friends, and friends of friends, most of whom were well-educated. Their ages range from 25 to 59 years old. I labelled the individuals who were presented in the discussion as follows: H: 25 years old; A: 30 years old; S: 34; M: 33 years old; F: 42 years old; N: 45 years old; R: 59 years old; and Zainab: myself. The transcription of this discussion starts on page 73 and ends on page 129.

	شن	و	المباشر	غير	و	المباشر	الكلام	هو	شن	ز:
	ʃin	wa	almuba:ʃer	ɣajr	wa	muba:ʃer	alkali:m	hu:a	ʃin	
	what	and	the direct	not	and	the direct	the speech	it	what	
1-Z	What is direct and indirect speech and what is									

	بيناتهم	الفرق	ز:
	bainathum	alfarq	
	them between	the difference	
2-Z	the difference between them?		

1.Defining directness

العادية	الهدرزة	نقولوا	ما	زي	اا	ال	يعني	المباش::ر	الكلام (2)	ف:
ʔaʕa:di:a	ʔalhadirza	nqwlu:	ma	zaj	aa	ʔal	jaʕnj	ʔalmuba:ʃer	ʔalkala:m	
the normal	talking	say wa	like	as	aa	the	the mean	the direct	the speech	
3- F	(2) Direct spee::ch means the aa like, we can say colloquial speech									

غير	وراه (.)	من	تقصد	ما	اا	يعني	ما	العادي (.)	الكلام	ف:
						]			
ɣair	wara:h	min	matuqsud	ma	aa	jaʕnj	ma	ʔalʕa:dj	ʔalkala:m	
not	it behind	from	not mean you	not	aa	mean	not	the normal	the speech	
4- F	informal speech (.) I mean aa I just (.) mean									
				[						

]
(أصوات في الخلفية)
[
((voices in the background))

الكلام	في	المعنى	الكلام (1)	يعني (.)	بالزبط	قلته	اللي	اللي	ف:
ʔalkala:m	fj	ʔalmaʕnà	ʔalkala:m	jaʕnj	bizzabitˁ	qultah	ʔillj	ʔillj	
the speech	in	the meaning	the speech	mean	exactly	it said I	that	that	
5- F	exactly what I said, I mean (.) the speech (1) the meaning of speech								

مش	يعني	متاعه (.)	المعنى	الحديث (1)	فهمتيني (.)	صار↓ (.)	اا	اللي	ف:
]								
miʃ	jaʕnj	mta:ʕah	ʔalmaʕnà	ʔalhadi:θ	fhamti:nj	sˁa:r	aa	ʔillj	
not	mean	it's	the meaning	the speech	understood me	happened	aa	that	
6- F	I uttered ↓ (.) OK. (.) the speech (1) its meaning (.) I mean is not								
						[			

واضح	ح:
wadˁih	
clear	
7- H	Is clear

	ادور	باش	يعني	أو	تفكير	ما يبيش	ا (.)	ماهوش	ف: واضح
	ʔiddawir	ba:ʃ	jaʕnj	ʔaw	tafki:r	majebbi:ʃ	aa	ma:hu:ʃ	wadˁiħ
	look for you	to	mean	or	thinking	not want it no	aa	not it no	clear
8- F	It's clear and it's not aa (.) it does not need to think about or, I mean, to look for								

2. Defining indirectness

	نتوقع	المباشر	غير	الكلام	بس (.) كلام	عادي	متاعه	ف: المعنى
	nitwaqqaʕ	ʔalmuba:ʃer	ɤair	ʔalkala:m	bas kala:m	ʕa:dj	mta:ʕah	ʔalmaʕnà
	expect I	the direct	not	the speech	but speech	normal	its	the meaning
9- F	its meaning, it is normal speech (.) but indirect speech, I assume,							

	السطور	بين	مخبىء	متاعه	المعنى (1)	اللي	الكلام	يكون	ف: انه
	ʔalsutˁu:r	bajn	muχaba?	mta:ʕah	ʔalmaʕnà	ʔillj	ʔalkala:m	jaku:n	ʔinnah
	lines	between	hidden it	its	the meaning	that	the speech	be	it that
10- F	It is the kind of speech whereby (1) its meaning is hidden behind words								

	اخر	شيء	بيه	س: تقصد
	ʔa:χar	ʃajʔ	bi:h	tuqsˁud
	another	thing	it with	mean you
11- S	You use it to mean something else			

	انت	اللي	المعنى	نفس	هو	مش	يعني	كلام	تقصد (.)	ف: أو
	ʔinta	ʔillj	ʔalmaʕnà	nafis	hu:a	miʃ	jaʕnj	kala:m	tuqsˁud	ʔaw
	you	that	the meaning	same	it	not	mean	speech	mean you	or
12- F	Or you mean (.) another meaning other than the one you									

	باش	المعنى	على	ادور	أو::::	تبحث (.)	يعني	لازم	قلته (.) ف:
	ba:ʃ	ʔalmaʕnà	ʕalà	ʔiddwir	ʔaw	tabħaθ	jaʕnj	la:zim	qultah
	to	the meaning	on	look for you	or	look for you	mean	should it	it said you
13- F	said (.) you have to look for (.) o:::r find the meaning to								

3. Indirectness as 'Making Meanings[1]'

	مباشر	الغير	الكلام	نتوقع	ووو (.) و		ف: تفهمه
	ʔalmuba:ʃer	alɣajr	alkali:m	netwaqqaʕ	wa	www	tafahmah
	the direct	the not	the speech	expect I	and	aaa	it understand you
14- F	to understand it and aaa (.) and I think indirect speech						

	المعاني	ضرب (.) نقولوا:	زي ما	يعني	الحاجات	في	يستخدم	ف:
	almʕɑ:nj	dˁrb	nqwlu:	zajma	jʕnj	ʔilħa:ʒa:t	fj	justχdam
	meanings	beating	say we	as	mean	the things	in	used

[1] 'Making meanings' is an expression used by Libyan people to refer to using hints to offend others or send impolite messages.

15-F:	is used for things like (.) 'making meanings' [

				] ن: الليبيين (غير واضح) ضرب المعاني
				] ʔallibjji:n fdˁrb almʕɑ:nj
				Libyans beating the meanings
16- N:	[Libyan people ((not clear)) 'making meanings' [			

						] س: عندي ضرب المعاني الكلام غير المباشر
						] ʕindj dˁrb almʕɑ:nj alkali:m ɣajr almuba:ʃer
						have I making the meanings the speech not the direct
17- S	[I see indirect speech as 'making meanings' [					

								] ((ضجة في الخلفية))
[((Noise in the background))								

ز:	انت	توا	الكلام	غير	المباشر	يعني	ضرب	المعاني
	ʔinti	tawa	alkala:m	ɣair	almuba:ʃer	jʕnj	dˁrb	almʕɑ:nj
	you?	now	the speech	not	the direct	mean	beating	the meanings
18-Z	For you, indirect speech means 'making meanings'							

س:	أنا	عندي	ضرب	المعاني	ايه	مرات	انت	واحدة	ت	تحكي
	ʔana	ʕindj	dˁrb	almʕɑ:nj	ʔajh	marrat	ʔinti	waħdat	t	taħkj
	I	have I	beating	the meanings	yes	sometimes	you	someone	t	talks she
19-S	Yes I see it like that because sometimes someone beside you starts									

س:	بحداك	تبدا	تقول	في	كلام	متع	معاني	هي	تقصد	فيه
	baħdak	tabda	tqu:l	fj	kla:m	mtaʕ	mʕɑ:nj	hi:a	tuqsˁd	fi:h
	you besides	start she	say she	of	speech	of	meanings	she	mean	in it
20- S	speaking and 'makes meaning' and she hints at									

				س: مثلا عليك انت (0.5)=
				] maθalan ʕlajk ʔinti
				for example you about you
21- S:	you by her speech (0.5)= [			

	] ز: امم mm mm
22- Z	[Emm [

4. Using indirectness

							] س:= ما تبيش
	ما تبيش	أو	مثلا	أو	يعني	تجرحك	ما تبيش
	matibbi:sh	ʔaw	maθalan	ʔaw	ʔjʕnj	taʒerħek	matibbi:sh
	not want she no	or	for example	or	mean	you hurt she	not want she
23- S	[= She does not want to hurt you I mean or for example or						

	تقوله	هكي (0.7)	و	هكي	انت	وجهك	في	انت	تقولك :س
	tqu:lah	hikki	wa	hikki	ʔinti	waʒhik	fj	ʔinti	tqu:llik
	it say she	like that	and	like that	you	face your	in	you	you to say she
24- S	she does not want to say directly you are like this or like that (0.7) she says it								

	الكلام	أما	بيه	نقصد	هكي	فهمتي؟	يعني	ااا	طبعا	س: و
	alkala:m	ʔamma	bi:h	nuqsˁud	hikki	fhamtj	jʕnj	aaa	tˁabʕan	wa
	the speech	but	it of	mean	like that	you understand	mean	aaa	of course	and
25-S	and of course errr I mean, understand? this is how I see it, while in 'direct speech'									

	يعني (0.5)	وجهه	في	تقوليهوله	لحد	تجي	المباشر :س
	jaʕnj	waʒhah	fj	tqu:ljhu:lah	liħad	tʒj	almuba:ʃer
	mean	his face	in	him to it say you	someone to	come you	the direct
26- S:	you say it directly to their face I mean (0.5)						

	((غير واضح))]
27- S	((not clear)) [

	ح: صراحة sˁaraħa frank
28- H	[Frank

	ما دام	انه	لو	معناها	نشوف	هني	ان	ان	معناها :ز
	madama	ʔinna	law	maʕnaha	nʃu:f	hnai	ʔinna	ʔinna	maʕnaha
	when	that	if	it mean	see I	here	that	that	it mean
29- Z	It means if if here I can guess it means								

		كويس (1)	هو	تجرحك	ما تبيش	ز:
		kwaji:s	hu:a	taʒerħek	matibbi:sh	
		good	it	you hurt she	not want she no	
30- Z	If she does not want to hurt you it means it is good? (1)					

5. Indirectness may cause offence

وجعاتك	هديكا	اللحضة	في	انت	لكن	هي	لكن	هي	كويس	هو	س:
wiʒʕatik	hadika	allaħdʕa	fj	ʔinti	lakin	hi:a	lakin	hi:a	kwaji:s	hu:a	
you offended	that	moment	in	you	but	it	but	it	good	it	
31-S	It is good it but it but you at that moment might feel upset										

		جرحاتك	مرات	س: و
		]		
		ʒerħatik	marrat	wa
		you hurt it	sometimes	and
32- S	or even deeply hurt			

						]	
		هي...	تجرحك	ما تبيش	مش	هي	معناها ز:
			]				
		hi:a	taʒerħek	matibbi:sh	mish	hi:a	mʕnaha
		she	you hurt she	not want she no	not	she	it mean
33- Z	[So this does not mean she does not want to hurt you, she… [						

6. Softening meanings and fear confrontation

		]	
		المعنى	تخفيف م:
		almʕná	taχfi:f
		the meaning	minimizing
34-M:	[Softening the meaning		

		المواجهة	من	الخوف ح:
		almwaʒaha	min	alχawf
		the confrontation	of	the fear
35- H	Fear confrontation			

		ايه	تكون	يمكن ز:
		]		
		ʔaih	jumken	taku:n
		yes	be	may
36- Z	Maybe, yes [			

	انت	لو	حتى	مثلا	أو	تواجهك	ما تبيش	س:
	ʔinti	law	ħatta	maθalan	ʔaw	twaʒhik	matibbi:sh	
	you	if	even	f or example	or	you confront she	not want she no	
37- S	[Maybe she does not want to confront you or for example even if you							

عليك	نقصدش	ما	أنا	لا	تقولك	حاجة	قلتي	س: مثلا
ʕlaik	nuqsˁudeʃ	ma	ʔana	la	tqu:lik	ħaʒa	qultj	maθalan
you about	not mean I	no	I	no	you say she	something	said you	for example
38- S	said, for example, something {defended yourself}, she would say no I don't mean							
39-	you,							

	تاني	حد	نقصد	أنا	انت	س :
	]					
	tani	ħad	nuqsˁud	ʔana	ʔinti	
	another	one	mean I	I	you	
40- S	I mean someone else {by my speech}					
	[					

	المعنى	و	القطوس	في	الضرب	يقولك	متاعنا	المتل	ح: زي
	almʕná	wa	alqatʕu:s	fj	adʕarb	jaqu:lik	mtaʕna	almatal	zai
	the meaning	and	the cat	on	the hitting	you to say it	our	the proverb	like
41-H	As the proverb says, the cat is beaten								

	العروس	على
	ʔalʕaru:s	ʕala
	the bride	about
42- H	and the bride is meant	

((ضحك))
((Laughter))

	ووو	كلمات	في	تلوحلك	تبدا (0.5)	ح:
	]					
	www	kalma:t	fj	tlawaħlik	tabda	
	aaa	words	in	you throw she	start she	
43- H	(0.5) Words are thrown towards you and aaa					
	[					

7. Indirectness is more common among women

	يصير	هلبة	النسائي (0.8)	المجتمع	في	حني	عندنا	هدا	س:
		]							
	jasˁi:r	halba	annisaʔj	almuʒtamaʕ	fi	ħnai	ʕindna	hada	

	happen very much the women the society in we us have this
44- S	[This is popular especially among women (0.8) it frequently happens [

] ((ضجة في الخلفية غير واضح))]
[((Noise in the background, not clear)) [

] ف: ايه في مجتمعنا صح ʔaih fj mujtamaʕna saħ yes in society our right
[45- F Yes, in our society, right

3. Interpreting hidden messages of indirect speech

ح: (2) أنا عندي الكلام المباشر ماليشي الا معنى واحد =] ʔana ʕendj alkalam almuba:ʃer maljʃʃj ʔilla maʕná waħid I have I the speech the direct have no only meaning one
46- H I think direct speech has only one meaning [

] س: بالزبط bizzabitˁ exactly
[47- S Exactly

ح: لكن الغير مباشر تحسي كل واحد يؤوله لكلام تاني (0.7) lakin alɣair muba:ʃer thissj kul waħid jʔau:lah liklam tanj but the not direct feel you every one interpret speech to another
48- H but people interpret indirect speech in different ways (0.7)

ح: أنا نفهمه بوجهة نضري (.) و واحدة تانية تفهمه ʔana nafahmah biwiʒhat nadˁarj wa waħdat tanjat tafhamah I it understand I view with my point and one another she understand it
49- H I understand it in a way (.) and someone else understands it

ح: بوجهة نضر تانية مختلفة عليا biwiʒhat nadˁar tanjat muχtalifat ʕalaja view with point another different me on
50- H in another way which might be different from mine

	نوصلوا	كيف	باهي (2)	للمعنى	نوصلوا	كيف	باهي (.)	ز:
	]							
	nu:lu:	ki:f	bahj	lilmaʕná	nu:lu:	ki:f	bahj	
	reach we	how	ok	the meaning to	reach we	how	ok	
51- Z	(.) But how can we interpret the intended meaning (2) how can we interpret…							
	[							

	للوصول	تفكيره	و	واحد	كل	قتلك	ما	كيف]	ح:
	lilwsʕu:l	tafki:rah	wa	waħid	kul	qutlik	ma	ki:f	
	reach to	his thinking	and	one	every	you to said I	what	how	
	[								
52- H	As I said to you, everyone has a different way to interpret								

	متاعه	للمعنى	ح:
	mtaʕɑ	lilmaʕná	
	its	meaning the to	
53- H	its meaning		

After 2:18 minutes

9. The role of interactants' relationship in using direct and indirect forms

	مثلا	امية	جيبيلي	قالتلي	و	أختي	جتني	لو	س:
	maθalan	immaja	ʒjbjlj	qalitlj	wa	ʔuχtj	ʒitnj	law	
	for example	water	me to bring	me to said she	and	my sister	me came	if	
54-S	If my sister said to me bring me water for example								

	منها	ما نزعلش	الامر	بصيغة	قالتهالي	لو	حتى	س:
	minha	manizʒilʃ	ʔalʔamr	bisʕiɣat	qalithalj	law	ħatta	
	her of	not upset I no	the order	form with	me to it said she	if	even	
55- S	even if she uses an order form I will not get upset with her							

	أختي =	لأنها	س:
	]		
	ʔuχtj	liʔanha	
	my sister	she because	
56- S	because she is my sister		
	[		

		عادي	ايه]	ف:
			]	
		ʕa:dj	ʔaih	
		normal	yes	
	[			
57-F	Yes, that is OK.			

س: هده ديمة أنا و اياها مع بعضنا في الحوش (.) لو	
hadih di:ma ʔana wa ʔiha maʕa bʕdʕna fj alħu:ʃ law	
this always I and her with together in home the if	
58-S	This is me and her with each other always at home (.) but if, for example,

س: مثلا حد تاني ما نعرفاش أو مثلا يعني مش يعني مم=	
]	
maθalan had tanj manaʕrfaʃ ʔaw maθalan jaʕnj miʃ jaʕnj mm	
for example someone else not know I no or for example mean not mean mm	
59- S	it was someone who I don't know very well or for example I mean not, I mean errr=
	[

	]
ح: مش مقرب زي أختي	
]	
miʃ muqarrab zai ʔuχtj	
not close like my sister	
60- H	[Not close like my sister [

	]
س: = صلة القرابة بيناتنا مش قوية (.) يستحسن إنها تكون بأدب	
sʕilat alaraba bainatna miʃ qawi:a justaħsan ʔinnha tku:n biʔadab	
relation closeness us between not strong better it be it politeness with	
61- S	[= We are not very close, it should be said politely

س: مثلا الله يرحم والديك لو سمحتي من فضلك والا	
maθalan Allah yarħam waldai:k law samaħtj min fadʕlik walla	
for example God bless your parents if allow you of your favour or	
62-S 63	for example: may God bless your parents, if you allow = [please (formal)] do a favour = [please (formal)] or

	س: معليشي سامحيني
	]
	maʕlaiʃj samħjnj
	me excuse me forgive
64- S	excuse me (informal), forgive me = [please (informal)]
	[

	]
ز: بعدها؟ (1.3)	
baʕdha	
it after	
65-Z	[And then? (1.2)

	س: بعدها أكيدة أنا] baʕdha ʔaki:da ʔana it after sure I
66- S	And then I would say [

	] ز: جيبيلي اميه ʒjbjlj immaja me to bring water
67- Z	[Bring me water

	س: ايه بعدين] ʔaih baʕdain yes later
68- S	Yes later [

	] ز: هو هدا المغزى يعني هو الامر=] hu:a hada almaɣz jaʕnj hu:a ʔalʔamr it this the meaning mean it the order
69- Z	[That is what I mean it is an order [

	] أ: عندنا حني] ʕindna ħnai us have we
70-A	[we have this

	ز : = موجودة (.) تستعملي ألفاظ أو ما تستعمليش mawʒu:da tistaʕimlj alfaðˤ ʔaw matistaʕimli:ʃ exist it use you expressions or not use you no
71- Z	It happens (.) whether you use {polite} expressions or not

	أ: ايه ʔaih Yes
72- A	Yes

After 7:46 minutes

10. Using indirectness for criticism

	عندنا	الليبي	مجتمعنا	في	نحن	لينا	بالنسبة	م:
	ʕindna	ʔalli:bj	muʒtamaʕna	fj	naħna	li:na	binnisba	
	have we	the Libyan	our society	in	we	us to	regard with	
73- M	For us as Libyans							

	العادي (0.5)	الكلام	في	العادية .	الاجتماعات	في	المباشر	الكلام	م:
	alʕa:dj	alkala:m	fj	alʕadi:a	alʔiʒtimaʕa:t	fj	almuba:ʃer	alkala:m	
	the normal	the speech	in	the normal	the gatherings	in	the direct	the speech	
74- M	we use direct speech in informal gatherings in informal speech (0.5)								

		ننتقد	نبي	لما	مباشر	الغير	م:
		]					
		nuntaqid	nibbj	lamma	muba:ʃer	ʔalɣair	
		criticize we	want we	when	direct	the not	
75- M	indirect speech is used when I want to criticize {someone}						
	[						

		]
		أ: أيوه
		]
		ʔaiwah
		Yes
76- A	[Yes [	

		] .
		ن: امم صح
		]
		Saħ emm
		Right emm
77- N	[emm right	

10.1. An example using indirectness for criticism

	كنت	عندنا	كانت	زمان	نتذكر	(.) الليبيين	نحن	هكي	م:
	kunt	ʕindna	kanit	zman	nataðakkar	alljbji:n	naħna	hikkj	
	was I	have we	was	ages ago	remember I	the Libyans	we	like that	
78- M	That is how indirectness is used by Libyans (.) I remember there was… when I was								

	ندرس	أنا	كنت	(0.5) البيضا	في	ليبيا	في	(0.5) مدرسة	في	ندرس	أنا	م:
	ndarris	ʔana	kunt	albaidʕa	fj	li:bya	fj	madirsa	fj	ndarris	ʔana	
	teach I	I	was I	Albaida	in	Libya	in	school	in	teach I	I	
79- M	teaching at a school (0.5) in Libya in Albaida {Libyan city} (0.5) I was teaching											

م:	في	مدرسة	مديرتها	فيه	واحدة	من	المدرسات	دبشها
	fj	madrasa	mudi:ritha	fi:h	waħda	min	almudarrisat	dbaʃha
	in	school	headmaster its	from	one	of	the teachers	her clothes
80- M	at a school whose the {female} head teacher didn't like one of the {female} teacher's							

م:	مش	عاجبها (0.7)	نحن	كنا	نلبسوا	في (0.6)	نلبسوا	طويل	نلبسوا	في
	miʃ	ʕaʒibha	naħna	kunna	nalbsw	fj	nalbsw	tˁwi:l	nalbsu:	fj
	not	it like she	we	were we	wear we	in	wear we	long	wear we	in
81- M	clothes (0.7) we used to wear (0.6) we used to wear modest clothes									

م:	جاكات	هكي	طوال (0.5)	فيه	واحدة	من	المدرسات (0.7)	الملابس	متاعها
	ʒakkat	hikkj	tˁw:al	fi:h	waħda	min	ʔalmudarisat	ʔalmalabis	mtaʕha
	jackets	like	long	in it	one	of	the teachers	the clothes	her
82- M	like long jackets (0.5) one of the {female} teachers' clothes (0.7) were not the type								

م:	مش	عاجبة	مش	على	مزاج	المديرة (1)	جت	المديرة
	miʃ	ʕaʒba	miʃ	ʕla	mazaʒ	ʔalmudi:ra	ʒat	almudi:ra
	not	like	not	on	mood	the headmaster	came she	the headmaster
83- M	of clothes the head teacher likes (1) one day the head teacher said								

م:	أهلا	أبلة	(ف)	كيف	حالك	شن	أخبارك	قالتلها	والله	اليوم
	ʔahlan	ʔabla	F	ki:f	ħalik	ʃin	aχbarik	qalitilha	wallahi	aljawm
	hello	miss	F	how	your health	what	your news	her to said she	God by	today
84- M	'Hello miss (F) how are you how is it going', and then she said to her, 'today									

م:	في	طابور	الصباح	ماعرفتكش (1.3)	نحسابك	واحدة	من
	fj	tˁ:abu:r	alsˁabaħ	maʕaraftikiʃ	naħsabik	waħda	min
	in	queue	the morning	not you know I no	you thought I	one	of
85- M	in the morning assembly I didn't recognize you among other high school's						

م:	البنات	متاع	الثانوي
	ʔalbanat	mtaʕ	ʔalθanawj
	the girls	of	high school
86- M	{female} students, I thought you were one of them'		

ز:	اممم	ايه	
	emmm	ʔaih	
	emmm	yes	
87- Z	Emmm yes		

ف:	شن	معناها	هده	((ضحك))
				]
	ʃin	maʕnaha	haði	
	what	mean it	this	
88- F	What does that mean ((laughter))			
	[			

					]	
	مباشرة	غير	بطريقة	الكلام	فوصلتلها	م:
	muba: ʃira	ɣair	bitaria	ʔalkala:m	fawasˁlitlha	
	direct	not	way with	the speech	her to reached she	
89- M	[So she conveyed her message to her in an indirect way					

After 23 seconds

11. Using indirectness for making polite requests

حاجة (0.7)	بتطلبي	تجي	لما (0.7) الطلب		في	حتى	ف: أو
ħaʒa	bitutˁulbj	tʒj	lamma	ʔaltˁalab	fj	ħattá	ʔaw
something	request you will	come you	when	request	in	even	or
90- F:	Or even in requests (0.7) when you ask for something (0.7)						

تبدي	مباشرة (0.4)	طلبتها	في	متحشمة	روحك	تحسي	ف: و
tabdj	muba:ʃartan	tˁulbitha	fj	mitħaʃma	ru:ħik	tħissj	wa
start you	directly	it request	of	shy you	your self	feel you	and
91- F	and you feel reluctant to request it directly (0.4) you start						

والا	صح	تلقطها	هي	لين	الحاجة	في	ف: تشرحي
walla	sˁaħ	tulqutˁha	hi:a	lai:n	alħaʒa	fj	taʃirħj
not or	right	it catch she	she	until	the something	of	explain you
92- F	explaining it until the hearer understands the meaning, right?						

		]	
	أيوه	بالزبط	م:
	]		
	ʔaiwah	bizzabitˁ	
	yes	exactly	
93- S	[Yes exactly [		

				]	
	فهمتيني	عليك	تعرض	فهي	ف:
	]				
	fahamtjnj	ʕalaik	tuʕrudˁ	fahi:a	
	me understood you	on you	offer	she	
94- F	[So she offers {to help you}, understand? [				

أمك؟	والا	أختك	مع	هذا	الكلام	تستعملي	هل	م:
]								
ʔummik	walla	ʔuχtik	maʕ	haða	alkala:m	tistaʕmlj	hal	
your mother	or	your sister	with	this	the speech	use you	do	

95- M	Do you use such speech with your sister or your mother? [

				]
س:	لا	هداك	طول	
	la	hadaka	tˁu:l	
	no	that	straight away	
	[			
96- S	No, that would be direct			

ف:	ايه	اكثر	شي	يكون	مع	حد	يكون	مثلا	هو	فيه	يكون
	ʔaih	akθar	ʃaj	jaku:n	maʕa	ħad	jaku:n	maθalan	hu:a	fi:h	jaku:n
	yes	more	thing	be	with	someone	be	for example	he	it in	be
97- F	Yes it is mostly used with people who we have										

ف:	قرابة	معاه (0.4)	زي	انا	مرة	خويا	أو (.)	بنت	عمي (.)	
	qara:ba	maʕah	zaj	ʔana	marɬ	χu:ja	ʔaw	bint	ʕammj	
	closeness	him with	like	I	wife	my brother	or	girl	my uncle	
98- F	a relationship with (0.4) like my sister in law or (.) aaa my cousin (.)									

11.1. An example using indirectness for making polite requests

ف:	مرات	حتى	أختي	والله (.)	متحشمة	منها	يعني	ما يجيش	
	marrat	ħattá	auχtj	wallahi	mitħaʃma	minha	jaʕnj	majʒi:ʃ	
	sometimes	even	my sister	God by	shy I	her from	mean	not come no	
99- F	sometimes even with my sister, I'm serious (.) sometimes I feel reluctant								

ف:	نقوللها	مثلا	أنا	اليوم	اا	بن (0.5)	مثلا	بنحط	ظنايا
	nqu:lilha	maθalan	ʔana	aljawm	aaa	bin	maθalan	binħutˁ	ðˁanaja
	her to say I	for example	I	today	aaa	will I	for example	leave I	my children
100-F	to just say to her: today I will aaa (0.5) for example I will leave my children with you								

ف:	عندك	والا	كذا (0.3)	نجي	نقول	و الله	انا	عندي	مشية	للمكان	الفلاني
	ʕindik	walla	kaða	nʒj	nqu:l	wallahi	ʔana	ʕindj	maʃja	lilmaka:n	ʔalfulanj
	you at	or	so on	I come	I say	God by	I	I have	going	the place to	that
101- F	or something like that (0.3) instead I would say I have to go to that place										

ف:	و	هكي (0.4) و	ماني	عارفة	وين	نحط	الصغار	و	هكي	نراجي	في عرض
	wa	hikkj	manj	wa	ʕa:rfa	wai:n	nħutˁ	als˅iyar	wa	hikkj	nra:ʒj	fj	ʕardˁ
	and	like that	and	not	know I	where	leave I	children	and	like that	wait I	of	offer
102- F	and so on (0.4) and I don't know who to leave my children with and so on										

ف:	منها	تقولي	تفضلي	و الا	حاجة	فهمتي	و الا
	minha	tqu:lj	tafadʕalj	walla	ħaʒa	fahamtj	walla
	her from	me to say	by all means	or	something	you understood	or
103- F	and I am waiting for an offer from her, to say by all means or						

ف:	هاتي	هاتي	نحطهم	عندي (.) علاش		اتعبي	في	روحك	والا	كذا
	hatj	hatj	nħutʕhum	ʕindj	ʕala:ʃ	ʔittaʕbj	fj	ru:ħik	walla	kaða
	give	give	them put I	me at	why	trouble you	of	yourself	or	something
104- F	leave them leave them I will look after them (.) why you are troubling yourself or									

ف:	خليهم	عندي	و	أنا	ما	عندي	ما	ندير	و	فاضية	و كذا (.)
	χalli:him	ʕindj	wa	ʔana	ma	ʕindj	ma	ndi:r	wa	fadʕja	kaða
	them leave	I have	and	I	not	I have	what	do I	and	free I	so on
105- F	something like that leave them with me and I have nothing to do and I am free and										

ف	طبعا	من	الاول	بتقولي	لا	و	ما نبيش	نكثر	عليك
	tʕabʕan	min	ʔalʔawal	bitqu:lj	la	wa	manibbi:ʃ	nkaθar	ʕalaik
	of course	from	the first	say you will	no	and	I not want not	burden	you on
106- F	so on (.) of course at the beginning you would say: no I don't want to trouble you								

ف:	لكن	انت	عارفة	في	النهاية	انه	هو]
	lakin	ʔinti	ʕa:rfa	fj	annihaja	ʔinnah	hu:a
	but	you	know you	in	the end	it that	it
107- F	but you know that at the end it… [						

			]
ن:	بالزبط	ايه	
	bizzabitʕ	ʔaih	
	exactly	yes	
108- N	[Yes exactly		

((ضجة في الخلفية))
((Noise in the background))

ف:	عندنا	الحاجات	اهيه
	ʕindna	ʔalħaʒat	ʔahi:ah
	we have	the things	this
109- F	These things are common {in our culture}		

12. Fear confrontation and reactions are reasons for avoiding directness

ن:	ما هو	حني	ماعندناش	مواجهة (0.3)	ما نقدروش	نواجهوا	حني]	
	mahu:	ħnai	maʕindnaʃ	mwaʒaha	maniqidru:ʃ	nwaʒhu:	ħnai	
	because	we	we have not	confrontation	we not able no	confront	we	
110- N:	Because we don't have the ability to confront others, we cannot confront others [							

	ف: تخافي من ردة الفعل] ʔalfiʕl raddaṯ min tχafj the reaction of fear you
111- F	[We fear reactions [

	ح: تخافي من ردة الفعل] ʔalfiʕl raddaṯ min tχafj the reaction of fear you
112-H	[We fear reactions [

	ن: تخافي من المواجهة و ردة الفعل كله نخافوا منه tχafj min almu:aʒaha wa ʔalfiʕl raddaṯ kullah nχafu: minnah fear you of confrontation and the reaction it all fear we it of
113- N	We fear confrontation and reactions, we fear all these things

After 1:36 minute

13. Using indirectness for revenge

	ز: باهي مع من نستعمل الغير مباشر امالة؟ bahj maʕa min nistaʕmil ʔalɣair muba:ʃer immala ok with who use we the not direct then
114- Z	So who do we usually use indirect speech with then?

	س: أنا هكي نشوف مرات تستعمليه مع حد يعني هو سابقا ʔana hikkj nʃu:f marra:t tistaʕmli:h maʕa ħad jaʕnj hu:a sabiqan I like see I sometimes it use you with someone mean he previously
115- S	I think it is sometimes used with someone I mean who used it before

	س: دارهالك جرحك] darhalik ʒurħuk you to did he you hurt he
116- S	to hurt you [

	ز: ايه مني منـي الحد هدا] ?aih minj minj alħad hada yes who who the someone this
117- Z	[Ok, like whom like whom [

	س: مثلا يعني] maθalan ja?nj for example mean
118- S	[For example I mean [

	ز: الاقارب مثلا] ?al?aqarib maθalan relatives for example
119- Z	[Relatives for example? [

	س: ايه حد من الاقارب مثلا مثلا ايه] ?aih ħad min ?al?aqarib maθalan maθalan ?aih yes someone from relatives for example for example yes
120- S	[Yes one of the relatives for example, for example yes [

	ز: حماواتك؟] ħamawatik your sisters in law
121- Z	[Your sisters in law? [

								]	
أنا	مثلا	فرضا	يعني	مثلا	عمي	بنات	حتى	حماواتي	س:
	]								
ʔana	maθalan	farad^{ʕ}an	jaʕnj	maθalan	ʕammj	banat	ħattá	ħamawa:tj	
I	for example	supposedly	mean	for example	my uncle	girls	even	my sisters in law	

122- S	[My sisters in law or even my cousins for example I mean for example I [

			]	
	صديقة	حتى	أو	ح:
	]			
	s^{ʕ}adi:qa	ħattá	ʔaw	
	friend	even	or	

123- H	[Or even a friend [

13.1. An example of using indirectness for revenge

مثلا	جرحتني	سابق	موقف	في	هي	مثلا	صديقاتي	س: ايه
maθalan	ʒurħitnj	sabiq	mawqif	fj	hi:a	maθalan	s^{ʕ}adjqa:tj	ʔaih
For example	me hurt she	previous	event	in	she	for example	my friends	yes
124- S	Yes my friends for example in a previous situation hurt me for example							

	ز: أها aha aha
125- Z	Aha

يقعمزوا	جرحتني	سابق	موقف	في	يعني	هكي	واحدة	عندي	س:أنا
jqaʕmzu:	ʒurħitnj	sabiq	mawqif	fj	jaʕnj	hikkj	waħda	ʕindj	ʔana
sitting they	they me hurt she	previous	event	in	mean	like	one	I have	I
126- S	I used to have {female} friends who hurt me in a previous situation while sitting in								
127-	a group								

أنا	بيه	يقصدوا	حسيت	انا	كلام	قالو	و (.)	مجموعة	بعض	س: مع
ʔana	bi:h	juqus^{ʕ}dw	ħassait	ʔana	kala:m	qa:lu:	wa	maʒmu:ʕa	baʕd^{ʕ}	maʕa
I	it of	mean they	felt I	I	speech	said they	and	group	together	with
128- S	together and they said something I felt I was meant by it									

مشكلة	ما نبيش	حاجة	أول	أسباب	لعدة	ممكن	أنا	س: (0.6) طبعا
muʃkla	manibbi:ʃ	ħ:aʒa	ʔwal	ʔasb:ab	liʕiddat	mumkin	ʔana	t^{ʕ}abʕan
problem	not want no	thing	first	reasons	many for	may	I	of course
129- S	(0.6) of course maybe for many reasons, first of all I didn't want to create a							
130-	problem,							

س: ما نبيش نواجه (0.6) يعني درت روحي ما سماعتاش و خلاص (0.5)	
manibbi:ʃ nwaʒah jaʕnj dirt ru:ħi: masmaʕtaʃ wa χalasˁ	
not want no face I mean did myself not it heard I no and that is it	
131- S	I didn't want to face them (0.6) I mean I pretended I didn't hear it (0.5)

س: فيه موقف تاني يعني صارلي موقف و حسيت ان أنا	
fi:h mawquf tanj jaʕnj sˁarlj mawquf wa ħassait ʔinna ʔana	
it in event another mean me to happened event and I felt that I	
132- S	there was another situation, I mean, happened to me and I felt

س: في هديك اللحضة نقدر نجرحهم (0.5) قلته بطريقة غير مباشرة يعني [	
hadi:k fj allaħdˁa niqdir niʒraħhum qwltah bitˁariqa ɣair muba:ʃra jaʕnj	
that in moment was able I them hurt I it said I way with not directly mean	
133- S	that I was able to hurt them at that moment (0.5) I said it in an indirect way I mean [

	ز: رديتيها نفس الشي يعني]
	raddjtjha nafs alʃaj jaʕnj
	it replied you same the thing mean
134- Z	[You got even with them, didn't you?

	س: مسحت على كبدي ((ضحك))]
	mashat ʕala kabdj
	wiped I on my liver
135- S:	I retaliated ((laughter)) [

	] ((ضحك))
[((laughter))	

	ز: ((ضحك)) انتقام يعني ((ضحك))]
	ʔintiqam jaʕnj
	revenge mean
136- Z:	[((Laughter)) revenge, wasn't it? ((laughter))

After 2:23 minutes

14. Which is more polite: directness or indirectness?

	ح: هو أكتر تهديب الغير مباشر يعتبر (1.2) أكتر من المباشر hu:a ʔaktar tahdi:b alɣair muba:ʃer juʕtabar (1.2) ʔaktar min almuba:ʃer it more polite the not direct regards it more than the direct
137- H	Indirect speech is regarded to be more polite (1.2) more polite than direct speech

	ز: كيف؟ ki:f how
138- Z	How?

	ح: لان المباشر أنا نقولهالك الكلمة تجرحك ما تجرحكش liʔanna almuba:ʃer ʔana nqu:lhalik alkalma tiʒurħik matiʒurħikiʃ because the direct I you to it say I the word you hurt it not you hurt it no
139- H	Because in direct speech I say it directly whether it hurts you or not

	ح: ما نراعيش فيها مشاعرك (.) لكن الغير مباشر نحاول بقدر الامكان manraʕi:ʃ fi:ha maʃaʕrik lakin alɣair muba:ʃer nħawil biqadir ʔalʔimka:n not care I no your feelings in it but the not direct try I extent to the possibility
140- H	I don't care about your feelings (.) but in indirect speech I try, as possible as I can,

	ح: ان أنا مان (0.5) ما نخليكش تزعلي مني] ʔinna ʔana man manχalli:kiʃ tazaʕlj minnj that I not you let no upset you me from
141- H	[not to (0.5) make you feel upset with me

	] ن: لكن يا زينب] lakin ja zainab but oh Zainab
142- N	[But Zainab [

	] م: هي بناء على نيتك] hi:a bina?an ʕala ni:tik it depend on your intention
143- M	[It depends on your intention [

	ز : هي بناء على نيتك شني] hi:a binaʔan ʕala ni:tik ʃinj] it depend on your intention what
144- Z	[It depends on what your intention is [

	ن: لكن يا زينب حني =] lakin ja zainab ħnai] but oh Zainab we
145- N:	[But Zainab we = [

	ف: بالزبط تعتمد] bizzabitˁ taʕtamid] exactly depend it
146- F	[Exactly, it depends [

	ن:= حني نقولوا الواحد لما يقولك اللي يبيك] ħnai nqu:lu: alwaħid lamma jaqu:lik ʔillj jibi:k] we say we the someone when you to say he who you want
147- N	[= We say when someone says to you, whoever likes you will criticize you directly

	ن: يقولك الكلمة في وجهك (0.8) ما يقولهالكش من وراك jaqu:lik alkalma fj waʒhik majqu:lhalikʃ min warak you to say he the word in your face not you it say no of you behind
148- N	and won't criticize you behind your back

1. Fear confrontation is one reason for avoiding direcntess

	ز: ايه علاش تقوليها لأختك عادي مثلا ʔaih ʕalaʃ tqu:li:ha liʔuχtik ʕa:dj maθalan yes why it say you your sister to normal for example
149- Z	So why you find it fine if you criticize your sister directly for example

	ن: ايه ʔaih Yes
150- N	Yes

والا	هي	ان	غلط	حتفهمني	مش	أختي	عارفة	لأن	ح:
walla	hi:a	ʔinna	ɣalutˁ	ħatafhamnj	miʃ	ʔuχtj	ʕa:rfa	liʔanna	
or	she	that	wrong	me understand she will	not	my sister	know I	because	
151- H	because I know that my sister will not misunderstand me, she or she won't get
152-	upset with me

والا	بكل	نكلمك	نبي	ما عادش	تقولي	و	موقف	بتاخد	ح:هي
			]						
walla	bukkul	nkalmik	nibbj	maʕadiʃ	tqu:llj	wa	mawuqif	btaχid	hi:a
or	never	you speak I	want I	not will no	me to say	and	attitude	take will	she
153- H	and she won't say I'll never talk to you any more or …
	[

				]	
	انت	معناها	العواقب	من	ز: خايفة
	ʔinti	maʕnaha	alʕwa:qib	min	χa:fa
	you	it mean	consequences	of	fear you
	[				
154- Z	You fear consequences then				

	خوف	فيها	شني	امالا	ح: خايفة
	χawf	fi:ha	ʃinj	ʔimmala	χa:jfa
	fear	it in	what	then	afraid I
155- H	I fear of course there is some risk				

After 28 seconds

16. Indirectness may create misunderstanding

بعدين	و	مثلا (0.6)	مباشرة	غير	حاجة	يقولك	اللي	فيه	أ:
baʕdai:n	wa	maθalan	muba:ʃira	ɣair	ħaʒa	jaqu:lik	ʔillj	fi:h	
later	and	for example	direct	not	something	you to say he	who	it in	
156- A	Sometime someone says something indirectly for example (0.6) but then

ما =	والله (0.5) شخصيا (0.5) أنا		صايرتلي	أنا	عليها	يندم	أ:	
	]							
ma	wallahi	ʃaχsˁjan	ʔanan	sˁajritlj	ʔana	ʕalajha	jandam	
not	God by	personally	I	me to happened it	I	it on	regret he	
157- A	regrets saying it this happened to me (0.5) personally (0.5) and I really didn't=
	[

	ز: تنفهم] غلط] tanifhim ʁalatˁ understood it wrong
158- Z	[it is misunderstood [

	أ:-= ما عندي أي نية سيئة بيها]] bi:ha sajʔa ni:a ʔaj ʕindi: ma it of bad intention any I have not
159- A	[I didn't have any bad intention [

	ف: لأن عندنا حني فكرة الكلام غير المباشر] liʔanna ʕindna ħnai fikrat alkala:m ʁair almuba:ʃer because we have we the notion the speech not the direct
160- F	[Because we have the notion of indirect speech

	أ: ايه ʔaih yes
161- A	Yes

After 1:21 minute

17. Using a third person to send a hidden message

	ح: و قد يكون الكلام غير المباشر انك انت تمدحي wa qad jaku:n alkala:m ʁair almuba:ʃer ʔinnik ʔinti tamdiħi and might be the speech not the direct you that you praise you
162- H	And indirect speech might be used to praise someone

	ح: شخص بوجود شخص انت ادمي فيه مقصودة انك انت ʃaχisˁ biwuʒu:d ʃaχisˁ ʔinti ʔiddimmj fi:h maqsˁu:da ʔinnik ʔinti person availability with person you criticise him of intentional you that you
163- H	in the presence of a person you criticize deliberately

	ح: تمدحي في شخص تاني (.) ان انت غلط tamdiħi fj ʃaχisˁ tanj ʔinna ʔinti ʁalatˁ] praise you of person another that you wrong
164- H	by praising another person to show that he is wrong [

	ز: باهي انت بكري قلتي ان انا ما نبيش (.) لانه أقل (0.7) يعني (0.8) bahj ?intj bakrj qwltj ?inna ?ana manibbi:ʃ liʔannah aqal jaʕnj ok you earlier said you that I not want I no it because less mean
165- Z	But you said earlier that I don't want (.) because it is less (0.7) I mean (0.8)

	ز:ما يجرحش الانسان زي ما نقوله مباشر (.) باهي انا في ال في اللحظة هده majaʒraħiʃ ?alʔinsan zaj ma nqu:lah muba:ʃer bahj ?ana fj ?il fj ?illaħðˁa hadi not hurt it no human like as it say I direct ok I in the in the moment this
166- Z	it doesn't hurt people like when I say it directly so I in the in the this moment

	ز: لما نبي ندم شخص بمدحي لشخص تاني lamma nibbj nadim ʃaɣisˁ bimadħj liʃaɣisˁ tanj when want criticize person praising with person to another
167- Z	when I want to criticize someone by praising another person

	ح: ايه ?aih Yes
168-H	Yes

	ز: مش نجرح فيه بجديات و هو يفهم فيا (1.3) مش نجرح فيه↑ والا↓ miʃ naʒraħ fi:h biʒiddi:a:t wa hu:a jafhim fi:a miʃ naʒraħ fj:h walla not hurt I him of seriously and he understand me of not hurt I him of not or
169- Z	don't I deeply hurt him and he understands me, (1.3) don't I hurt him↑ or what↓

	ح: هو انا ما قلتهالاش مباشرة = hu:a ?ana maqulthala:ʃ muba:ʃara it I not him to it said I no directly
170- H	But I didn't say it directly = [

	] ز: ايه] ?aih Yes
171- Z	[Yes [

	ح:= اني انا دميته↓=] dammaitah ʔana ʔinnj him criticized I me that
172- H	[= that I criticized him↓ = [

	ز: هو بتجرحه] bitaʒrħah hu:a him hurt it will he
173- Z	[he will be hurt [

	ح: = انا نشكر في شخص تاني (0.9) نبيك انت افهم الكلام هدا] ʃaɣisˁ fj nuʃkur ʔana nibbi:k tanj ʔinta ʔafham ʔalkala:m hada another person of thank I you you want I understand the speech this
174- H	[= I praise someone else (0.9) I want you to understand that this conversation

	ر: (0.6) راه عليك ʕalaik rahw you on it
175- R	is about you

	ح: زي ما قتلك بكري الضرب في القطوس و المعنى على العروس ma zaj qutlik bakrj adˁarb fj alqatˁu:s wa almʕná ʕala alʕaru:s like I said you earlier the hitting on the cat and the meaning about the bride
176- H	As I earlier said to you the cat is beaten and the bride is meant = {Libyan saying}

	ز: ايوه (.) باهي و هدا بيجرحها والا لا ʔajwah bahj wa hada bijaʒraħha walla la yes ok and this her hurt it will or not
177- Z	Yes (.) so will this hurt her or not

	ح: أكيد بيجرحها اكيد ʔaki:d bijaʒrħha ʔaki:d sure her hurt it will sure
178- H	Of course it will hurt of course [

	ايه يجرح يجرح :س] ʔaih jaʒraħ jaʒraħ yes hurt it hurt it
179- S	[It hurts it hurts yes [

18. The role of intention and intonation of speech

	تجرح تبي هي انه النية فيه النية قصدي :ف taʒraħ tibbj hi:a ʔinnah ʔinni:a fi:h ʔinnah qasˁdj hurt she want she she that the intention it in the intention my mean
180- F	[I mean it is 'intention', she wants intentionally to hurt {someone}

	تجيبيهاله تجرحيه تبي (.) فهمتي متاعك النية على هي :ح] tʒjbjhalah taʒirħi:h tibbj fahamtj mtaʕik ʔanniah ʕala hi:a him to it bring you him hurt you want you understand you of intention on it
181- H	It is up to your intention right, if you want to hurt someone you will find a way [

	على حتى الالقاء (.) طريقة على برضو و النية على هي :م] ʕala ħatta ʔalʔilqaʔ tˁari:qaṯ ʕala bardˁw wa ʔanniah ʕala hi:a on even the saying way on also and intention on it
182- M	[It is up to the intention and also to the way of saying it (.), to the way

	الصوت نبرة و الالقاء طريقة :م alsˁu:t nabraṯ wa waʔalʔilqaʔ tˁari:qaṯ voice intonation and the saying way
183- M	of saying it and the intonation

After 3:43 minutes

19. Using indirectness for deniability

	المباشر الكلام قاصدتيه انت خلاص (0.5) المباشر الكلام لكن :ح ʔalmubˈa:ʃer ʔalkala:m qasˁiddi:h ʔinti χalasˁ ʔalmubˈa:ʃer ʔalkala:m lakin the direct the speech it mean you you that is it the direct the speech but
184- H	But direct speech (0.5) you already meant what you said, in direct speech you can't

	ماعادش فيه مرجع =] maʕa:diʃ fi:h marʒaʕ not it in getting back

185- H	deny what you said = [

			] ز: معادش ندور وراه] maʕa:diʃ ndawir wara:h not look for I it behind
186- Z	[I won't look behind words [		

غلط	فهمتي	انت	لو	حتى	أنا	ان	تكون	قد	مباشر (0.9)	ح: الغير
ɤalutˁ	fhamtj	ʔinti	law	ħatta	ʔana	ʔinna	taku:n	qad	muba:ʃer	alɤair
wrong	understood	you	if	even	I	that	be	may	direct	the not
187- H	[Indirect speech (0.9) it might be that even if you misunderstood me									

أنت	ما	زي	قصدي	مش	راه	اسمعي	راه	نقولك	نجي	ح: نقدر
ʔinti	ma	zaj	qasˁdj	miʃ	rah	ʔasmʕj	rah	nqu:lik	nʒj	niqder
you	like	as	I mean	not	like	listen	like	you to say I	come I	can I
188- H	I can say to you: listen I didn't mean as what									

		قصدي =	مش	والا	ح: فهمتي
		] qasˁdj	miʃ	walla	fahamtj
		my mean	not	or	understood you
189- H	you understood or I didn't mean = [				

				] ف: فيه نقطة رجوع
				] fi:h nuqtaṯ ruʒu:ʕ
				it in point backward
190- F	[it is deniable [			

		فيه =	ترجعي	ح: = تقدري
		] fi:h	tarʒʕj	tiqidrj
		it in	get back you	can you
191- H	= You can deny it = [			

	س: مش عليك انت] miʃ ʕalaik ʔinti not you about you
192- S	[It was not about you [

	ح: = تقدري ترجعي في كلامك] tiqidrj tarʒʕj fj kalamik can you get back you in your speech
193- H	[= you can deny what you said [

	ز: حتى لو انت قاصدة] ħatta law ʔinti qasˁda even if you mean
194- Z	[Even if you meant it [

	ح: حتى لو انت قاصدة] ħatta law ʔinti qasˁda even if you mean
195- H	[Even if you meant it [

	] ز: ((ضحك))]
196- Z	[((Laughter)) [

	] ح: حتى لو انت قاصدة =] ħatta law ʔinti qasˁda even if you mean

197- H	[Even if you meant it = [

			] بيه	ن: تقدري
			] bi:h	tiqidrj
			it with	can you
198- N	[You can play with {words}			

انت	ان	حسيت	و	اهوه (.)	الكلام	فيه	بنجرحك	قصدي	أنا (0.4)	انت	ح: =انك
ʔinti	ʔinna	ħassait	wa	a:hu:ah	alkala:m	fi:h	bnaʒerħik	qasˁdj	ʔana	ʔnti	ʔinnik
you	that	felt I	and	this	the speech	it in	you hurt I	mean I	I	you	you that
199- H	That you (0.4) I mean to hurt you by this speech (.) and I felt that										

ما	زي	مش	راه	اسمعي	نقولك	نجي	نقدر	قوية	متاعك	ردة الفعل	ح:
ma	zai	miʃ	rah	ʔasimʕj	nqu:lik	nʒj	niqder	qawi:a	mta:ʕik	alfiʕel radaʈ	
like	as	not	like	listen	you to say I	come I	can I	strong	your	reaction	
200- H	your reaction was strong I can say to you listen it wasn't as you understood										

نرجع (.)	نقدر	غلط (.)	فهمتيني	راك (0.3) انت	خيرك	غير	فهمتي	ح:
narʒaʕ	niqdir	ɣalutˁ	fahamtinj	rak ʔinti	χairik	ɣair	fahamtj	
get back I	can I	wrong	me understood	you you	you why	just	understood you	
201- H	what is wrong with you (0.3) you misunderstood me (.) I can deny it								

صح	رجوع	نقطة	عندك	رجوع	نقطة	عندك	صح	صح	صح	ز:
	]									
sˁaħ	ruʒu:ʕ	nuqtaʈ	ʕindik	ruʒu:ʕ	nuqtaʈ	ʕindik	sˁaħ	sˁaħ	sˁaħ	
right	backward	point	you have	backward	point	you have	right	right	right	
202- Z	Right right right it is deniable it is deniable right [									

19.1. An exampe using indirectness for deniability

فهمتي (.)	يعني	صاحبتي	مع	موقف	صارلي	أنا زمان	مثلا	س:
fahamtj	jaʕnj	sˁaħibtj	maʕa	mawqi	f sˁa:rlj	zaman ʔana	maθalan	
understood	mean	my friend	with	event	me to happened	once I	for example	
203- S	For example, the other day a friend of mine I mean							

فيا	تجرح	ت	يعني	الدوة	في	تلقح	ديمة	اللي	النوع	من	س:
]											
fi:a	taʒraħ	t	jaʕnj	addu:a	fj	tlaqqaħ	di:ma	ʔillj	annu:ʕ	min	
me in	hurt she	sh	mean	meaning	in	use she	always	that	the kind	of	
204- S	right she is the kind of person who always uses meanings I mean she hurts me [										

	ز: ونعم الصحاب waniʕma alsˁħa:b good friends
205- Z	how good a friend she is

	((ضحك))]
((Laughter)) [	

	] س: يعني هي مش صاحبتي صاحبتي jaʕnj hi:a miʃ sˁa:ħibtj sˁa:ħibtj mean she not my friend my friend
206- S	[I mean she wasn't a close friend [

	] ز: توا هده هده حتى هي غير مباشر tawa hadj hadj ħatta hi:a ɣair muba:ʃer now this this even it not direct
207- Z	So even this this is indirect speech

	] س: علي الكلام غير المباشر يعني = ʕala alkala:m ɣair almuba:ʃer jaʕnj on the speech not the direct mean
208- S	[About indirect speech I mean = [

	] ز: ايه] ʔaih Yes
209- Z	[Yes [

	] س: = فمرة انا قلتلها علاش انت ديمة هكي توجعي فيا علاش famarra ʔana qultilha ʕala:ʃ ʔinti di:ma hikkj twaʒʕj fi:a ʕalaʃ once I her to said I why you always me hurt you me in why
	[

210- S	= Once I I said to her why do you always hurt me like that why

أنا	لا	قالتلي	(.) فيا	تجرحي	هذا زي	كلام	تقوليلي	س: ديمة
ʔana	la	qalitlj	fi:a	taʒerħj	haða zaj	kala:m	tqu:li:lj	di:ma
I	no	me to said she	me in	me hurt you	this like	speech	me to say you	always
211- S	you always say things that hurt me (.) she said to me no I							

معناها	نفسك	في	ثقة	ما عندكش	معناها	انت و	انت	س: مانقصدكش
maʕnaha	nafsik	fj	θiqa	maʕindikʃ	maʕnaha	ʔinti wa	ʔinti	manuqusdikʃ
it mean	yourself	of	confidence	not you have no	it mean	you and	you	not mean I not
212- S	don't mean you and that means you lack self confidence that means							

	دارت	كيف	هي	فهمتي	(.)
	darit	ki:f	hi:a	fahamtj	
	did she	how	she	understood you	
213- S	(.) do you understand what she did				

	غالطة	اللي	انت (.) انت	عليك	ولت (0.3)	ز: امم	
	ɣalt^{ʕ}a	ʔillj	ʔinti ʔinti	ʕalaik	wallit	emm	
	wrong	that	you you	you on	back got she	emm	
214- Z	Emm (0.3) she accused you (.) of being wrong						

After 1:22 minutes

كبد	دراه	هديك	تعرفي	بعيد	من	نلقحلها	نجي	لما	ح:
kabid	drah	hadika	taʕurfj	baʕi:d	min	nlaqaħilha	nʒj	lamma	
liver	disgusting	that one	know you	far	from	her use meanings I	come I	when	
215- H	So when I use meanings I say you know, that person {female} is unbearable ((not clear))								

هي	تانيه	واحدة	علي	نتكلموا	كنا	راه (.)	نقصدوا	انت	عليك	ح: لا مش
hai	tania	waħda	ʕala	nitkalmu:	kunna	rah	nuqus^{ʕ}du:	ʔinti	ʕalaik	miʃ la
ok	another	one	about	speak we	were	anyway	mean we	you	you about	not no
216- H	no, it is not about you, we don't mean you (.) we were talking about someone else									

	ف: امم
	Emmm
217- F	Emmm

	انت	عليك	ح: مش
	]		
	ʔinti	ʕalaik	miʃ
	you	you about	not
218- H	It wasn't about you		
	[		

	ز: ايه ايه] ʔaih ʔaih yes yes
219- Z	Yes yes [

	] ح: خيرك انت مش واثقة فينا والا ما عنكش ثقة في نفسك χairik ʔinti miʃ waθqa fi:na walla maʕindikiʃ θiqa fj nafsik you why you not confident us of or not you have no confidence in yourself
220- H	what's wrong with you, don't you trust us or are you unconfident

	ف: ((ضحك))]
221- F	((Laughter)) [

	ز: صح انت ما] ma ʔinti sˁaħ not you right
222- Z	Yes you didn't … [

	ح: والا انت كل شي تسمعيه تحسابيه عليك انت (.) walla ʔinti kul ʃaj tasimʕi:h taħsabli:h ʕalaik ʔinti or you every thing it hear you it think you you about you
223- H	[Or anything you hear you think it is about you

	س: ايه ايه] ʔaih ʔaih yes yes
224- S	Yes yes [

	] ز: يعني مش ااا] miʃ jaʕnj not mean
225- Z	[not it means aaa … [

	ح: نقدر نرجع فهمتي] niqder narʒaʕ fahamtj] can I got back I understood you
226- H	[I can deny it, understand? [

20. Using a third person to send a hidden message

	ز: مش لازم مع الشخص نفسه↑ باش باش يفهم التاني↓ مرات] miʃ lazim maʕa ashaχʃsˁ nafsah ba:ʃ ba:ʃ jafham attanj marra:t not necessary with the person himself to to understand he the other sometimes
227- Z 228-	[So it is not necessarily to speak to the target person↑ to to get him to understand↓ sometimes

	ز: نتكلم مع واحد تاني (.) نتكلم مع (س) و أنا قصدي ااا] nitkallem maʕa wahid tanj nitkalem maʕa S wa ʔana qasˁdj aaa speak I with one another speak I with S and I mean aaa
229- Z	I speak to someone else (.) I'm speaking to (S) and I mean aaa [

	] ((ضحك))
	[((Laughter))

	ح: مرات نتكلم بالالغاز (غير واضح)] marra:t nitkallim bilʔalɣaz sometimes speak I mysteries with
230- H	Sometimes I speak vaguely ((not clear)) [

21. Indirectness is more common among women

	س: و هذه ياماكترها في الجلسات النسائية ياماكترها] wa haðih jamakterha fj ʔalʒalasat annisaʔi:a jamakterha and this it too much in the sittings women it too much
231- S	[And this is very frequent within women's gatherings, it is very frequent

After 6:22 minutes

22. Directness is more preferred than indirectness in making requests

س: حسيت لو ان قالتلك (.) من فضلك يا زينب صقعانة (.)	
ħassait law ʔinnah qalitlik min fadˁlik ja zainab sˁuqˁana	
felt I if that you to said she from your favour oh Zainab cold I	
232- S	I think if she just said please {formal} Zainab turn on the heater I'm cold

س: افتحي الدفاية مؤدبة أكتر]	
ʔaftħj ʔaddiffaja muʔaddaba ʔaktar	
open the heater polite more	
233- S	it would be more polite [

ز: هي مستحيلة (ن) تقولي من فضلك]]	
hi:a mustaħi:la tqu:llj min fadˁlik	
it impossible me said to she from your favour	
234- Z	it is impossible for (N) to say please {formal} to me [

ر: بكري لاهية قلتلها] افتحي التدفئة و الله الا صقعنا]	
bakrj lahja qultilha ʔaftħj ʔttadfiːa wallahi ʔilla squˁna	
earlier busy she her to said I open the heater by God but cold we	
235- R	[I said to her earlier to turn on the heater by God [really] we are very cold [

23. Using 'please' in making requests is not necessary

أ: يا ودي ما عندناش من فضلك و الله الا غير زيادة] نحس فيها انا]	
jawiddj maʕindnaːʃ min fadˁlik wallahi ʔilla ɣair zjada nħiss fiːha ʔana	
love no have we not from favour by God but just addition feel I it in I	
236- A	[But love we don't use please {formal} by God [really] I think it is unnecessary [

	] س: عندنا و الله الا نقولوا معليشي يا اخويتي =] ʕindna wallahi ʔilla nquːluː maʕlaiʃʃ ja ʔuχajtj we have God by but say we excuse me oh my sister
237- S	[We use it by God = [really] we say excuse me {informal} my little sister[2] [

	] أ: والله ما فيه] wallahi ma fiːh God by not it in
238- A	[By God = [really] it is not used [

	] س: = لو سمحتي (غير واضح)] law samaħtj if allowed you
239- S	[= Please {formal} [

	] أ: باهي معليشي باهي معليشي] bahj maʕlaiʃʃ bahj maʕlaiʃʃ ok excuse me ok excuse me
240- A	[Excuse me {informal} is fine excuse me is fine [

[2] By sister here, the speaker does not mean her own sister, but she means any woman in her society, because in Islam all Muslims are regarded as brothers and sisters. It should be mentioned that diminutives (e.g. my little sister, my little daughter, this little glass) are common in all Arab societies not just in Libya.

	ن: بالله عليك هده نقولوا فيها بالله عليك] billahi ʕalaik hadih nqu:lw fi:ha billahi ʕalaik [God with you on this we say it in God with you on
241- N	'For God's sake' we usually use it 'for God's sake'

	أ: هي كلمة بالله عليك توا الناس داروا ااا (0.3)] hi:a kalmaṫ billahi ʕalaik tawa ʔanna:s daru: aaa [it word God with you on now the people they did aaa
242- A	Even 'for God's sake' is a new used expression, people just nowadays use aaa (0.3)

	ح: خشت ɣaʃit it entered
243- H	it came in {from other cultures}

	أ: خشت جديدة ɣaʃit ɣadi:da it entered new
244- A	it is a new expression exported {to us}

	ح: جديدة بالله عليك] ɣadi:da billahi ʕalaik [new God with you on
245-H	'for God's sake' is new {expression}

	أ: زمان ما يقولوش فيها نحس فيها غير توا بدوا] zaman majqulu:ʃ fi:ha nħis fi:ha ɣair tawa bdu: [ages ago not say they no it in feel I it in just now they started
246- A	older generations don't say 'for God's sake' I think, just nowadays people started…

	] ز: باهي نبي عزايز و أمهات و جدات شن يقولوا] jaqwlu: ʃin ʒaddat wa ʔumahat wa ʕazaiez nibbj bahj say they what grandmothers and mothers and elders want I Ok
247- Z	[OK, so I want to know what older people, mothers and grandmothers use then [

	ح: تربحي يا بنيتي] bnajtj ja taribħj my daughter oh win you
248- H	May God bless you my little daughter [

	] ن: ارحم والديك ارحم والديك] waldaik ʔarħam waldaik ʔarħam your parents bless your parents bless
249- N	[May God bless your parents may God bless your parents [

	] ح: ارحم والديك waldaik ʔarħam your parents bless
250- H	[May God bless your parents

After 2 minutes and 6 seconds

24. Pretnding not understand indirect messages can cause problems

	س: مثلا أنا واحدة جتني لحوشي و أنا مثلا لاهية maθalan ʔana waħda ʒitnj liħu:ʃʃ wa ʔana maθalan lahja for example I one me came she my house to and I for example busy
251- S	For example, if someone came to my house and I was busy and not

	(0.7) ما (0.4) ماحسيتش =] maħassaitiʃ ma not felt I no no
252- S	not (0.7) I didn't feel = [

	] ز: ماانتبهتش] mantabahtiʃ not notice I no
253- Z	[I didn't notice [

	] س: = ماانتبهتلهاش و هي مثلا تبي حاجة (0.8) و هي مثلا mantabahtilhaʃ wa hi:a maθalan tibbj ħaʒa (0.8) wa hi:a maθalan not her to notice I no and she for example she want something and she for example
254- S	[I didn't notice what she wanted (0.8) and she for example

قالتها و أنا مثلا مش فطينة باش ن (0.6) نفهمها و روحت	
qalitha wa ʔana maθalan miʃ fatˁi:na baːʃ n (0.6) nifhimha wa rawħit	
it said she and I for example not intuitive to un (0.6) understand her and went she	
255- S 256-	said it {indirectly} and I'm for example not intuitive to un (0.6) understand her and she went back home

و تقول والله ما مثلا ماحطتليش حتى اميه والله ما دارتلي	
wa taquːl wallahi ma maθalan maħutʕitliːʃ ħatta ʔimmiːa wallahi madaritlj	
and she say by God no for example not to put she no even water by God no me did	
257- S 258-	she might say by God = [really] she didn't, for example, even offer water to me by God = [really] she did not do anything for me

(0.5) لو هي قالتهالي احسن أنا نحسها يعني أحسن ما تروح و تتكلم	
law hiːa qalithalj ʔaħsan ʔana nħissha jaʕnj ʔaħsan matrawaħ wa tatkalim	
if she she said to me better I I feel it mean better back home and speak she	
259- S 260-	(0.5) I think it would be better if she just said what she wanted directly I mean better than she went back home and talking

	عليا لو قالتهالي أفضل ʕaliːa law qalithalj ʔfdʕal about me if she said to me better
261- S	about my negligence it would be better if she said it directly

After 1:03 minutes

25.Directness is more preferred in making requests

ح: هو والله المباشر رغم عيوبه يعني رغم انه هو مرات	
hu:a wallahi ʔalmubaːʃer raɣem ʕjuːbah jaʕnj raɣem ʔinnah hu:a marrat	
it by God the direct although its shortages mean although it that it sometimes	
262- H	By God = [really] direct speech, despite its faults I mean despite it is sometimes

	جارح الكلام المباشر الا انه هو أفضل من الكلام غير المباشر] ʔalmuba:ʃer ɣair ʔalkala:m min ʔafdʕal hu:a ʔinnah ʔilla ʔalmuba:ʃer ʔalkala:m ʒa:riħ the direct not the speech than better it it that but the direct the speech hurting
263- H	hurting, it is better than indirect speech [

	] ف: ايه حتى عادي مثلا اااا نحس فيه الجو صقع شوية يا زينب شن ʃin Zainab ja ʃwaja sˁaqaʕ ʔalʒaw fi:h nħis aaaa maθalan ʕa:dj ħatta ʔaih what Zainab oh little cold the weather it in feel I aaaa for example normal even yes
264- F	[Yes, it is fine for example aaaa {if you said} I feel a bit cold Zainab what

	] رايك تفتحي الدفاية (.) لو قلتي اا مثلا صقع و هكي أنا ʔinnj hikkj wa sˁaqaʕ maθalan aa qultj law addiffaja tafitħj rajik I like and cold for example aa said you if the heater open you your opinion
265- F	[if you turn the heater on (.) if you just said aa for example it is cold or so I

	بنتحشم أكثر من اا ((غير واضح))] aa min ʔakθar bintħaʃem aa than more shy will I
266- F	would feel embarrassed more than aa ((not clear))

	أ: لا حتى انا صح عندي هكي hikkj ʕindj sˁaħ ʔana ħatta la like I have right I even no
267- A	Yes me too, right, I agree

	ف: اممم Emmm
268- F	Emmm

	((غير واضح))]
((Not clear)) [	

	] أ: ماهو تقولك افتحي الدفاية↑ و خلاص↓ ليش اللف↑ و الدوران↓] addawara:n wa ʔallaf laiʃ χalasˁ wa addaffaja ʔafetħj taqu:lek mahw the turning and the spinning why enough and the heater open you to say she just
269- A	[why don't you just say turn on the heater and that is it, why are you going↑ around↓ [

	ح: تبي تحسسك ان انت راك انت مقصرة في حقها = ħaqqha fj muqasˁra ʔinti rak ʔinti ʔinna tħasasik tibbj her right in delinquent you you you that you that you feel she want she
270- H	She may want to make you feel that you are not doing your duty towards her =

	أ: أنا نحس ((غير واضح)) nħis ʔana feel I I
271- A	I feel that ((not clear))

	ح: = و هكي و:::ك صقع = sˁaqaʕ woook hikkj wa cold oooooh like that and
272- H	And so on {so she just says} o:::::h it is cold =

((غير واضح))
((Not clear))

	ح: متع انت خيرك ما تبيش تحسي لين يقولوهال:::ك jqu:lu:hali:::k lain tħissj matibbi:ʃ χairik ʔinti mtaʕ you to it say they until feel you not want you no you good you of
273- H	like to say: what is wrong with you, do you need to be told directly {to understand}

ز: أمل (.) أمل نبي هل هي ليها هي (.) لانها (.) لف و دوران (0.3) ما تبيهاش (.) matibbi:ha:ʃ dawara:n wa laf li?annaha (.) hi:a li:ha hi:a hal nibbj ?amal ?amal not want you no turning and spinning it because it it to it do want I Amal Amal	] [
274- Z 275-	Amal Amal (.) Amal I want to know whether (.) because it is (.) going around (0.3) you don't like it

والا لانها زي ما قالت حنان (.) كأنك انت ما قمتيش بالواجب (2) bilwaʒib maqumti:ʃ ?inti ka?innik ħanan qalet ma zai li?annaha walla the duty with not do you no you you seem Hanan said like as it because or	
276- Z	or because it is, as Hanan said (.) as if you aren't doing your duty (2)

أ: لا لا بالنسبة ليا أنا نحس فيها لف و دوران (.) حني لغتنا luɣitna ħnai dawara:n wa laff fi:ha nħis ?ana li:a binnisba la la our language we turning and spinning it of feel I I me to for no no	
277- A	No no for me I feel like it is going around, so why I mean (0.4) our language

	أبسط من كونك تلفي و ادوري ?iddu:rj wa tliffj kawnik min ?absatˁ turn you and spin you you being than simpler
278- A	is simple, so we don't need to go around

	((غير واضح))
((Not clear))	

أ: باهي راجي (.) أنا لو حد قال لي متلا ااا يعني (.) ولعي الدفاية طول tˁu:l ?addiffaja wallʕj jaʕnj aaa matalan qa:llj ħad law ?ana raʒj bahj directly the heater open mean aaa for example me to said one if I wait ok	
279- A 280-	Ok hold on (.) if someone said to me for example aaa I mean (.) turn the heater on directly (3)

ا لو حد قال لي هكي طول (.) مش حنزعل ليش (.) ما فيش حاجة = ħa:ʒa mafi:ʃ laiʃ ħanizʕil miʃ tˁu:l hikkj qa:llj ħad law aa something not in no why upset I will no directly like me to said one if aa	] [
281- A	aa if someone said that directly (.) I wouldn't get upset, why (.) there is nothing =

	] ف: ايه] ?aih Yes
282- F	[Yes [

	] س: ايه بالعكس] bilʕaks ʔaih contrast by yes
283- S	[Yes absolutely [

	] أ: = تستدعي يعني] jaʕnj tistadʕj mean deserve it
284- A	[= is worth I mean [

	] ف: قتلك طول أكتر تأدب من ال اا] qwtlik tˤu:l ʔakθar taʔadub min ʔill aa you to said I direct more polite than the aa
285- F	[As I said to you, speaking directly is more polite than the aaa [

	] أ:أيوه (0.5) والا تحسي ان وقعها بايخ علي نفسك هكي تقعدي تقولي ليش laiʃ tqu:llj tuqaʕdj hikkj nafsik ʕala bajeχ waqaʕha ʔinna ħissj walla ʔaiwa why say you staying like yourself on vapid it impact that feel you or yes
286- A	Yes (0.5) or you would feel that it has a bad impact on you and say why

	قالتلي متلا] qalitlj matalan me to said she for example
287- A	she said that to me for example [

	] ن: هي فيه حاجات دون حاجات حاجات دون حاجات دون حاجات (.) فيه حاجات تزعل hi:a fi:h ħaʒa:t du:n ħaʒa:t ħaʒa:t du:n ħaʒa:t f:h ħaʒa:t tzaʕil it it in things without things things without things it in things make you upset
288- N	It depends it depends (.) there are things that make you feel upset

	في الكلام المباشر و فيه حاجات لا] fj ʔalkala:m ʔalmuba:ʃer wa fi:h ħaʒa:t la in the speech the direct and it in things no
289- N	in direct speech and others not [

26. Using non-verbal language to send indirect messages (an example)

	] ف: تعالي نخبرك علي حاجة (0.3) ايه فعلا=] =fiʕlan ʔaih ħa:ʒa ʕala nχabrik tʕalj absolutely yes something about you tell I come
290- F	[Let me tell you something (0.3) yes absolutely [

	] أ: نحس فيها ما] ma fi:ha nħis not it in feel I
291- A	[I feel that it is not aaa …

	ف:حني عندنا في حاجة (.) لما مثلا مناسبة و يقدموا العشي
	alʕaʃai jqaddmu: wa munasba maθalan lamma ħa:ʒa fj ʕindna ħnai
	the dinner offer they and occasion for example when something in we have we
292- F	In my town (.) in, for example, an occasion when the hosts offer dinner (0.4) OK

	(0.5) قبل ما يقدموا العشي تأخروا في العشي تجي وحدات نساوين
	qabil ma jqaddmu: alʕaʃai taʔaχru: fj alʕaʃai tʒj waħda:t nasawi:n
	that before offer they the dinner late they of the dinner come ones women
293-F	(0.5) before offering dinner I mean if they were late in offering dinner, some women

	(0.5) هذه (.) هذه يطلعن و جلابيبهن والا عباياتهن والا فراريشهن يلبسن
	haðj haðj jatʕilʕan wa ʒala:bi:bhin walla ʕaba:ja:thin walla fara:ri:ʃhin jalbsun
	this this go out they and their Jilbabs or their Abayat or their ferrashia wear they
294- F	would put on their Ferrashia[3] or Abaya or Jilbab[4] as if to go home this (.) this (0.5)

	انتم معناها مباشرة غير طريقة (0.3) الحوش↓ لأصحاب حشمة↑ أكبر
	ʔintum maʕnaha muba:ʃra ɣair tˁari:qa alħu:ʃ liʔasˁħa:b ħiʃma ʔakbar
	you it mean direct not way home owners to embarrassing biggest
295- F	is really shameful to the hosts (0.3) it is an indirect way to say that you {the hosts}

[3] A name for a kind of traditional Libyan outer clothes, which covers the whole body, worn by women (particularly older women) over their main clothes before going out.

[4] Abayas and Jilbabs are also a type of hijab, but they are used in many other Muslim countries.

	ما قدمتوش معانا الواجب =] maqaddamtu:ʃ maʕana ʔilwaʒib not offer you no us with the duty
296- F	didn't do your duty [

	] أ: صح حتى حني عندنا] ʕindna ħnai ħatta sˁaħ we have we even right
297- A	[Right we have this {in my town} too [

	] ف: = تلقينا نجرو::: غير قعمزي ↑ و مش عارف شنو و ندخلوهن لدار معينة muʕai:ana lida:r nduχlu:hin wa ʃinw ʕa:rif miʃ wa qaʕimzj ɣair niʒru: talqi:na certain room to them enter we and what know not and sit just run we find you
298- F 299-	[= The hosts would do their best to not let them go, they would say just stay and so on and the guests would be taken to a certain room

	باش كله شن اسمه (.) كان هي خلاص معناها اعتبرت ان هذه يعني (.) قلة qillaṯ jaʕnj haðj ʔ inna ʔiʕtabarat maʕnaha χalasˁ hi:a kan ʔismah ʃin kullah baʃ little mean this that regard she it mean enough she if its name what it all to
300- F	to, I mean (.) if she {the guest} regarded it as, I mean (.) disrespectful

	احترام والا قلة اداء واجب منا حني (0.4) تطلع (0.3) تبدا عندنا كبيرة ان ʔinna kabi:ra ʕindna tabda tatˁlaʕ ħnai minana waʒib ʔadaʔ qillaṯ walla ʔiħtira:m that big we have it start go out she we us from duty doing little or respect
301- F 302-	or not doing the duty by the hosts (0.4) she would go (0.3) and this is seen as shaming that

	هي طلعت من غير ما تتعشى titʕaʃʃá ma ɣair min tˁulʕut hi:a eat dinner not without go out she she
303-F	she went home without having dinner

	] ن: ماهو مرات مازال الوقت] ʔalwaqit maza:l marra:t mahw the time still l sometimes but
304- N	[But sometimes it is still early for dinner [

	] ((غير واضح))]
	[((Not clear)) [

	] ر: شن مازال كان قاللها راجلها هيا كيف بتدير] ʃin maza:l kan qa:lilha ra:ʒilha hai:a ki:f bitdi:r what still if her to said her man come on how do she will
305- R	[But if her husband wanted her to go home what would she do [

	] ف: لا لا قصدي لأ فيه اللي مبلعاني تلبس =] qasʕdj la la ʔillj fi:h laʔ mbilʕa:nj talbis I mean no no that it in no intentionally wear
306- F	[No no I mean there are some women who deliberately put on {their hijab}= [

	] ر: اه ايه] ʔa:h ʔaih yes oh
307- R	[Ah yes [

	] س: ايه ايه] ʔaih ʔaih yes yes
308- S	[Yes yes [

	] ف: = تلبس و تطلع (0.3) كيف من قال انت ما درتيش معاي الواجب] talbis wa tatʕlaʕ ki:f min qa:l ʔinti madirti:ʃ maʕaj ʔalwaʒib wear she and go out she how who said you no did not me with the duty
309- F	[=they put on {their Hijab} and go home (0.3) to convey a message that you didn't

310-	do your duty towards us = [

				] أ: االهو
		متلا	مقصرين	انتو
				]
		matalan	muqasseri:n	ʔintw
		for example	delinquent	you
				ʔa:hw that
311- A	[To say you are delinquent for example [			

					] ف:= طريقة
		فهمتيني =	مباشرة	غير	
		]			
		fahamti:nj	muba:ʃira	ɣair	tˁari:qa
		me understood you	direct	not	way
312- F	[=it is an indirect way, understand? = [				

				] أ: حتى
		عندنا	حني	
				]
		ʕindna	ħnai	ħattá
		we have	we	even
313- A	[Yes, we have the same {norm} [			

																		] ف: انك
توجع	اللي	هذه	بيها	يتكلموا	يبدوا	و	واجب	معايا	ما درتيش		انت							
tu:ʒaʕ	ʔillj	haðj	bi:ha	jatkalmu:	jabdu:	wa	waʒib	maʕaja	madirti:ʃ		ʔinti							ʔinnik
hurt	that	this	it with	speak	start	and	duty	me with	not did you no		you							that
314- F 315-	[= to say that you didn't do your duty towards us (0.5) and they would talk about that to other people, and this is really hurting																	

			حني
	البيت	اهل	
	ʔalbait	ʔahl	ħnai
	the home	owners	we
316- F	us as hosts		

							م: كله
			الفعل	ردة	من	خوف	
			ʔalfiʕl	raddat	min	χu:f	kullah
			the reaction		of	fear	it all
317- M	It is all about fearing reactions						

ف: ردة الفعل (.) حني هذا هو (.) حني مجتمع مترابط مع بعضه كله خايف من min χaif kullah baʕdˁah maʕa mutarabitˁ muʒtamaʕ ħnai hu:a haðα ħnai ʔalfiʕl raddaŧ of fear it all together with connected society we it this we the reaction	
318- F	Reactions (.) that is it (.) we are a connected society, we all fear

شن يصير ما بعد baʕd ma jasʕi:r ʃin after happen what	
319- F	what will happen next

27. Names for indirectness which is used for impoliteness

ز: باهي الغير مباشر (.) عنده اسم معين في في المنطقة متاعكم؟ (0.7) mtaʕkum ʔalmintaqa fj fj muʕai:n ʔism ʕindah muba:ʃer ʔalɣair bahj your the area in in certain name it has direct the not ok	
320- Z 321-	Ok indirect speech (.) does it have a certain name in in the area where you come from (0.7)

ن: تلقيح] talqi:ħ injecting	
322- N	Injecting [

] أ: تلقيح بالكلام حتى حني عندنا] ʕindna ħnai ħattá bilkala:m talqi:ħ we have we even the speech with vaccination	
323- A	[Injecting in speech we have this name [

] ف: تكسير المعكف] ʔalmʕakkaf taksi:r the bent breaking	
324- F	[Breaking the bent [

] س: تلقيح الدوة و ضرب المعاني] ʔalmaʕanj dˁarb wa addu:a talqi:ħ the meaning beating and the speech vaccinating	

325- S	[injecting the speech and beating the meanings = {making meaning} [

	] ف: تكسير المعكف و ضرب المعاني ايه] ʔaih ʔalmaʕanj dˁarb wa ʔalmʕakkaf taksi:r yes the meaning beating and the bent breaking
326- F	[Breaking the bent and beating the meanings yes [

	] س: الكلام من تحت هذا نقولوا فيه حني] ħnai fi:h nqwlu: haða taħt min ʔalkala:m we it in say we this down from the speech
327- S	[Speaking from down this is what we say [

] ((اصوات غير واضحة))]
[((not clear)) [

	] ف: يبرة مصدية ((ضحك))] msˁaddja jebra rusty needle
328- F	[Rusty needle ((laughter)) [

	] ح: يبرة ايه] ʔaih jebra yes needle
329- H	[Needle yes [

	] ف: طز يباري ((ضحك))] jebarj tˁaz needles injecting
330- F	[Pricking needles ((laughter)) [

	] س: من تحت لتحت] litaħt taħt min down to down from
331- S	[From down to down [

	] ف: ضربتلك هديك البيرة المصدية ((ضحك))] dˁurbitlik hadi:k ʔaljebra ʔalmsˁaddja you to injected she that the needle the rusty
332- F	[She injected you with that rusty needle ((laughter)) [

	] ن: عوج (2) ʕawaʒ curving
333- N	[Curving (2)

	ح: تعوج في الدلاع] tˁawiʒ fj ʔaddillaʕ curve she of the watermelon
334- H	Curving {the shape of} watermelons [

	] م: مواربة الكلام توارب الكلام] mwaraba ʔalkala:m twa:rib ʔalkala:m equivocating the speech equivocate she the speech
335- M	[Equivocating the speech, she equivocates the speech [

	ف: توارب (0.3) ايه صح twa:rib ʔaih sˁaħ equivocate she yes right
336- F	[She equivocates the speech (0.3) yes right

((غير واضح))
((not clear))

	ز: تعوج في الدلا::ع! بالح:::ق tˁawiʒ fj ʔaddillaˁ bilħaq curve she of the watermelon really
337- Z	Curving {the shape of} watermelon::ns! Rea::lly

	ح: تعوج في الدلاع ايه (0.3) tˁawiʒ fj ʔaddillaˁ ʔaih curve she of the watermelon yes
338-H	Curving {the shape of} watermelons yes (0.3)

	س: لا الحق ما نستعملوش فيها حني نقولوا هكي (.) تلقح في الدوة la ʔilħaq manistaˁimluːʃ fiːha ħnai nqwlw hikkj tlaqqaħ fj ʔaddu:a no the fact not use we no 'it of we say like vaccinating of the speech
339- S	No we actually don't use it we say like (.) injecting the speech

	تعطي من تحت هكي taˁtˁj min taħt hikkj give she from down like
340- S	giving from down, and things like that

((أصوات غير واضحة))]
((not clear))

	] ح: في الوجه مرايا و في القفا براية fj alwaʒah maraja wa fj ʔalqafa birraja in the face mirror and in the back sharpener
341- H 342-	In face to face interaction , she is like a mirror, but on your back she is like a sharpener

	ف: في الوجه مرايا و في القفا براية حق هذه fj alwaʒah maraja wa fj ʔalqafa birraja ħaq haðj in the face mirror and in the back sharpener right this
343- F 344	In face to face interaction, she is like a mirror, but on your back she is like a sharpener, this is right

After 1:06 minutes

28. Are there any specific names for indirectness that is used for politeness?

ز: باهي متلا للتهذيب شن عندنا متلا؟ حاجة (0.4) مهذبة للغير	
lilɣair muhaðaba ħaʒa matalan ʕindna ʃin littahði:b matalan bahj	
not to polite something for example we have what politeness for for example ok	
345- Z	Ok. For example for politeness what do we have for example? Something (0.4)
346-	polite for indirect

	مباشر (.) شن هو (0.9) اسم (1) لحاجة غير مباشرة [
	muba:ʃer (.) ʃin hu:a (0.9) ʔism liħaʒa ɣair muba:ʃera]
	direct (.) what it (0.9) name something to not direct
347- Z	Speech (.) what is it (0.9) for something indirect

	ف: مؤدب (.) هذا هو
	hu:a haða muʔaddab
	it this polite
348- F	Polite (.) that is it
	[

	]
	ح: مؤدب وجه في وجه (0.4)
	waʒah fj waʒah muʔaddab
	face in face polite
	[
349: H	Polite, face to face (0.4)

	ف: اا قصدك الكلام المباشر والا قصدك الادب [
	aaaa qasˁdik ʔalkala:m ʔalmuba:ʃer walla qasˁdik ʔalʔadab
	aaaa you mean the speech the direct or you mean the politeness
350- F	Aaaa you mean direct speech or you mean politeness
	[

	]
	ز: الكلام غير (.) المباشر الكلام غير المباشر↑ اللي نستعمله للتهذيب
	ʔalkala:m ɣair (.) ʔalmuba:ʃer ʔalkala:m ɣair ʔalmuba:ʃer ʔillj nistaʕimlah littahði:b
	the speech not the direct the speech not the direct that it use we politeness to
	[
351- Z	Indirect speech (.) indirect speech↑ which we use for politeness

	لل لل للتهذيب
	lil lil littahði:b
	to to politeness
352- Z	For for for politeness

	ح: غير مباشر؟!] muba:ʃer ɣair direct not
353- H	Indirect?!

	أ: كلام غير مباشر! kalam ɣair muba:ʃer speech not direct
354- A	Indirect speech!

	ز: ايه كلام غير مباشر (2.7) ʔaih kala:m ɣair muba:ʃer yes speech not direct
355- Z	Yes indirect speech (2.7)

	ن: مهناش mahna:ʃ not here no
356- N	Not available

	ز: مافيش (.) لانه عندنا هلبة كلمات (0.5) mafi:ʃ liʔannah ʕindna halba kalimat not here no it because we have lots words
357- Z	Not available (.) because we have many words (0.5)

	أ: كلمة يعني ق قصدك انت مفردات لل لل زي متلا] kalma jaʕnj q qasˁdik ʔinti mufrada:t lil lil zaj matalan word mean m mean you you mean vocabulary to to like for example
358- A	A word y you mean terms for for like for example [

	] ز: توا مش عندنا المفردات اهيه tawa miʃ ʕindna ʔilmufrada:t ʔahi:ah now not we have the vocabulary this
359- Z	[Don't we have these terms

	م: اسم اسم] ʔism ʔism name name
360- M	A name a name [

	] ف: ((غير واضح))]
361- F	[((Not clear)) [

	] ز: مش متلا انا بنقولك كلام غير مباشر ترا اعطيني اسامي ليه↓ miʃ matalan ʔana binqu:lik kala:m ɣair muba:ʃer tra ʔaʕtˁjnj ʔasamj li:h not for example I you to say speech not direct so me give names it to
362- Z	[For example when I said give me names for indirect speech↓

	طلعتيلي هلبه كلام (.) ضرب معاني و تلقيح tˁalaʕti:li halba kala:m dˁarb maʕanj wa talqi:ħ me to get out you lots speech beating meanings and vaccination
363- Z	You gave me many words (.) beating meanings and injecting

	أ: أيوه ʔaiwah yes
364- A	Yes

	ز:باهي مش قلنا الغير مباشر يستعمل حتى للكلام الكويس للادب] bahj miʃ qulna ɣair muba:er ʔalɣair justaʕmal ħattá lilkala:m ʔalkwai:s lilʔadab ok not said we the not direct used to even to speech the nice politeness to
365- Z	Didn't we say that indirect speech can also be used for good speech, for politeness [

	] أ: ايه ايه ʔaih ʔaih yes yes
366- A	[Yes yes

	ز: ترا اعطوني متل] tra ʔaʕtˁu:nj matal so me give example
367- Z	So give me an example [

	] ف: ماتلقيش matalqi:ʃ not find you no

368- F	[Not available

After 6:20 minutes

29. Directness is preferred when being criticised?

ز: باهي (0.3) واحد انتقدك و اللي مقعمزين كلهم اصلا فاهمين (0.4)	
	ʔahmi:n ʔasʕlan kulhum miqaʕimzi:n ʔillj wa intiqdik waħid bahj
	understand basically them all sitting they that and you criticize one ok
369- Z 370-	Ok (0.3) if someone criticized you and those who are sitting with you understood the message (0.4)

و غير مباشر (.) و هي مبلعاني (.) فيك هكي فهمتي(0.3) لكن غير مباشر	
	muba:ʃer ɣair lakin fahamtj hikkj fi:k mbilʕanj hi:a wa muba:ʃer ɣair wa
	direct not but understood like you of intentionally she and direct not and
371- Z 372-	and it was indirect (.) and it was intended (.) to hurt you, understand (0.3) but indirectly

ح: أحسن من ان هي ((غير واضح))	
	] hi:a ʔinna min ʔaħsan
	she that than better
373- S	It would be better if she ((not clear))
	[

ز: لو بترديهالها بترديها مباشر والا غير مباشر	
	] muba:ʃer ɣair walla muba:ʃer bitriddi:ha bitriddi:halaha law
	direct not or direct it reply you will it to reply you will if
374- Z	[If you wanted to get even with them how would you do that, directly or indirectly
	[

س: لو انهم عارفين كلهم (0.4) الاحسن انها تقولهالي علاش يعني تقعد	
	tuqʕid jaʕnj ʕala:ʃ tqwlha:alj ʔinha ʔilʔaħsan kulhum ʕa:rfi:n ʔinnhum law
	stay mean why me to it say she her that the best them all know they them that if
375- S	If they all know (0.4) it would be better if she said it directly why I mean she
	[

ز: مقعمزين في مجمع(.) عادي تقولهال:::ك	
	] tqwlha:lik ʕa:dj maʒmaʕ fj mqaʕimzi:n
	you to it say she normal gathering in sitting you
376- Z	While sitting in a gathering (.) is it fine to criticize you directly:::
	[

	] س: خلاص انا نرد عليها وقتي ومرات حد يقوللها عيب عليك ʕalaik ʕaib jukwlilha ħad marra:t waqtj ʕalaiha narud ʔana χalasˤ you on flaw her to say someone sometimes straight away her on reply I I enough
377- S 378-	[I can get even with her straight away or sometimes someone would say to her it is shameful to say that

	هذا ما يجيش أو مثلا] haða majʒi:ʃ ʔaw maθalan this not come it no or for example
379- S	and this is inappropriate to say or for example [

	] ز: غير مباشر والا مباشر muba:ʃer ɣair muba:ʃer walla direct not direct or
380- Z	[Direct or indirect

((أصوات غير واضحة))
((not clear))

	س: لا مباشر(.) الأحسن تقولهالي مباشر] muba:ʃer la muba:ʃer ʔalʔaħsan tqwlha:lj muba:ʃer direct no direct the best me it to say she direct
381: S	No direct (.) it would be better if it is said directly [

	] ح: ((غير واضح))
382: H	[((not clear))

	(.) مثلا و صار موقف فيه و نفسها العيلة في حني متلا maθalan wa sˤa:r mawqif fi:h wa nafisha alʕaila fj ħnai maθalan for example and happened event it in and it same the family in we for example
383- S 384-	For example if we were in the same family {in law} and there was a situation that happened and for example (.)

	س: علاش تقول فيه الكلام هذا من تحت (.) و تلقح في الدوة وخلاص χalasˤ ʔaddu:a fj tlaqqaħ wa taħt min haða ʔalkala:m fi:h taqu:l ʕalaʃ enough the speech in vaccinating and down from this the speech it in say why
385- S 386-	why would such speech be said 'from down' and (.) and be 'injected' in speech and so on

صار sˁar happened	موقف (0.4) عندي أنا مرات نفسي علي بندافع أنا مرات (.) مثلا mawqif ʕindj ʔana marra:t nafsj ʕala bindafaʕ ʔana marra:t maθalan event I have I sometimes myself on defend I sometimes for example
387- S 388-	for example (.) sometimes I want to defend myself, sometimes I have a story of the situation she mentioned

	مش نفسه مرات] miʃ nafsah marra:t not it same sometimes
389- S	which is different from hers [

30. Speaking indirectly needs skills

	] ز: لا قصدي مرات ت ت تردي بغير المباشر حتى انت] la qasˁdj marra:t t t triddj biɣair ʔalmuba:ʃer ħattá ʔinti no I mean sometimes y y reply you not with the direct even you
390- Z	[No I mean sometimes y y you yourself reply indirectly [

	] ح: حتى انت تردي بغير المباشر] ħattá ʔinti triddj biɣair ʔalmuba:ʃer even you reply you not with the direct
391- H	[You reply indirectly then [

	] ز: و تبدوا عاد تردوا علي بعضكم (.) و هكذا ((ضحك))] wa tabdw ʕa:d triddw ʕala baʕudʕkum wa hakaða and you start so reply you on you together and so on
392- Z	[And you start speaking to each other indirectly (.) and so on ((laughter)) [

	ح: هده فنيات هده ((ضحك)) متاعة خبرة] hadj fanni:at hadj mtaʕit χibra this techniques this of experience
	[

393- H	It is a matter of techniques then ((laughter)) this needs an experience [

	] ف: ليها ناسها =] li:ha na:sha it to its people
394- F	[This needs experienced people [

	] ز: تبي ناسها] tibbj na:sha want it its people
395- Z	[This needs experienced people [

	] ف: = فالحة بال ((ضحك))] fa:laħa bil skilful to the
396- F	[Skilful enough to ((laughter)) [

	] ح: خبرة في التلقيح (0.3) attalki:ħ يقولك jaqu:llik كلمتها kalmitha فمها fammha في fj مش miʃ كلمتها kalmitha her word not her mouth in her word you to say he the vaccination of experience fj χibra
397- H	[People who have an experience in 'injecting' (0.3) as the proverb says: some women have their words in their mouths but others left their words

	عند أمها ʕind ʔummha with her mother
398- H	with their mothers

Appendix (D): Arabic Focus Group Discussion "Male Group"

Here, I present the focus group discussion which was conducted for the Libyan Arab male group. Six male informants were invited to take a part in the group. The male participants of the focus group also came from different parts of Libya. I recorded a 42:31 minute interaction and the participants who took part in my discussion included friends, colleagues and neighbours, all of whom were well-educated, with ages ranging from 30 to 51 years old. I labelled the individuals who were present at the discussion as follows: F: 51 years old; R: 34 years old; M: 37 years old; N: 30 years old; S: 45 years old; Z: 43 years old; and A: my assistant. The Arab male focus group discussion starts on page 131 and ends on page 175.

	أ: شن هو الكلام المباشر (.) و الكلام غير المباشر (0.3) و شن الفرق ʔalfarq ʃin wa ʔalmuba:ʃer ɤair ʔalkala:m wa ʔalmuba:ʃer ʔalkala:m hu:a ʃin the difference what and the direct not the speech and the direct the speech it what
1- A	What is direct (.) and indirect speech (0.3) and what is the difference

	بيناتهم يعني مابين المباشر و غير المباشر؟(.) bainathum jaʕnj mabain ʔalmuba:ʃer ɤair wa ʔalmuba:ʃer them between mean between the direct not and the direct
2- A	between them I mean between direct and indirect speech? (.)

1. Defining directness

	ز: يعني ف ف بما معناه (0.5) تجي للشخص يعني (.) !!!! بتقوله تنتقده tintiqdah bitqu:lah jaʕnj liʃʃaχsˁ tʒj maʕnah bima f f jaʕnj criticize him you say you will mean the person to come you it mean what w w mean
3- Z	It means a a as when (0.5) you say to someone I mean (.) you say, you criticize him

	بشي بحاجة معينة مرات تجيه مباشرة بتقوله انت (.) biʃaj biħaʒa muʕainah marrat tʒi:h muba:ʃaratan bitqu:llah ʔinta thing thing specific sometimes him come directly him say you will you
4- Z	for a specific thing he did sometimes you criticize him directly as when you say you (.)

	فيك و فيك fi:k wa fi:k you in and you in
5- Z	did this or did that

	ن: ماكش كويس] kwai:s makiχ good not you no
6- N	You are not good [

2. Defining indirectness

	] ز:مش كويس والا درت حاجة مش كويسة (.) والا في وقت تاني بتجي تلف لفان Laffan tlif bitʒj tanj waqit fj walla kwai:sa miʃ ħa:ʒa dirt walla kwai:s miʃ turning turn you come you another time in or good not thing did or good not
7- Z 8-	[It could be you are not good or you did something bad (.) or sometimes you just go around

	عليه بتقوله راه الكلام هدا مش كويس في ناس تقول في الكلام ʕalaih bitqu:lah rah ʔalkla:m hada miʃ kwai:s fj na:s taqu:l fj ʔalkala:m him on you will say him is the speech this not good in people say you of the speech
9- Z	and say that what you said is not good and there are some people who say

	هدا مش كويس والا قلة ادب يعني بطريقة (0.3) bitari:qa jaʕnj ʔadab qillat walla kwai:s miʃ hada way in mean polite non or good not this
10-Z	such bad things or that is impolite I mean in a way (0.3)

م:	تجيبهاله ماتبيش توصله الدوة ان هو اللي قاله tʒi:bhalah matibbi:ʃ twasʕillah ʔaddu:a ʔinnah hu:a ʔillj qa:lah him to it bring you not want you no him reach you the speech that he that said it
11- M	In a way that does not make him feel that he was intended by the speech

	اللي قال الكلام هدا والا] ʔillj qa:l ʔalkala:m hada walla that said the speech this or
12- M	or he was the person who said that or [

	] ز: بتوصلهاله بطريقة (.) بتلف لفان و توصلهاله بمعنى bitwasʕulha:lah bitari:qa bitliff laffa:n wa twasʕulha:lah bimaʕna him to it reach you way with you wil turn turn and him to it reach you meaning with
	[
13- Z	You convey it in a way (.) you go around and make him understand the meaning

	تاني↓ (0.6) هو الفرق بين اا (غير واضح) و في بعض في بعض الحالات تكون tanj hu:a ʔalfarq bain wa fj baʕdˁ fj baʕdˁ ʔalhala:t tku:n another it the difference between and (not clear)) aa not in some in some the cases being
14- Z	in a different way↓ (0.6) this is the difference between aa ((not clear)) and in some in
15-	some cases

3. Which is more preferred: direct or indirect speech?

	فايدة ليه مباشر الغير مرات اا و أحسن فايدة االيه (.) المباشر الكلام fajda li:h muba:ʃer ʔalɤair marra:t wa ʔaħsan fajda l:h ʔalmuba:ʃer ʔalkala:m benefit has direct the not sometimes and better benefit has the direct the speech
16- Z	direct speech (.) aa is better than indirect speech and sometimes indirect speech is

	أحسن حسب الحالة اللي (.) ʔaħsan ħasab ʔalħala ʔillj better according the case that
17- Z	better than direct speech according to the situation that (.)

م:	اللي تواجهك ʔillj twa:ʒhik that you confront it
18- M	You are in

ز: اللي تواجهك انت الشخص الحالة أو الشخص اللي قدامك انت يعني	
ʔillj twa:ʒhik ʔinta ʔaʃʃaχsˁ ʔalħala ʔw ʔaʃʃaχsˁ qiddamik ʔinta jaʕnj	
that you confront it you the person the case or the person that you front you mean	
19- Z	You are in, the person, the situation or the person who you're speaking to I mean

After 1:04 minutes

4. Indirectness can be defined as 'turning around'

ف: فيه نوعين من التعريفات (.) فيه اللي يفهم الكلام المباشر هي	
hi:a ʔlmuba:ʃer ʔalkala:m jafham ʔillj fi:h ʔattaʕri:fa:t min nu:ʕain fi:h	
it the direct the speech understand he who it in the definitions of two types it in	
20- F	There are two definitions {for indirect speech}(.) some people see indirect speech as

انك تلف عليه لفان و تقوله الحاجة (.) و فيه اللي	
ʔinnik tlif ʕlaih wa laffan tqu:lah wa ʔalħaʒa fi:h wa ʔillj	
you that you turn him on and turning him say you and the thing it in and who	
21- F	when you go around and say what you want to say (.) while for other people

يفهم الكلام غير المباشر مش انا نقولهاله (.) نبعتله حد	
jafham ʔalkala:m ɣair ʔalmuba:ʃer miʃ ʔana nqu:lhalah nabʕitlah ħad	
he understand the speech not the direct not I I say it to him to send him someone	
22- F	there is no face to face interaction in indirect speech (.) instead I send someone

يقولهاله (.) بمعني انا ماجيتش ل (أنس) و قتله متلا (.)	
jqu:lhalah bimaʕnà ʔana maʒaitiʃ li ʔanas wa qutlah matalan	
he to it say I mean with I not came to Anas and him said for example	
23- F 24-	on my behalf to the person I want to say something to (.) I mean I don't come to (Anas) and say to him for example (.)

(أنس) نبي منه فلوس على سبيل المتال باهي]	
nibbj ʔanas minnah flu:s ʕala sabi:l ʔalmita:l bahj	
want I Anas him from money on for example ok	
25- F	For example, I lent (Anas) some money and then I need it back [

	] أ: ام mm em
26- A	[Emm

ف: (.) فيه اللي يعرف في غير المباشر ان أنا نقولك متلا ضروف	
d^{ʕ}wru:f 133atalan nqu:lik ʔana ʔinna ʔalmuba:ʃer ɣair fj jʕarref ʔillj fi:h	
conditions for example you to say I I that the direct not of define who it in	
27- F 28-	(.) There are some people define indirect speech as when I say to you, for example, you know I live in difficult circumstances

	اعطيني نقولك باش التالي من نجيبهالك و كدا و الحياة ʔaʕtˤi:nj nqu:lik baʃ ʔiltalj min nʒi:bhalik wa kada wa ʔalħaja me give you to say I to behind from you to it bring I and like that and the Life
29- F	and things like that and I go around to tell you give me

	المباشر غير يقولك اللي فيه (.) مباشر فيه غير يسموا (.) فلوسي ʔalmuba:ʃer ɤair jaqu:lik ʔillj fi:h muba:ʃer ɤair fi:h jsamu: flu:sj the direct not you to say he who it in direct not it in name they my money
30- F 31-	my money back (.) this is known as indirect speech (.) however, there are some people who don't see this as indirect speech

5. Using a third person to convey indirect message

	اخر شخص نبعتلك أنا (.) مانجيكش (.) مش هكي ʔaχar ʃaχsˤ nabʕitlik ʔana manʒi:kiʃ hikkj miʃ another person you to send I I not you come I no like not
32- F 33-	not like that (.) I don't go to the person {I want my money from}(.) I send somebody else

	ن: صح (0.4) Sˤaħ right
34- N	Right (0.4)

	(.) فهمت لفلوسه مستحق فتحي راه يقولك يجيك هو فهمت ف: fhamit liflu:sah mistħaq fatħj rahu jqu:lik jʒi:k hu:a fhamit understood his money to need Fathi that you to say he you come he he understood
35- F 36-	Understand, the person I sent would say to you, (Fathi) really needs his money, understand (.)

	المجمل لكن (.) المباشر غير الكلام من نوع هدا حتى فيه فيعتبروا ʔalmuʒmal lakin ʔalmuba:ʃer ɤair ʔalkala:m min nu:ʕ hada ħattà fi:h fjaʕtebru: conception but the direct not the speech of kind this even it in regard they
37- F	such speech is also regarded as a type of indirect speech (.) but generally speaking

	انك والا (.) عليه تلف انك هو الناس عليه متفاهمين اللي العام ʔinnik walla ʕlaih tlif ʔinnik hu:a anna:s ʕlaih mitfahmi:n ʔillj ʔalʕa:m you that or on him turn you that is the people on it agree that general
38- F	most people define indirect speech as going around (.) and

	راه حتى تعريف التاني حتى (.) لكن كيف فهمت مباشرة تجيه ħattà rah taʕri:f attanj ħattà lakin kaif fhamit muba:ʃarah tʒi:h even that definition the other even but how understood directly him come you
39- F 40-	direct speech when you speak directly, understand (.) but the other form also can be seen as a definition

	تبعته انت (0.3) عليك ينقل (0.7) تاني حد كونه المباشر غير الكلام tabʕtah ʔinta ʕalaik junqul tanj ħad ku:nah ʔamuba:ʃer ɤair ʔalkala:m him send you you on you convey he another one being the direct not the speech

41- F	if someone (0.7) says something on your behalf to someone else (0.3) you send him

	انت و يمشي يقول كلام غير مباشر باش يقولك أنا كان بنمشي
	bnimʃj ka:n ʔana jaqu:lik baʃ muba:ʃer ɤair kala:m jaqu:l jemʃj wa ʔinta
	walk I will if I you to say he to direct not speech say he walk he and you
42- F	to say something indirectly, because if I went

	ل (أنس) (غير واضح)
	]
	ʔans li
	Anas to
43- F	to (Anas) ((not clear))
	[

	]
	((كحة))
[	
((Coughing))	

	ن: مزبوط صح
	]
	Sˁaħ mazbu:tˁ
	right exactly
44- N	Right, exactly
	[

	]
	ف: فهمت (.) فبراله انت فيعتبر جاك لحاجتي أنا (.) بطريقة
	bitʕari:qa ʔana liħa:ʒtj ʒa:k fajuʕtabar ʔinta fabarralah fhamit
	way with I my thing you came he regard it you him to go understood
	[
45- F	Understand (.) so I would say to someone you go, and he would talk to you about
46-	something I need (.) in

	غير مباشرة (.) حتى هدا تعريف لل ا تعريف للغير مباشر=
	]
	mubaʃer lilɤair taʕri:f lil taʕri:f hada ħattá muba:ʃera ɤair
	direct not to definition to definition this even direct not
47- F	an indirect way (.) this also can be a definition for a a definition for indirect speech=
	[

	]
	أ: صح صح
	]
	Sˁaħ Sˁaħ
	right right
[	
48- A	Right right
	[

	ف:= لكن اللي مقصود اللي يتداولوا فيه الناس تجيه (.) تجيه تجيه tʒi:h tʒi:h ʔanna:s fi:h jatada:wlu: ʔillj masˁu:d ʔillj lakin him come you him come you the people it in use they that meant that but
49- F 50-	[= But the most well known type of indirect speech that is used by most people is (.) is when you speak

	دريكت (0.5) والا تلف عليه ʕlaih tlif walla driket him on turn you or dircet
51- F	indirectly (0.5) or when you go around

After 2:45 minutes

6. Is indirectness positive or negative?

	أ: هل الكلام غير المباشر (.) سلبي أم ايجابي (.) و لماذا؟ (1) limaða wa ʔiʒabj ʔam salbj ʔalmuba:ʃer ɤair ʔalkal:m hal why and positive or negative the direct not the speech do
52- A	Is indirect speech (.) negative or positive (.) and why? (1)

	س: تعتمد على الظروف طبعا حسب الموضوع يعني أحيانا يكون jaku:n ʔaħianan jaʕnj ʔalmawdˁu:ʕ ħasab tˁabaʕan alðˁwru:f ʕala taʕtamid being sometimes mean the subject according of course the conditions on depend it
53- S	It depends on the situations of course, according to the subject I mean, sometimes it is

	سلبي و أحيانا يكون ايجابي (.) لو تتكلم بطريقة غير مباشرة (.) muba:ʃera ɤair bitˁari:qa titkallim law ʔiʒabj jaku:n ʔaħianan wa salbj direct not way with speak you if positive being sometimes and negative
54- S	negative but sometimes it is positive (.) if you speak indirectly (.)

	يعني سلس بشكل (.) تبيها انت اللي للحاجة توصل مرات jaʕnj salis biʃakil tibbi:ha ʔinta ʔillj lilħaʒa tu:sˁil marrat mean smooth form with it want you you that the thing to thing to reach you sometimes
55- S	sometimes you will reach your goal (.) in a smooth way I mean

	تضيع مباشر غير بشكل تتكلم لو أحيانا مرن (.) بشكل و وووو tudˁajaʕ mubaʃer ɤair biʃakil titkallim law ʔaħjanan marin biʃakil wa wwww lose you direct not form with speak you if sometimes flexible form with and aaaa
56- S	aaaa and in a flexible way (.) sometimes when you speak indirectly you lose

	حسب يعني الظروف حسب و يعني (.) أخرى (.) بطريقة (0.3) حقك ħasab jaʕnj alðˁwru:f ħasab wa jaʕnj ʔuχra bitˁari:qa ħaqqak according mean the conditions according and mean another way with your right
57- S 58-	your rights (0.3) in a way (.) or another I mean (.) and according to the situation I mean according

	حسب الوضع (.) أحيانا يكون سلبي و أحيانا يكون يكون ايجابي ħasab ʔalwadˁʕ ʔaħianan jaku:n salbj wa ʔaħianan jaku:n jaku:n ʔiʒabj according the situation sometimes being negative and sometimes being being positive
59- S	according to the situation (.) sometimes it is negative and sometimes it is positive

	يعني (.) احيانا تحتاج انك تتكلم كلام مباشر يعني عشان توصل jaʕnj ʔaħianan taħtaʒ ʔinnik titkallim kala:m muba:ʃer jaʕnj ʕaʃa:n tu:sˁel mean sometimes need you that speak you speech direct mean to reach you
60- S	I mean (.) sometimes you need to speak directly to reach

	لنقطة معينة (.) أحيانا غصبا عنك تلف باش توصل للنقطة هده linuqtah muʕaiana ʔaħianan ɣasˁban ʕannik tlif ba:ʃ tu:sˁel lilnuqtah hadi point to specific sometimes perforce you on you to turn you to reach the point this
61- S	a specific point (.) but sometimes you need to go around to reach this point

	يعني حسب الظروف حسب] ħasab alðˁwru:f ħasab jaʕnj according the conditions according mean
62- S	I mean according to the conditions according to ..
	[

	] م: حسب حساسية الموقف] ʔalmawkif ħasasi:aŧ ħasab the situation sensitiveness according
	[
63- M	According to the sensitiveness of the situation
	[

	] س: حسب حساسية الموضوع و حسب ال] ʔal ħasab wa ʔalmawdˁu:ʕ ħasasi:aŧ ħasab the according and the subject sensitiveness according
	[
64- S	According to the sensitiveness of the subject and according to the ….
	[

7. The shortcomings of indirect speech

	] ف: هو هو أنا وجهة نضري عيب ال الكلام غير المباشر (.) hu:a hu:a ʔana wiʒhaŧ nadˁarj ʕaib ʔal kalam:m ɣair ʔalmuba:ʃer it it I point my view shortcoming the speech not the direct
	[
65- F	It is, it is, from my point of view, the problem with indirect speech (.)

	انه مرات ʔinnah marrat it that sometimes
66- F	it sometimes

	ن: ماتوصلش (.) ماتوصلش الفكرة matwasˁiliʃ matwasˁiliʃ ʔalfikra not reach you no not reach you no the idea
67- N	It doesn't convey (.) it doesn't convey the idea

	ف: ماتوصلش الفكرة (.) و بعدين يفقد قوة الحاجة نفسها matwasˁiliʃ ʔalfikra wa baʕdain jaffqid quːaṫ ʔalħaʒa nafisha not reach you no the idea and then lose it power the thing itself
68- F	it doesn't convey the idea (.) and the meaning itself might lose its influence

	ر: الحاجة صح اه (.) ʔalħaʒa sˁaħ ʔah the thing right yes
69- R	The meaning right yes (.)

7.1. *An example of the shortcomings of indirect speech*

	ف: انت متلا لما أنا جاي منك غاضب على قصة كبيرة انت درت ʔinta matalan lamma ʔana ʒaj minnik ɣadˁib ʕala qisˁa kabiːra inta dirt you for example when I come from angry on story big you did
70- F	For example, if I was very angry with you for something you did, you did

	حاجة كبيرة متلا حتى ولدي والا كدا (.) درت حاجة تحتاج ħaːʒah kabiːra matalan ħattà wildj walla kada dirt ħaːʒah taħaːʒ thing big for example even my son or like did you something need it
71- F 72-	a horrible thing for example, or even my son did something bad for example (.) you did something that calls forth

	غضب كبير (.) ɣadˁab kabiːr anger big
73- F	real anger (.)

	((كحة))]
((coughing)) [	

	] ف: لما أنا نلف عليه و مانجيهاش مباشرة تفقد قوتها في كونها ku:nha fj qu:itha tiffqid muba:ʃara manʒi:ha:ʃ wa ʕalaih nliff ʔana lamma being it in its power lose it direct not it come I no and him on turn I I when
74- F	[when I go around and don't say it directly the meaning will lose its influence as it

	خطأ كبير (.) kabi:r χatʕaʔ big mistake
75- F	should be seen(.)

	ن: صح] sʕaħ right
76- N	Right [

	] أ: صح] sʕaħ right
77- A	[Right [

	] ف: عرفت كيف يعني انت متلا (.) درت فيك خطأ كبير متلا ا ا أي ʔai aa 139atalan kabi:r χatʕaʔ fi:k dirt 139atalan ʔinta jaʕnj kaif ʕaruft any aa for example big mistake you in did I for example you mean how know you
78- F 79-	[You know, I mean you, for example, (.) I made a big mistake in relation to you for example aaa any

	خطأ فهمت (.) انت القوة اللي جاي بيها علي انه هو خطأ كبير kabi:r χatʕaʔ hu:a ʔinnah ʕalà bi:ha ʒaj ʔillj ʔalqu:a ʔinta fhamit χatʕaʔ big mistake is it that on it with come you that the power you understood mistake
80- F	mistake understand (.) the anger you feel towards this big mistake

	لما تجيني كلام غير مباشر حتضيعها في الوسط (.) لدرجة اني ʔinnj lidaraʒat ʔalwasitʕ fj ħatdʕajaʕha muba:ʃer ɤair kala:m tʒi:nj lamma me that level to the middle in it lose you will direct not speech me come you when

81- F	won't be clear to me when you speak indirectly (.) so I would feel

8. Directness is required in some situations

	نحس بيها مش حاجة كبيرة يعني (.) انك انت لكن لو جيت بنفس
	nħis bi:ha miʃ ħaʒah kabi:ra jaʕnj ʔinnik ʔinta lakin law ʒait binafis
	I feel it with not thing big mean you that you but if came you same with
82- F	it wasn't a big mistake I mean (.) if you spoke to me according to

	القوة متاعها نحس أنا بحجمها (.) و يكون يكون ردة الفعل متاعي والا
	ʔalqqu:a mtaʕha ʔana nħis biħaʒimha wa jaku:n jaku:n ʔalfiʕl raddat mtaʕj walla
	the power its I feel I and its size with be be the reaction mine or
83- F	the magnitude of the problem I would feel how horrible it was (.) and my reaction or

	تعاطفي مع قصتك بيكون على نفس حجم الواحد (.) فهده واحدة من
	min waħida fhadih ʔalwa:ħid ħaʒm nafs ʕalà bjku:n qisˁtik maʕa taʕatˁufj
	of one this the one size same on be with your story with my sympathy
84- F 85	my sympathy towards your story would be similar to its magnitude (.) so this is one of

	العيوب متع الكلام غير المباشر(.) انه ما يوصلش الحاجة
	ʔalʕuju:b mtaʕ ʔalkala:m ɣair ʔalmuba:ʃer ʔinnah majwasˁiliʃ ʔalħaʒa
	the shortcoming of the speech not the direct that it no reach not the thing
86- F	the problems of indirect speech (.) it doesn't convey the meaning

	بنفس قوتها و حجمها (.) بحيث تبان للشخص (غير واضح) بشكل غير مباشر(.)
	binafis qu:itha wa ħaʒimha (.) biħait tba:n liʃʃaχisˁ biʃakil ɣair muba:ʃer
	same with its power and its size (.) it that appear to the person form with not direct
87- F 88-	with the same magnitude or strength (.) so it would be seen ((not clear)) in an indirect form (.)

	انها عادية يعني (0.4) توا ولدك خنب متلا (.) فهمت (.) لما انت تجي
	ʔa:dja ʔinnha jaʕnj (0.4) tawa wildik χanab matalan (.) fhamit (.) lamma ʔinta tʒj
	it that normal mean (0.4) now your son stole for example (.) understood (.) when you you come
89- F 90-	as if it was minor (0.4) for example, if your son stole something for example (.) OK (.) if you came to him

	تقوله كيف تخنب هدا كلام قوي يخاف منه لكن لما تجي
	tqu:lah kaif tiχnib hada kala:m qawj jaχa:f minnah lakin lamma tʒj
	him to say you how steal this speech strong he scared it from but when you come
91- F 92-	and say <u>how dare you steal,</u> this is very strong speech, and he would be worried, but when you

	تقوله الخنبة حرام و مايجيش و عيب و كدا (.)
	taqu:lah ʔalχinba ħara:m wa majʒi:ʃ wa ʕaib wa kada
	him to say you the theft forbidden and not come it no and shortcoming and like
93- F	say to him stealing is a taboo and it is forbidden to steal and so on (.)

	و هلبه ناس تخن::ب وو] ww tiχnib na:s halba wa a a stea::l people lots and
94- F	and there are many people who stea::l aaa [

	] ((كحة))]
	[((coughing)) [

	] ف: فهمت (.) تفقد معناها و هده مشكلة كبيرة في ال في فقد faqd fj ʔal fj kabi:ra muʃkila hadih wa maʕnaha tifqid fhamit loss in the in big problem this and its meaning lose it understood
95- F	[Understand (.) it loses its meaning and this is a real problem when it loses

	المعنى متاعها ʔalmaʕnà mta:ʕha the meaning its
96- F	its meaning

After 2:27 minutes

9. Is indirect speech positive or negative?

	س: هو يا أنس زي ماقتلك أحيانا بالنسبة لل (.) أحيانا يكون الكلام ʔalkala:m jaku:n ʔaħjanan lil binnisba ʔaħjanan maqutlik zai ʔanas ja hu:a the speech be sometimes to for with sometimes you to said I as Anas oh it
97- S	As I said to you earlier (Anas) sometimes for the (.) sometimes indirect

	غير المباشر سلبي و أحيانا يكون ايجابي حسب الموقف يعني (.) ɣair ʔalmuba:ʃer salbj wa ʔaħjanan jaku:n ʔiʒabj ħasab ʔalmawqif jaʕnj not the direct negative and sometimes be positive according the situation mean
98- S	speech is negative and sometimes it is positive according to the situation I mean (.)

	ف: صح (1) sˁaħ right
99- F	Right (1)

	س: يعني] jaʕnj Mean
100- S	I mean [

	] ف: أنا معاك صح (2) مرات] marrat sˁaħ mʕa:k ʔana sometimes right you with I
101- F	[Right, I agree with you (2) sometimes [

	س: فيه مواقف تتطلب الايجابي تتطلب الكلام غير المباشر] muba:ʃer ɣair ʔalkala:m tatatˁallab ʔalʔjʒa:bj tatatˁallab mawaqif fi:h direct not the speech need it the positive need it situations it in
102- S	In some situations you need to speak positively, I mean indirectly [

10. An advantage of indirect speech

	ف: لأنه شني (0.7) من ايجابيته الكلام غير المباشر (1.4) انك انت تقدر تكسب tiksib tiqder ʔinta ʔinnik ʔalmuba:ʃer ɣair ʔalkala:m ʔjʒa:bja:tah min ʃinj liʔannah gain you can you you that the direct not the speech its positive of what it because
103- F	Because (0.7) one of the advantages of indirect speech (1.4) you can satisfy

	الشخص (2) من خلال استخدام مفردات↑ (.) ترطب خاطره (.) تخلي ردة فعله أقل (1) ʔaqal fiʕlah raddaɬ tχallj χatˁrah tratˁab mufrada:t ʔistiχda:m χila:l min ʔʃʃaχisˁ less his reaction let it himself soften vocabulary use through from the person
104- F 105-	the person (2) through using polite expressions↑ (.) trying not to upset him (.) so his reaction would be neutral (1)

	أفضل من انك تجيه مباشر فحتى هده من من من ايجابياته (.) لكن lakin ʔjʒabjatah min min min hadih faħtta muba:ʃer tʒi:h ʔinnik min ʔafdˁal but its positives of of of this even direct him come you you that than better
106- F	it is better than speaking directly, so this is one of of its advantages (.) but

	اللي يتحكم في كونه (0.3) سلبي أو ايجابي نوعية الموقف نفسه يعني jaʕnj nafsah ʔalmawqif nawʕjaɬ ʔjʒabj ʔaw salbj ku:nah fj jataħakkam ʔillj mean itself the situation kind positive or negative it being in control that
107- F	what makes it be seen as (0.3) negative or positive is the situation itself I mean

After 3:17 minutes

11. Is indirectness more common than directness in Libyan society?

ف: فيه مجتمعات كله عايشة على المجاملة (1) مجتمعات ماتتعاملش	
matitʕamilʃ muʒtamaʕa:t ʔalmuʒa:ma;ah ʕalà ʕa:jʃa kullah muʒtamaʕa:t fi:h	
not deal they no societies the compliment on live it all it societies it in	
108- F	There are some societies where people always compliment each other (1) such
109-	societies don't use

بالكلام المباشر هدا نهائيا (.) فهمت (.) يجاملوا في بعضهم (.)	
bilkala:m ʔalmuba:ʃer hada niha?jan (.) fhamit (.) jʒa:mlw fj baʕdʕhum (.)	
the speech with the direct this never understood they compliment in each other	
110- F	direct speech at all (.) they just compliment each other (.)

و فيه اللي يقولك يعطيهالك عرفت بالفلاقي يعطيهالك	
wa ʔillj fi:h jaqu:lik jaʕtʕi:halik ʕrafut bilfillaqj jaʕtʕi:halik	
and it in who you to say he you to it give he know you slang with you to it give he	
111- F	and as it is said in colloquial language, 'he punches you

	في السنون]
	ʔassnu:n fj]
	the teeth in
112- F	in your teeth'[5] = [being blunt]
	[

	]
	س: يعطيهالك في السنون صح ((ضحك))
	]
	sʕaħ ʔassnu:n fj jaʕtʕi:halik
	right the teeth in you to it give he
	[
113- S	He punches you in your teeth right ((laughter))
	[

	]
	ف: يعني راجل يجي يقولهالك في وجهك انت تحب والا تكره (0.5)
	jaʕnj raʒel jaʒj jaqu:lhalik fj waʒhik ʔinta tħib walla takrah
	mean man come he you to it say he in your face you like you or hate you
	[
114- F	I mean some people criticize you directly to your face whether you like it or not
	(0.5)

لأن الناس معضم كلامهم مش مباشر تلقى الناس اهيه	
liʔanna ʔannas muʕdʕam kala:mhum miʃ muba:ʃer talqa ʔannas ʔahia	
because the people most their speech not direct find you the people this	
115- F	because most people's speech is indirect, people who speak directly are

[5] This expression is used as a description of conveying an offensive message.

	تلقاهم (.) تلاتة اتنين واحد (.) فلان زي فلان يقولك معدودة talqa:hum tla:tah ʔitni:n waħid fula:n zaj fula:n jaqu:lik maʕdu:da them find you three two one that man like that man you to say he little
116- F	few, they are few (.) only one two or three {in a certain area}(.)

	السنون في يعطيهالك والا منه بالك رد هدا يقولك ʔassnu:n fj jaʕtˁi:halik walla minnah balik rid hada jaqu:lik the teeth in you to it give he or him from your attention be this you to say he
117- F	you would be warned of specific people, you would be told that these people
118-	'punch in the teeth' = {being blunt}

	الكلام معضم ان انطباع يعطيك فهدا (.) وجهك في يعطيهالك ʔalkala:m muʕdˁam ʔinna ʔintˁiba:ʕ jaʕtˁi:k fhada waʒhik fj jaʕtˁi:halik the speech most that impression you give it this your face in you to it give he
119- F	they punch you in face = {punch meaning straight to your face}(.) this gives you an

	المتداول غير مباشر] ʔalmutadawal ɤair muba:ʃer the popular not direct
120- F	impression that most common speech is indirect [

	] م: غير مباشر (0.5) ɤair muba:ʃer not direct
	[
121- M	Indirect (0.5)

	ف: و حني في مجتمعنا غالب علينا الكلام غير المباشر في كل شي wa ħnaj fj muʒtamaʕna ɣalib ʕalaina ɣalkala:m ɣair ʔalmuba:ʃer fj kul ʃaj and we in our society popular us on the speech not the direct in every thing
122- F	In our society we use indirect speech for everything

	ز: صح (.) sˁaħ right
123- Z	Right

12. The role of power in speaking directly or indirectly

	م: هي تعتمد زي ما قالك فتحي حتى علي المتلقي و ال (.) يعني hi:a taʕtamid zaj ma qallik fatħj ħattà ʕalà ʔalmutalaqqj wa ʔal jaʕnj it depend as like you to said Fathi even on the receiver and the mean
124- M	As Fathi said, it depends on the receiver themselves, and the (.) I mean

عادة اللي في مركز أقوى (.) دائما يتكلم بشكل مباشر للي ʕadatan ʔillj fj markaz ʔaqwa daʔiman jatkallim biʃakil muba:ʃer lillj usually who in position stronger always he speak form with direct who to	
125- M	usually, the person who is in a higher position (.) always speak in a direct way to

اقل منه و العكس و اللي أقل تلقاه يطلب بشكل ʔaqal minnah wa ʔalʕaks wa ʔillj ʕaqal talqah jatˁlub biʃakil less him from and the contrast and who less him find you request he form with	
126- M 127-	those who are in a lower position and vice versa and the person who is in a lower position makes requests in

غير مباشر] muba:ʃer ɣair direct not	
128- M	an indirect way [

] ف: زي البو و الولد] ʔalwalid wa ʔalbu: zaj the boy and the father like	
129- F	[Like a father and his son [

] م: زي الأب و الولد] ʔalwalid wa ʔalʔab zaj the boy and the fathet like	
130- M	[Like a father and his son [

] أ: صح] sˁaħ right	
131- A	[Right [

	] م: لما الأب يطلب من العيل يطلب منه بشكل مباشر عدي دير di:r ʕaddj muba:ʃer biʃkil minaah jatˁlub ʔalʕajel min jatˁlub ʔalʔab lamma do go direct form with him from request the child from request the father when
132- M 133-	[When a father wants something from his son he asks him directly, go and do this or that

	(.) بينما ال العكس لما العيل يبي حاجة من بوه يبدا jabda bu:h min ħaʒah jebbj ʔalʕajl lamma ʔalʕakis ʔal bajnama start he his father from something want he the child when the contrast the while
134- M	(.) by contrast, when the child wants his father to do something for him he starts

	يلف و يدور (.) و لقيت والله هني جايبين حاجات رخاص في السوق =] ʔassu:q fj rχa:sˁ ħa:ʒa:t ʒajbi:n hnj wallahi laqi:t wa jadu:r wa jaliff the market in cheap things bring they here by God found I and spin he and turn
135- M	going around (.) {for example} there are some cheap things in the market = [

	] ن: ((ضحك))]
136- N	[((laughter)) [

	] م: = و كذا و يبدا يبدا يلف و يدور على الحاجة ʔalħa:ʒa ʕalà jadu:r wa jaliff jabda jabda wa kaða wa the thing on spin he and turn he start he start he and like and
137- M	[And things like that and he starts going around to get what he wants

	ف: و شوف انت] ʔinta ʃu:f wa you look and
138- F	And look [

	أ: مايجيبهالكش مباشر طول] majʒi:bhalikiʃ muba:ʃer tˁu:l not you to it bring he no direct straight
139- A	He doesn't say it directly [

م:	مايجيبهالكش طول (.) والا يمشي يكلم أمه و يقوللها

	jaqu:lilha wa ʔummah jukallam jemʃ walla tˁu:l majʒi:bhalikiʃ her to say he and her mother speak he walk he or straight not you to it bring he no
140- M	[He doesn't say it directly (.) or he goes to his mother and asks her

	باهي كلمي بوي] bahj kallmj bu:j ok speak my father
141- M	to speak to his father [

	] ف: ايه هدا هدا النوع اللي نحكوا عليه لأنه فيه ناس ʔaih hada hada ʔannu:ʕ ʔillj naħku: ʕlajh liʔannah fi:h na:s yes this this the type that tell we it on it because it in people
142- F 143-	[Yes this this is the type of speech I talked to you about because there are some people ….

13. There is a difference between different generations in using direct and indirect speech

	ن: هدا أيام زمان hada ʔajam zaman this days ages
144- N	That used to happen in the past

	((ضحك))]
((laughter)) [	

	] ف: لأ لأ قصدي فيه ناس فيه ناس (غير واضح)] la? la? qasˁdj fi:h na:s fi:h na:s no no my mean it in people it in people
145- F	[No no I mean there are some people there are some people ((not clear)) [

	] ن: توا يقولك يا بابا نبي هديك يا بابا ((ضحك))] tawa jaqu:lik ja baba nibbj hadi:k ja baba now you to say he oh dad want I that oh dad
146- N	[Nowadays, they just say 'Dad, I want this dad' ((laughter)) [

	] ((ضحك))]
147-H	[((Laughter)) [

14. Speaking indirectly needs skills

								]
(1) وسيط	تحطك	بحيت	(غير واضح) القدرة		ما عندهاش	ناس		ف: فيه
wasi:tˁ	thutˁuk	bħait	ʔalqudra		maʕindhaʃ	na:s		fi:h
mediator	you put they	where	the ability		not them have they no	people		it in
148- F	[((not clear)) there are some people who can't ((not clear)) so they put you as a							
149-	mediator (1)							

	أ: صح sˁaħ right
150- A	Right

ما	زي	عليه	قادر	مش	المباشر	غير	الكلام	هو	حتى (.)	يعني	كيف	عرفت	ف:
ma	zaj	ʕlajh	qa:dir	miʃ	ʔalmuba:ʃer	ɤair	ʔalkala:m	hu:a	ħattà	jaʕnj	kajf	ʕaruft	
like	as	him on	able	not	the direct	not	the speech	it	even	mean	how	know	you
151- F	Understand, I mean (.) this is also indirect speech, some people can't speak												
152-	indirectly as												

يجي	ملكات	ماعنداش	بطريقته	هو	حتى	متلا (.)	قالك
jeʒj	malka:t	maʕinda:ʃ	bitʕari:qtah	hu:a	ħattà	matalan	qa:llik
come he	faculties	not have no	his way with	it	even	for example	you to said he
153- F	(muhannad) said to you for example (.) because he doesn't have the ability himself						
154-	to speak indirectly he can						

(.) لبوي	قولي	يقوللها	لأمه	يجي	المباشر	غير	الكلام
libu:j	qu:lj	jaqu:lilha	liʔummah	jeʒj	ʔalmuba:ʃer	ɤair	ʔalkala:m
my father to	say	her to say he	his mother to	come he	the direct	not	the speech
155- F	still use indirect speech by going to his mother and ask her to speak to his father (.)						

صحيح	وجهه	هدا	يقولوله	الشخص	شني	مرات	حني	حتى	و	لا	أ: صح(.)
sˁaħi:ħ	waʒhah	hada	jqu:lu:lah	ʔaʃʃaχsˁ	ʃinj	marrat	ħnaj	ħattà	wa	la	sˁaħ
strong	his face	this	him to say they	the person	what	sometimes	we	even	and	no	right
156-A	Right (.) and sometimes we use the term 'strong-faced' to describe the person										

15. Direct speech can sometimes be seen impolite

	ما يجيش	طول	للشخص	(0.7) ييي يجي
	]			
	majʒi:ʃ	tˁu:l	liʃʃaχsˁ	jʒj j j
	not come he no	straight	the person to	come he c c

157- A	(.) who requests directly and doesn't use … [

	ف: ايه (.) هدا علاش يعتبر محدود جدا استخدام (غير واضح)]] ʔistiχda:m ʒiddan maħdu:d juʕtabar ʕala:ʃ hada ʔaih usage very limited regarded it why this yes
158- F	[Yes (.) that is why it is very limited ((not clear)) [

	ن: بس هدا قلة راه اللي وجهه صحيح قلة راه (.) rah qilla sˁħi:ħ waʒhah ʔillj rah qilla hada bas mean few strong his face who mean few this but
159- N	But these people are few, people who are 'strong-faced' are few (.)

	ف: و هدا علاش الكلام المباشر أقل ʔaqal ʔalmuba:ʃer ʔalkala:m ʕla:ʃ hada wa less the direct the speech why this and
160- F	That is why direct speech is limited

	ن: أقل فيه اللي يجي حاجته ياخدها منك ياخدها منك يبيها jebi:ha minnik jaχudha minnik jaχudha ħaʒtah jeʒj ʔillj fi:h ʔaqal it want he you from it take he you from it take he his thing come he who it in less
161- N	It is limited, there are some people take what they want from you

	يديرها يجيك مباشرة يعني و ياخدها (.) هادم قلة مش يعني jedi:rha jeʒi:k muba:ʃaratan jaʕnj wa jaχudha hadum qilla miʃ jaʕnj it do he you come he directly and mean it take he those few not mean
162- N	they just say it directly I mean and take what they want (.) these are few I mean

	مش عادة في المجتمع الليبي (.) miʃ ʕadatan fj ʔalmuʒtamaʕ ʔalli:bj not usually in the society the Libyan
163- N	it is unusual in Libyan society (.)

16. Using direct speech is required in some situations

	ف: لكن المفترض المفترض الكلام ال ال في الحق في الحق lakin ʔalmuftaradˁ ʔalmuftaradˁ ʔalkala:m ʔal ʔal fj ʔalħaq fj ʔalħaq but the supposed the supposed the speech the the in the right in the right
164- F	But it must be it must be direct when speaking for rights for rights

	أ: ايه في الحق ايه] ʔaih fj ʔalħaq ʔaih yes in the right yes

165- A	Yes for rights yes [

	] ف: الحق ما فيش (.) المفروض في الحق (.) الحق اللي هو حق ناس أخرى ʔuχrà na:s ħaq hu:a ʔillj ʔalħaq ʔalħaq fj ʔalmafru:dˁ mafi:ʃ ʔalħaq other people right is that the right the right in the supposed not in no the right
166-F	[The rights are not (.) it should be direct when speaking for rights (.) other's rights

	مش حق في انك توصله النصيحة ممكن تلف عليه (.) ʃ miʃ ħaq fj ʔinnik twasʕillah annasˁi:ħa mumkin tliff ʕalajh not right in you that him to reach you the advice possible turn you him on
167- F	not the right to advise somebody because you can go around when advising him (.)

	لكن باش تاخد حق شخص (1) فهمت (.) المفروض يكون الكلام مباشر] lakin ba:ʃ taχid ħaq ʃaχisˁ fhamit ʔalmafru:dˁ jaku:n ʔalkala:m muba:ʃer but to take you right person understood the supposed be the speech direct
168- F	But when you speak for someone's rights (1) OK (.) it should be direct [

	] ز: مباشر صح] muba:ʃer sˁaħ direct right
169- Z	[Direct yes [

	] ف: باش ماتضيعش حق الشخص (.) كونك انت تتكلم على حقك ba:ʃ matdˁajaʕeʃ ħaq ʔaʃʃaχsˁ ku:nik ʔinta titkallim ʕalà ħaqqak to no you lose right the person being you you speak on your right
170- F	[So people's rights won't be lost (.) if you were speaking about your rights

	انت بطريقتك انت انت حر لكن (.) انا جاي بناخد حق أحمد (0.3) ʔinta bitˁari:qtik ʔinta ʔinta ħur lakin ʔana ʒa:j bna:χid ħaq ʔaħmad you your way with you you free but I come I take right Ahamad
171- F	it is up to you to use the way you like but (.) if I wanted to take Ahmad's rights (0.3)

	نبدا أنا نلف باش ناخدله الحق هدا طبعا يضيع فيها nabda ʔana nliff ba:ʃ na:χidlah ʔalħaq hada t͡ʃabaʕan jedˁajaʕ fi:ha start I I turn I to him to take I the right this of course lose it in
172- F	and I started going around to take his rights, in such cases of course people's rights

	حقوق الناس ħuqu:q ʔanna:s rights the people
173- F	would be lost

ر:هدا مش لفا هدا هده هده لما تصل مرحلة التحكيم (.) هدا القاضي	
ʔalqa:dˁj hada ʔattaħki:m marħalaṯ tasˁil lamma hadih hadih hada laffa miʃ hada	
the judge this the adjudication stage reach when this this this tu not this	
174- R	This is not, this this this is in adjudication (.) this is what judges do

و كدا هدا لازم يكون مباشر لكن حني نحكوا على شن اسمه	
wa kada hada lazim jaku:n muba:ʃer lakin ħnaj naħku: ʕalà ʃen ʔismah	
and like this should be direct but we speak we on what its name	
175- R	and so on, this should be direct but we are talking about, what is it called!

على عامة الناس علي المجتمع	
ʕalà ʕa:mmaṯ ʔanna:s ʕalà ʔalmuʒtamaʕ	
on general the people on the society	
176 – R	how it is used by ordinary people in the society

After 1:41 minutes

17. Names for direct speech

أ: هل للكلام المباشر اسم معين في المدينة أو المنطقة متاعكم؟	
hal lilkala:m ʔalmuba:ʃer ʔism muʕajan fj ʔalmadi:na ʔaw ʔalmintaqa mtaʕkum	
do the speech to the direct name specific in the city or th area your	
177- A	Does direct speech have a specific name in the city you came from?

م:في كتير من الاحيان نقولوا فلان هبل (.) لانه كلمته ديمة في الوجه [	
ʔalwaʒah fj di:ma kalimtah liʔannah habal fula:n nqu:lu: ʔalʔaħjan min kati:r fj	
the face in always his word it because crazy that man say we the times of much in	
178-M	Such people are mostly called crazy (.) because they always speak to the face [

] ف: خلاص معناها معناها معناها منبوذ الكلام المباشر [	
χalasˁ maʕnaha maʕnaha maʕnaha manbu:ð ʔalkala:m ʔalmuba:ʃer	
enough it mean it mean it mean castaway the speech the direct	
179-F	[That is it, that means that means that means it is not preferred, direct speech [

] ((غير واضح))]

[((Not clear)) [

	منبوذ	المباشر	الكلام	ف: معناها
	manbu:ð	ʔalmuba:ʃer	ʔalkala:m	maʕnaha
	castaway	the direct	the speech	it mean
180- F	That means direct speech is not preferred			

After 48 seconds

18. Speaking directly or indirectly depends on many factors

	احنى	مثلا	جماعي (1)	المطلب	يبقى	لما	حاجة	في	ب: حتى
	ʔiħna	maθalan	ʒama:ʕj	ʔalmatˁlab	jabqa	lamma	ħa:ʒa	fj	ħatta
	we	for example	group	the request	stay it	when	something	in	even
181- B	And also if, for example, the request was by a group of people (1) for example we								

	معناها	نبوا	والا	الحكومة	من	حاجة	نبوا	متلا (.)
	maʕna:ha	nibu:	walla	ʔalħuku:ma	min	ħa:ʒa	nibbu:	maθalan
	it mean	we want	or	the government	from	something	want we	for example
182- B	for example (.) we demand something from the government or we want, I mean							

	طلب (0.5)	يكون	لما	لكن	حيكون (.)	مباشر	نحن	طلبنا
	tˁalab	jaku:n	lamma	lakin	ħajku:n	muba:ʃer	naħna	tˁalabna
	request	be	when	but	be it will	direct	we	our request
183- B	our request would be direct, it would be (.) but if it was (0.5)							

	أنا	والله	مباشر	غير	يكون	عادة	والا (.)	فردي	أو	شخصي
	ʔana	wallahi	muba:ʃer	ʁair	jaku:n	ʕadatan	walla	fardj	ʔaw	ʃaχsˁj
	I	by God	direct	not	be	usually	or	individually	or	personally
184- B	a personal request or… (.) usually it would be indirect. For example, I would say I									
185-	{as a student in Britain}									

	منحة	منه	تطلب	باش	كذا	اسرتي	و	كذا
	munħa	minnah	tutˁlub	ba:ʃ	kaða	ʔusirtj	wa	kaða
	allowance	from him	request you	to	like that	my family	and	like that
186- B	and my family by God = [really] need the student allowance							

		حاجة	والا
			]
		ħa:ʒa	Walla
		something	or
187- B	or something like that [		

										]
ف: انت	انت	اترت	نقطة	هامة	جدا	ان	كل	ما تزيد	قوة	
ʔinta	ʔinta	ʔatart	nuqta	hamma	ʒiddan	ʔinna	kul	matzi:d	qu:aṯ	
you	you	evoke you	point	important	very	that	all	enhance	power	
									[	
188- F	You, you mentioned a very important point, the more powerful									

الشخص	المطالب (غير واضح)	للمباشر	بدل	غير	المباشر (.)	ليش	لأن
ʔaʃʃaχsˁ	ʔallmatˁalib	lilmuba:ʃer	badal	ʁair	ʔalmuba:ʃer	laiʃ	liʔinnah
the person	the requester	the direct to	instead	not	the direct	why	because
189- F	the person ((not clear)) directly instead of indirect speech (.) because						

حصل	القوة	الكافية	أنه	هو	يتكلم	بشكل	مباشر
							]
ħasˁal	ʔalqu:a	ʔalka:fja	ʔinnah	hu:a	jatakallam	biʃakil	muba:ʃer
gained he	the power	the enough	him that	he	speak he	form with	direct
190- F	he has sufficient power which gives him the right to speak directly						
							[

ز: صح	صح	صح	
sˁaħ	sˁaħ	sˁaħ	
right	right	right	
191- Z	Right right right		

((غير واضح))
((Not clear))

ر: حسب	مركز	القوة	متاعك	
			]	
ħasab	markaz	ʔalqu:a	mtaʕik	
according	centre	the power	yours	
192- R	It depends on the power position of the person			
				[

								]
ف: القوة	تعطيك	تغير	انك	من	غير	ماكش	مضطر	
ʔalqu:a	taʕtˁi:k	tʁair	ʔinnik	min	ʁair	makiʃ	mudˁtˁar	
the power	you give it	change you	you that	of	not	not you	have to	
							[	
193- F	power gives you, you can change, you are not obliged to use							

لغير	المباشر	لأنك	انت	قوي	سوا	بمجموعة (.)	
liʁair	ʔalmuba:ʃer	liʔannak	ʔinta	qawj	sawa	bimaʒmu:ʕa	
not to	the direct	you because	you	strong	whether	group with	
194- F	indirect speech because you are in a strong position, whether by a group (.)						

سوا	بحكم	سوا	بكونك	أعلى	و	كدا	فتتكلم
sawa	biħukum	sawa	biku:nik	ʔaʕlà	wa	kada	fatitkallim
whether	rule by	whether	you be with	higher	and	like that	speak you

195- F	or by rule or by being in a superior position and so on so you can speak

	مباشرة muba:ʃera direct	بطريقة bitˁari:qa way with
196- F	in a direct way	

	مباشرة] muba:ʃera direct	بطريقة bitˁari:qa way with	القسم ʔalqism the department	رئيس raʔi:s boss	مع maʕa with	يحكي jaħkj speak he	ب: المدير ʔalmudi:r the administrator
197- B	The boss speaks directly to the head of a department {for example} [						

	مباشر muba:ʃer direct	بشكل biʃakil form with	القسم ʔalkism the department	رئيس raʔi:s boss	] ر: مع maʕa with
198- R	[He speaks directly to the head of a department				

After 7:50 minutes

	الحديث ʔalħadi:t the speech	في fj in	المباشر ʔalmuba:ʃer the direct	غير ɤair not	أم ʔam or	المباشر ʔalmuba:ʃer the direct	الكلام ʔalkala:m the speech	تفضل tufadˁel prefer you	أ: هل hal do
199- A	Do you prefer to speak directly or indirectly when you speak								

	فهمت (.) fhamit understood	يعني jaʕnj mean	الاخرين (.) ʔalʔa:χari:n the others	مع اا (1) maʕa aa with aa	ال ʔal the	مع maʕa with
200- A	to the aa (1) to others (.) I mean, understand					

	بريطانيا bri:tˁanja Britain	في fj in	هنا hana here	مثلا maθalan for example	يعني jaʕnj mean	الموقف ʔalmau:qif the situation	حسب ħasab according	والله wallhi by God	ر: طبعا tˁabʕan of course
201- R	Of course, by God = [in fact], it depends, I mean for example here in Britain								

	مثلا maθalan for example	تكلم tkallim speak you	تبي tibbj want you	أسرع (0.3) ʔasraʕ faster	و wa and	أفضل ʔafdˁal better	المباشر ʔalmuba:ʃer the direct	الكلام alkala:m the speech
202- R	direct speech is better and faster (0.3) if you want to speak, for example,							

	عقد ʕaqid contract	ادير ʔiddi:r do you	تبي tibbj want you	والا walla or	معاهم mʕa:hum them with	تنهي tinhj end you	تبي tibbj want you	تليفون taljfu:n telephone	شركة ʃarika company
203- R	to a telephone company, or if you want to do or cancel your contract with it								

	تجامل (1)	لازم	ليبيا	في	لكن	ووو (.)	تكلم	طول	على
	tʒa:mil	la:zim	li:bya	fj	lakin	www	tkallim	tˁu:l	ʕala
	compliment you	should	Libya	in	but	a a a	speak	straight	on
204- R	you speak directly aaaa (.) but in Libya you need to compliment (1)								

19. Indirectness is preferred in criticising others (but is it really indirectness?)

	لحد	بتجي	لو	انت	حد (.)	بتنتقد	أ: لو
	liħad	bitʒj	law	ʔinta	ħad	btintiqid	law
	someone to	come you will	if	you	someone	criticize you will	if
205-A	OK, if you criticize someone (.) if you want to						

	مباشر	غير	او	مباشر	تجيه	يعني (.)	بتنتقده
	]						
	muba:ʃer	ɤair	ʔaw	muba:eʃer	tʒi:h	jaʕnj	btintiqdah
	direct	not	or	direct	it come you	mean	him criticize you will
206- A	criticize someone I mean (.) will you use direct or indirect forms						
						[	

		]	
		النقد =	ن: النقد
		]	
		ʔannaqd	ʔannaqd
		the criticism	the criticism
	[		
207- N	Criticism criticism =		
	[		

		]
		أ: ايه
		]
		ʔajh
		Yes
	[	
208- A	Yes	
	[	

			]
			ن: = هي هده (.)
			hadj hi:a
			this it
	[		
209- N	That is it (.)		

		مباشر	غير (.) هو	ش: والله
		]		
		muba:ʃer	ɤair hu:a	walahi
		direct	not it	by God
210- Z	By God = [in fact] it (.) indirect speech …			
		[		

	أحسن	هي	بالتي	تكلمه	انسان	بتكلم	ان	ان	نفضل	ن: أنا [
	aħsan	hi:a	billatj	tkallmah	ʔinsa:n	bitkallim	ʔinna	ʔinna	nfadˤal	ʔana
	better	it	that with	him speak you	man	speak you	that	that	prefer I	I
211- N	[I prefer when, when speaking to somebody to speak to him politely									

	صحبتك	و	ليه	معزتك	تكون	مهما	(غير واضح)
	sˤuħibtik	wa	li:h	maʕazzatik	tku:n	mahma	
	your friendship	and	him to	your close relationship	be	whatever	
212- N	((not clear)) the strength of your relationship with them doesn't really matter						

	مباشر	ما تجيشي	اا	ما تجيشي	كدا	و
	muba:ʃer	matʒiʃʃ	aa	matʒiʃʃ	kada	wa
	direct	not come you no	aa	not come you no	like that	and
213- N	you can't just criticize them directly					

		ليش	ف: ماهو
		]	
		laiʃ	mahu:
		why	it because
214- F	Do you know why?		
	[		

	الهدف	مرات	مباشر	تجيه	لما	نكمل (.)	خلي	ن: غير [
	ʔalhadaf	marrat	muba:ʃer	tʒi:h	lamma	nkammil	χallj	ʁair
	the goal	sometimes	direct	him come you	when	finish I	let me	just
215- N	[Just let me finish (.) because sometimes when you criticize somebody directly, the							
216-	goal							

		أجله (غير واضح)	من	جاي	اللي
		]			
		ʔaʒlah	min	ʒa:j	ʔillj
		it for	of	come you	that
217- N	you wanted to achieve ((not clear))				
	[				

		صح	اضيعه	اضيعه	ز: اضيعه
			]		
		sˤaħ	ʔidˤajʕah	ʔidˤajʕah	ʔidˤajʕah
		right	it lose you	it lose you	it lose you
218- Z	Would be missed, would be missed, would be missed, right				

	(.) (زهير)	ل	تجي	فلما	الواحد (.)	تغير	و	ن: اضيعه
	zuhaair	li	tʒj	falamma	alwħaid	tʁai:r	wa	ʔidˤajʕa
	Zuhair	to	come you	when	the one	change you	and	it lose you

219- N 220-	Would be missed and you would change the… (.) so if you wanted to criticize (Zuhair) (.) {for example}

	بينه	و	بينك	اللي	الصحبة	ال	ال	اديره
	bainah	wa	bainak	ʔillj	ʔalsˁuħba	ʔal	ʔal	ʔiddi:rah
	him between	and	you between	that	the friendship	the	the	it do you
221- N	you would start by reminding him of your close relationship and your friendship							

وجهه	في	تعطيهاله		بعدين	و	شني	عارف	مش	و	المحبة	و
]											
waʒhah	fj	taʕtˁi:halah		baʕdain	wa	ʃinj	ʕa:rif	miʃ	wa	almaħabba	wa
his face	in	him to give you		then	and	what	know	not	and	the relationship	and
222- N	whatever and then you punch him to his face = [punch meaning straight to his face]										

									]
ز:	((ضحك))	ايه	صح	ايه	تعطيه	مقدمات	صح	والله	صح
									]
		sˁaħ	wallahi	sˁaħ	muqaddima:t	taʕtˁi:h	ʔajh	sˁaħ	ʔajh
		right	by God	right	preliminaries	him give you	yes	right	yes
	[								
223- Z 224-	((laughter)) yes right yes you have to prepare him for that right by God = [absolutely] right [								

									]
ن:	لما	تجي	ل	(زهير)	والله	زهير	انت	شن	درت	اليوم↓
	lamma	tʒj	lj	zuhair	wallahi	zuhair	ʔinta	ʃin	dirt	ʔalju:m
	when	come you	to	Zahair	by God	Zuhair	you	what	did you	today
	[								
225- N 226-	When you speak to (Zuhair) for example, and you say what did you do today↓ (Zuhair)								

										(.) والله
										]
									hada	jaqu:l
									this	say he
									هدا	(0.5) يقول
									هدا	(غير واضح) ((ضحك))
227- N	what was that (0.5) he would say this ((not clear)) ((laughter))									
	[									

									]
ف:	صح	لانه	هو	انت	الهدف	انت	الهدف	شني (غير واضح)	
	sˁaħ	liʔannah	hu:a	ʔinta	ʔalhadaf	ʔinta	ʔalhadaf	ʃinj	
	right	it because	it	you	the goal	you	the goal	what	
	[								
228- F	Right because your goal is, your goal is to ((not clear))								

		بتنقده =	لما	حتى	الهدف	انت
		]				
		btintiqdah	lamma	ħattà	ʔalhadaf	ʔinta
		him criticize you will	when	even	the goal	you
229- F	your goal when criticizing him =					
	[					

				نكمل	خلي	] غير
						]
				nkammel	χallj	ɤair
				finish I	let	just
230- N	[Just let me finish					
	[					

حاله	من	تصلح	تبي	تنقده	تبي	لما	] انت	ف: =
			]					
ħalah	min	tsˁallaħ	tibbj	tintiqdah	tibbj	lamma	ʔinta	
his state	from	amend you	want you	him criticize you	want you	when	you	
231- F	[= When you criticize someone you just want him to behave in a better way							
	[							

	هدا	صاحبك	تهيئه	فلازم	الانس	تهيء	] فلازم	ن:
	hada	sˁaħbik	thajʔah	falazim	ʔalʔins	thai:aʔ	falazim	
	this	your friend	him prepare	you should	the hum	prepare	you should	
232- N	[So you have to prepare the person, you need to prepare your friend							

لل =	تعده	(.) لازم	هو	اللي	والا	صاحبك	غير	من	والا
]									
lil	tʕiddah	lazim	hu:a	ʔillj	walla	sˁaħbik	ɤair	min	walla
to the	him prepare	you should	he	who	or	your friend	not	of	or
233- N	or whoever you need to (.) prepare him to =								
	[								

								]	ز:
								]	للنقد
								linnaqid	
								criticism to	
234- Z	[To criticism								
	[								

	ن: = للنقطة اللي تبي توصلهاله قبل lilnuqta ʔillj tibbj twasˁilha:lah qabil the point to that want you him to reach you before
235- N	[To the point you want first

After 1:09 minutes

20. Directness is mostly used for making requests

	أ: متى تستعمل الكلام المباشر و متى تستعمل الغير مباشر(.) matà tistaʕmil ʔalkala:m ʔalmuba:ʃer wa matà tistaʕmil ʔalɤair muba:ʃer when use you the speech the direct and when use you the not direct
236- A	When do you use direct speech and when do you use indirect speech (.)

	و من هم الاشخاص اللي اللي تستعمل معاهم الكلام المباشر wa man hum ʔalʔaʃχa:sˁ ʔillj ʔillj tistaʕmel mʕa:hum ʔalkala:m ʔalmuba:ʃer and who they the persons who who use you them with the speech the direct
237- A	and who are the people do you usually speak directly to? (.)

	و من هم الاشخاص الذين تستعمل معاهم الكلام الغير المباشر wa man hum ʔalʔaʃχa:sˁ ʔallaði:na tistaʕmil mʕa:hum ʔalkala:m ʔalɤair ʔalmuba:ʃer and who they the persons who use you them with the speech the not the direct
238- A	and who are the people do you usually speak indirectly to?

	س: الكلام المباشر في حالة الطلب (.) لما تطلب مثلا ʔalkala:m ʔalmuba:ʃer fj ħalaṯ ʔaltˁalab lamma tutˁlub maθalan the speech the direct in case the request when request you for example
239- S	Direct speech is used in requests (.) when you request, for example,

	حاجة مثلا انت (2.3) تبي مم ħaʒa maθalan ʔinta tibbj mm something for example you want you emm
240- S	something, for example, you (2.3) if you wanted emm

	ر: شهادة ميلاد (غير واضح) ʃahadaṯ mi:la:d certificate birth
241- R	Birth certificate ((not clear))

	س: شهادة ميلاد هذا طلب معناها انت انت في حالة تبي تطلب ʃahadaṯ mi:la:d haða tˁalab maʕna:ha ʔinta ʔinta ħalaṯ fj tibbj tatˁlub certificate birth this request it mean you you case in want you request you
242- S	[Birth certificate, this is a request I mean you you want to request something

نبي	أنس	يا	نا	(.) المدني	السجل	ماسك	أنس	مثلا
nibbj	ʔanas	ja	na:	ʔalmadanj	ʔalsiʒil	masik	ʔanas	maθalan
want I	Anas	oh	I	the civil	the record	catching you	Anas	for example
243- S	for example, if (Anas) works in civil registry (.) I would say (Anas) I want							

ميلاد (.)	شهادة	تطلب	تجي	انت	معناها	ميلاد	شهادة
mi:la:d	ʃahadaṯ	tutˁlub	tʒj	ʔinta	maʕna:ha	mi:la:d	ʃhadaṯ
birth	certificate	request you	come you	you	it mean	birth	certificate
244- S	Birth certificate I mean you would make the request in a direct way (.)						

ب ب ب]	في	تجي	مرات	الشخصي	الطلب	الطلب (1)	في حالة	
b b b	fj	tʒj	marra:t	ʔaʃʃaχsˁj	ʔaltˁalab	ʔaltˁalab	ħalaṯ	fj
b b b	in	come you	sometimes	the personal	the request	the request	case	in
245- S	in the case of requests (1) personal requests, sometimes when you go to to to to							

	حكومية]	ر: بمصلحة
	ħuku:mja	bimasˁlaħa
	governmental	department in
246- R	to a governmental department	

قلنا	ما	كيف	في	في	تكون	انك	أو (.) ب	والا	حكومية	س: بمصلحة
qulna	ma	kaif	fj	fj	tku:n	ʔinnik	ʔaw b	walla	ħuku:mja	bimasˁlaħa
said we	like	how	in	in	be you	you that	or b	or	governmental	department in
247- S	a governmental department or to (.) or when the request itself, as we already									
248-	mentioned									

ال	في	توا	انت	تبوا	معينة	خدمة	تبوا (.)	جماعي	طلب	بدري . في
ʔal	fj	tawa	ʔinta	tibbu:	muʕai:ana	χidma	tibbu:	ʒamaʕj	tˁalab	fj badrj
the	in	now	you	want you	certain	service	want you	group	request	in earlier
249- S	before, was by a group of people (.) they want a specific service, for example in the									

الحكومة	من	مثلا	حقك (1)	يكون	حالة	في (.) هذا	حقك	ال	ال	في
ʔalħuku:ma	min	maθalan	ħaqqak	jaku:n	ħalaṯ	fj haða	ħaqqak	ʔal	ʔal	fj
government	from	for example	your right	be	case	in this	your right	the	the	in
250- S	in the the, if it was your rights (.) in cases where it was your rights that you're asking									
251-	for (1) for example from the government									

شيك	تصرف	تبي	للمصرف	ماشي	مثلا
ʃaik	tusˁruf	tibbj	lilmasˁrif	ma:ʃj	maθalan
cheque	withdraw money you	want you	the bank to	walking you	for example
252- S	for example, when you go to the bank to withdraw some money				

مديتله	مباشر (.)	طلب (.)	هذا	حقك	هذا	شيك (.)	تعطيهم
maddaitlah	muba:ʃer	tˁalb	haða	ħaqak	haða	ʃaik	taʕtˁi:hum
him to gave you	direct	request	this	your right	this	cheque	them give you
253- S	you just give the banker a cheque (.) this is your rights and this is a direct (.) request							
254-	(.) you just give the banker							

		فلوسي	اعطيني	تقوله	والا	شيك
		]				
		flu:sj	ʔaʕtˁi:nj	tqu:lah	walla	ʃaik
		my money	me give	him to say you	or	cheque
255- S	the cheque or you say give me my money					
	[					

21. Directness does not mean 'fighting'

										]
		للمصرف (.) هات	تمشي	لما	انت	لكن	يصير	مفروض	اللي	ف: هدا
		ha:t	lilmasˁrif	timʃj	lamma	ʔinta	lakin	jasˁi:r	mafru:dˁ	ʔillj	hada
		give	the bank to	walk you	when	you	but	happen	supposed	that	this
256- F	[This is what is supposed to happen, but when you go to the bank (.) do you say										

		اعطيني	فلوسي (.)
		ʔaʕtˁi:nj	flu:sj
		me give	my money
257- F	give me my money! (.)		

		ر: لا	لا	المباشر	مش	معناها	(غير واضح)
						]	
				ʔalmuba:ʃer	miʃ	maʕna:ha	
				the direct	not	it mean	
		la	la	no	no		
258- R	No no direct speech doesn't mean ((not clear))						
	[						

		]
		(غير واضح)
		]
[((Not clear)) [		

		ر:	معناها	تطلب	الشي	بشكل	مباشر
						]	
			maʕna:ha	tatˁlub	ʔalʃaj	biʃakil	muba:ʃer
			it mean	request you	the thing	form with	direct
259- R	[It means you make requests in a direct way						
	[						

		م:	تطلب	الشي	مباشر
					]
			tatˁlub	ʔalʃaj	muba:ʃer
			request you	the thing	direct

260- M	[you request something directly [

	] ز: مباشر صح صح] sˁaħ sˁaħ muba:ʃer right right direct
261- Z	[Direct right right [

	] ر: تقول الكلام بشكل مباشر (غير واضح) مش ماشي تعارك] tˁa:rik maʃj miʃ muba:ʃer biʃakil ʔalkala:m tqu:l fight you walking you not direct form with the speech say you
262- R	[You are just saying it directly ((not clear)) you are not fighting [

22. Direct requests are different from pre-requests

	] ف: تجي انت توقف عليه تقوله نبي جواز سفر (.) tʒj ʔinta tu:qif ʕalaih tqu:lah nibbj ʒawa:z safar come you you stand you him at him to say you want I passport
263- F	[If you need a passport {for example}, would you request it directly (.)

	ر: تقوله لو سمحت] tqu:lah law samaħat him to say you if allow you
264- R	You would say please [

	] س: بتقولها لو سمحت هده bitqu:lha law samaħat hadj it say you will if allow you this
265- S	[You would say 'please'

	ف: شن حالك يا حاج شن اخبارك ان شاء الله الامور تمام] ʃin ħa:lik ja ħa:ʒ ʃin ʔaχba:rik ʔin ʃa:ʔ ʔallah ʔalʔumu:r tama:m what your state oh Hajj what your news if welling God the matters perfect

266- F	You would say, how are you how is it going, I hope everything is fine [

	ر: هذا هذا أسلوب اخر هذا الادبيات] haða haða ʔuslu:b ʔa:χer haða ʔalʔadabja:t this this method another this the politeness
267- R	[This is another technique, this is politeness [

	س: هذا الادبيات للمباشر] haða ʔalʔadabja:t lilmuba:ʃer this the politeness the direct to
268- S	[This is a polite direct speech [

	ف: لكن ماتجيشي انت مباشر] laḳin matʒi:ʃʃ ʔinta muba:ʃer but not come you no you direct
269- F	[But you can't say it directly [

	ر: لكن الطلب مباشر] lakin ʔalt^{ʕ}alab muba:ʃer but the request direct
270- R	[But the request itself is direct [

	س: لأ لأ الغير مباشر مثلا تجي مثلا مثلا تقوله] laʔ laʔ ʔaʁair muba:ʃer maθalan tʒj maθalan tqu:lah no no the not direct for example come you for example him to say you
271- S	[No no indirect speech is when you say to someone for example

	مثلا نا (.) مثلا عندي جاني عيل في في في 87 والا في 86] maθalan na maθalan ʕindj ʒa:nj ʕai:l fj fj fj 87 walla fj 86 for example I for example have I me came child in in in 87 or in 86

272- S	for example I (.) I would say, for example, my boy was born in 87 or in 86

	يبي	مشى	و	طلبوا (.)	و	كبر	هذا	العيل	و
	jebbj	mʃà	wa	tˁulbu:	wa	kabar	haða	ʔalʕai:l	wa
	want he	walked he	and	requested they	and	grew up he	this	the child	and
273- S	and when he grew up he had been requested (.) when he wanted								

	ميلاد	شهادة	منه	طلبوا	يتعين	يبي	لما	و	يتعين
	mi:la:d	ʃaha:dat	minnah	tˁulbu:	jetʕajen	jebbj	lamma	wa	jetʕajen
	birth	certificate	him from	request they	work he	want he	when	and	work he
274- S	to work he had been requested to bring birth certificate								

After 1 minute

	تحكي	انك	هو	المباشر	بالغير	المقصود	هو	س: لكن
	taħkj	ʔinnik	hu:a	ʔalmuba:ʃer	bilɤair	ʔalmaqsʕu:d	hu:a	lakin
	speak you	you that	it	the direct	the not with	the meant	it	but
275- S	But indirect speech is when you speak							

	بالقرن	احنا	نقولوا	ما	زي
		]			
	bilqarin	ʔiħna	nqwlu:	ma	zaj
	the horn with	we	say we	like	as
276- S	as we say, indirectly				
	[				

		أيوه	الاولى	المرة	] ن: (غير واضح)
		]			
		ʔajwa	ʔalʔu:là	ʔalmarra	
		yes	the first	the once	
277- N	[((Not clear)) the first time yes				
	[				

		الله =	لاقدر	مثلا	] س: انت
			]		
		ʔallah	laqaddar	maθalan	ʔinta
		God	forbid	for example	you
278- S	[If you, for example, 'God forbid' =				
	[				

23. An example of using a third person to send indirect messages

	ف: تلف [عليه لفان tliff] ʕlajh laffa:n turn you him on turning
279- F	[You go around [

	س: = فيك [عيب معين (.) ما نجيش نقول مثلا (.) لا قدر الله fi:k ʕajb muʕajen manʒi:ʃ nqu:l maθalan laqaddar ʔallah you in fault specific not come I say I for example forbid God
280- S 281-	[= If you suffer from a certain shortcoming (.) I can't just say for example (.) God forbid

	مهند والا يعني (.) مثلا (.) مثلا هذا فتحي ااا (.) مثلا muhannad walla jaʕnj maθalan maθalan haða fatħj aaa maθalan Muhannad or mean for example for example this Fathi aaa for example
282- S	For example (.) aaa (Fathi) for example (.) for example I mean (.) or (Muhannad)

	كويسة مش أخلاقه رجل والا مشاكل عنده ا رجل (.) مثلا kwajsa miʃ ʔaχla:qah raʒul walla maʃa:kil ʕindah aa raʒul maθalan good not his morals man or problems has he aa man for example
283- S	For example (.) was a man aa who suffers from shortcomings or he was ill-bred

	نعزقوا هكي كجماعة نحن نبقى (.) رجل والا بخيل والا رجل والا naʕizqu: hikkj kaʒama:ʕa naħna nabqà raʒul walla baχi:l raʒul walla throw we like that group as we stay we man or stingy man or
284- S	or he was stingy or he was (.) we as a group would just throw words

	عارف مش والله كويس مش البخل والله هذا فلان والله فيها ʕa:rif miʃ wallahi kwajs miʃ ʔalbuχl wallahi haða fula:n wallahi fi:ha know I not God by good not the stinginess God by this man God by it in
285- S 286-	towards him, we would say for example, this man is, or by God = [really] stinginess is not good and things like that

	فيه كان كذا كذا اللي الزمن في فلان يعني (.) فلان والله ايش fi:h ka:n kaða kaða ʔillj ʔazzaman fj fula:n jaʕnj fula:n wallahi ʔajʃ it in was like that like that that age in man mean man God by what
287- S	by God = [really] that man I mean (.) we would say for example, in the past there

واجدات	مشاكله	كانت	والا (.) هني	والا	ايش	عارف	مش	كان	بخيل	واحد
waʒda:t	maʃa:klah	ka:nit	walla hnj	walla	ʔajʃ	ʕa:rif	miʃ	ka:n	baχi:l	wa:ħid
many	his problems	were	or here	or	what	know I	not	was	stingy	one
288- S	was a man who was stingy and things like that (.) or he was suffering from lots of problems									
289-										

	بخيل	لانه	تكرهه	كانت	الناس	والا
	]					
	baχi:l	liʔannah	takerhah	ka:nit	ʔanna:s	walla
	stingy	him because	him hate they	were	the people	or
290- S	or people hated him because he was stingy					
	[					

	بخيل	اضله	معاش	و	بخيل	انت	تقوله	] ن: ما تجيش
	baχi:l	ʔadˤallah	maʕa:ʃ	wa	baχi:l	ʔinta	tqu:lah	ma:tʒi:ʃ
	stingy	stay you	not	and	stingy	you	him to say you	not come it no
	[							
291- N	It is very difficult to just say 'you are stingy and don't be like that'							

((ضحك))
((Laughter))

ماتحبش	ما	ما	دائما	الناس	والله	واجدات	مشاكله	س: والا
maṯħibbiʃ	ma	ma	da:ʔiman	ʔanna:s	wallahi	wa:ʒda:t	maʃa:klah	walla
not like they	no	no	always	the people	God by	many	his problems	or
292- S	Or he had many problems and people usually don't like {socialise with}							

	واجدات	مشاكلهم	اللي	الناس	تخالط
	]				
	wa:ʒda:t	maʃa:kilhum	ʔillj	ʔanna:s	tuχa:litˤ
	many	their problems	who	the people	do relations
293- S	those who have many problems				
	[				

24. Directness is mostly used for making requests

	تبي	باهي (.)	فلوس (0.5)	مني	تبي	انت	باهي (.)	واحد	انت	] ف: باهي
	tibbj	ba:hj	flu:s	minnj	tibbj	ʔinta	ba:hj	waħid	ʔinta	ba:hj
	want you	ok	money	me from	want you	you	ok	one	you	ok
	[									
294- F	OK, if someone (.) OK, if I owe you money (0.5) OK (.) if I owe									

	جاي	ما	زي	طلب	جاي	فلوس (1) انت		مني
	ʒa:j	ma	zaj	tˤalab	ʒa:j	ʔinta	flu:s	minnj
	coming you	like	as	request	coming you	you	money	me from
295- F	you money (1) when you want it back, this request is the same as							

		والا	توا	انت	الشهادة	طلب
		walla	tawa	ʔinta	ʔaʃʃahada	tˁalab
		or not	now	you	the certificate	request
296- F	the request of birth certificate, isn't it?					

		س: تمام tama:m fine
297- S	OK	

	فلوس	مني	تبي	لما	توا	بتقولي	ف: شن
	flu:s	minnj	tibbj	lamma	tawa	bitqu:llj	ʃin
	money	me from	you want	when	now	me to say you will	what
298- F	So what would you say when you want your money back						

	عليك	فاتح	ربي	كان	فتحي	يا	سمحت	لو	بنقولك ن:
	ʕalajk	fatiħ	rabbj	ka:n	fatħj	ja	samaħt	law	binqu:lik
	you on	open	my lord	if	Fathi	oh	allowed you	if	you to say I will
299- N	I would say (Fathi) if Allah opens it to you = [if you can], if you don't mind								

		خلصني χallisˁnj me give my money
300- N	give me my money back	

		ر: خلصني] χallisˁnj me give my money
301- R	Give me my money back [	

		] ز: خلصني ايه χallisˁnj ʔaih me give my money yes
302- Z	[Give me my money back yes	

		مباشر	غير	والا	مباشر	ف: هدا
		] muba:ʃer	ɣair	walla	muba:ʃer	hada
		direct	not	or	direct	this
303- F	Is this direct or indirect speech? [					

	ر: هذا مباشر] haða muba:ʃer] this direct
304- R	[It is direct [

	س: مباشر] muba:ʃer] direct
305- S	[Direct [

	م: مباشر لكن مؤدب] muba:ʃer lakin mu?addab] direct but polite
306- M	[Direct but polite

After 1:47

25. Indirectness is more common among women

أ: هل الكلام الغير مباشر منتشر أكتر بين الرجال (2) hal ?alkala:m ?alɤair muba:ʃer muntaʃer ?aktar bajn ?arriʒa:l do the speech the not direct widespread more between the men	
307- A	Is indirect speech more common among men (2)

	أم بين النساء ?am bajn ?annisa:? or between the women
308- A	or women

	ف: النساء (0.7) ?annisa:? the women
309- F	among women (0.7)

	م: المباشر المباشر والا غير المباشر] ?almuba:ʃer ?almuba:ʃer walla ɤair ?almuba:ʃer the direct he direct or t not the direct
310- M	Direct, direct or indirect? [

					أ: ال الكلام الغير مباشر]
					ʔal ʔalkala:m ʔalɤair muba:ʃer]
					the speech the not direct
311- A	[Indirect speech [				

					ر: بين النساء]
					bajn ʔannisa:ʔ]
					between the women
312- R	[Among women [				

					م: بين النساء]
					bajn ʔannisa:ʔ
					between the women
313- M	[Among women				

((غير واضح))
((Not clear))

26. Why indirectness is used more by women

ف: لانه	شنو	قلنا	علاش (1)	واحدة	من	الاسباب (.)	ان	الراجل	
liʔannah	ʃinw	qulna	ʕala:ʃ	waħida	min	ʔalʔasba:b	ʔinna	ʔarraʒil	
because	what	said we	why	one	of	the reasons	that	the man	
314- F	Do you know why? (1) one of the reasons is that (.) men								

في مواقف	معينة	عنده	نوع	من	القوة (0.5)	يمكن	يحس	روحه	قوي (.)	
fj mawaqif	muʕajana	ʕindah	nu:ʕ	min	ʔalqu:a	jumkin	jeħis	ru:ħah	qawj	
in situations	specific	has he	type	of	the power	possible it	feel he	he	strong	
315- F	in certain situations ħave a kind of power (0.5) they might feel strong (.)									

يجي	قدام	مرة	والا	قدام	زوجته	والا	بنته
jeʒj	qidda:m	marah	walla	qidda:m	zawʒatah	walla	bintah
come he	in front of	woman	or	in front of	his wife	or	his daughter
316- F	so one might speak to a woman such as his wife or his daughter						

يكون	كلامه	مباشر	لكن	النساوين (0.4)	النساوين	بصفة	عامة (0.5) هده
jaku:n	kala:mah	muba:ʃer	lakin	ʔansa:wi:n	ʔansa:wi:n	bisʕifa	ʕa:mmah hadih
be	his speech	direct	but	the women	the women	in	general this

317- F	directly but women (0.4) women in general (0.5) usually

	عنف (.)	متاعين	ماهمش	هديا	زي	حاجات	علي	متعودين
	ʕunf	mta:ʕi:n	ma:humuʃ	hadja	zaj	ħa:ʒa:t	ʕalà	mitʕu:di:n
	violence	of	not they no	this	like	things	on	accustomed they
318- F	don't have a tendency to speak in an aggressive way (.)							

عنف	فيها	ترتيبات	ليه	ديمة	المباشر	الكلام	عادة	و
ʕunf	fi:ha	tarti:ba:t	li:h	di:ma	ʔalmuba:ʃer	ʔalkala:m	ʕadatan	wa
violence	it in	arrangements	have	always	the direct	the speech	usually	and
319- F	and direct speech is usually aggressive							

		سيئة	ردة فعل	فيها	و	كدا	فيها	و
		sajʔah	fiʕel raddaṯ	fi:ha	wa	kada	fi:ha	wa
		bad	reaction	it in	and	like that	it in	and
320- F	and the reaction to it is usually bad and so on							

	للنساء	شي (.)	أكتر	مباشر	الغير	الكلام	هو	أ: لكن
	]							
	linnisa:ʔ	ʃaj	ʔaktar	muba:ʃer	ʔalɤair	ʔalkala:m	hu:a	lakin
	the women to	thing	more	direct	the not	the speech	it	but
321- A	But indirect speech is more common among (.) women							
	[							

	يبوا	لانهم	ليش (.)	هم	بيه	يتجاملوا	] ف: هم
	jebbu:	liʔannhum	lajʃ	humma	bi:h	jetʒa:mlu:	humma
	want they	them because	why	they	it with	compliment they	they
322- F	[They usually use it (.) because they want						

	منها	ما ينضروا	بدون	رسالتهم	يوصلوا
	minha	majendˤarru:	bidu:n	risa:lithum	jwsˤlu:
	it from	harm they	without	their massage	reach they
323- F	to convey their messages without being affected by them				

After 2:11 minutes

27. Indirect speech which is used by women is mostly negative

ا ا	منتشر	النوع	هدا	هل	و	السؤال	تبع	هو	أ: باهي
aa	muntaʃer	ʔannu:ʕ	hada	hal	wa	ʔasswʔa:l	jatbaʕ	hu:a	ba:hj
aa	widespread	the kind	this	do	and	the question	follow it	it	ok
324- A	OK, there's a completion of the last question, is indirect speech aa								

		يعني (0.6)	ايجابي	أم	سلبي	النوع	هدا	هل
								]
		jaʕnj	ʔjʒa:bj	ʔam	salbj	ʔannu:ʕ	hada	hal
		mean	positive	or	negative	the kind	this	do
325- A	is this kind of speech negative or positive I mean (0.6)							

	] ((أصوات في الخلفية))
	[((Not clear))

	ف: سلبي سلبي (.) salbj salbj negative negative
326- F	Negative negative (.)

	ر: نعم naʕam yes
327- R	What

	أ: هدا ال السؤال هدا الاخير اللي توا سألتهولكم (.) hada ?al ?assw?a:l hada ?al?axi:r ?illj tawa saʔalthu:lkum this the this the question the last that now you to it ask I
328- A	This was the, the last question I asked you (.)

	هل اا سلبي أم ايجابي يعني] hal aa salbj ?am ?jʒa:bj jaʕnj do aa negative or positive mean
329- A	is it negative or positive I mean
	[

	] ف: سلبي جدا (0.4) salbj ʒiddan negative very
	[
330- F	So negative (0.4)

	أ: اللي هو اااا هل الكلام الغير المباشر منتشر أكتر بين ?illj hua: aaaa hal ?alkala:m ?al ɣair ?almba:ʃer muntaʃer ?aktar Bajn that it aaaa do the speech the not the direct widespread more between
331- A	The question was that aaaa, is indirect speech more common among

	الرجال أم النساء (.) فهمت (.) و هل هدا النوع (.) سلبي أم ايجابي ?arriʒa:l ?am ?annisa:? fhamit wa hal hada ?annu:ʕ salbj ?am ?jʒa:bj men or women understood and do this the kind negative or positive
332- A	men or women (.) OK. (.) and is this kind of speech (.) negative or positive?

	س: سلبي لانه يسبب مشاكل واجد (1) بين العائلات بالذات (.) salbj liʔannah jusabib maʃa:kil wa:ʒid bajn ʔalʕa:ʔila:t biðða:t negative it because cause it problems many between the families especially
333- S	Negative because it causes lots of problems (1) especially among families

	المباشر	غير	الكلام	(أنس)	يا	مرات	شني	لانه	ف: ايه
	ʔalmuba:ʃer	ɣair	ʔalkala:m	ʔanas	ja	marrat	ʃinj	liʔannah	ʔaih
	the direct	not	the speech	Anas	oh	sometimes	what	it because	yes
334- F	Yes (A), because sometimes indirect speech is								

		صح	يفهم	لا
		sˁaħ	jufham	la
		right	understood it	no
335- F	misunderstood			

	ز: صح (.)
	sˁaħ
	right
336- Z	Right (.)

	التوسع	نقولك	بعدين	و	أشياء (.)	عليه	تبنى	ف: و
	ʔattawassuʕ	nqu:lik	baʕdajn	wa	ʔaʃja:ʔ	ʕlajh	tubna	wa
	the expansion	you to say I	then	and	things	it on	build it	and
337- F	And different interpretations can be built on it (.) because indirect speech is very							
338-	broad							

	فيه (0.5)	حيكون	مباشر	غير	هو	اللي	المباشر	غير	الكلام	هو
	fi:h	ħajku:n	muba:ʃer	ɣair	hu:a	ʔillj	ʔalmuba:ʃer	ɣair	ʔalkala:m	hu:a
	it in	be it will	direct	not	it	that	the direct	not	the speech	it
339- F	indirect speech, indirect speech is (0.5)									

			الدوة	في	اكتر	اتساع
					]	
			ʔaddu:a	fj	ʔaktar	ʔitisa:ʕ
			the speech	in	more	expansion
340- F	It opens to different interpretations					
	[					

										((غير واضح))
										]
((Not clear))										
[										

											]
هدا	الواسع	الكلام	ال	ال	هديا (.)	هدا	الدوة	في	أكتر	ف: الاتساع	
hada	ʔalwa:siʕ	ʔalkal:m	ʔal	ʔal	hadaja	hada	ʔaddu:a	fj	ʔaktar	ʔalʔittisa:ʕ	
this	the wide	the speech	the	the	this	this	the speech	in	more	the expansion	
	[										
341- F	The broadness of indirect speech (.) this the the, broad speech										

		للتأويل =] ʔataʔwi:l interpretation to	قابل (.) qa:bil possible
342- F	can be interpreted in many different ways [		

		صح sˁaħ right	] التأويل] ʔataʔwi:l interpretation	م:
343- M	[can be interpreted in different ways, right [			

	تقصدي = tuqusˁdj mean you	انت] ʔinti you	و wa and	فرعية farʕi:a subsidiary	اخرى ʔuχrà other	حاجات ħa:ʒa:t things	منه minnah it from	تطلع tatˁlaʕ get out it	] ف: = و wa and
344- F 345-	[So it might be understood differently and people start accusing each other, you {for female} mean this = [								

	تفسيرات] tafsi:ra:t interpretations	ايه (.) ʔaih yes	عليه ʕlajh it on	] س: ينبنن janbnan build it
346- S	[Yes, different interpretations (.) are built on it [			

27. An example of indirect speech that is used by women

متال mita:l example	نعطيك naʕtˁi:k you give I	لواحد (.) liwa:ħid one to	تجي tʒj come she	لما lamma when	ايه (.) ʔaih yes	تقصدي tuqusˁdj mean you	انت ʔinti you	] ف:= و wa and
347- F 348-	[= or you {for female} mean that, yes (.) when she comes to someone (.) let me give you an example							

بعضهم baʕdˁhum together	مع maʕa with	مقعمزين mqaʕimzi:n sitting they	نساوين nsa:wi:n women	مرا mra woman	تجي tʒj come she	لما lamma when	متلا (.) matalan for example
349- F	for example (.) in a women gathering, one of them might						

	ما ينفعش (.)	انتو	متاعكم	الصالون	ان	توري	تبي	هي	و
	majanfaʕiʃ	ʔintw	mta:ʕkum	ʔasˁa:lu:n	ʔinna	twarrj	tibbj	hi:a	wa
	good it no	you	yours	the sofa	that	show she	want she	she	and
350- F	want to show that the house's owner's sofa is not nice								

	مباشر	تقولهالها	ماتبيش	لكن	بتقولهالها
	muba:ʃer	tqu:lilha	matibi:ʃ	lakin	bitqu:lilha
	direct	her to it say she	not want she no	but	her to it say she will
351- F	so she would say, but not in a direct way,				

((غير واضح))
]
((Not clear))
[

									]
	ال	زي	متلا	معاش	(.) صالونات	متع	جديدة	موديلات	طلعوا	ف: والله
	ʔal	zaj	matalan	maʕa:ʃ	sˁa:lu:na:t	mtaʕ	ʒadi:da	mu:daila:t	tˁwlʕu:	wallahi
	the	like	for example	not	sofas	of	new	models	get out they	God by
	[									
352- F	By God = [in fact] there are many new trends of sofas in markets nowadays (.) so									

	عرفت (0.5)	هدا	الصالون	زي	متلا	القديمة	الموديلات (.)
	ʕaruft	hada	ʔasˁa:lu:n	zaj	matalan	ʔalqadi:ma	ʔalmwdaila:t
	know you	this	the sofa	like	for example	the old	the models
353- F	such these old sofas as yours are not used any more, understand (0.5)						

	كيف	انت	الرسالة	شفتها
	ki:f	ʔinta	ʔarrisa:la	ʃuftha
	how	you	the message	it saw
354- F	do you see the message			

أ: أم (.)
emm
emm
355- A Emm (.)

	هده	السنون	في	اعطتهالها	هده	ودي	ن: يا
	hadih	ʔassnu:n	fj	ʔaʕtitˁha:lha	hadih	widdj	ja
	this	the teeth	in	her to it gave she	this	my darling	oh
356- N	In fact she really punched her in the teeth = [offended her]						

((ضحك))
]
((laughter))
[

							]
	باالله	قسما	هدا (.)	الصالون	خيره	تقولها	هديك	تمشي :ف
	billah	qasaman	hada	ʔasˁa:lu:n	χajrah	tqu:lilha	hadika	timʃj
	God with	swear I	this	the sofa	it good	her to say she	that	walk she
357- F	[So the offended woman would say, what is wrong with my sofas (.) by God [really]							

		امس	الا	خديته	هدا
		ʔamis	ʔilla	χdaitah	hada
		yesterday	just	it took I	this
358- F	I just bought them yesterday				

Appendix (E): English Focus Group Data Discussion

I carried out a focus group discussion with a number of British participants who were native English speakers as part of my research. They were five females and one male who took part in the group. As in the case for all of the recordings in this study, the discussion was recorded after obtaining the full and prior permission of the participants to do so and the data presented have been anonymised. I recorded an approximately 22 minute interaction and the participants who took part in my discussion were all primary school teachers, with ages ranging from 24 to 56 years old. I labelled the individuals who were present at the discussion as follows: R: 24 years old; D: 26 years old; K: 34 years old; J: 43 years old; M: 45 years old; P (male informant): 56 years old and Zainab: myself. The English Focus Group discussion starts on page 177 and ends on page 189.

1. Defining directness and indirectness

1- Z: I'd like to know what is the difference between (1) what's directness and indirectness
2- and what is the difference between them (.)
3- M: Sorry w
[
4- Z: Directness and indirectness
[
5- M: Oh directness and indirectness
[
6- Z: yeah (0.8)
7- K: And what is the difference between them (0.5) direct is (0.7) in the way that talking!
8- Z: Yeah (.)
9- K: So direct is speaking (0.5) directly to somebody (0.3) and indirect is (.)
10- M: Like making a comment
11- P: Not clear
12- K: So for example I might say to John[6] (2) emm your shirt doesn't suit you (.) to his face
13- (1.3) or indirect (.) might be to say that
14- Noise, not clear
15- K: Although it'd be like Jo:::hn =
[
16- M: Now sometimes
[
17- K: = worn a pink suit a pink shirt then
[
18- D: Yeah ((laughter))
[
19- P: Yeah ((laughter))
[

2. Indirectness can be confusing

20- M: Yeah but sometimes direct
21- and indirect is like I said are we meeting on Saturday and the person I said it to went oh
22- aaa o:h I d o:h (0.4) and gave me an indirect answer (.) so I assumed that it is still going
23- to be happening (0.6) had she's just given me a direct answer and said no
[
25- K: No
26- M: (0.3) Then (0.5) I would've been less confused and
27- K: emm
28- M: less (.) so there is (.) direct and indirect like that but there is also direct like you say (.)
29: there's something you might say directly to certain people but not to others

[6] John (anonymised name) is the head teacher of the school.

3. When to use directness and indirectness

30- Z: Emm (0.8) so you you y I can understand that you see indirect speech more polite than
31- direct one
32- K: Yeah (0.5) I think so at times yeah
[
33- M: Depending on (.) what the (0.3) whether you really need the answer
34- (.) or (.) whether it's about something important (.) or whether it's something (.) less
35- important so it doesn't really matter about John's shirt not suiting him because (.) your
36- are not his wife
[
37- K: No
38- ((Laughter))
[
39- M: So if he asked his wife does this shirt look nice and she's gone emm emmm=
[
40- P: ((laughter))
[

4. Directness is required in some situations

41- M: and not
42- giving him a direct answer but if he was going somewhere important and she s he said
43- does this shirt look nice (0.8) and she gives the (.) direct opinion (.) no (.) wear the blue
44- one
45- ((Laughter))
[
46- M: Or like that
[
47- P: Yeah
[
48- M: Whereas if you said it it doesn't really matter whether you (0.3) your
49- opinion is not that much
[
50- D They emmm if it was a medical (not clear) urgent important they need direct it
51- needs to be
52- Z: yes (.) yes
53- D: I think there are different reasons to
[
((Coughing))
[

5. Indirectness is more polite than directness and English people tend to be indirect

54- R: I I agree with what you're saying about it's more polite to be indirect
55- Z: emmm
56- R: err I think err English:: (.) people aaa oh are going around the house you know
[
57- D: Yeah
[

58- K: Yeah
[
59- M: I completely
60- agree
[
61- R: to to try and (1) so
((Not clear))

6. Directness is required in some situations

62- M: Because sometimes you're better to (.) grab the ball by the hands and give somebody
63- the direct opinion (.) err this needs to happen so that this can go forward (.) whereas if
64- you go well we're having a bit of an issue and we are not really and you're faffing
65- around =
[
66- Z: ((laughter))
[
67- M: = If not got the point ((laughter))
[
68- ((Laughter))
[
69- R: I think we'll miss the point emah
[
70- M: But then
[
71- K: I think that's what
[

7. Directness can be rude

72- M: then being
73- direct is considered ((not clear)) in rude sometimes so
74- Z: So

8. Using indirectness to avoid confrontation is seen polite

[
75- R: People yeah use generalizing to try to be indirect we'r doing that a lot instead of
76- confronting you or criticizing you I might say oh somepeople had an issue with this↑ and
77- it doesn't mean you=
[
78-K: Yeah
[
79-R: = it means a specific person =
[
80- Z: Emm
[
81- R: = but not (.) ((not clear))
[
82- K: it's more polite yeah
[

9. Directness is required in some situations

83- P: But you might give
84- (.) directness if you if you're doing (0.5) directions so if I was (0.5) couching somebody
85-to do (.) some first aid↑ it hhh won't be 81-(.) well if you'd like to↑ ((Laughter))

After 8 seconds

10. Speaking directly or indirectly depends on the situation and interactants' relationship

86- Z: So that's according to the situation (.)
87- K: Yeah
[

88- P: Yes it it it's the situation
[
89- J: Yeah
[
90- K: I think I think if it's the less formal situation (.) it's the more indirect (.)
91- Z: the less formal!
92- K: Yeah
93- R: could be could be direct to your friends can't you =
[
94- M: Yeah
[
95- K: Yeah
[
96- R: say to John, why you put that shirt on

After 14 seconds

11. Power or solidarity

97- M: Oh yeah and I would never ever <u>ever</u> dream of saying anything like that to John (.)
98- J: I wouldn't (.)
99- K: I↑ would↓
100- ((Laughter))
((Not clear))
[

12. Speaking directly or indirectly depends on three main factors

101- K: do you know what I mean it wouldn't be (0.5) you see that thing as the whole situa
102- (.) it is (.) it does it depends on the whole situation how familiar we are with the person
103- ((not clear)) yeah and the importance of it I think (.)
104-R: Yeah (.)
105- K: I think they are the three things that would really (0.3)
106- M: Sorry say that again
107- K: I think the importance of it (.) the familiarity that you have with the other person or
108- the other group of people you're talking to (0.3) what ((very low voice, not clear)) I said
(1.5)

109- R: Situation (.)
110- Z: situation
[
111- K: and the situation you are in with them
112- M: emmm (0.3)
113- K: they might the three things (not clear)
[

13. The role of the position of the person

114- M: yes becau and also (0.8) they (1.6) what's the word (0.3) the position of
115-the person so I would talk even though I'm very close to my mum=
[
116- K: Yeah
[
117- M: = these things I wouldn't (.) say
118- (.) to my mum (.) that I might say to my friend even though I'm closr to my mum (.)
119- because it's a certain amount used to do with respect as well
120- K: Yeah (1)
121- Z: So aa it's a matter of power (.)
122- All: Yeah
123- Z: That that
[
124- M: Like you will ((not clear)) joke with Jhon and I wouldn't dream of it

14. Which is more preferred: directness or indirectness

125- Z: Yeah (.) emm yeah (0.5) yeah (.) so aa do you prefer to speak directly or indirectly
126- and why (1)
127- D: indirect
[
128- D: It depends
129- M: I like to speak directly
130- Z: ((Laughter))

15. Being indirect is more polite, and directness can be misunderstood

[
131- M: But then sometimes I have to be indirect so that (.) I'm being polite (0.5) cause
132- sometimes it comes to rude as been brooked or shirty or whatever when it isn't really
133- intended so after thinking about it sometimes and not (.) going straight for the
134- K: Emmm
135- M: This is what I want (.) and this is what I'm going to ask John ask directly and
136- everybody is like how rude ((laughter)) so to think about it ((laughter))

16. Indirectness is more polite than directness

137- Z: [Speaking in indirect way
138- then is more polite than speaking indirectly
139- P: [Yeah
140- K: I'm more indirect at home
141- M: And you're more polite ((laughter))
142- K: [Apart from ap(hhh)art from my pa(hh)rtner ((laughter)) and then
143- J: [Yeah I'm indirect

17. Directness is required sometimes

144- K: [I'm
145- probably becoming more direct in my job (.) just because of (.)
146- J: We have to, don't we?
147- K: Yeah
148- J: it's hard (.) is hard when you (not clear) kind of person to have to be like kind of
149- person as well
150- Z: Emm
151- J: because I need to do it more
152- Z: Emm

18. English is mostly indirect

153- J: But I still wouldn't be direct (.) I would still do it in the way that I feel is the right way
154- to do it
155- Z: Emm
156- D: [It's very English theme
157- K: John is very good of being indirect =
158- D: [Yeah
159- R: [Aha
160- K: [= but you know the message is trying to relate you

19. Indirectness can be confusing

161- M: [Aaa yes and
162- it's lost of me sometimes =
163- J: [Aa is it
164- M: [= he is so d indirect that I've lost it it's like no (.) a bit more ((not clear))
165- D: [Very diplomatic isn't it?

166- K: [Yeah
167- J: [Yeah it is
168- K: Yeah he's very yeah diplomatic (.) that's the word (.) emm (0.5)
169- M: And that's where it falls down sometimes cause there is some people
170- All: ((Laughter))
171- M: ((Laughter)) we don't always pick up on the (.)
172- K: They need it saying how it is
173- M: [Yeah

After 20 seconds

20. Making direct requests can cause offence

174- Z: So (.) when you want to requ to:: request something you sometimes can't say it
175 directly just try to =
176-P: [yeah
177- J: [Yeah
178- D: [Yeah
179- Z: [find a way
180- D: [You don't want to hurt the person
181- J: [I think (.) there is a worry that if you're direct with
182- somebody that you might (.)
183- R: [Upset them
184- J: [Upset them yeah <u>hurt</u> them
185- D: you'd not actually get the best from people always as well you can actually get a
186- more and and (0.5) it sort of shows more (not clear)
187- K: [Susan is very good of being indirect, isn't she?
188- D: [Yes she is

21. Avoiding Directness is also a matter of being seen polite by others

189- P: [It's it's not just it's not just for that but
190- also (.) how (.) you perceive they will think about you (1.5) as well you know if you ask
191directly it's like oh oh how o::h Gosh yeah (.)
192- K: Have I upset them
193- P: [Have I upset them
194- K: Yeah

After 39 seconds

22. Directness is mostly used with and accepted from children, but avoided with adults

195- R: In the workplace obviously if you need something from someone it's quite important
196- you're quite direct about what you need
197- K: you can still do it in a way (not clear)
[
((Not clear voices))
[
198- M: But also I think you need to be quite direct with
199- children (.) because sometimes if you
[
200- D: Can't infer what you mean
[
201- M: They can't infer what you mean when it's a
202- small child because they're not always going to understand the inference and (0.3) it's a
203- sophisticated thing for an older (0.5)
204- Z: Yes yes (2)
205- D: Yeah I thi I pu yeah I'm probably more direct with children than I'm with adults
206- K: I'm definitely
[
207- J: Definitely yeah
[
208- D They need that they can't understand otherwise (.)
209- K: Yeah (0.6)
210- M: And if you add a load of extra words (0.4) it's just extra things to distract from your
211- main point =
[
212- Z: Emm
[
213- M: So with a child (.) it's as simple and direct as it (.) could be (0.4)
214- K: And I think children are less sensit(hh)ive as well

After 10 seconds

215- J: Oh yeah (.) chi w we as adults can get so upset if somebody comes direct (.) we we
216- need that soft =
[
((Door slamming))
[
217- J: but I think children they (.) just accept you as (.) you know
[
218- M: And I accept children when
219- children say things (0.3) directly
[
220- Z: Directly emm
[
221- M: When you wave two feathers (0.6) you won't fly cause you're too <u>fat</u>
((slapping the table))

After 1:9 minute

23. Directness is mostly used within families and close friends

222- Z: Who are the people you usually (.) use directness or indirectness with and why
223- K: [Emm↑
224- J: We've done that, don't we?
225- M: [We've done that so
226- K: [So it's more family (.)
227- R: Strangers what would you use more (.) do you think
228- D: I was wondered that myself (0.3)
229- K: indirectness was (not clear)
230- ((laughter))
231- Z: [So you use it more with your families than with strangers (0.6)
232- J: Yeah yeah
233- K: [More direct with family (.) e(h)m
234- Z: [More direct direct or more indirect (.)
235- P: More direct
236- K: [direct
237- R: [direct
238- Z: [With your families (.)
239- K: Yeah (.)
240- Z: Emm
241- aaah (1)
242- D: As friends that are really close to be direct with

243- J: As you get further out (.) you get more indirect
[((Not clear))

24. Parents are direct to their children but not vice versa

244- M: It works I'm direct with my children (.) and my mother is more direct with me (.) but
245: I wouldn't be more direct back to my mother
246- Z: [Emm
247- M: [So my mother will say to me very ((not clear))
248- I'll give you some money go and have your hair cut
249- ((Laughter))

250- M: But I wouldn't dream of saying (.) you're a grey bit showing do you want me to
251- dye it
((Not clear))
252- M: No what I mean is it (.) it doesn't both ways she will and I'll say things to my
253daughter that are more direct that I won't to my mother (.)
254- K: Emm
[
255-Z: Emm

25. Using direct or indirect forms can differ through generations

[
256- M: Although she doesn't seem to have a problem saying direct things back so
257- ((laughter))
[
258- K: I think yeah I think yeah I think it is how we've been brought up
[
259- J: Yes (.) doesn't it it
260- depends massively yea::h
[
261- P: O:K yes
[
262- K: Or situations
[
263- J: Yeah (0.4)
264- K: I think it changes doesn't it (.)
265- M: And that is come my father ((laughter))
[
266- P: I would n:ever ever (.) challenge anything my parents (0.4)
267- M: No
268- K: No no
[
269- P: No (.) never oh God (.) even now I'm fifty six I would I would no (hffff) it's not
270- is not worth ((laughter))
[
((Not clear))
271- R: Being direct can be just (.) can you lend me ten pounds because I've forgotten my
272- bourse rather than
[
273- K: Yeah

After 3:39 minutes

26. Names for indirectness

274- Z: Do you think there are there are specific names for indirect speech in English (1) do
275- you have any (.) specific names for indirectness (0.8)
276- D: Rudeness
277- M: So
[
278- P: Y(h)e(h)s I se(h)e how it(h) is rude
[

279- K: That's more direct
[
280- D: more direct
[
281- P: direct
[
282- K: Not direct (.) indirect
283- R: It can be rude you if =
[
((Noise in the background))
[
284- R: = you're trying to get direct from from someone and they're being indirect with you
285- (.) I mean it just (not clear) use the appropriate (.) speech type
[
286- J: Fluffy
287- M: Waffling
288- K: Waf yeah waffling
[
289- D: Waffling waffling
290- M: So that <u>indirect</u>
[
291- J: Waffling (0.4) fluffy (0.4) ((not clear)) (1.3)
292- R: Going around
[
293- M: Direct =
[
294- J: ((Not clear)) ((laughter))
[

27. Names for directness

295- M: = <u>direct</u> could be seen as being rude (0.5) abrupt (1)
296- D: Direct
[
297- Z: Those those names are for direct
[
298- D: Direct yeah
[
299- M: Direct but (.) if somebody was very direct you
300- would say oh they've been abrupt =
[
301- J: Blunt
[
302- M: = or they've been
[
303- P: Blunt yeah
[
304- Z: Blunt! emm
[
305- M: Yeah

306- P: [Yeah

28. Indirectness is preferred when being criticised

307- Z: Emm (1) so if someone criticizes you do you prefer
308- it to be direct or (0.4) indirect (.) and why (.)
309- J: Indirect because I can take it
310- P: [((laughter))
311- J: [I'm still hearing what they are trying to say but I'd be
312- able to cope with it better
313- P: [Yeah
314- D: [Yeah

29. Direct criticism is acceptable as long as it is analytical and not personal

315- M: I prefer it (.) direct so long as it's analytical and clinical (0.5)
316- Z: Emm(.) emm (.)
317- M: Rather than
318- P: Personal
319- M: Not just an opinion or personal so (.) if you to do aaa this wasn't quite right because
320- 75% of the children were not doing this bla bla bla (0.3) if it's mathematical and (0.4)
321- direct ((laughter))
322- K: [And factual
323- P: Yeah
324- M: [And factual
325- P: [It's it's what it's
326- R: [it is
327- K: [Yeah
328- J: [Yeah yeah
329- M: [Whole spade
330- Z: Do you agree with that
331- R: Yeah emmm!
332- Z: [Direct and indirect
333- P: [Oh I I I I c I c(hh)

30. Speaking indirectly is more preferred in normal circumstances

334- R: [Do you prefer to be direct or indirect
335- K: [I prefer to be indirect
336- (1) indirect yeah (0.8) unless it's something that (1.8) when you're in the situation and
337- you need to know (0.5) urgency (.) medical yeah
338- P: [Yeah (.)

31. Anger can be one reason for being direct

339- Z: So do you think direct (.) directness or indirectness are positive or negative (0.7) and
340- why (1.5)
341- K: I think (not clear) both
[
((Voices in the background))
342- P: [I think yeah yeah
343- M: For example I've phoned the vets about an issue (0.5) and he said (0.3) oh I said the
344- the cat's insurance is (.) I've sorted it and he went oh (.) how is↑ the cat↓ (0.5) now the
345- settled way would've been oh I'm sorry amm did you know no it didn't survive (0.6) but
346- I said (1.4) is died ((Laughter))
[
347- Z: ((Laughter))
[
348- M: Which probably (.) was a bit uncaring of his feeling as he was the vet operator on
349- him and he didn't realize it died on the other hand (.) I did say it slightly in purpose 351-
350- cause I thought (.) you 346- should know you're the vet operator on him and yes he has
351- died
352- Z: Emm
[
353- M: So I was slightly more direct 349- than I would've been (0.3)
354- K: I f you're angry (.)
355- M: Cause I was a bit cross about it so that was more direct than (.) something like death
356- is very indirect and very
357- P: [Yeah

After 28 seconds

32. Directness can be misunderstood

358- M: And also there're some things when you say something very directly (0.7) you (1)
359- can then relieve that moment and think I wish should said it this way I wish should said
360- it that way if it is memorable big (.) I've only had this opportunity to tell you once that
361- I'm pregn… if only I have this opportunity to tell you once and once I've said those that
362- words out (.) and then once they're out you think o:h wish could redo that and have a bit
363- more ((not clear)) with it or redo that and be more subtle with it or (.) you know so (.)
364- being direct sometimes can leave you thinking wish I've made more ((not clear)) of that
365- ((laughter)).

Naturally Occurring Data

Appendix (F): Arabic Natural-Occurring Data

As I mentioned in Chapter 5, I used two main methods to collect natural occurring data: recorded data, and log-book data.

1. Arabic Recorded Data:

I used a recorder to record several casual conversations in both Arabic and English. The Arab participants who were recorded included friends, family members, gatherings of relatives, etc. The Arabic recordings I used for this study are presented here. They start on page 191 and end on page 200.

Script (1)

	أ: يام (.) أعطيني شاهي↓ شوية ↑
	ya:m ʔatˁjni: ʃahi ʃwaja
	mum me give tea little
1-A:	Mum, give me a ↓little ↑tea

	ي: (0.5) وينه؟
	wainah
	it where
2- Y	(0.5) There is no more tea

	أ: (ه) تبي شاهي (.)
	tibbj ʃahi
	want tea
3-: A	H wants tea (.)

	س: خسارة ما فيش شاهي
	χsara mafi:ʃ ʃahi
	what loss not there no tea
4-S:	Oh there is no more tea
	[

	] ه: ام (.) باش اديريلنا شاهي بعدين في العشاء يا (بطة)
	em bash ʔiddjri:lna ʃahi baʕdain fj ʔalʕaʃa: ja Batta
	em you us to do you tea later in the dinner o duck
5- H:	[Em (.) you make tea for us later at dinner (you duck)

	س: (.) بإذن الله be-ithn Allah permission with God
6- S:	(.) God willing = [OK.]

Script (2)

	منال: ماتعطينيش أنا يا هند mataʕtˁjni:ʃ ʔana ja Hind not me give you no I oh Hind
1–Manal	Hind, don't give me any

	هند: نعم nʕam Yes
2- Hind	What

	منال: ما تعطينيش mataʕtˁjni:ʃ not me give you no
3- Manal	Don't give me any

	هند: علاش ʕalaʃ Why
4- Hind	Why

	منال: لا لا والله ما تعطينيش الحمد لله la la wallahi mataʕtˁjni:ʃ ʔalaħamdw lillah no no by God not me give you Thank God to
5- Manal	No no by God = [please] don't give me any, thank God = [I don't want any more]

	هند: باهي اهوه ʔahwah bahj This OK
6- Hind	So what about this

	منال: خلاص لما نشرب القهوة راهو ماعادش ن] n maʕa:diʃ rahw ʔalqahwa nuʃrub lamma χala:sˁ I not that the coffee drink I when enough
7- Manal	When I drink coffee I can't I [

	هند: باهي بنيتك بالك تبي حاجة تانية] bahj bnajtik balik tibbj ħa:ʒa tanja OK your daughter might want she thing Another
8- Hind	[What about your {little} daughter she might want something else

	منال: تبي باانا تاني (.) تبي باانا banana tibbj tanj banana tibbj Banana want you again banana want you
9- Manal	{To her daughter} Do you want another banana (.) do you want a banana [

	هند: قصدي كان ما تبيش موزة تعطيها] taʕtʕi:ha mu:za matibbi:ʃ kan qasʕdj Her give you banana not want she no if I mean
10- Hind	[I mean if she doesn't want a banana you give her {something else} [

	منال: الحمد لله؟ (0.4) الحمد لله] lillah ʔalaħamdw lillah ʔalaħamdw God to thank God to thank
11- Manal	[Thank God↑? = {you don't want any?} Thank God↓ {she doesn't want any} [

	هند: انت منال علاش] ʔinti Manal ʕala:ʃ you Manal Why
12- Hind	[What about you Manal why

	منال: ام Em What
13- Manal	What

	هند: قصدي اي حاجة بالله عليك زيدي شوية qasʕdj ʔaj ħaʒa billahi ʕalaik zjdj ʃwaja I mean any thing God with you on take more little
14- Hind	I mean have something for God's sake = [please (informal)} have a little

	منال: لا لا خلاص χalasʕ la la Enough no no
15- Manal	No no that's enough

	هند: باهي عنب شوية هكي (0.3) hikkj ʃwaja ʕinab bahj Like little grapes OK
16- Hind	A few grapes maybe (0.3)

	منال: لا لا La la No no
17- Manal	No no

	هند: بالله عليك] ʕalaik billahi You on God with
18- Hind	For God's sake = [please (informal)] [

	] منال: الحمد لله والله (.) مش متحشمة كان نبي ناخذ بروحي lillah ʔalħamdu wallahi miʃ mitħaʃma kan nibbj naχið bru:ħj God to thank by God not shy I if want I take I myself by
19- Manal 20-	[Thank God = [I don't want any], by God = [really] (.) I'm not shy if I want I will take some by myself

---

Script (3)

	ع: عندك ʕindak you have
1-A	Have some

	ح: عندك عندك ʕindak ʕindak you have you have
2- H	Have some have some

		منه	مايصير	عندك↓	والله↑	ع: لا
		]				
		minnah	majsʕjir	ʕindak	wallahi	la
		it of	happen no	you have	by God	no
3- A	No ↑by God = [I insist] ↓ have some, it couldn't happen = [it is not accepted]					
	[					

					]	ح: والله =
					]	
					wallahi	
					by God	
4- H	[By God = [really] =					
	[					

				]	ع: غير
		كول	كول	]	
				ku:l	ɣir
				eat	just
5- A	[Just eat eat				

				]	ح: = كليت ماكله::
				]	
				ma:kla:	klait
				eating	ate I
6- H	[= I have eaten too:: much				
	[				

					]	ع: باهي (.)
		صحتين	صحة (0.5)	صحة	]	
					saʕħtain	sa'ħa
		two health	be healthy	be healthy	OK	bahj
7- A	[OK. (.) be in good health, be in good health (0.5), have two health = [be healthy]					
	[					

					]	ح:
		خلاص	الا	العظيم	والله	
		χala:sˤ	ʔilla	ʔalʕaðʕji:m	wallahi	
		enough	but	the greatest	by God	
8- H	[By God = [really] I don't want any more					

	ع: هيا حسونة (.) haja ħsu:na come on Hsouna
9- A	Come on Hsouna [diminutive] (.)

	ح: عندك والله عندك عندك (1) ʕindak wallahi ʕindak ʕindak you have by God you have you have
10- H	Have some, have some, by God = [I insist] have some (1)

	ع: حسونة (.) هو هدا ايكال هو] ħsu:na hwa haða ʔi:ka:l hu:a Hsouna it this eating it
11- A	Hsouna (.) do you call this eating = [you ate nothing] [

	] ح: والله الا عندك] wallahi ʔilla ʕindak by God but you have
12- H	By God = [I insist] you have some [

	] ع: هذا تنقيش هذا (0.4) haða tanqi:ʃ haða this little this
13- A	[This is nothing (0.4)

	ح: لا والله خلاص (.) فل الفل (.) la wallahi χal:sˤ ful ʔilful no by God enough full the full
14- H	No, by God = [really] I = I've had enough (.) I am really full

	ع: نقسمها أنا وياك (.) wi:a:k ʔana niqsimha you and I it divide I
15- A	Share it with me then (.)

	ح: لا لا] la la no no
16- H	No no [

	ع: نقسمها أنا وإياك (.) بروحي ما نقدرها niqsimha ʔana wi:a:k bru:ħj manaqdarha it divide I you and myself with it can no
17- A	Share it with me (.) I can't eat it all by myself

	ح: ماهو قتلك (.) باهي نقسموها حني التلاتة (.) ((غير واضح))] mahw qutlik bahj niqismu:ha ħnj ʔattalata but you to said I OK it divide we we the three
18- H	But I said to you (.) let us share it with 'Faris' then (.) ((not clear)) [

	] ع: لا أنا كليت والله عندك ↑ عندك ↑ عندك أنا كليت والله كليت وكلة باهية] bahja wakla klait wallahi klait ʔana ʕindak ʕindak ʕindak wallahi klait ʔana la good eating ate I by God ate I I you have you have you have by God ate I I no
19- A 20-	No, I've eaten too much, by God = [I insist] have some ↑have some ↑<u>have some,</u> I've eaten too much, by God = [really] I've eaten too much. [

	] ف: خلاص خلاص] χala:sˁ χala:sˁ enough enough
21- F	[That is enough, enough [

	] ح: غير كول كول يا ↑كول ↑راجل ʁir ku:l ku:l ja ku:l raʒil just eat eat o eat man
22- H	[Just eat eat ↑eat ↑man

Script (4)

	م: متقلقلة من شفيلد لهني (.) يا شفشة] mitqaliqla min ʃefild lahnj ja ʃifʃa travelling from Sheffield here to o skunk
1- Mariam	Coming all the way from Sheffield to here (.) you skunk [

	] ن: ضحك]
2- Nada	[((Laughter)) [

	] م: والله ما تتحشمي (.) معليشي ↑ سامحيني ↓ يعني wallahi matiθaʃmj maʕlaiʃj samħi:nj jaʕnj by God ashamed you not me excuse me forgive mean
3- Mariam	By God =[really] you ought to be ashamed (.) excuse me ↑forgive ↓me = [sorry]

	ن: يا اخيتي هذه ماتغلبيهاش اغلبيها يا يما (ضحك) ja ʔuχaitj hadj mataʁilbi:haʃ ʔaʁilbi:ha ja jumma o my little sister this not her defeat I no her defeat o mum
4- Nada 5-	O my little sister = [oh my God] I can't defeat = [convince] her, defeat = [persuade] her, mum.

	أنا والله ما نغلبها (.) والله ما نقدرها] ʔana wallahi manaʁlibha wallahi maniqdirha I by God her defeat no by God her able not
6-	By God = [really] I can't defeat = [convince] her (.) I'm not able to do so

	] م: غير واضح]
7- Mariam	[((Not clear)) [

	] الأم: أنا نتصنت و خلاص ʔana nitsˁannit wa χala:sˁ I listen and only
8- The mother	[I'm just listening

Script (5)

	زمان سلفتي (1) فهمتي دارت عجنت عجينة بيتسا ااا zama:n salftj fhamtj darit ʕaʒnit ʕaʒi:nat bitsa aaa ages ago my sister in law understand she did she kneaded she dough pizza aaa
1-	One day, my sister in law (1) OK, did she made pizza dough aaa

(.) اعجنوا قالت	قالت ا	عزوزتي	بعده	اللي	اليوم	مشي	قنينة	ما جتهاش	
ʔaʕʒnw	qa:lit	qa:lit	ʕazu:ztj	baʕdah	ʔillj	ʔalju:m	mʃai	qnainah	maʒitha:ʃ
knead	said	said	my mother in law	after	that	the day	so	nice	not came it no
2-	and it wasn't very good ((laughter)) the next day my mother in law said aa said to us								

دارتها	ودارتها (0.8)	حماتي	عجنتها	فرن (.)	خبزة	ديروا		
da:ritha	da:ritha	ħama:tj	ʕiʒnitha	furn	χubzit	di:rw		
it did she	it did she	my sister in law	it knead she	oven	bread	do		
3-	make make the bread dough (.) my sister in law (her husband's sister) kneaded it and							
4-	made it (0.8) made it							

((غير واضح)) ا بتديزها	بت	عزوزتي	جت	لما	(.) بالسكر	عبتها	
biddi:rha	bit	ʕazu:ztj	ʒit	lamma	bissukkur	ʕabbitha	
it do she will	will	my mother in law	came she	when	sugar with	it full she	
5-	and put lots of sugar in it (.) when my mother in law wanted to bake it ((not clear))						

حماتي	قالتلها	درتولها (.)	شن	خيركم	شني	هده	قالت
ħamatj	qa:litilha	dirtu:lha	ʃin	χairkum	ʃnj	hadj	qa:lit
my sister in law	her to said she	it to did you	what	you what	what	this	said she
6-	she said what is this what's wrong with you (for all) what did you do to it (.) her						

ناشطة	تجيني	باش	قالتلها (.)	علاش	و	قالتلها	السكر	درتلها
na:ʃtˤa	tʒjnj	ba:ʃ	qa:litilha	ʕala:ʃ	wa	qa:litilha	sukkar	dirtilha
nice	me come it	to	her to said she	why	and	her to said she	the sugar	it to did I
7-	daughter said I added sugar to it. She said why. She said (.) because I wanted it to be nice							

باهية	مش	العجينة	تجيهم	البايرات	البايرات	متاعة	مش زي	وحلوة	
ba:hia	miʃ	ʔalʕaʒi:na	tʒi:hum	ʔilba:jra:t	ʔilba:jra:t	mta:ʕit	zai miʃ	ħilwa	
good	not	the dough	them come it	the unskilled	the unskilled	of	as not	delicious	
8-	and delicious not like dough which is made by unskilled people (,) only unskilled								
9-	people's dough is not good.								

Script (6)

		بس	للخامس	قرت	(نوال)	داليا: تعرفي
				]		
		Bes	lilxamis	gret	(nawal)	taʕrfi
		Only	the fifth to	studied	(Nawal)	know you
1- Dalia	Do you know, (Nawal) studied only:: up to year five					
	[					

	] ((ضجة في الخلفية))]
2-	[((noise in the background)) [

	] ريم: ما شا:::ء الله ((ضحك)) maxa Allah wills God
3- Reem	[God bless he:::r ((laughter))

2. Arabic Log-book Data:

Following Grainger (2011), whenever I realised that an incident might be relevant to my research, I wrote it down immediately in a log book. The Arabic log-book examples I used for this study are presented in this section. They start on page 201 and end on page 205.

Example (1)

سنين	أربعة	عمره	ولدي	ليلة	في	خوي	حوش	في	كنت
sni:n	ʔarbʕa	ʕumrah	wildj	lajlah	fj	χu:j	ħu:ʃ	fj	kunt
years	four	his age	my son	night	in	my brother	home	in	I was
1-	One night, I was at my brother's home. My four year-old son								

لولدي:	قلت	أنا	الريموت.	أعطيني	خالي,	لخوي	قال
liwildj	qult	ʔanan	ʔalrimu:t	ʔaʕtˁinj	χa:lj	liχu:j	qa:l
my son to	said I	I	the controller	me give	my uncle	my brother to	said he
2-	said to my brother: uncle, give me the controller. I said to my son:						

ما نتخيلش	قال:	و	شافلي	خوي	لخالك	فضلك	من	قول
manitχajiliʃ	qa:l	wa	ʃa:flj	χu:j	liχalik	fadˁlik	min	qu:l
not imagine I no	said he	and	me to looked	my brother	your uncle to	favour	of	say
3-	say 'please' to your uncle. My brother looked at me and said: I cannot imagine							

	هادي.	زي	حاجات	صغاري	نعلم	روحي
	hadj	zaj	ħaʒa:t	sˁʁa:rj	nʕallim	ru:ħj
	this	like	things	my children	teach I	myself
4-	teaching my children things like that.					

Example (2)

		توا	أنا	أماني	يا	نمشي	سناء :بنوض
		tawa	ʔana	ʔamanj	ja	nimʃj	binnu:dˁ
		now	I	Amanj	o	walk I	get up
1- Sana	Amani, I'm going home now						

		بالله	ما صارت	والله	أماني: شنو!
		ballah	masˁa:rit	wallahi	ʃinw
		by God	happen not	by god	what
2- Amani	What! by God = [I insist] it can't be = [you won't go home]				

		بنمشي	الا	والله	ما تحلفيش	لا	سناء: لا
		binimʃj	ʔilla	wallahi	mataħilfi:ʃ	la	la
		go I	but	by God	not swear no	no	no
3- Sana	No no, don't swear by God, by God = [really] I want to go						

		فيه	شن	أماني: علاش
		fi:h	ʃin	ʕala:ʃ
		it in	what	way
4- Amani	Why do you want to go?			

		والله	بنمشي	هكي	و	الصغار	تعرفي	والله	سناء: لا
		wallahi	binimʃj	hikkj	wa	ʔalsʕiʁa:r	taʕirfj	wallahi	la
		by God	go I	like	and	the children	know you	by God	no
5- Sana	No, you know the children are waiting for me, by God = [really] I want to go								

		الصغار	بروحهم	قاعدين	أماني: شن
		ʔalsʕiʁa:r	bru:ħhum	qa:ʕdi:n	ʃin
		the children	themselves	sitting	what
6- Amani	Are your children on their own				

		بنمشي	الا	والله	لكن	بوهم	معاهم	هم	سناء: لا
		binimʃj	ʔilla	wallahi	lakin	bu:hum	maʕa:hum	humma	la
		go I	but	by God	but	their father	them with	they	no
7- Sana	No, their father is with them, but by God = [really] I have to go								

		ماشية	ماكي	والله	زايد	هبال	بلا	اقعدي	أماني: اقعدي
		ma:ʃja	makj	wallahi	zajed	haba:l	bla:	ʔuqaʕdj	ʔuqaʕdj
		going	not	by God	more	craziness	without	stay	stay
8- Amani	Don't be crazy, stay stay, by God = [I insist] you won't go								

		بس	ماتحلفيش	غير	سناء: غير
		bis	mataħilfi:ʃ	ʁir	
		only	not swear no	just	
9- Sana	Just don't swear by God				

		توا	ماشية	مانك	و	تقعدي	الاما	فيك	مادخلني	والله	أماني:
		tawa	maʃia	ma:nik	wa	tuqaʕdj	ʔillama	fi:k	madaχalnj	wallahi	
		now	going	not	and	stay	will	you of	me bother not	by God	
10- Amani	By God = [really] I don't care about what you are saying, you won't go now										

		تحلفي	حق	ماعنكش	سناء:
		taħilfj	ħaq	maʕindikiʃ	
		swear	right	not you have no	
11- Sana	You shouldn't have sworn				

	توا tawa now	حلفت ħalaft sworn I	أماني: خلاص χalasˁ enough	
1- Amani	I've already sworn by God			

Example (3)

هلبة halba too much	مغرورة maɣru:ra arrogant	ليلى lajlà Laila	قالتلي qa:litlj me to said	صاحبتي sˁa:ħibtj my friend	عندي ʕindj have I	ليلى lajlà Laila	رانيا : تعرفي taʕirfj know you
1- Rania	Do you know Laila; a friend of mine said to me, Laila is so arrogant.						

	قلتيلها؟ qulti:lha her to said you	شن ʃin what	انت ʔinti you	ليلى : و wa and
2- Laila	And what did you say to her?			

	شي. ʃaj thing	رانيا : ما قلتلها maqultilha her said I no
3- Rania	I said nothing.	

	مغرورة؟ maɣru:ra arrogant	أنا ʔana I	رايك rajek your opinion	في fj in	انت ʔinti you	ليلى: و wa and
4- Laila	So, do you think I am arrogant?					

	قلت. qult said I	اللي ʔillj that	أنا ʔana I	رانيا: مش miʃ not
5- Rania	It was not me who said that.			

	مغرورة؟ maɣru:ra arrogant	انا ʔana I	رايك rajek your opinion	في fj in	انت ʔinti you	لكن lakin but	ليلى: فاهمة, fahma I understand
6- Laila	I know, but do you think I am arrogant?						

	انا. ʔana I	مش miʃ not	قالت qa:lit said she	اللي ʔillj that	هي hja she	فيا؟ fja me in	تسألي taʔalj ask you	رانيا: علاش ʕalaʃ why
7- Rania	Why are you asking me? My friend said that, not me.							

Example (4)

	خلاص	لن	ضاعف	ضاعف	مريم: ولدك
	χalasˁ	lin	dˁaːʕuf	dˁaːʕuf	wildik
	much	too	thin	thin	your son
1- Mother-in-law	Your son became really really thin				

قبل	من	أحسن	توا	هلبة	هكي	من	أضعف	كان	كان	كيف	نسيتي	أسماء: أكيد
qabil	min	ʔaħsan	tawa	halba	hikkj	min	ʔadˁʕuf	kaːn	kaːn	kiːf	nsaitj	ʔakiːd
before	from	better	now	much	this	of	thinner	was	was	how	forgot you	surely
2- Asma	You may've forgotten how he used to be, he was much thinner than now											

قبل	من	خير	توا	عليه	الله	ما شاء	قالتلي	بنتك	حتى
qabel	min	χajr	tawa	ʕaljah	ʔallah	maʃaːʔ	qaːlitlj	bintik	ħattà
before	from	better	now	him on	Allah	welling	me to said she	your daughter	even
3-	he is much better now than before, even your daughter said to me he is much better now.								

جيعان	مخليينك	جدك	حوش	هذا	ولدي	كول	سالم: كول
ʒiːʕaːn	mχallji:nik	ʒiddik	ħuːʃ	hada	wildj	kuːl	kuːl
hungry	leave they	your grandparents	home	this	my son	eat	eat
4- Father-in-law	(to the baby): eat eat my son, your grandparents seem to leave you hungry						

Example (5)

لا ؟	والا	لخويلة	فضلك	من	تقول	أنا : لازم
la	walla	liχwaila	fadˁlik	min	tquːl	laːzim
no	or	aunty to	favour	of	say	should
Me: You should say 'please' to your aunty, shouldn't you?						

هابلة.	هذه	أمك	على	ماتعدلش	أختي:
haːbla	hadj	ʔummyk	ʕala	matʕaddiliʃ	
crazy	this	your mother	on	not bother you	no
My sister (speaking to my son): Don't bother about what your mum says; she is crazy.					

Example (6)

بنسأل	و	نمشي.	لما	شطانة	ماديريش	و	عاقلة	فاطمة: كوني
binasʔal	wa	nimʃj	lamma	ʃtˁaːna	maddiriːʃ	wa	ʕaːqla	kuːnj
ask I will	and	go I	when	misbehaving	not do you no	and	behaved	be
1- Fatima	Behave well and don't trouble your aunt while I am out. I'll ask							

	منك	بنغضب	شطانة	درتي	كان	و	بنجي	لما	عمتك
	minnik	bnuʁdˁub	ʃtˁa:na	dirtj	ka:n	wa	binʒj	lamma	ʕamtik
	you of	angry I will	misbehaving	did you	if	and	back I	when	your aunt
2-	your aunt when I come back, and I would be very angry if you misbehaved								

Example (7)

	فنهدرزوا	خالي	بنت	جتني	و	بريطانيا	من	جاية	كنت
	fanhadirzu:	χalj	bint	ʒitnj	wa	bri:tˁanja	min	ʒa:ja	kunt
	we talk	uncle	daughter	me came	and	Britain	from	I coming	I was
1-	When I came back Libya from Britain, my cousin came to see me. We were talking								

	حلو	لبس	مافيش	بريطانيا	في	شكله	لي:	قالت	مشي	اللبس,	علي
	ħilw	libis	mafi:ʃ	bri:tˁanja	fj	ʃaklah	lj	qa:lit	mʃaj	ʔallibis	ʕala
	nice	clothes	not	Britain	in	it seem	me to	said she	then	clothes	about
2	about clothes when she said to me: it seems that children's clothes are not nice in Britain.										

	عاجبها	مش	صغاري	لبس	في	ذوقي	إن	فاستنتجت	للصغار.
	ʕa:ʒibha	miʃ	Sˁʁa:rj	libis	fj	du:qj	ʔinna	fastantaʒt	liSˁʁa:r
	it like she	not	my children	clothes	in	my taste	that	concluded I	children to
3	I concluded that she did not like my taste in choosing my children's clothes.								

Appendix (G): English Naturally-Occurring Data

1. English Recorded Data:

With regard to the English data, I had assistance from some English people who agreed to help me to record the data for my research. The English participants who were recorded also included friends or family members. The English recordings I used for this study are presented here. They start on page 206 and end on page 207.

Example (1)

1- Jack: I thought you said play I was like you can stand up on some plays.
2- Mother: (.) More?
3- Jack: (.)Yes please.
4- Mack: (.)What plays can you stand up in?
5- Jack: The globe.
6- Mother: About that (.)
7- Jack: (0.3) Urrr a little bit smaller (.) the globe theatre you can stand up (.) a::nd
[
8- Mack: That's because
9- they didn't have chairs then.
10- Jack: There's some others actually
[
((caugh))
[
11- Jack: They have chai::rs.
[
((Not clear))
[
12- Mack: They hadn't invented them
[
13- Jack: That's not true
14- though
[
15- Mack: Can I have some more.
[
17- Mother: ↑ Just ↓a minute.
18- Jack: (0.4) Some others as well (0.6 not many but some (1) ((whispering)) It wasn't
19- funny
((Not Clear))
[
20- Mack: Then why did you laugh?

[
21- Mother: How about that
22- Mack: Yes please (3)
23- Jack: So Mack (.) it looks like you're in on your own tonight (.)
24- Mack: Really
[
25- Mother: Yeah cause I'm out (2) Which one do you want, that one or that one
[
26- Jack: ↑Why are you so ↓lo::nely
[
27- Mother: Mack?
28- Mack: Actually I'm going out tonight. Urrr that please.
29- Mother: This one? (.)
30- Mack: ↑Yes ↓please (.) not a ↑lot ↓please.

Example (2)

1- Andrea: Can you have some more salad?
2- David: Me:::?
[
((Noise in the background))
[
3- Andrea: Yeah.
4- David: I've had loads.

Example (3)

1: Andrea: Do you not like black olives?
2: David: No, I hate black olives (.)
3: Andria: Well, try that one cause it's got lemon on it
[
4: David: aaa No, I don't trust it (0.4)
5: Andrea: No but just ↑try ↓it (1) it's really really nice.

2. English Log-book Data:

Some English people agreed to help me to note down incidents, which they felt were relevant to directness or indirectness, in a log book. I also used some incidents which took place between some English people and myself in some situations, which I felt to be useful for my research.

Example (1)

1- Karin: Would you like a piece?

2- Mary: Yes please (takes a piece).

3: Jonathan: No, thank you.

4: Karin: Go on! Have some.

5: Jonathan: No it's alright. I am still full from lunch.

Example (2)

Me: How hard they are working! ((laughter))

The instructor: Yes, they are ((laughter))

Appendix (H): Questionnaire for Arabic Pilot Study

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر:

الجنس:

الجنسية:

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشرفي المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ و لماذا؟

7- هل بامكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص, المكان, الاشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا.

Appendix (I): Questionnaire for English Pilot Study

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age:

Sex:

Nationality:

1-Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

4- In what situations do you usually use indirectness?

5- Do you think English people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

6- Do you, as an English person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

Appendix (J): Consent Forms

Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 24-7-2013

I Raja Ali (name)

Address Alzawi, Libya

give my consent to Zainab Kiftan (name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

Thesis

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature Raja

2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- Which group is being targeted and why
- Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- The number of participants
- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revalation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 18/3/2014

I Fatma Masuad (name)

Address Albaida, Libya

give my consent to Zainab Kirkam (name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

Thesis

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature .....

2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

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- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 18 - 3 - 2014

I Farah Muhamed (name)

Address Sabha, Libya

give my consent to Zainab (name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

Thesis

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature Farah Muhe

2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- Which group is being targeted and why
- Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- The number of participants
- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revalation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 18/3/2014

I Ali Rafa (name)

Address Sukana, Aljuffra

give my consent to Zainab (name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

Thesis

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature Ali Rafa

2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- Which group is being targeted and why
- Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- The number of participants
- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revalation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 19 - 7 - 2013

I Nauma Hamed (name)

Address Tripoli Libya.

give my consent to Zainab Kirkam (name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

Thesis

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature Nauma Hamed

2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- Which group is being targeted and why
- Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- The number of participants
- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revalation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 19/7/2013

I Fatema Abdullah (name)

Address. Alkhumus Libya

give my consent to Zainab Kirkam (name)

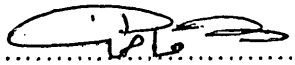
to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

Thesis

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature 

2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- Which group is being targeted and why
- Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- The number of participants
- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revalation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 21_7_2013 .....

I .....Fatima.....(name)

Address. Bangazi_Libya

give my consent to .....Zainab.....(name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

.....Thesis.....

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature.....

2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

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- Which group is being targeted and why
- Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- The number of participants
- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revalation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 19/7/2014

I Rahmma Zarug (name)

Address Wadan, Alguffra, Libya

give my consent to Zainab Kurkar (name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

Thesis

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature Rahmma Zarug

2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

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- The number of participants
- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revalation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 17 - 7 - 2014

I Asma Mustafa (name)

Address: Benghazi, Libya

give my consent to Zainab Kirkam (name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

Thesis

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature...

2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
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- The number of participants
- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revalation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 22-7-2013

I Karima Ahmad (name)

Address Tripoli, Gurgarish, Libya

give my consent to Zainab (name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

Thesis

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for ~~my contribution~~ to the data not to be used.

Signature K. Ahmad

2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- Which group is being targeted and why
- Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- The number of participants
- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revalation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: ...22-7-2103...

I ....Fatima Zaid.....(name)

Address.....Tripoli, Alhdba Libya.

give my consent to ..Zainab.....(name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

Thesis

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature.....

2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- Which group is being targeted and why
- Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- The number of participants
- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revalation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 20...7...2013

I ....Samia.....(name)

Address....Tripoli...Libya

give my consent to .....Zainab.....(name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

....Thesis.....

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature.....Samia

2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- Which group is being targeted and why
- Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- The number of participants
- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revalation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 23/7/2013 .....

I ...Fathia ALsanussi (name)

Address.....Hoon., ALgufra

give my consent to ..Zainab ...kirkam (name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

Thesis.....

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature: Fathia .....

2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- Which group is being targeted and why
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- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revalation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 21.07.2013.....

I ..Fadia Mohamed.....(name)

Address....Tripoli, Libya

give my consent to Zainab.....(name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

Thesis.....

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature.....Fadiea.....

2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- Which group is being targeted and why
- Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- The number of participants
- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revalation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 20.7.2013

I Rima Alfaidi (name)

Address Tripoli, Alriadia, Libya -

give my consent to Zainab (name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

Thesis

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature

2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- Which group is being targeted and why
- Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
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- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revalation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: ...11/05.....

I ....Laura Forsyth.....(name)

Address..Pye Bank, Andover St.

give my consent to Zainab Kerkar.(name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

....dissertation.....

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature.....

2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

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- Which group is being targeted and why
- Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
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- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revalation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 01/05/2014.....

I ..MELISSA ORAKE.....(name)

Address..PYE BANK PRIMARY SCHOOL

give my consent to .Zainab..Kerkam.(name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

..... Dissertation.....

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature.....

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- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 1/5/17

I Lucy Vickers (name)

Address 41 Tapton Crescent Rd.

give my consent to Zainab Kerkham (name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by ~~him~~/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

dissertation

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature L Vickers

2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- Which group is being targeted and why
- Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- The number of participants
- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revalation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 01/05

I Melissa Drake (name)

Address... Pye Bank, Andover Street

give my consent to Zainab Kerkam (name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

dissertation

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature.....

2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- Which group is being targeted and why
- Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- The number of participants
- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revalation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: ..21/6/14.....

I F. Mills Brown.....(name)

Address 57 Harcourt Rd, S10 1DH.....

give my consent to Zainab.....(name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

.....Studies.....

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature..F.MBrown.....

2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- Which group is being targeted and why
- Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- The number of participants
- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revalation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 21st June 2014

I Sara Mills (name)

Address 57 Nanoura Rd, Sheffield S10 1DH

give my consent to Z. Korkam (name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

Thesis

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature Sara Mills

2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- Which group is being targeted and why
- Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- The number of participants
- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revalation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 21st June 2014

I G. Mills Brown (name)

Address 57 Harrowd Rd, Sheffield

give my consent to Zainab (name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

Research

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature G. M Brown

2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- Which group is being targeted and why
- Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- The number of participants
- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revalation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 21./.12./.2013.....

I Hisham shembesh.....(name)

Address..88 Nottingham cliff.....

give my consent to ..Zainab Kerkam.(name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

..... Thesis .....

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature.....

2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

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- Which group is being targeted and why
- Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- The number of participants
- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revalation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 21/12/2013

I Housam SHEBANI (name)

Address 69 Lapham street

give my consent to Zainab Korkam (name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

thesis

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature

2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

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- Which group is being targeted and why
- Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- The number of participants
- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revalation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 21/12/2013

I Mohamed Ebrahim (name)

Address. 105 Headford Gardens

give my consent to Zainab Kerkam (name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

thesis

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature

2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- Which group is being targeted and why
- Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- The number of participants
- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revalation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 21-12-2013

I. ABDALRHMAN AMWES (name)

Address 3. Netherthorpe place

give my consent to Zainab Kerkam (name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

thesis

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature.....

2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- Which group is being targeted and why
- Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- The number of participants
- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revalation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 21/12/2013

I .....Tarek....Abdou.....(name)

Address..7..Stokton...close.....

give my consent to ..Zainab...Kerman(name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

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..... thesis .....

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Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: ....04.07.2015.....

I .....ANAS ZARMOUH.....(name)

Address.....86 NORWOOD ROAD...

give my consent to ZAINAB KERKH(name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

..... thesis .....

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

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Signature.....A.ZARMouH.....

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Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 21/12/2013

I Almahdi Aboada (name)

Address 9 coupe Road

give my consent to Fainah Kerhawi (name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

Thesis

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Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 21/12/2013

I NAEEM (name)

Address 45 Melrose Road

give my consent to Zainab Kerkar (name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

thesis

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